PLACE[ING] SOCIAL SPACES: EXPLORING FEELINGS OF PLACE DEPENDENCE AND PLACE IDENTITY AMONG THE LATINX COMMUNITY IN A GENTRIFYING LA CUATRO

A Thesis By

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Abstract:
Extant literature on urban renewal and placemaking largely focuses on displacement and/or place of residence; however, much is left unanswered in terms of people's place identity and dependence in culturally rich social spaces. Thus, this work examines the narratives of Latinx individuals who create meaning through placemaking processes in the gentrified area of La Cuatro, a five-block business strip and Latinx enclave located in the heart of Santa Ana, California. Findings draw from in-depth interviews with twenty Latinx participants who have continually visited La Cuatro for at least the last ten years. Using place identity and place dependence as signifiers, research data show that gentrification displaces and expunges aspects of Latinx culture in La Cuatro, leading to an interruption and elimination of participant's established place-based connections. The results further highlight how components of personal identity intertwine with placemaking practices and serve as both drivers of inclusion and exclusion in La Cuatro and other spaces. Taken together, this work deepens our current understanding of place-based connections by highlighting the role of ethnicity and culture in place making, and also emphasizes how social spaces serve as facilitators for creating strong community bonds among Latinx participants.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

[La Cuatro] was a close-knit community for me where you knew la señora de la fruta [woman who sells fruit] and you knew her by name and it was like "hola mija, tengo mangos" [hi sweetie, I have mangos], you know. You knew the people con [with] the flyers and the guy from the panaderia [bakery]. So, for me, it's people I grew up with, it was a close-knit community where everyone knew each other and pretty much everyone, in some way or another, cared about that particular community. – Claudia (before gentrification)

It was like strangers invading a space that I had known for so long, that I felt comfortable with, that I grew up in. And, all of a sudden, it's like it's not only that you're shifting the aesthetics of [La Cuatro] because you're changing the store fronts, you're also changing the people. – Claudia (after gentrification)

La Cuatro, Spanish for Fourth Street, is a five-block business strip filled with restaurants, shops, and other small businesses in the city of Santa Ana, California that has catered to a Latinx population for over forty years. At one point, the area was so heavily dominated by Latinx communities that it was referred to as "little Mexico" by visitors and business owners. When taking a stroll down La Cuatro between the 1980s and early to mid 2000s, one could expect to see quinceañera boutiques filled with vibrant and elaborate dresses and tiaras, remittance businesses offering same-day money transfers to Mexico and Latin America, panaderias [bakeries] and street vendors selling traditional Latinx snacks like raspados, churros, and fruta picada. La Cuatro also hosted many special events geared toward the Latinx community, such as Mexican Independence Day, Dia de Los Muertos, and Dia de la Virgin de Guadalupe. As Claudia stated in the first excerpt above, the Latinx culture in the area of La Cuatro provided a sense of community for her, and for many other participants in this work. La Cuatro, however, has not always been, and is not, perhaps, now, the same mecca for Latinx people and culture as it has been for the last several decades.

The city of Santa Ana, located in the heart of Orange Country, is home to over 335,000 people (City of Santa Ana 2021). Although the city now is relatively diverse, Santa Ana often undergoes significant shifts in demographics. In the early to mid-1900s, Santa Ana residents were predominantly white (71%), relatively well-off financially, and the city had an almost non-existent Latinx community (Haas 1995). As a result, during this time, and up until the mid-1970s, the area of La Cuatro, then

known as "West Fourth Street," was filled with businesses that targeted the white, middle-class population (González 2017). This began to change with the influx of immigrants drawn to Santa Ana because of the progressive immigration policies and work-incentives like the Bracero Program[1]. By1960, the near non-existent Latinx population in Santa Ana grew to 15%, and by the 1980s, the Latinx population made up roughly 45% of Santa Ana's population (González 2017).

As Santa Ana's community began to change, the city saw a decline in its residents' socioeconomic demographics and purchasing power. This was primarily due to the large-scale migration patterns. For instance, the influx of the newly immigrated Latinx population, who often worked in low paying jobs, began to lower the city's socioeconomic composition (González 2017). On the other hand, the out-migration of the white, middle-class population to the surrounding suburbs, along with depreciating home values and growing renters' market, further exacerbated the socioeconomic decline and demographic shifts in Santa Ana (González 2017). For Fourth Street, this meant that the businesses that once catered to higher income residents, like J.C Penny, See's Candy, and Rankin's Dry Goods, could no longer produce enough revenue to stay open. This led to the closure of businesses, which left Fourth Street's area with an abundance of vacant space.

In the mid-1970s, as more Latinx individuals immigrated to Santa Ana, Latinx business owners began to fill the unoccupied spots in Fourth Street. This marked the beginning of the reformation of Fourth Street as a Latinx-dominated business landscape and social space. More importantly, however, this new wave of businesses established "a thriving cultural business district" (Marsh 1994: 160). By the mid 1980s, business owners were reporting that roughly 75% to 95% of their clientele comprised Latinx customers (Dougherty 1987). The notable characteristics of these businesses included their affordable prices and Spanish speaking employees, which both attracted the new lower-income immigrant community that was burgeoning in Santa Ana. Over time, what was once West Fourth Street transformed into and became known by Latinx people as "La Calle Cuatro" or "La

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1 The Bracero Program was a work-initiative between the United States and Mexico that target Mexican individuals in attempt to address and fill the labor shortage in agriculture.

Cuatro." It is in this reformed social space that participants like Claudia in the current study experienced authentic Latinx culture and created connections with other Latinx people in La Cuatro throughout their lives.

Beginning in 2005, the social landscape of La Cuatro, again, experienced a substantial amount of change. Some of the first changes in the area consisted of the "aesthetic" changes that Claudia speaks about earlier. For instance, as gentrification occurred, trendy coffee shops, boutiques, and fusion restaurants replaced most of the local businesses that catered to Latinx individuals. These new businesses, like the Gypsy Den and Proof Bar, also marked the beginning of the change in the area and targeted a new demographic—one that could afford the relatively high financial costs of patronage. Claudia's use of the word "strangers" in her quote above is important as it highlights how the newcomers in the area, the ones who could afford the new businesses in La Cuatro, were different from the "close-knit community" that she grew up in. What was known as "La Cuatro" for decades is now referred to by the new visitors and inhabitants in the area as "East End Santa Ana" or "Downtown Santa Ana." In considering the shifts and development of this urban space from a "close-knit community" to an "invaded space," this research aims to examine how Latinx individuals, like Claudia, who are familiar with the evolution of La Cuatro, experience place dependence and place identity before and after the process of gentrification. Moreover, this work explores and unpacks the communal and cultural disjuncture seen in Claudia's opening quotes and the influence of gentrification on Latinx social spaces like La Cuatro.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Place

The term 'place' often refers to the physical components and geographic location of a space (Smith 2017). Scholars, however, suggest that place not only includes the physical aspects of an area, such as architecture, but also the subjective meanings that individuals create and attach in relation to their environment (see, for examples, Tuan 1974, Relph 1976, Smith 2017). In Tuan's (1974) seminal book, *Topophilia*, which translates to "love of place," he elaborates on the two-way relationship between people and their environments. He highlights the importance of individual experiences and attitudes in creating environments—putting them at the center of placemaking. He wrote, "What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value" (Tuan 1974:6). In other words, place without experiences, attitudes and value is nothing more than abstract space.

One component that individuals and groups use to imbue value on to place is culture. Commenting on culture and place, Tuan (1974) emphasizes that it is impossible to separate culture from one's understanding of place. Juxtaposing native Indian and Anglo-American cultures in New Mexico, he highlights how each group views the same land differently and attributes those disparities to cultural differences. Native culture, for instance, emphasizes the importance of finding a balance with surroundings; nature is a tool for survival and not linked to economic gain. On the other hand, Anglo-American culture stresses the idea that man should subdue and conquer their surroundings for economic prosperity. According to Tuan, these differences stem not only from the length of time each group has been in the area, but also from the differences in perception and values that arise from different cultural socializations. In short, culture affects people's views and connections to place.

Reinforcing Tuan's conceptions of place and place making, Relph (1976) describes the essence of place in his book, *Place and Placelessness*. Relph (1976:3) wrote:

> Places are not experienced as independent… entities that can be described simply in terms of their location or appearance. Rather they are a sensed in a chiaroscuro of setting, landscape, ritual, routine, other people, personal experiences… and in the context of other places.

In short, surrounding places and the communities that inhabit them impact the way that we experience, relate to, and view a particular environment. Relph further adds to the importance of community in creating place and claims that common group experiences produce a sort of place consciousness that leads to a commonly shared understanding and identity of place. Through this sense of place consciousness and shared understanding, communities reinforce the identity of place and conversely, place reinforces the identity of the community. Extending these ideas, one can infer that, to properly understand place and how it shapes communities, one must consider them in not only in the context of the local community, but also within the framework of the larger society. The current research draws from Tuan and Relph's work, and conceptualizes place as space that has been given meaning through individual, community, and cultural processes. Furthermore, this research draws on Relph's understanding of place as a factor in reinforcing community identity.

Place and Placemaking

There are several concepts that are employed within the place literature to describe people's connections to their surrounding environments. The most notable and often used conceptions in place-based research are sense of place (Relph 1976), place attachment (Tuan 1974; Altman and Low 1992), place dependence (Stokols and Shumaker 1981), and place identity (Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff 1983). Through the use of these terms, place researchers illustrate the placemaking processes of people throughout various environments.

Relationship Between Place Attachment, Place Identity, and Place Dependence

Although the literature is saturated with work focusing on attachment, dependence, and identity, there is little agreement on how each concept connects, if at all (see, for example, Nelson, Ahn and Corley 2020). Some scholars advocate for the use of 'sense of place' as an all-encompassing term to measure the human-environment relationship, and use place attachment, place dependence, and place identity as indicators of sense of place (see, for examples, Shamai

1991, Lalli 1992, and Jorgensen and Stedman 2005). However, White, Virden, and Riper (2008), when studying visitor's perceptions on recreation impacts in the Molalla River Recreation Corridor in Oregon, conceptualize place identity and place dependence as dimensions of place attachment. And, even still, Hernandez, Hidalgo, Salazar-Laplace and Hess (2007) argue that each concept is its own unique construct. Although the terms may frequently overlap due to the predominance of concurrent use in studies, being attached to, or dependent on, an environment does not lead to place identity and vice-versa; experiencing place identity does not require attachment (Hernandez et al. 2007). The current research draws from Hernandez et al.'s (2007) conceptualization, and views place attachment, place dependence, and place identity as separate constructs. Given this conceptualization, the following sections will clearly delineate between the terms and their meanings.

Place Attachment

Scholars suggest that the ability to create and attach emotional meaning to place is a worldwide phenomenon (see, for examples, Tuan 1974 and Lewicka 2011). The emotional bonds that a person develops with their physical surroundings is known as place attachment (Altman and Low 1992). A large body of work on place attachment focuses on the connections between people and place of residence (see, for examples, Bachelard 1969, Mah 2009, and Anton and Lawrence 2014). Bachelard's (1969) work, for instance, explores attachment to the various components that make up a person's home, such as furniture or household items. He claims that each aspect of the home is intertwined with experiences and memories, thus creating strong emotional bonds between people and their residence (Bachelard 1969). Mah (2009), who studies narratives of place attachment, highlights place attachment to home, but also emphasizes the contradictions and uncertainties that people experience when living in cities undergoing major industrial decline. This, then, suggests that external forces, such as industrial decline, can impact a person's placemaking processes.

Although the home continues to be a focus in place attachment research (see for examples, Morse and Mudgett 2017 and Fornara, Lai, Boniuto and Pazzaglia 2019), more recent work is examining how people engage and create place attachment with places outside of the home. Manzo

(2005), for instance, employed in-depth interviews to explore how New York City residents foster place attachment to a variety of places. Her findings illustrated that participants exhibited attachment to everyday places like laundromats and health clubs. Moreover, Manzo shows how participant's repeated exposure to place led to increased levels of attachment. And, in another study, Davenport and Anderson (2006) drew from in-depth interview data with twenty-five participants and highlighted how people became attached to the Niobrara River. The ability to become attached to place in their work was based on several dimensions, including repeated exposure as stated by Manzo, but also including positive memories and experiencing a perceived authentic version of the natural landscape.

Place Dependence

The concept of place dependence was first introduced by Stokols and Shumaker (1981) to describe the perceived strength of association between a person and a place. Stokols and Schumaker (1981) describe two factors of place dependence: (1) the quality of the current place and the availability of resources to satisfy goals and (2) and how one place compares to other places. Therefore, place dependence is deemed as the more functional aspect of placemaking including little or no emotional connection.

Although place dependence is examined in a variety of studies (see, for example, Shamai 1991, and Smaldone, Harris and Sanyal 2005), it is often used as a subset of place attachment. Shamai's (1991) work, for instance, shows that participants who expressed a more functional connection to place through place dependence were categorized as having lower levels of sense of place and attachment. This suggests that, in this view, place dependence is of less importance when creating place. And Smaldone et al. (2005), despite mentioning place dependence in their conceptualization, never refers to place dependence when discussing the findings of their work.

Unlike Shamai (1991) and Smaldone et al. (2005), Davenport and Anderson (2006) conceptualize place dependence separately from place attachment and sense of place. Their work found that residents in the surrounding areas near the Niobrara River in Nebraska foster feelings of place dependence in various ways. Drawing from in-depth interviews (n = 28) and using grounded

theory for analysis, the authors expand on two themes related to place dependence: river as sustenance and river as tonic. River as sustenance refers to how participants viewed the river as a finite resource for tangible goods and services. The significance of the Niobrara river as an invaluable resource was further highlighted when participants mentioned the lack of economic alternatives in rural Nebraska. In other words, participants expressed feeling dependent on the river for economic security. Viewing the river as tonic refers to the fact that participants experienced positive memories, freedom, and enjoyment from the river. This sense of place dependence disregards economic challenges and instead emphasizes the importance of the river as a place to experience a personal connection to the natural environment.

Place Identity

The concept of identity, within the field of sociology, generally refers to the set of meanings, experiences, memories, relationships and values that inform people of who they are based on the different roles they occupy in society (Burke and Stets 2009). Although the focus on identity is often the individual, Burke and Stets (2009) suggest that the individual exists within the context of the larger social structure. Newman (2017) elaborates on the social components of identity and highlights how identity is socially constructed. Based on these perspectives, people's identities develop in relation to others in society and, likewise, society is influenced by people's identities. Additionally, the idea that identity is grounded in personal experiences, memories, and social interactions suggest that a person's identity is fluid and can change in relation to others surrounding the individual.

An environmental component was first considered in relation to the general conceptualization of identity by Proshansky et al. (1978). In his work, he conceptualizes place identity as, "those dimensions of the self that define the individual's personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, feelings, values, goals, skills, and behavioral tendencies" (Proshansky et al. 1983:155). In other words, place identity refers to the ways in which environments inform the general identities of people who inhabit, visit, and interact with those places. According to Proshansky et al., the process of forming place identity

happens through five functions: recognition, meaning, expressive-requirement, mediating change, and anxiety and defense.

Although Proshansky et al. is broadly acknowledged throughout the literature of place identity, his conceptualizations are seldom used. Rather, more recent work on place identity offers new conceptualizations based on Proshansky et al's original contributions and analyzes place identity through a variety of methods. Lalli (1992), who views place identity as a dimension of place attachment, for instance, examines place identity within the context of urban areas. She developed a quantitative scale to measure place identity through five dimensions: evaluation, continuity, attachment, familiarity, and commitment. By measuring aspects like sense of belonging and the perceived uniqueness of an area (place dependence), Lalli determined the intensity of place identity of urban residents and whether or not that indicated an overall sense of place. Using an adapted survey from Lalli, Anton and Lawrence (2014), who view place identity as a sub dimension of attachment, reported that rural residents describe experiencing higher levels of place identity when compared to their urban counterparts. The difference in place identity is attributed to rural residents reporting higher levels of involvement in local community clubs and organizations. Hernandez et al. (2007), who views place identity as separate from attachment and dependence, also used a quantitative Likert-scale instrument[2] to compare levels of place identity among natives and non-natives in the Canary Islands. Like Lalli, Hernandez et al. (2007) also used belonging as an indicator of place identity, but added that feeling a sense of home in a neighborhood leads to place identity. They then concluded that natives establish more intense connections of place identity when compared to non-natives on the island. They also added that natives who migrate to various parts of the island are also more likely to exhibit a higher sense of place attachment and place identity when compared to non-natives. This reinforces Tuan's earlier work, which states that natives, despite

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2 Likert-scale questions for place identity include, but are not limited to, (1) I identify with this neighborhood, (2) I feel I
    belong in this neighborhood, and (3) I feel at home in this neighborhood.

migrating across the island, often have a deeper appreciation and connection to place because of the shared cultural background among island natives.

Contrasting the methodologies noted above, other scholars implement qualitative methods to measure place identity (see, for examples, Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996, Smaldone et al. 2005, and Davenport and Anderson 2006). Davenport and Anderson (2006), for instance, whose study is cited earlier in this chapter, use in-depth interviews to examine place identity among residents in the Niobrara River. The authors found that, in addition to fostering place dependence, the river also plays a role in informing and maintaining the identities of participants. One participant, for instance, mentioned that the river created a group identity for those who reside in the town. In other words, the river informed participants about their identity as an individual and a member of the community. However, with new development underway and an influx of new residents, participants reported a sense of community loss. This loss manifested as a weakening of social connections caused by the displacement of existing residents and lack of familiarity and othering with newcomers in the area. Ultimately, this displacement and othering led to both a loss of group identity and a weakening of the river's ability to inform and maintain the identity of longtime residents.

In a more multifaceted approach, Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) examine place identity within the specific context of gentrification. Drawing from in-depth interviews with residents in Rotherhithe, London, the authors seek to understand how residents in gentrifying areas relate to and identify with the changing landscape. The authors draw from four dimensions of place to examine place identity: distinctiveness, continuity, self-esteem, and self-efficacy. Interview responses were classified as distinct if participants distinguished themselves as unique from other people. Continuity included two dimensions: place-referent and place congruent. The former refers to talking about place in terms of past experiences, and the latter refers to attachment based on the perceived fit between person and environment. Self-esteem was determined if respondents reported that being in the area gave them a positive feeling about themselves. Lastly, self-efficacy related to the functional aspects of the area, such as being able to carry out daily life in the area by one's self. Findings show that

residents used their environment to establish place identity, but also exhibited a disruption of identity because of the disruption of place through gentrification.

Gentrification

Origins of Gentrification

Ruth Glass (1964), a British Sociologist, coined the term gentrification as a way to explain the influx of middle-class people into a predominantly working-class area in London. Glass (1964) viewed the process of gentrification as a state-driven reinvestment of a working-class area that slowly replaces local business and shops, and, more importantly, people. "One by one, many of the working-class quarters have been invaded by the middle class," Glass (1964) wrote. Aside from an inrush of gentry individuals, Glass (1964) also observed a shift in the housing costs in London. The once modest cottages and Victorian homes were upgraded, causing a lease price increase which Glass (1964:18) describes as "enormously inflated." This left little affordable housing for the once predominantly working-class population. According to Glass (1964), "Once this process of 'gentrification' starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed" (17). This quote illustrates one of the key features of the process of gentrification: displacement.

Conceptualizing Displacement

There is much debate in the gentrification literature over the meaning of displacement and whether gentrification actually leads to displacement (see, for instance, Davidson 2009, Shaw and Hagemans 2015, Valli 2015, and Easton, Lees, Hubbard and Tate 2019). Some scholars argue that displacement is exclusively defined and measured by understanding the physical out-migration of long-time residents (see, for examples, Sumka 1979, Grier and Grier 1980; and LeGates and Hartman 1986). Measuring out-migration, however, fails to account for the experiences of those who are able to stay in place. This was highlighted by Marcuse (1985) who coined the term "indirect displacement" as a way to describe the emotional and cultural disconnect felt by residents that are not physically displaced. Similarly, Davidson (2009:225) stated that displacement is a "spatialized

migratory process…constituted in the out-migration of individuals…and the staying put of incumbent residents within a prescribed space." In other words, physical out-migration is not the only indicator of displacement. To date, researchers continue to argue that displacement can also manifest as intensely-felt emotional and psychological hardships for those who do not physically relocate (see, for examples, Davidson 2009, Atkinson 2015, Valli 2015, Curran 2018, Versey 2018 and Versey et al. 2019). This research draws on this more expansive understanding of displacement. Given this conceptualization, the following section elaborates on the dimension of indirect displacement.

Dimensions of Indirect Displacement

Feelings of indirect displacement often manifest among long-time residents because of the physical changes that take place in a gentrifying area. Through the use of qualitative methods, research shows that physical changes include, but are not limited to: aesthetic changes of an area (Atkinson 2015), lack of social spaces (Versey 2018), and housing concerns (Versery et al. 2019). Atkinson (2015), for instance, who studied residents' perceptions of gentrification in two Australian cities, found that the reconstruction of existing homes and implementation of a new aesthetics of place led to feelings of unease among participants. These aesthetic changes also led to concerns regarding housing affordability for participants; a sentiment that is also echoed in Versey et al's (2019) work. Versey et al's (2019) work also contends that the physical changes of the buildings led to participants feeling a sense of exclusion. This sense of exclusion stemmed from seeing physical changes in the area and acknowledging that the changes were intended to bring in a new group of people.

A number of studies on indirect displacement also reveal that long-time residents in gentrifying areas experience strong feelings of alienations due to an influx of newcomers (Atkinson 2015; Valli 2015; Versey 2018; Versey et al. 2019). Findings from Valli's (2015) work, who draws on in-depth interviews with residents in Buschwick, New York, shows how long-time inhabitants are 'othered' by newcomers through hidden forms of power relations. She further contends that power manifests as newcomer's ability to create the meaning of place with disregard for existing residents. Versey (2018)

adds that feelings of alienation also stem from a weakening of social capital. Her work highlights how a change in the population of the area leads to less community cohesion with other members of the community.

Placemaking, Gentrification, and Displacement in Latinx Enclaves

Recognition of the role of place is increasing in the placemaking and Latinx migration literature (see, for examples, Mendoza 2006, Smith and Winders 2007, and Walter 2019). As a result, these studies highlight numerous ways that Latinx communities establish place-based connections and, at times, employ placemaking as a form of resistance in the U.S. However, despite their successes, Latinx communities also experience barriers in their attempts to foster a sense of place (Smith and Winders 2008, Walter 2019). Smith and Winders (2008), for instance, highlight how Latinx immigrants struggle to find their place as members of U.S communities because of the dehumanization and reduction of their bodies as mere tools for labor. And Walter (2019), found that legal status or lack thereof is used as a tool to exclude Latinx im/migrants in Albertville, Alabama and, ultimately, leads to a reduction of placemaking. This presents as verbal harassments and name-calling of Latinx people by white residents and physiological harassment through increased ICE raids. Assimilation is also used as tool to hinder connection to place. For instance, Latinx residents in Albertville are expected to assimilate to white-normative cultural standards through cultural cleansing. In short, Latinx people must suppress their cultural heritage and identity to be accepted in the U.S.

Despite pushback, Latinx communities in the U.S create sense of place in various ways. For instance, some Latinx im/migrants establish a sense of place in the U.S by comparing the symbolical components of their new city, like mountains, valley, and architecture, with those of the home left behind (Mendoza 2006). Drawing from interviews with twenty-one newly immigrated Latinx folx in Albuquerque, New Mexico, Mendoza found that these comparisons provide Latinx individuals with a sense of familiarity and also offer an identifying element that connects them to their new surroundings. Plants and gardening are also used to establish place-based connections (Walter 2019). Rather than connecting with the existing environment, Latinx people plant and harvest home-

native plants in their gardens as a way to establish a sense of place. Although the plants are likely to die due the weather conditions in a new country, the use of plants offers people a sense of nostalgia, familiarity, and autonomy by giving them power to replicate aspects of their previous homes. This form of symbolic resistance is also important as it goes against the pressures of assimilation and cultural cleansing that is mentioned earlier.

Race/ethnicity is also employed as mechanism to foster a sense of place among Latinx im/migrant communities. Im/migrants who live in Latinx enclaves in the U.S report a stronger connection to their neighborhood and overall sense of place than those who live in mostly-white communities (Mendoza 2006 and Walter 2019). Racial homogeneity attributes to im/migrants' ability to establish close and positive relationships with neighbors through a shared cultural background. This, then, leads to an increase in overall sense of place, belonging, and solidarity (Mendoza 2006 and Walter 2019).

Place-based connections in Latinx enclaves are under threat by the urban process of gentrification. Curran (2018) and González (2017) discuss issues of gentrification and displacement in the Latinx enclaves of Pilsen, Chicago and La Cuatro, Santa Ana. Through a combination of informal interviews with Latinx community activists and discourse analysis, the study by Curran found that residents in Pilsen experienced physical displacement due to gentrification, but also indirect displacement, reinforcing findings from earlier cited studies (see, for examples, Atkinson 2015; Valli 2015; Versey 2018; Versey et al. 2019). A notable difference in Curran's work, however, highlights how resistance from Latinx residents proved effective in curbing the effects of gentrification and displacement, albeit temporarily. He states, "no new development goes uncontested. Pilsen's reputation for organizing and activism is alive and well" (Curran 2018:1725).

Although the idea that activism helps curve the effects of gentrification is noted in Curran's work, González's (2017) work on La Cuatro shows that gentrification can proceed despite meeting community resistance. Using participant observation and archival data, this work highlights how the area of La Cuatro and its visitors were vilified through local government assessments in effort to

propel the city's plan to revitalize the area. Furthermore, he contends that urban planners and city officials used gentrification as a tool to reshape the landscape with the intent to draw in a white middle-class and upper-middle-class population. This, then, led to both the physical and indirect displacement of businesses and people in La Cuatro. These findings add to earlier studies, like Valli (2015), who argued that the newcomers control the modes of spatial production, by emphasizing not only the role of newcomers, but also the role of local governments in the transfer of power to define an area like La Cuatro.

Extant literature on Latinx populations independently explores placemaking processes (see, for examples, Mendoza 2006 and Walter 2019) and the gentrification of Latinx enclaves (see, for examples, González 2017 and Curran 2018). This work combines the bodies of literature to provide a novel point of view on the placemaking experiences of Latinx groups in gentrifying areas, both before and after gentrification. Moreover, I contend that placemaking is employed in social landscapes like La Cuatro, and that gentrification weakens and, at times, eliminates place-based connections. This research also contributes to the place-based literature that conceptualizes placemaking terms like place identity and place dependence as separate from sense of place and place attachment.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This research draws from three theoretical lenses to examine the placemaking processes of Latinx participants in La Cuatro: (1) Lefebvre's production of space, (2) Tajfel's social identity theory, and (3) DuBois' theory of double consciousness. The following sections provide an analysis of each theoretical framework and a discussion detailing how I employ them in this research. I conclude by explaining how these theories come together in this study.

The Production of Space

> 'Human beings' do not stand before, or amidst, social space; they do not relate to the space of society as they might to a picture, a show, or a mirror. They know that they *have* a space in that they are *in* the space. They do not merely enjoy a vision, a contemplation, a spectacle – for they act and situate themselves in space as active participants (Lefebvre 1974:294).

In his work, *The Production of Space*, Henri Lefebvre (1974) argues that space is the production of social forces. In other words, individuals and societies are the creators and reproducers of space, and therefore, space is fundamentally social. Space is given meaning through acts, actions, and through active participation. Before inscribing them with meaning, these spaces are mere abstractions and come to life through clusters of relationships and people's experiences; space does not exist in itself. After producing space, the relationship between space and people becomes interconnected. In other words, space then molds and recreates the same society that first gave it meaning. He argues that to examine this socially intricate conceptualization of space, we need "an approach which would analyse not things in space but space itself, with a view to uncovering the social relationships embedded in it" (Lefebvre 1974: 89).

A space with meaning becomes a social space. These social spaces, then, are produced and experienced at three simultaneously-occurring dimensions: the perceived (spatial practice), the conceived (representations of space), and the lived (representational space) (Lefebvre 1974). The perceived aspect of spatial production refers to space's physical components: the locations and physical characteristics of space. The conceived, on the other hand, refers to the symbolism and discourse regarding space. Lastly, the lived refers to actual experiences that produce the meanings,

both lived and conceived, that engulf a space. These three dimensions of space, then, require an unconscious flow, according to Lefebvre, for people to move among them without confusion. He further adds that these spaces are not experienced by people as independent entities. Instead, they are interconnected and "interpenetrate one another and/or superimpose themselves upon one another" (Lefebvre 1974:86).

Social spaces are divided into specialized spaces with distinct functions and embedded prohibitions. These restrictions extend beyond the physical, structural components of a space, such as gates and fences. Instead, Lefebvre believes that prohibitions are more often invisible and, at times, unconsciously accepted. A church, for instance, provides both structural and invisibly social restrictions. Suppose one does not identify with that religious institution. In that case, feelings of prohibition stem from the infrastructure and the invisible social and symbolic limitations that cause one to feel out of place. This spatial prohibition is essential, as it creates spatial boundaries, both physical and cognitive, highlighting how certain groups may feel welcomed while others are prohibited from a space.

Notably, social spaces can outlive their function and be repurposed for use by others. This transition of the use of space is referred to as appropriation. According to Lefebvre, appropriation occurs when space is vacated by one group and adopted by another. New meanings, then, are instilled by the new group using the social space. In this view, we see the appropriation of space as an organic mechanism. In other words, there is no displacement or power struggle over the function and meaning; space is merely left unused and, therefore, susceptible to the mechanisms of spatial production. The original transition from Fourth Street to La Cuatro, for instance, is an example of this organic appropriation.

A major issue with the appropriation of space, and the crux of the production of space, is its ability to be employed as a mode of domination for capitalists (Lefebvre 1974). This often manifests at the level of perceived and conceived space, where state officials, such as city planners and politicians, control the discourse over space and its intended use. This, then, leads to controlling the

functions of space and "the organization of space, the regulation of its flows, and the control of its networks" (Lefebvre 1974: 383). In other words, through capitalistic hegemonic forces, space can both be controlled and repurposed. Contrary to the earlier point of the organic appropriation of Fourth Street to La Cuatro, the transition from La Cuatro to Downtown Santa Ana is more in line with the capitalistic, state-driven take over mentioned by Lefebvre.

I draw heavily from Lefebvre's theory and use it as the main theoretical framework in this research. Specifically, I view space as a social construction and argue that to understand space, we need to examine the social underpinnings crucial in its creation. I further draw from the concept of spatial prohibitions to highlight the array of symbolic and, at times, unconscious boundaries that participants experience in the social space of La Cuatro. Lastly, I draw from the capitalistic aspects of his theory to shed light on the appropriation of La Cuatro for capitalistic gain.

Social Identity Theory

Proposed by Henri Tajfel (1972), social identity theory elucidates the association between social groups and individual identity. Social identity theory is outlined as "the individual's knowledge that he/she belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him/her of the group membership" (Tajfel 1972:31). In short, social identity theory is the awareness of one's membership, or lack thereof, to a social group. Tajfel proposes these groups are created through cognitive mechanisms, which are later clarified, leading to in-groups and out-groups. In-groups refer to social groups to which a person identifies as being a member. Vice versa, out-groups refer to social groups with which a person does not identify or is not granted membership. These identifications include, but are not limited to, race, religion, gender, ethnicity, and so forth. Social groups are essential as an individual's sense of belonging and overall social identity derives from them.

Individuals create in-groups and out-groups through three cognitive processes: (1) categorization, (2) identification, and (3) comparison. First, through categorization, people sort others and themselves into social categories, for instance, race/ethnicity. This serves two functions: to make

inferences about one's identity based on the categories one identifies with and to make inferences about others who either belong or do not belong in that category. Next, people adopt the identity and behaviors of a group through identification. This, then, leads to a sense of belonging and self-esteem that is, ultimately, connected to the group membership. Lastly, in the final stage, people use social comparison to compare their in-groups with out-groups. This is important as, to maintain one's self-esteem as a group member, a favorable comparison must be made with an out-group.

This research explicitly draws on Tajfel's conceptions of in-groups and out-groups to examine how Latinx people create place through experiences with each group. Moreover, this work uses the concepts of categorization, identification, and comparison to highlight how place is created and disrupted by gentrification and how place disruption can occur through the same cognitive functions that foster in-group membership in the first place.

Double Consciousness

In his work, *The Souls of Black Folks*, W.E.B. Du Bois ([1903] 1949) theorizes about the experiences of being both an American and a person of color in the United States. For him, being both Black and American in a white-dominated culture presents a constant struggle, where a symbolic "veil" divides the worlds of Black and white Americans. Existing on one side of the veil, African Americans experience the comfort and soul of their culture free of persecution; on the other, they are subjected to prejudice and racism by the white-world who refuses to accept them. This dichotomy, then, leads to the deprivation of true self-consciousness. Rather, Du Bois ([1903] 1949:5) explains experiencing a sense of double consciousness:

> This sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others… one ever feels his twoness… two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body

In short, double consciousness refers to the feeling that one's identity is split. The split in one's identity results from social forces such as the construction of racial hierarchies, where one group, in this case, white, is deemed both the norm and superior. For Du Bois, this white superiority means that the identities of people of color exist in a constant struggle between who they are and who the world

tells them to be. This leads to an important point in Du Bois' work and ties back to social identity theory: the experience of one's identity is dependent on the opinion, views, and expectations of the dominant social group.

The present study draws from Du Bois's concept of double consciousness and adds a place component by examining Latinx identity and double consciousness within and outside of the boundaries of La Cuatro. I further add that feelings of double consciousness not only fuel a sense of outsideness for Latinx folx, but also that those feelings, in turn, promote a deeper connection to participant's Latinx ethnic and cultural background. I, then, also highlight how experiencing double consciousness is also caused by other demographics factors in addition to race.

Bringing Frameworks Together

I chose to utilize these theories to understand the placemaking processes of participants at various stages. While Lefebvre's theory argues that space is a social construction and that social spaces, at times, perpetuate inequalities, his theory does not offer ways to measure the experiences of people in terms of place. This research, then, draws from Lefebvre's theory but uses social identity (Tajfel 1972) and double consciousness (DuBois 2014) as supplemental theories to examine the placemaking experiences of Latinx participants in La Cuatro. Specifically, I draw from the concepts of in-groups, out-groups, and double consciousness and apply them to Latinx participants' pre and post gentrification experiences in La Cuatro.

CHAPTER 4

METHODS

The following chapter details the qualitative methods and tools I implemented to answer the research question: how do Latinx individuals experience place identity and place dependence before and after the onset of gentrification in La Cuatro in the city of Santa Ana, California? Understanding how community changes can affect individual's placemaking processes like identity and dependence is crucial during times of accelerated urban growth. The body of research on placemaking often emphasizes people's connection to a place of residence (see, for example Altman and Low 1992; Manzo 2005; Mah 2009); however, much is left unanswered in terms of attachment to social spaces and how those connections relate to a person's identity. Thus, the purpose of this qualitative research is to explore place identity and dependence using in-depth, semi-structured interviews with twenty Latinx participants (n = 20) who regularly visit the area of study.

In this chapter, I begin by explaining the benefits of using qualitative inquiry. Then, I move to discussing participant sample characteristics and eligibility criteria for the study. Next, I detail data collection tools and procedures, followed by an overview of the data analysis process. Lastly, I conclude the chapter with a section addressing positionality and reflexivity at both the social and personal levels as related to my study.

Methodological Orientation

This study uses qualitative methodologies in order to gain insights into the placemaking processes of Latinx individuals in the gentrifying space of La Cuatro. A qualitative inquiry is best suited for this study for numerous reasons. First, qualitative methods enable the researcher to elicit responses from participants that are grounded in emotion, perception, and descriptions (Creswell and Creswell 2018). Given this research is focused on understanding the lived experiences of place during gentrification and the researcher's acknowledgement that lived experiences differ, it is important for the participants to share their experiences rather than being confined to researcher-driven categories or assumed experiences. Another advantage of qualitative methodologies is that

they allow participants to provide holistic replies, which, in return, allow for more diverse data and in-depth detailed accounts of experiences (Creswell and Creswell 2018). Because of the, often, personal ties participants had to La Cuatro, it was important to give participants space to offer full and comprehensive explanations to the questions asked.

After considering various forms of qualitative methods for this project, I, ultimately, employed in-depth, semi-structured interviews for two reasons. First, interviews are an effective tool for understanding how individuals organize and make meaning of the events that go on in their world (Patton 1980). In this case, interviews assisted with eliciting responses about how individuals create meaning relating to place in La Cuatro, and how meaning-making affected levels of place dependence and identity. Second, as noted previously, qualitative interviews do not limit a participant's responses to predetermined categories or phrases.

Data Collection

Eligibility Criteria

Eligibility criteria for this study required that all participants be: (1) Latinx identifying; (2) between twenty-five and forty-five years of age; and (3) have visited the area of La Cuatro at least two times per year over the last ten years. The focus on Latinx individuals is due to the predominance of Latinx people and culture in Santa Ana that emerged over the last six decades. For instance, starting in the 1970's, Latinx people accounted for the largest population growth in Santa Ana, and, to this day, Latinx people account for roughly 76% of the total population in Santa Ana (González 2017). The maximum age criteria is set to ensure that participant experiences in La Cuatro do not extend beyond the time in which the area began forming its identity in 1975. The purpose of the third criteria is to ensure that individuals have visited the area often enough that they would be familiar with changes to the space over time. The process of gentrification in La Cuatro started roughly in 2005; however, it did not occur all at once. In fact, the area was still experiencing gentrification during the time of the present research. Visiting over the last ten years, at least twice per year, increases the likelihood that individuals took notice of the several waves of changes.

Recruitment & Sampling Strategies

After determining the eligibility criteria, I then proceeded to recruit participants using several strategies. To start, I used convenience sampling to identify initial participants. Then, I implemented a combination of face-to-face and online recruitment strategies. Lastly, I employed snowball sampling to reach the target sample size (n = 20).

For the initial sampling procedures, I engaged in convenience sampling by interviewing two previously identified participants that met all eligibility requirements. Convenience sampling relies on the ease of accessibility and willingness of participants for recruitment (Etikan 2016). Following these initial two interviews, I used snowball sampling to locate other individuals who met the eligibility criteria. Snowball sampling refers to the recruitment of participants through a referral from existing participants (Patton 1980). Overall, snowball sampling proved to be the most effective method for participant recruitment because of the heightened trust in the researcher that comes with referral (Cohen and Arieli 2011). Also, my ability to build rapport with participants made it easier when following up with previous contacts to ask for referrals.

Paralleling the recruitment attempts described above, I created a recruitment flyer, available in both English and Spanish (see Appendices G & H) and posted them at various physical locations and social media platforms prior to Covid-19 developments. Examples of physical locations include grocery stores and open community post boards near the vicinity of La Cuatro. I selected these specific locations because of the high foot traffic of Latinx people in the area. I, then, proceeded to posting the electronic version of the flyers on my personal social media pages and encouraged "followers" and "friends" to share. This strategy resulted in the recruitment of three participants via Facebook and two via Instagram. Additionally, before the rise of the Covid-19 pandemic in Spring 2020, I also recruited participants in-person when visiting the area of La Cuatro. Once a participant contacted me, they were asked to participate in an in-depth semi-structured interview. Ultimately, face-to-face recruitment methods proved less successful because of Covid-19. Ultimately, two

participants were recruited via convenience sampling, two were recruited using recruitment materials, and sixteen were recruited through snowball sampling.

Participant Characteristics

As shown in Table 1 of Appendix B, fourteen participants in the sample identified as female, and six identify as male. All participants identified as Mexican, which is relatively unsurprising considering the area of study was Mexican dominated for many years. The majority of the sample identified as Catholic (75%), while the remaining 25% identify as either Atheist (20%) or Christian (5%). As noted in the eligibility criteria, all participants fell between the ages of twenty-five and forty-five, with the sample having an average age of thirty-five. Birthplace data indicates that 70% of participants were born in the United States and 30% of participants were born in Mexico. Educational background ranged from high school (10%) to graduate school training (25%), with 50% having at least a bachelor's degree. Of the remainder, 15% had some college experience. Lastly, the number of annual visits to the area of La Cuatro varied from two visits per year to one hundred and fifty times per year, with a mean of 19 visits per year.

Procedures

For this research, interviews lasted approximately one hour. I began each interview by reminding the participant of the purpose of the study and briefing them on any potential risks of participating. In addition, I reiterated to participants that the study was completely voluntary and that they could choose to not answer particular questions or to end the interview at any time. Furthermore, I asked each participant for permission to audio record the interview. I explained to participants that audio recording was voluntary and that, should they choose to opt out, I would collect data using handwritten notes. The purpose of recording interviews was two-fold: (1) it allowed me to focus on the interview rather than taking excessive notes and (2) it ensured an accurate and written record of the interview for data analysis. Once verbal consent was acquired, participants signed the consent form (see Appendices C & D). All participants in the sample (n = 20) completed the consent form and gave

permission for audio-recording. Lastly, to comply with confidentiality standards, each person was assigned a participant number and pseudonym.

Following the consent process, participants filled out a brief socio-demographic survey, which consisted of nine questions (see Appendices E & F). The purpose of the sociodemographic survey was to identify potential subgroups within the data. Participants, on average, spent one to two minutes completing the survey. Once completed, I informed participants that the recorder would be turned on and that the interview would begin.

Interviews

All participants (n = 20) took part in an in-depth, semi-structured interview. The methods for conducting interviews included face-to-face (n = 4) and phone interviews (n = 16). For interviews that were completed in-person, each participant selected the location of the interview. Locations ranged from participant's homes to coffee shops. Initially, I intended to conduct all interviews in person; however, the development of the Covid-19 pandemic created health risk for participants and me if using face-to-face interviewing. Importantly, although it is uncommon to conduct phone interviews in qualitative studies because of the assumption that data becomes distorted or lost, there is little empirical evidence that supports those claims (Novick 2008). While findings do indicate that phone interviews typically result in shorter interviews, this does not necessitate a negative effect on the richness of data. On the contrary, phone interviews could ease participants' anxiety and cause them to share sensitive information more freely, leading to more reliable data (Novick 2008). Interview lengths, regardless of method, varied with a range of between forty minutes to an hour and seventeen minutes. On average, interviews lasted fifty minutes.

I used an interview guide (see Appendix A) during all semi-structured interviews. The purpose of the interview guide is to provide a list of topics and themes to explore and probe about the participant's experiences in La Cuatro. I used the interview guide to keep interactions focused, while still ensuring individual experiences and opinions could emerge. An advantage of using an interview guide include ensuring the limited time is used effectively, as making sure all interviews were "more

systematic and comprehensive by delimiting the issues to be discussed" (Patton 1980:201). The interview guide was organized around the following themes: (1) retrospective experiences in La Cuatro, (2) placemaking and attachment, and (3) perceptions of La Cuatro post gentrification. Example questions in the guide are:

- Please describe the area of La Cuatro from a retrospective viewpoint as if you were describing it to someone who has never been there

- Can you tell me about places in La Cuatro that are important or memorable to you

- Describe for me your reaction to the changes you witnessed

- Describe to me the people who used to visit La Cuatro

I designed open-ended interview questions to elicit emotions, perceptions, and opinions about the area of La Cuatro, both before and after gentrification. The questions were open-ended with the hope of fostering discussion and encouraging a conversational interview. Although points of discussion were predetermined, I allowed participants the opportunity to deviate from the guide, allowing for potential new themes and issues to surface.

To ensure confidentiality and security of data, the recorder I used is password-protected and only I know the password. After completing the interview, I transferred audio files to two personal, password-protected computers and deleted the files from the audio recorder. I then uploaded audio files for transcription on Temi.com, a web-based audio transcription software. Because of the occasional inaccuracy of transcription software, I carefully reviewed and did a denaturalized transcription of all interview files. This more relaxed version of verbatim transcriptions refers to the researcher performing light editing of the transcripts. As noted by Oliver, Serovich, and Mason (2005), denaturalized transcriptions are not concerned with speech patterns, but instead focus on the meanings and perceptions that arise out of an interview. Light editing of transcriptions in this research included the removal of filler words such as 'um' and 'uh' and listening cues like 'okay', 'yeah', and 'I see'.

I completed the process of transcribing interviews in three phases. The first phase consisted of revising transcriptions using Temi.com. I hired a bi-lingual Research Assistant to help expedite the

research process and aid with transcriptions. Prior to the start of the project, the Research Assistant and I set up a meeting to calibrate on and discuss research goals. The Research Assistant revised fourteen interviews and I revised the remaining six interviews. To ensure participant confidentiality and privacy, the Research Assistant signed a non-discloser agreement (see Appendix I). The second phase entailed personally checking all transcriptions completed by the Research Assistant. In addition, I also added Spanish-to-English translations in brackets when necessary. In the third and final phase, I performed a final quality check before uploading the transcripts to the MAXQDA data analysis software for coding.

Data Analysis

An inductive thematic analysis emerged as the best tool to use when analyzing my data. Thematic analysis allows themes to emerge from the data and is useful when examining people's views and experiences with complex phenomenon (Auerbach and Silverstein 2003) like gentrification, identity, and placemaking. After conducting five interviews, I realized that trying to fit participant's experiences and emotions into preconceived categories would take away from their stories. Each interview, albeit on the same topic, presented unique viewpoints, further reinforcing my decision to use an inductive thematic approach that would allow the data to speak for itself. Lastly, it is important to note that, although I write about the process as if it were streamlined, data analysis involved a continuous and revolving cycle of the several coding techniques.

I began analysis by reading through all interview transcriptions as a way to familiarize myself with the data and draw ideas that could lead to possible themes. Following the process of familiarization and paralleling the thematic approach, I proceeded to coding the data in the MAXQDA software using line-by-line open coding. Open coding is a first cycle approach of coding that remains open to all theoretical directions (Saldana 2009). I generated initial codes using five interviews, which I selected based on the richness and length of the data. As I coded the interviews, I noticed an emergence of overarching themes of identity, placemaking, and displacement. However, because of the open coding approach, each interview presented unique themes within itself. The first cycle of

coding resulted in one hundred and twenty-one codes which served as a foundation for inductive thematic analysis.

In the second cycle of data analysis, I incorporated a combination of axial and theoretical coding. Through axial coding, initial codes are condensed and reassembled to construct linkages within the data (Saldana 2009). I first used axial coding to regroup and recategorize initial codes into more defined conceptual categories and subcategories including, but not limited to, identity, placemaking and displacement. Then, I applied the sorted codes to the remaining interviews, while still keeping an open mind to the possibility of new emerging codes. After coding the interviews, I applied theoretical coding to create new themes and connections from the conceptual categories that could explain how Latinx people experience placemaking and identity in La Cuatro. This, then, resulted in three categories: role of cultural authenticity in creating place dependence, fostering place identity through language, race, and socioeconomic status, and the role of gentrification in facilitating the weakening, and, at times, elimination of place identity, place dependence, and Latinx culture in La Cuatro.

Reflexivity & Positionality

> My earliest memory of La Cuatro is probably when I visited with my mom and little brother; I was maybe like six or seven years old. I remember going because my mom needed to send money to my grandma in Mexico. It was a quick visit, but probably some of the things that I remember the most are, like, the music playing in Spanish, the raspados de chicle [bubblegum-flavored shaved ice], and the number of people. It was always really busy. And everybody spoke Spanish, right, which was kind of cool because Spanish is my first language. So when we came to this country, you know, after a few years I started kindergarten. I went into kindergarten not knowing a word of English and it was a bizarre experience because I couldn't communicate with others. So, it was cool going to La Cuatro because everybody spoke Spanish and it just kind of felt like an extension of the things that I would experience at home – Jozef

Given my Latinx identity, bilingual capabilities, and relationship to the area of La Cuatro as noted in the excerpt above, it is crucial that I address reflexivity and positionality within my work. Reflexivity refers to an internal, self-initiated process that challenges researchers to consider how agendas, beliefs, and assumptions about the social world transcend their work (Hsiung 2008). Positionality, on the other hand, claims that all people have social positions embedded in race, class,

and gender, that influence how they create their social world (Kezar and Lester 2010). Those social and cultural influences, whether past or present, direct or indirect, shaped my perceptions of the world and data.

In addition to considering my own social position as related to this research, which I describe in detail below, it is crucial to acknowledge the social context during which the research took place. When considering social context, it is hard to untangle this research from the potential impacts of the current administration's anti-Latinx rhetoric. According to a recent study by the Harvard School of Public Health (2017), 78% of Latinx individuals in the United States report experiencing some form of discrimination. Overexposure to negative rhetoric and discrimination could arguably heighten Latinx people's sensitivity to changes that impact their culture or sense of identity. Furthermore, Latinx individuals might also experience a hyper-awareness of the "us versus them" mindset, leading to a higher focus on individuals from out-groups. For this research, that means that Latinx participants might have focused primarily on the negative changes of the area and viewed newcomers as others, leading to a skewed data set.

In terms of the ways my personal identity affected the research process, being familiar with the area of La Cuatro and having ingrained memories with the area was both beneficial and a hinderance during the development, implementation, and analysis stages of the research process. The fact that participants and I share a Latinx identity and familiarity with La Cuatro also benefited my data collection. First and foremost, being Latinx made it easier to build rapport with participants, aiding in the acquisition of more participants and richness of the data. Several people, for instance, mentioned that my Latinx identity made them feel more comfortable when referring me to other potential participants. Moreover, quickly building rapport potentially made participants feel more willing to disclose issues of race and using racial slang such as 'gringos', meaning white people. Lastly, because of the shared familiarity with the area, several participants asked about my experiences visiting La Cuatro. Willingly, I would share anecdotes about my visits like fond memories or favorite

snacks. Immediately, participants related to those experiences, increasing rapport and connection and decreasing the awkwardness of being interviewed.

Being bilingual in English and Spanish also played a role in the data collection process of my research. Several participants, for example, alternated between English, Spanish, and code-switching throughout the interviews. Often the mixing of languages served as a way to describe aspects of Latinx culture, such as food or rituals, that are difficult to describe in English. In other cases, participants used Spanish to include narratives of a Spanish-speaking individuals aside from themselves. For instance, one participant alternated between languages when describing her conversations and connection with Doña Marí, a caring street vendor who worked in La Cuatro. In cases like this, the richness of the data might have suffered without my ability to speak, understand, and transition between languages effortlessly.

In addition to the strengths noted above, there were several concerns I navigated. For instance, I created the interview guide based on my personal experiences at La Cuatro. Without careful consideration to how my experiences may have differed from those of my participants, this could jeopardize the exclusion of important questions. Likewise, drawing from my own experiences also impacted my likelihood and choice of probing questions during initial interviews. For example, my ability to relate to participants in terms of cultural references allowed me to make connections with probing questions that I otherwise might have missed. However, the reliability of those connections assumes that the participant and I shared similar understandings of culture. Lastly, assuming that I understand a participant's experience by relating it to my experiences could have impacted the ways in which I coded parts of the data. I, then, employed probing questions for clarity to mitigate those assumptions.

I wrote analytical and reflection memos during various phases of my research in an effort to mitigate the effects of my positions and experiences, while still acknowledging the impossibility of fully detaching myself from my identity and positions. Post interview memos, for example, included reflective notes detailing my choice of probing questions and ways to improve my interviewing skills.

In those memos, I also wrote about instances in which I would share details about my experiences. Doing so gave me the opportunity to step back and critically assess whether those details impacted participant's answers. I applied the same process of writing and reflection as I analyzed data in hopes that I could tell the story of the participants without the influence of my experiences and social positions.

Setting the Scene

Located in the heart of Orange County, California, La Calle Cuatro, Spanish for 4th street, in the city of Santa Ana is a historically charming five-block business strip filled with grand red-brick buildings and an array of businesses. Nestled in between Ross Street and French Street, the Latinx space of La Cuatro is lined with businesses like quinceañera boutiques, baptism shops, artisan stores, restaurants, and with street vendor carts every few feet. To fully captivate the spatial components of La Cuatro, I started each interview by asking participants to describe the area before the process of gentrification began. All participants, on some level, spoke about the vibrant culture, burgeoning Latinx community, and Mexican-like architecture that was imbedded into the different components of the space. In the following excerpts, Araceli and Veronica describe the space of La Cuatro during the early to mid 1990's, before gentrification:

> La Calle Cuatro was basically a little piece of Mexico in the heart of Santa Ana. There was, if I'm trying to engage on my senses, you heard the music from our country on that street, you know, coming from different storefronts. You could see the street vendors selling the different fruit and the raspados [shaved ice] and the different treats within feet apart from each other on the sidewalk. I remember a lot of the like the mom and pop shops, you know, I got my quincenera dress from there and it's because anytime you wanted a wedding dress, a baptism dress, a first communion dress, you knew you go to La Cuatro because that's where you had tons of different options to choose from. I remember a wedding chapel in one of the store fronts. There was a theater there called El Fesitival. We used to go there to the movies and there was a tiny little theater. There was a carousel in festival court right across from where the theater was. – Araceli

> Back then if you could go to La Cuatro you could go watch a movie in a Mexican theater and they would show movies. You could go to La Cautro and see Los Bukis [Mexican band], Los Tigres del Norte [music band], you can go have a torta. Everything was really Mexican inspired. There were a lot of Mexican restaurants and a small corner store, Northgate Gonzalez back then was just like a small mom and pop store where now it's completely grown. There was a small carousel where families would get together, like in Mexico, it's called the kiosko [plaza] and in La Cuatro there was a small carousel area where people would gather and the kids would go on carousel. They'd have mariachis [musician group], Norteños [western

wear], La Michoacana, which now has to completely grown. You can get cowboy wear, you could get married, you can have your physical, your dental exam, like you name it. It was all there in La Cuatro, everything. Vas al mandado [You go grocery shopping], pagas tus biles [pay your bills], te compras una jolla, everything's always like payment friendly because not everyone had credit cards or anything like that. So it was very, very friendly to the Hispanic community for sure: all walks of life, but very Mexican driven. – Veronica

A salient point in the excepts by Araceli and Veronica is that the space of La Cuatro relflected both the cultural and infrastructral components of Mexico while, at the same time, predominantly serving the needs of a mestizo Mexican and Mexican-American population. For instance, this is noted when Araceli says La Cuatro "was basically a little piece of Mexico." In other words, the cultural aspects of La Cuatro, like the music, shops, people and foods, all paralled to those found in Araceli's home country of Mexico. Also, although non-Mexican Latinx people did patron La Cuatro, the majority of its visitors and business owners before gentrification were, as noted by Veronica, "all walks of life, but very Mexican driven." Veronica also speaks to the physical composition of the space as similair to Mexico when she mentions the "carousel" and "kiosko [plaza]" as a socializiing space. Plazas in the city center are common througout Mexico and serve as a gathering space for communites. In this case, the plaza-style physical landscape in La Cuatro mirrored spaces in Mexico and offered a sense of community and familiairty for participants.

The formation of La Cuatro as a Latinx and mostly mestizo Mexican and Mexican-American space can be further understood by examining immigration policies. As noted in the first chapter, the influx of immigrants entering the United States was brought about by surprising acitivtity in immigration reform during the 1980's, with the most noteable being The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) which granted legal status for existing undocumented immigrants and argitcultural workers. Overall, the IRCA favored Mexican and Central American (Latinx) people who accounted for 88% of people granted status under the new policy (Rolph 1995). As these Latinx immigrants came to the United States, Santa Ana became a prime location to call home largely because of the abundance of aricultural and factory work in the surrounding areas. And, although state officials tried to reclaim the city and the area of La Cuatro from this new immigrant population, the drastic increase in Latinx people made their attempts futile (González 2018). Over time, without

interference from the city, La Cuatro transfomed in the vibrant Latinx and predominantly Mexican

social spaces that Araceli and Veronica describe.

The attempt by state officials to reclaim La Cuatro in the 1980's proved unsuccessful, leaving

La Cuatro as a safe space for Latinx people from the anti-immigrants setiments and policies that

followed in the 1990's. However, the city once again began to reclaim and gentrify the area in the

early 2000's (González). Since, the process of gentrification has slowly taken over La Cuatro and

transformed it into Downtown Santa. In the following except, I reflect on my recent ethnogrpahic notes

detailing the juxtaposition of La Cuatro and Downtown Santa Ana existing in the same space.

> La Calle Cuatro," "Little Mexico," and "Little Tijuana" the locals once called the area that I remember warmheartedly. Today, the minimalistic signs in the same space refer to it as East End or Downtown Santa Ana, and the remnants of a place that once exuded Mexican culture serve as a reminder of how quickly things can change.

> I drove to La Cuatro on a breezy Sunday afternoon and parked on a side-street, North Bush Street, the sign read, in front of a restaurant called *Restaurante Laz Cazuelas* that advertised selling comida [food] Mexicana and Salvadoreña. The exterior of the restaurant was made entirely of cracked red bricks and appeared to need maintenance. Next to the door of the restaurant there was an old payphone that was tagged and did not appear to work. Although I was parked a few feet away from the restaurant, I could see though the glass bright neon orange walls covered in Mexican zarapes, red and green banners, and a bubblegum pink piñata in the center of the room that could catch the attention of even the most unengaged visitor. When I got out of the car, my ears were filled with classic Mexican rancheras music that was coming from the inside of the restaurant and complimented the vibrant aesthetic of the interior. The unmistakable scent of Mexican food filled the air around the restaurant and reminded me of the food my mom makes during the holidays. As I turned my gaze I realized that the little hole-in-the-wall businesses were adjacent to recently built loft-style apartments. The buildings were three stories high, built with clean lines, modern industrial accents, large floor-to-ceiling frosted glass windows, and muted gray colors.

> I walk towards the main business strip of La Calle Cuatro and end at the northeast corner of the intersection of Bush and 4th Street. To my right I see a clothing store. *Stüssy Archive*, the block text reads on the unblemished windows. The shop is housed in quaint redbrick building, but the door frames and window awnings are matte black imprinted with a graffiti style white font. Nested in the adjacent corner from Stüssy sits a more modernized building with muted colors, metal railings, and golden oak wood accents. From afar I see a small crimson sign that says *Alta Baja Market*. In the inside of the building there is a small market-like shop with small tables and minimal décor. It appears that they sell food, but I am not sure. The corner where I stood was different. The small shop named *El Vaquero* had a bright neon red and blue "open" sign with a male mannequin next to it. The mannequin wore an off-white charro suit with gold trimming, gold embroideries shaped like stallions, and a gold satin bow flowed down the jacket. The other mannequins were just as colorful and the entrance was lined with two banners advertising their vaquero leather boots.

As I continued my walk towards the west end of La Called Cuatro I noticed that the other businesses followed a similar pattern. Some stores sold quinceañera dresses made of bright color fabrics and sparkling sequins, while others offered traditional baptism attire for children. And then there were the stores that sold leather sneakers and men's name brand tracksuits. The former stores were often housed in less modern buildings, and the latter often had the same architectural aesthetic of the lofts and clothing businesses I detailed earlier. - Jozef

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS

Through an examination of placemaking, identity, and gentrification, findings reveal that place identity and place dependence are salient in fostering attachment among long-time Latinx visitors in La Cuatro and detail how the process of gentrification disrupts such attachments. In this chapter, I begin by discussing how features of La Cuatro before gentrification, such as activities and events that provide an ability to satisfy cultural needs and goals, contribute to increased levels of place dependence among participants. Next, I show how participants' place identity, in connection to a pre-gentrified La Cuatro, is grounded in three factors: language, race, and socioeconomic status. Lastly, I highlight the effects of gentrification on place dependence, place identity, and Latinx culture in La Cuatro.

"It Was a Different Experience": Development of Place Dependence in La Cuatro

A common theme in this research is the significance of La Cuatro's spatial distinctiveness and aspects of function as they relate to participant's place dependence. Place dependence is an attachment to place based on the function and satisfaction of an individual's needs and goals (Ujang and Zakariya 2015). For this research, the functionality of La Cuatro manifests through its unique ability to satisfy the participant's culturally related needs and goals through various outlets. Furthermore, findings demonstrate that the functionality of La Cuatro is connected to two significant factors: authenticity and copiousness of Latinx businesses, Latinx special events, and a lack of suitable alternatives. In this section, I start by describing how authentic Latinx businesses lead to the creation of place dependence for participants. I then highlight the connection between participant's place dependence and special events at La Cuatro and how a lack of alternatives further strengthened dependence with the area.

"We Can Find Everything There"

The abundance of Latinx businesses in La Cuatro was noted frequently throughout the interviews, and, ultimately, increased place dependence for Latinx visitors in the area. Some of the

most mentioned businesses from the interviews include quinceañera[3] boutiques, clothing stores,

artesanía[4] shops, and restaurants. When asked to describe the types of products in La Cuatro, Elena,

39, a life-long resident of Santa Ana, mentioned how the businesses in the area sold "traditional" and

"cultural stuff." Veronica, 45, echoed similar sentiments when mentioning the range of businesses in

La Cuatro. She explained:

> [La Cuatro is] kind of like the go-to for anything. Clases de ingles [English classes], clases de ciudadanía [citizenship classes], hierbas para tu estómago [herbs for your stomach], vestidos para la quince [dresses for a quinceañera], un doctor que te cobra no mas cash si no tienes aseguranza [a doctor that charges cash in case you don't have insurance]. It was yeah, a lot of everything. There was no reason you couldn't go to Fourth Street and find something you needed.

A notable aspect of Veronica's quote is the use of codeswitching, which refers to the practice of

interchanging languages in conversation (Velasquez 2010). Veronica's use of codeswitching in her

excerpt is important because it creates a sense of authenticity in her retelling by emphasizing the

normative use of Spanish when referring to the businesses in the area. Furthermore, her use of

words like "hierbas" and "vestidos" alludes to the cultural authenticity of the businesses in La Cuatro

and creates an alignment between her culture, the area, and language. The type of businesses that

Veronica mentions are also noteworthy as she emphasizes how the businesses in the area targeted

the needs of Latinx population in La Cuatro. Later in the excerpt, Veronica employs the words "no

reason" when stating, "there was no reason you couldn't go to Fourth Street and find something you

needed." The use of those words highlights how La Cuatro could, without doubt, satisfy all her needs.

This suggests that the businesses were relevant in the satisfaction of her needs, and therefore,

fostered place dependence between her and La Cuatro.

Like Veronica, Maite, 35, who regularly visited La Cuatro with her aunt, echoed sentiments of

authenticity and satisfaction of Latinx needs through businesses in La Cuatro. For Veronica, the

businesses of La Cuatro represented an authentic facet of Mexican culture. For instance, when asked

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3 A Latinx celebration of a girl's fifteenth birthday, often signaling the transition from childhood into womanhood.

4 Products made by hand, often, in a traditional and artistic manner.

to describe why she would visit the businesses at La Cuatro, Maite explained how "everything you could need to be a true Mexican you'd find there." Maite's use of the words "to be a true Mexican" is significant, as it highlights how the area facilitated the construction and maintenance of authentic Mexican identity through businesses. Her words also reinforce the notion of the cultural authenticity of the businesses. When Maite employs the word "you" when saying "everything you could need," she emphasizes how her statement is more generalizable and applicable to the broader population. This, then, suggests that La Cuatro served as a space for her and others to reinforce authentic Latinx culture. Furthermore, her excerpt indicates that businesses outside of La Cuatro are not accurate representations of Latinx culture because you could only find authentic things "there." The creation of this dichotomy, with places outside of La Cuatro existing as the antithesis of Mexican authenticity, indicates that Maite is engaging in othering. Although it is entirely possible that authentic Mexican products and businesses existed outside of La Cuatro, Maite categorized La Cuatro as an exclusively authentic place where she and other "true Mexican[s]" could experience their culture. In other words, Latinx individuals like Maite depended on La Cuatro to meet their needs and reinforce their identity as a true member of the Mexican community.

Unlike Veronica and Maite, Ismael, 40, who often visited La Cuatro with his friends and family and frequented quinceañera boutiques for tuxedo rentals, explicitly juxtaposed La Cuatro with other major businesses in the area. When mentioning some memorable businesses, Ismael added that outside of La Cuatro, "you wouldn't find [cultural products] at like your K-Marts, or back then there used to be a Montgomery Ward." This adds to Maite's sense of othering and the idea that businesses outside of La Cuatro did not have products that were culturally relevant or authentic to the Latinx community, but also emphasizes La Cuatro's function in satisfying cultural needs. Thus, participants found themselves returning to purchase goods that were only found in La Cuatro. Ultimately, Ismael's quote elucidates how he established place dependence with La Cuatro because it was one of the few places that he could purchase Latinx products.

"They Would Shut Down the Street"

Findings demonstrate that La Cuatro functioned as an accessible space to experience and participate in Latinx special events. These events further facilitated the expression of Latinx culture and identity, but also assisted in providing a connection to the broader culture. In this case, the ability to experience culture and identity through events that were distinct to La Cuatro caused participants to create place dependence. Participants mentioned a variety of special events throughout the interviews, including celebrations such as Dia de la Independencia, Dia de la Virgin de Guadalupe, Cinco de Mayo, and cultural street fairs. For instance, Claudia, 33, who immigrated to the United States at the age of seven, regularly visited the special events at La Cuatro with her mom, who worked at a local hair salon. During her interview, she recalled her early school years in Mexico, where she proudly carried the Bandera de Honor during her school assemblies. Later during the interview, she mentioned that even though Mexico "didn't give her anything," she still felt a strong connection and sense of pride in her Mexican heritage and could experience that same pride in the special events at La Cuatro. For instance, when talking about her experiences at Dia de la Independencia, where she and her mother would participate in El Grito, she explained:

> When I was younger, we used to go to El Grito every single year… And as you know, as ridiculous as it sounds, I mean, I grew up for the first six years of my life in Mexico, I went to kindergarten over there. So, to me, it's a very big part of like my identity. I grew up como Mexicana [as a Mexican woman]… So to me it's like, oh wow, you know, my roots where I'm coming from. So it was really nice because you would have your artistas [artists] and they would be singing, you know, like the anthem and they would wave the flag and people are going crazy.

When Claudia says "it was really nice" towards the middle of her excerpt, she is pointing to the fact that she enjoyed the events and positively associates those events with the area of La Cuatro. Furthermore, her visiting every year indicates a sense of familiarity with the events and reinforces the idea that she enjoyed visiting. In other words, Claudia knew what the events would entail and that they would be an authentic version of the culture she left behind in Mexico. Noteworthy, when she uses the words "como Mexicana" when stating, "I grew up como Mexicana," she points to the fact that she was able to reinforce that "Mexicana" identity through these events at La Cuatro. When asked

about what made La Cuatro unique compared to other Latinx social spaces, Claudia identified La

Cuatro as unique in the sense that it was the only place where she could experience such events and

connection to her Latinx culture because of the "proximity of [her] mom's work and [their] home."

When asked to elaborate further on the importance of proximity, Claudia shared that her mom's

undocumented status barred her from accessing a driver license and learning how to drive. Driving

presented a risk for Claudia and her mom as an undocumented family and, consequently, limited their

ability to travel to other Latinx social spaces such as Placita Olvera in Los Angeles, California. This

suggests that she had a meaningful sense of place dependence to the area since it was a space

where she could experience those connections.

In addition to using special events in La Cuatro as an outlet to express one's Latinx identity,

participants also utilized them to access resources to help meet basic needs. Yesenia, 25, lived in

Mexico until the age of six before immigrating to the United States with her mother. After arriving in

the United States, Yesenia and her mother encountered structural barriers because of being

undocumented, which prevented them from accessing specific resources like healthcare. However,

when describing the special events at La Cuatro Yesenia explained:

> They would have a lot of, like, booths, you know, trying to inform me about the County or the businesses in La Cuatro like the bank or clothing store, stuff like that. So, we would always visit those first before we did, you know, any rides or anything like that. So, you know, from there my mom got information, cause my mom's suffered of diabetes now, so from there she was able to get information for you know, programs or centers that would help her, you know, either get doctors or medication cheaper cause, you know, if you're not a citizen or resident, you don't really get any medical benefits here. So, at that time, it was very helpful, especially for me too, cause I was young so I needed to go to the doctor, but sometimes it was expensive because I didn't have insurance.

When stating "we would always visit those first" towards the beginning of the quote, she emphasizes

how the priority and goal of attending these events was to gain access to resources to improve their

quality of life. Furthermore, her use of the words "very helpful" is important, as the idea of needing

help emphasizes dependence on these resources. Yesenia's excerpt also highlights an abundance of

resources at the special events in La Cuatro and indicates an awareness by resource programs about

the population visiting the area. In other words, these programs specifically targeted people like

Yesenia and her mother who had recently arrived from Mexico and who were facing challenges associated with immigrating illegally to a new country. Lastly, Yesenia later added that getting access to resources elsewhere proved difficult because her mother "used to work a lot during the week as single parent…didn't drive." This suggests that Yesenia and her mothers' ability to access resources like healthcare would have been hindered without the events at La Cuatro. Having access to resources as an undocumented family through La Cuatro, in this case, led to the establishment of place dependence for Yesenia.

<div align="center">**"It Felt Like Home": Fostering Place Identity in La Cuatro**</div>

The second common theme in this research is the importance of language, race, and socioeconomic status in La Cuatro and its ability to create a sense of place identity and connection for long-time visitors. Place identity refers to the process though which a person's surroundings inform them about their individual identity and identity in relation to others (Proshansky et al. 1983)). Throughout the interviews, every participant discussed how these three factors gave the area a specific and unique "vibe" that made them feel more connected to the space and to other people visiting the area. In this section, I start by discussing the importance of language in creating a sense of belonging, autonomy, and safety, but also its effects on place identity. Then, I move to detail the role of race in La Cuatro as a tool for fostering place identity, but also how participants experienced race in other areas. Lastly, I show how an indifference towards individuals with low socioeconomic status in La Cuatro was important for the participant's sense of place identity.

"You Didn't Have to Speak English"

Both the prevalent use of Spanish as well as the predominantly Spanish-speaking population in La Cuatro were essential factors in developing participants' place identity because they promoted feelings and experiences of belonging. This is evident when Claudia, 33, mentioned earlier, contrasts her experiences with language both in and outside of La Cuatro in the following quote:

> In La Cuatro, you didn't even have to speak English. Everywhere you walked, it was like little Mexico, everyone was speaking Spanish. And I know this because when I first came here, well, you know, obviously I didn't speak English, I learned it throughout the school years. But I didn't have to be ashamed of the fact that I didn't know certain things or that I had to be

pushed to speak English or that I felt uncomfortable because I had an accent or whatnot. It felt like home.

The phrase "it was like little Mexico, everyone was speaking Spanish" is important because not only does it reinforce Veronica and Maite's earlier sentiments of authenticity, but it also alludes to the significance of language in building such authenticity. Furthermore, Claudia's use of the word "have" when she says, "you didn't even have to speak English," indicates that speaking English is both a norm and expectation everywhere outside of La Cuatro. She advances the notion of the English language as the norm by mentioning that she did not speak English when first arriving in the United States. This suggests, then, an inability to communicate in English placed her outside of the boundaries of normalcy. This sense of linguistic outsideness, which echoes Tajfel's (1972) conceptions of categorization and out-group status, was created through feelings of shame and discomfort for Claudia, which worked to amplify further her feelings of not belonging. Toward the end of the excerpt, Claudia employs the word "pushed" when explaining the general feelings or experiences she had being forced to speak English. The implication here is that someone, or something, exerted a metaphorical pressure on Claudia that encouraged her to assimilate. This suggests that without conforming to the pressures of assimilation, Claudia would have trouble feeling a sense of belonging outside of La Cuatro. Ultimately, Claudia's quote illustrates how she began to form her identity by labeling herself as a non-native English speaker, and, more importantly, distinguishing and labeling others who "pushed" her as the opposition. Being in the physical space of La Cuatro, however, contrasted with the rest of her world. She did not feel forced to speak English in La Cuatro, but, should she choose to speak English, she could do so without fear of judgment from others for her perceived accent or lack of knowledge. Supporting Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff (1983) in their conception of place identity, Claudia's experience emphasizes how fostering place identity and a sense of belonging is shaped by others when they accept her as part of the norm, regardless of the language spoken. In the case of La Cuatro, Claudia was free to experience her new identity as a non-English speaking immigrant in the comfort of a welcoming space and amongst others who reminded her of home.

Sentiments of experiencing a sense of belonging through language continued to emerge throughout the interviews. For instance, Yesenia, 25, who also immigrated to the United States at a young age, explains:

> People look at you different cause you know you don't speak the language. But when I went there, to La Cuatro, I didn't feel uncomfortable at all. Like I honestly felt like I was home. I wasn't scared to speak Spanish. A lot of the people that would go would look like me. So then I honestly felt like I was back in Mexico.

Yesenia, like Claudia, experienced feeling like an outsider in other places due to her inability to speak English. La Cuatro, however, provided a sense of comfort and a home-like feeling, suggesting, then, that Yesenia felt at ease and a sense of belonging in La Cuatro because of her familiarity with the language. Towards the end of her quote, Yesenia mentions that she "wasn't scared to speak Spanish" in La Cuatro, indicating that she experienced fear when speaking Spanish in other areas. This reinforces the sentiments of belonging and language in and outside of La Cuatro but also speaks to the distinctiveness of the area. For instance, her use of the word "there" when she says, "But when I went there," highlights a spatial distinction between La Cuatro and other places. In other words, Yesenia had an awareness of the spatial boundaries of La Cuatro that granted her a space to speak Spanish without fear.

"You Didn't Have to Worry About Translating"

The second way that participants expressed the connection between the importance of language and place identity was by discussing how the ability to speak Spanish provided them, and often their family members, with a sense of autonomy in a country that is predominately English speaking. Participants explained that language offered them a degree of autonomy, usually from childhood, that was unique to the area of La Cuatro, while also directly contrasting their experiences in other spaces. The sharing of contrasting experiences presents a rigid dichotomy between feelings of autonomy in La Cuatro and feelings of constraint in different places. For instance, when sharing details about their visits to places outside of La Cuatro, a majority of participants reported feeling pressure and anxiety when stepping in as Spanish-to-English translators for their parents. Xochi, 33, who grew up bilingual, recalls frequently visiting La Cuatro mostly with her mother, who only speaks

Spanish. Throughout her interview, she mentioned enjoying her visits to the area because it provided "a feeling of belonging not only for me, but, like, my mom." Xochi then followed her comment by explaining that the sense of belonging, for both her and her mother, stemmed from their ability to communicate with others in Spanish. Although Xochi could comfortably speak both English and Spanish, the fact that she often had to translate for her mother outside of La Cuatro impacted her sense of belonging. For instance, Xochi mentions that "if I were to go to another store, like, you stick out because you're a child translating for your mom…it wasn't normal." Xochi chose to use the words "wasn't normal" to highlight how being a child translating for parents causes one to feel out of place because it contradicts the normative social roles of parent and child. The idea of not being normal further indicates that performing the role of the translator was her reality even though it was not something typical of other children. Her use of the words "stick out" are also noteworthy, as they reinforce the idea of feeling othered and falling outside of societal norms in spaces outside of La Cuatro. Combined, these words reinforce the idea of a contrast between La Cuatro and other places, where Xochi either stands out for performing a nonnormative societal role or blends in and, therefore, belongs, by staying within the role boundaries of a child. This suggests that the predominance of Spanish in La Cuatro allowed Xochi to establish place identity with the area because it provided her with a sense of belonging by not having to translate for parents, but also because it served as an outlet to experience a sense of normalcy during childhood.

In comparison to Xochi's claims about visiting La Cuatro with her parents, other participants, like Elena, also experienced a sense of autonomy and freedom because the area eliminated the expectation and role of a translator. Elena, 39, recalls visiting La Cuatro with her parents, who, to this day, do not speak English. She stated in her interview that in La Cuatro, "you didn't have to worry about translating." She indicates that the burden of worrying about parents was lifted in the area. Her use of the word "have" again reinforces the idea that the expectation for a child to translate was present in other spaces, but not in La Cuatro. Elena later stated during her interview that her parents enjoyed frequent visits to La Cuatro because "it was always easy for them to communicate with

[others]." The use of the words "easy" and "always" in this quote indicates how Elena's parents knew, with certainty, that they would not encounter people who did not speak Spanish. For Elena's parents, La Cuatro afforded them a sense of familiarity that their day-to-day interactions with others during their visits would go unchanged. This sense of stability is necessary when developing place identity (Proshansky et al.1983). Seeing her parents have such an ingrained sense of familiarity and in-group connection with the area and other visitors meant that Elena could also experience this sense of freedom without worrying about being able to communicate with others.

Similarly, Luz, a 38-year-old life-long resident of Santa Ana, grew up visiting La Cuatro with her cousins and siblings. When asked why she enjoyed visiting La Cuatro, Luz explained, "it was one of the places that we knew like, okay, we're golden. Like, we can play around, and we're cool, and parents are taken care of." When Luz employs the words "it was one of the places," she is highlighting how the environment in La Cuatro was considerably unique in its ability to provide a sense of belonging for children of Spanish-speaking parents. The idea of being "golden" is important because it implies that someone feels good, is in a good place, and is likely to be successful in their endeavors. La Cuatro was that good place for Luz and her cousins, where they not only experienced positive feelings, but were also more likely to succeed in their goals of having fun. Her quote also draws on familiarity when she uses the word "knew." In other words, although she was unsure about when she would be needed for translating in other places, La Cuatro offered a sense of familiarity in which she could predict with certainty her expectations. Furthermore, by mentioning that her parents were "taken care of," she indicates that in La Cuatro, the responsibility of taking care of parents by translating was not necessary or expected. This, then, allowed Luz the freedom to engage in child behaviors that were uncommon outside of La Cuatro, further indicating place identity because those behaviors could only be experienced within the context of La Cuatro.

Like Luz, Veronica also grew up visiting La Cuatro—most often with her dad who does not speak English. During her interview, she mentioned that her dad was an emotionally cold and reserved person that rarely enjoyed or engaged in family time outside of the home. However, when

asked about their visits to La Cuatro, she said she saw her dad "differently in the sense that he would be more happy" and that he exhibited a "sense of pride" knowing that he could take his daughters to La Cuatro without worrying about the language barrier. The notion that her dad acted "differently," in this case, happier, indicates that being at La Cuatro not only made him feel less worried about interacting with people who did not speak his language, but it also provided him with a sense of joy that he had trouble finding elsewhere and allowed him to experience pride for himself and his daughters. Veronica also shared that her dad would use La Cuatro as a way to express and share cultural aspects that he left behind when he immigrated from Mexico, reinforcing earlier findings of the importance of cultural authenticity for participants. She later went on to say that she learned about Latinx culture "through him and through seeing it in [La Cuatro]," and "that would never have been a conversation at home." The idea that those conversations would not happen at home reinforces the idea that her dad acted "differently" in La Cuatro, but also points to the importance of the area for Veronica's place identity. In this case, the autonomy that La Cuatro provided her dad because the language barrier was extinguished, directly impacted her ability to learn about her culture. When considering place identity, La Cuatro provided Veronica a gateway to learning aspects of her culture through kinship in relation to the environment.

Autonomy was not only expressed as a result of the autonomy of others close to them, participants also discussed how La Cuatro provided a sense of individual autonomy. When speaking about her visits to La Cuatro, Mary, 39, shared how her parents permitted her to visit La Cuatro on her own. She later contended that visiting La Cuatro without her parents "gave me a sense of independence," partly because she felt comfortable "speaking Spanish" to others in the area. In other words, she was able to visit the area and take care of her needs and wants without the help of others.

Sharing similar views, Veronica, 45, adds to the sentiments of autonomy when she explains, "I felt free and safe to roam because I can speak English and Spanish." The words "safe" and "free" in Veronica's quote are important as they highlight her ability to visit the area without censoring parts of her identity. When considering the importance of autonomy in creating place identity, these quotes

show how La Cuatro offered participants a space for them to construct meanings about who they were separate from her parent's presence.

"I Felt We Were in a Safe Place"

When discussing the connection between language and a sense of social acceptance, participants expressed that their sense of security while visiting La Cuatro stemmed from being able to speak Spanish without fear of being stigmatized by others. That buffer from stigma, however, did not translate to spaces outside of the vicinity of La Cuatro. For instance, Alejandro, who grew up taking the bus to La Cuatro with his mom, explained:

> I remember when I was little, my mom and I used to have to take public transportation a lot, and when I was learning English, I did understand a few words. But I remember riding the bus and my mom didn't speak English. And I remember them say something about my mom that I really didn't appreciate. So, like, because she didn't speak English, kind of like looking down on her. So, I felt like out of place. And so, when we'd be at the Cuatro, I think that's the reason why I felt we were in a safe place because I didn't feel that [stigma].

Other bus riders stigmatized Alejandro's mom because they perceived her as different due to the language barrier. The stigmatization resulted in feelings of inferiority for Alejandro, which is highlighted by the use of the words "looking down." Moreover, when Alejandro expresses feeling out of place and dissatisfaction with the negative comments made about his mother, he experiences courtesy stigma (Goffman 1963). This is evident by his indication that he also felt the effects of and internalized the stigma aimed at his mom and felt likewise stigmatized because of his association with her. As seen in earlier excerpts by Claudia and Yesenia, Alejandro also mentions feeling embarrassed because of being different and having a language barrier in spaces outside of La Cuatro. Regarding place identity, the stigma felt by Alejandro and others resulted in the creation of spaces, like public transportation, that cultivated exclusion, and also the creation of safe spaces, like La Cuatro, that fostered belonging. To directly contrast the feelings of inferiority experienced on the bus, he mentions that La Cuatro was a "safe place." In other words, La Cuatro provided a sort of haven where Alejandro's Latinx linguistic identity was both protected and celebrated.

Adding to the idea of La Cuatro as a safe place, Esmeralda, who grew up visiting La Cuatro with her parents and siblings, and more recently with her children, mentioned how the passing of

Proposition 187, which discouraged the use of Spanish in California schools, brought about various

forms of stigmatization during her school years. While some participants, such as Alejandro,

experienced stigmatization for speaking Spanish at an individual level, here, Esmeralda described

stigmatization at the institutional level. Esmeralda highlights this idea when she states, "you know,

you were not allowed to speak Spanish at school. You were scolded. I was in ELD classes, so I

remember specifically having kids kind of like saying, '…like she doesn't speak English'." The use of

the word "scolded" in her quote elucidates how stigmatization from speaking Spanish in school was

done angrily and maliciously, further supporting the concept of structural stigma. In addition,

Esmeralda's second quote points to meso-level forms of stigma, such as community stigma, when

she explains how speaking Spanish was frowned upon even in her neighborhood. Esmeralda later

added that after moving to an area outside of Santa Ana, she engaged in stigma management and

was "a lot more careful about who [she] spoke Spanish to" because she was unsure as to what

neighbors were okay with her being Latino. Similar to Alejandro, she later states that, unlike school

and her new neighborhood, La Cuatro "was very, very welcoming," and attributes those feelings to

language and race when she adds "[because] everybody spoke Spanish, everybody was dressed like

you, everybody looked like you." The words "very welcoming" suggests that she did not experience

stigmatization in the area. This is important to place identity because it highlights how exposure to

multiple environments informed her about her identity both an outsider in her neighborhood or school

and an insider in La Cuatro. Moreover, it also suggests that La Cuatro provided a space for

Esmeralda to experience social acceptance and to maintain a sense of self-esteem as a member of

the Latinx community.

"You Reflected in Everyone Else"

Contributing to the significance of language, participants identified race as an influential factor

in the development of place identity. In addition to being Latinx themselves, participants specified that

La Cuatro once consisted of a mostly homogenous Latinx population. Findings demonstrate that

creating place identity in La Cuatro is rooted in the understanding that one shares a common race

with others in the area. Furthermore, the commonality and homogeneity of race in the area fostered feelings of inclusion and belonging, which led to the creation of place identity for participants. When describing the demographics of the area during earlier visits, participant descriptions included "predominantly Latino," "mostly Mexican," and "pura Raza[5]."

The homogeneity of race influenced participant's place identity through a sense of belonging and connection with La Cuatro and other visitors. For example, David, 30, a Garden Grove resident with a Mexican background, grew up visiting La Cuatro with his mother and siblings. Throughout his interview, David recalled the vibrant cultural aspects of La Cuatro, such as the language, foods, and his favorite dulcerias[6] stores. He continued to say how the area radiated a "hometown feeling" that gave him a sense of belonging. When asked to elaborate on aspects of belonging in La Cuatro, David responded:

> Oh, it was just, it was just the people. And then like everybody, like I said, everybody spoke the same language as you. You saw everybody was the same color as you. It was just like you thought you reflected in everybody else.

Similar to other participants like Claudia, Xochi, and Yesenia, David mentions the importance of language in developing feelings of belonging in La Cuatro but adds the idea of being the same "color" as everybody else. David is implicitly drawing on race when he mentions color and denotes that it positively impacted his sense of belonging. Later, in David's quote, he builds on his perceptions of race when he states that he was "reflected in everyone else." The idea of "reflecting" in others is important, as it shows how David drew similarities and made connections between himself and others by focusing on skin color. In his comments, David does not consider the fact that the Latinx population is diverse and contains people with varying skin tones. This, then, suggests that, although David specifically focuses on race, there were likely other similar or shared factors such as cultural attitudes and behaviors. As described by Mendoza (2006) and Walter (2019), a shared cultural

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5 The term "raza" is used by Latinx people to refer to others whom they consider as part of the group and insinuates a unification of all Latinos. For this study, this meant that even though La Cuatro had visitors who were not Mexican, participants identified anyone who was Latinx as belonging to their group.

6 Candy stores that sell predominantly Latinx sweets.

background leads to increased place-based connections of Latinx individuals. For David, the perceived racial homogeneity provided not only a sense of belonging, but also a connection and understanding that others Latinx folx in the area shared a similar cultural background. Ultimately, by perceiving others in the area as similar to him through race, and consequentially, through cultural and behavioral markers, David experienced a sense of belonging.

Similar to David, Natalia, 40, also expressed feeling a sense of belonging in La Cuatro because of race. But, unlike David, she explicitly adds the idea of community. Growing up, Natalia would visit La Cuatro with her grandparents – often mentioning the special memories she created in the area with them and sharing how she felt like part of the community. When asked to describe other factors that contributed to a sense of community, she stated, "looking around and realizing that everyone looked like me, that everybody spoke the same language…I think that also established community." Natalia's quote parallels and substantiates earlier findings on language and also adds a racial component to her feelings of belonging. When she says "everyone looked like me," Natalia is pointing to the racial homogeneity of La Cuatro, but also elucidates to how that homogeneity caused her to feel a sense of belonging to the broader community. In both the case of David and Natalia, categorizing themselves and the people visiting as part of the same group through race helped them make connections relating to their place in La Cuatro and the Latinx community. For place identity, this means that La Cuatro's racial homogeneity contributed to both an individual and group racial identity.

Another recurring viewpoint within the concept of race was the use of race as a signifier to one's status as an outsider in other places. For instance, Ana, a 39-year-old lifelong resident of Santa Ana, who juxtaposed her experiences with race in and out of La Cuatro, reported that:

> You obviously look Hispanic, so when you would go to certain store like, at least for me, like I felt when we would go like Albertsons or Ralph's or like those American stores, you know, I felt like people were looking at, hey, what are you doing here? At La Cuatro, people are just minding their business. You're just there to do what you're going to do and, and you just feel like you belong there.

By using the word "obviously" when stating, "you obviously look Hispanic," it illustrates how Ana felt as though her identity and physical characteristics as a racial outsider were ostensibly evident outside of La Cuatro. In other words, she could not hide her race, and therefore, could not hide the fact that she did not belong in certain stores. For Ana and other participants, not belonging means that Latinx ethnicity is used as a marker to identify them as part of the out-group. This sense of out-group othering, as noted by Tajfel (1972), stemmed from Ana's perception that other people "were looking" at her and questioning her presence and right to visit these "American stores." The way in which she distinguishes stores as "American stores" through the people who patronize those businesses is also important, as it reinforces the idea certain stores and their customers reflected a culture that she was not part of. This sense of racial outsideness led to her feeling as though her actions were questioned by others, further exacerbating feelings of being othered. In La Cuatro, however, race was not a noted issue or reason to feel excluded from the dominant Latinx group. This suggests that the racial homogeneity in La Cuatro informed her identity as an insider of the group and fostered place identity for Ana.

"We're on the Same Level"

Building on race and language, participants discussed how the perception of sharing a similar low socioeconomic status with others in La Cuatro contributed to their place identity. When asked about what made La Cuatro a popular destination for Latinx people, participants described it as "affordable" and "low-cost." Raquel, 40, for instance, visited La Cuatro after immigrating to the United States with her family. During her interview, she mentioned that she made frequent visits to the Spanish movie theatre in La Cuatro because, considering her socioeconomic status, the price of tickets was reasonable. She later added that, in addition to movie tickets, everything she needed from La Cuatro was sold at "precios razonables que uno podia pagar" [reasonable prices that one could pay]. Her use of the words "podia pagar" [could pay] further points to her socioeconomic status because it implies that she could not afford to pay the prices in other places. The idea of La Cuatro as

an affordable space for participants supports earlier findings relating to place dependence, but also lays a foundation for understanding socioeconomic status and its connection to place identity.

Elena, who was introduced earlier, more explicitly mentions socioeconomic status when she states, "I remember we would go [to La Cuatro] because we were poor and that was an affordable place." The fact that it was affordable for Elena and her mom, who often worked two or three jobs to support the family, is important because it reinforces the idea of La Cuatro as a welcoming space for people from "poor" backgrounds. Elena later stated that "whoever went to La Cuatro was, I feel, from what I can remember, was the same socioeconomic status as ourselves, you know, very humble, very hardworking people, but very low income as well." The emphasis on the word "feel" highlights how Elena's perceptions of socioeconomic status similarities between herself and others, whether it was the reality or not, stemmed from observing the attitudes of humility and work ethic of people in the area. At the beginning of her quote, she also suggests that being from a low-income background was common of "whoever went to La Cuatro." In other words, when visiting La Cuatro, Elena knew she would be surrounded by people who were similar to her and her family in terms of socioeconomic status. Similar to race, this signifies how La Cuatro provided a sense of a collective identity and in-group status through socioeconomic similarities. Consequentially, La Cuatro reinforced the idea of being from a low socioeconomic background and signified the traits of those who belong to that class, leading to the formation of place identity for Elena.

Alejandro, who earlier highlighted the role of La Cuatro in providing a safe space from linguistic stigma, adds to the concept of socioeconomic status and belonging when he mentions:

> They were the same, this might sound weird, but I felt like… we were on the same level. Like, like no one knew if one person had more money than the other. Like everybody felt like they were in the same like socioeconomic status, and it wasn't like, Oh, you're wearing this brand, or you're wearing that brand. It was just like, it just flowed.

The use of the cognitive disclaimer "this might sound weird" emphasizes how Alejandro was accustomed to being different and not at the same level economically. As a result, the sameness that he felt with others in La Cuatro was essential to him in creating a sense of belonging. This is later supported in his excerpt when he mentions that no one knew what brands people wore. It also further

signifies that others in the area ignored socioeconomic status in La Cuatro. Because of the lack of

focus on socioeconomic status in La Cuatro, Alejandro experienced a sense of "flow," similar to his to

earlier comments around language. In other words, he was able to be himself and carefree. His

comments further suggest that Alejandro fostered a sense of place identity with La Cuatro because it

provided him the opportunity to be himself without the worry of being labeled as an outsider because

of his socioeconomic status.

Among other similar accounts, Mary, who was introduced earlier, described how being from a

low socioeconomic background did not matter when visiting La Cuatro:

> It was really cool to be able to go in there [indoor swap mall at La Cuatro] because you can get
> like cheap jewelry and hair accessories. Back then, you didn't always carry a ton of money. If I
> had money in my pocket, I considered myself rich at that time. But to be able to walk into that
> little swap mall and kind of look at what they had, even if we didn't end up buying anything,
> having been able to do that, being able to have a space to do that, that was really cool.

When Mary states that "back then you didn't carry a ton of money," she is pointing to the fact that she

identified as someone from a low socioeconomic background, and also reinforces Alejandro and

Elena's comments about the similarity of socioeconomic status among visitors in La Cuatro. At the

beginning and end of her excerpt, Mary employs the words "really cool" to highlight two significant

things. First, her use of those words at the beginning of the excerpt when she says, "it was really cool

to be able to go in there," signifies how she enjoyed and was enthusiastic about visiting La Cuatro.

Those words also further suggest that her experiences in La Cuatro were memorable because she

was able to purchase fashion accessories despite not having a lot of money. Second, when she says,

"being able to have a space to do that, that was really cool," she is emphasizing the idea that La

Cuatro was a unique place where she could browse and shop without feeling pressured to make a

purchase. Drawing from Lefebvre's work, her quote, "being able to have a space to do that," also

suggest that she experienced symbolic prohibitions fin other shopping centers for fear of the

possibility of being shamed by others for her low socioeconomic status. Regarding place identity, La

Cuatro as a space not only informed Mary of her in-group status with other Latinx people with a low

socioeconomic status, but also informed her of her out-group status in other places where should could not afford to shop.

"It's Like Losing a Part of Me": Reflecting on Place in the New Downtown Santa Ana

The final theme in this research highlights the role of gentrification and its effects on place dependence, place identity, and Latinx culture in La Cuatro. Participant's shared how the process of gentrification in La Cuatro altered the business landscape and also the cultural aspects of the area. Raquel highlights the degree of transformation when she mentions, "it's not La Cuatro anymore; it's Downtown Santa Ana." The shift in the perspective and language when referring to La Cuatro, now known as Fourth Street or Downtown Santa Ana, is significant, as it highlights and supports a cultural change in the area. In this section, first, I detail how the erasure of Latinx businesses and cultural fusions effected the place dependence for participants. Then, I move to discuss the role of race and the "Americanized" motivated restructuring of the business scene in shift in the environment's Latinx cultural vibrancy, authenticity, and population, and ultimately negatively impacted participant's place-based connections how the erasure of Latinx businesses and cultural fusions effected the place dependence for participants. Lastly, I examine the impact of newcomers' sociodemographic factors, such as race, language, and socioeconomic status, on the place identity of participants and the culture of the area.

"I Feel That There's No Need for Me to Go Anymore"

In this chapter's earlier examination of place dependence, findings suggested that La Cuatro's businesses and cultural authenticity were salient in developing participant's place dependence. That sense of dependence manifested through the satisfaction of needs and goals in relation to the authentic cultural vibrancy of La Cuatro. The process of gentrification, however, as noted earlier by Elena, Xochi, and Claudia, resulted in a modification of, and at times loss of, Latinx businesses. Ultimately, this led to an alteration of the cultural "vibe" of the area. This, then, caused participants to become alienated from the area, leading to a disturbance of place dependence.

Participants described how the area of La Cuatro was gentrified to the extent that it no longer catered to the Latinx community or reflected an authentic version of Latinx culture. Earlier, Claudia described how she grew up in the area, visiting roughly five to six days a week, and how she felt connected to La Cuatro because it allowed her to reinforce her Latinx identity through special events and language. When discussing gentrification during the interview, Claudia mentioned how she did not mind some of the changes or newcomers in the area brought by gentrification. However, she stated:

> I think the thing that really bothered me personally was the way they attempted to erase any and all connection to what it used to be before in order to cater to a different group of people and sort of pretend that that never happened.

The use of the word "erase" is important, as is signifies how the Latinx culture in the area was no longer visible to, or felt by, Claudia once the area started to be gentrified. Her use of the word "personally" is also important as it emphasizes how her connection and dependence on the area was significant to her. She later went on to state that the erasure she mentions included people that she knew, further indicating how her connections with others, which fostered her place dependence, began to disappear. Moreover, with that erasure came a new group of people with whom she did not identify with. Claudia's comment referring to "the pretending that it never happened" is also noteworthy, as it highlights how the newcomers exuded a blatant disregard for the needs of the existing Latinx community and people like Claudia.

Unlike Claudia, who earlier indicates a complete erasure, other participants mentioned how newer businesses in La Cuatro tried to maintain a sense of Latinx culture. However, participants reported that those attempts often came across as lacking authenticity and seemed ingenuine, indicating that perhaps the new business were more concerned with profits than with the actual Latinx community being served. Luz, who was described earlier, now reluctantly visits La Cuatro since the onset of gentrification. During her interview, she described her reactions when walking past a new local food spot in the area, and stated:

> The last time that we had walked through one of the food places…the decor, I think that's what it was, it was very bright and, and you know, when I think Mexico when I've traveled to Mexico,

I've seen like all these like colorful hanging decor and it's like all these vendors, like that kind of decor. But I remember not walking through there because, to me it felt like they were trying too hard, and I was like, no.

The idea that new businesses in the area were "trying too hard" indicates how Luz had an awareness that those businesses do not fit and, therefore, needed to overcompensate as an attempt to blend into La Cuatro. This, however, was not enough for Luz, who felt that those displays of cultural symbolism were forced and inauthentic versions of the culture that once existed in the area. The pandering of her culture, then, was enough for Luz to avoid the new food spot. Through avoidance of the area, citing the cultural inauthenticity, Luz's place dependence is eradicated because she no longer can rely on La Cuatro for an authentic experience of Provides her culture.

Among other similar accounts, Erick, 38, shared how he, too, perceived the new businesses as inauthentic. As a life-long resident of Santa Ana and an avid visitor of La Cuatro, visiting roughly one-hundred and fifty times per year since early childhood, Erick described how he enjoys visiting most of the new restaurants and bars in the area. He stated often visiting the bars with his friends and using the new bar scene in La Cuatro as a way to socialize. For him, the fact those new businesses are in his hometown of Santa Ana is enough reason for him to continue patronizing La Cuatro, despite his views on gentrification. However, he also expressed that, although he enjoys the new gentrified landscape, he also feels a sense of loss because of what those new businesses represent for his identity. His experience of La Cuatro is one of mixed emotions, "The bad thing about it is for me it's, like, I'm very cultural. I don't like change a lot…so losing that authentic, authentic, you know, vision of authentic, view of, you know, of what it was when I was a child. I think, you know, it's kinda like losing, something like a part of me." Erick employs the words "very cultural" when he states, "I'm very cultural" as a way to signify that he takes his cultural heritage seriously, but also that he understands what constitutes authentic Latinx culture. He then describes how the erasure of the authentic culture in the area equates to losing a part of himself. This idea of "losing something like a part of me" is important because it suggests that Erick lost a part of his ethnic identity and history because of the gentrification of La Cuatro. However, unlike Luz, whose place dependence was eliminated, Erick only

experiences a weakening of place dependence because he still enjoys visiting the area for his social needs.

Esmeralda, who was introduced earlier, pointed out another way in which gentrification facilitated a weakening of place dependence. Growing up, she remembers visiting La Cuatro with her parents and siblings and experiencing a sense of connection to her Latinx culture through the area and its special events. When describing some of her more recent visits to La Cuatro, she indicated feeling as though the area now represented a diluted version of Latinx culture. For instance, she mentions how, during the Day of the Dead festival, vendors often fuse modern pop references into the decor and products. Although she states that those fusions are "cool" at first glance, they do not accurately represent the culture she knows and grew up with and that is enough for her to feel an aversion to visiting. This presents a problem for Esmeralda, who wants to pass on the Latinx cultural traditions to her children:

> And then I was like, Oh, okay, so where am I going to teach my kids now about this, about our traditions, about our culture? Downtown Santa Ana. And it's like, wait a second, Downtown Santa Ana is gone. It's not where I grew up, it's not where I can come bring my kids to teach them culture anymore. So, then I thought that was really really bad. That's when it hit me as like, Oh my gosh, like how am I going to teach my kids about my traditions, about my culture, about my customs? So, I think that's when I felt really, really, really sad.

Throughout this excerpt, Esmeralda employs the word "teach" to illustrate several important aspects of cultural transmission and place dependence. First, the use of the word "teach" demonstrates how La Cuatro was a space for her to learn and reinforce her culture growing up. Second, it reinforces the idea that the culture and traditions in La Cuatro were considered authentic enough to pass down to her family. And third, it highlights the importance of La Cuatro in being able to serve as a space to transmit Latinx culture. Gentrification, however, erased the authentic culture in La Cuatro, so much so that Esmeralda no longer feels that she can depend on the space to pass on customs and traditions. This highlights how gentrification in La Cuatro eliminated the place dependence of Esmeralda through an erasure of the general culture.

Adding to Esmeralda's feelings of change, Xochi, who was previously introduced, prematurely attributed the closing of businesses to the emergence of online shopping. During our interview, Xochi

recalled noticing travel agencies in the area closing and thought to herself, "Well, duh, travel agencies are, like, not really something that you see anywhere, right. Not just in La Cuatro. It's kind of across the board." When she says "it's kind of across the board," Xochi is indicating that the shifts are not only specific to La Cuatro, but more about the changing on the social need of such companies as a whole. By using the words "well, duh" when discussing the closing of travel-based businesses, she points to two important aspects regarding the changes. First, her words highlight how the closure of these business in La Cuatro was obviously attributed to the lack of need for travel agencies. And second, it elucidates to the fact that she was unaware of the influence of gentrification in the area. Instead, Xochi views the process as a form of organic appropriation of place in which travel agencies outlived their purpose and are, therefore, replaced by other businesses. Later on, however, after realizing the business closures were caused by gentrification, she expressed feeling sad and nostalgic when walking by a shop that used to be the travel agency that she and her parents often patronized, stating:

> I'm looking at it and trying to like remember what it was like… because you can tell like, I'm like, okay, this is not what it was… there's like a new coffee shop there. It looks really cute, but I'm trying to like, it was like, it looks cute, but it looks wrong. Like, it looks like it doesn't belong here.

When Xochi states, "it looks cute, but it looks wrong," she is referring to the aesthetics of gentrification, indicating that although she appreciates the changes from an aesthetic standpoint, the new coffee shop still does not belong in the area. The coffee shop mentioned here, for instance, employs aesthetics to signify a welcoming space for newcomers but also functions as a mechanism to replace the cultural milieu of a space. Towards the end of the excerpt, she states that the new businesses "don't belong here," suggesting that while aesthetics is important, it lacked a general function and place in the context of her recollection of the area.

"Americanizaron La Cuatro"

Earlier findings from this work, as well as extant literature (see, for examples, Valli 2005, Mendoza 2006, and Walter 2019), show that race is employed as a marker by Latinx communities to establish a sense of community and in-group status. In this research, David, for instance, who

perceived everyone as being "the same color as you," fostered feelings of belonging based on his perceptions. Natalia added that she "reflected in everyone else" that visited La Cuatro and pinpointed that as a significant contributing factor in establishing community and a sense of collective identity. And, lastly, Ana used race as a marker that reinforced her in-group status in La Cuatro while also using race to intensify her out-group status when visiting American stores. However, when discussing the topic of race in a post-gentrified La Cuatro, participant's often employed the term "Americanizaron [Americanized]" as a way to describe the changes in the area. Elena, for example, who earlier referred to the businesses in La Cuatro as "traditional" and "cultural," elaborated on the process of change, stating, "I don't know when the changes happened. I don't remember the exact point where like, Oh, what happened to La Cuatro?... I think it was like so slow, and then by time, you know, it's like, oh, this is definitely not the Cuatro that I knew." Elena's inability to pinpoint the starting point of change echoes the idea that the process of gentrification frequently happens in often imperceptible phases. By the time Elena took notice, the businesses in the area had changed to the point that it no longer reflected "the Cuatro that [she] knew." As someone who grew up as a proud Latina, Elena emphasizes how the new shops and restaurants are more "Americanized" and how, now, "everything's white." The use of the word "Americanized" is important, as it highlights the process of erasure of the local culture and businesses, replacing them with "white" ideals. Her use of "everything's white" further adds two important points. First, it demonstrates how the area began to take on a new identity through renovations, most of which were unfamiliar to Elena. And second, it eludes to race when she implies that everything in La Cuatro, including its new patrons, are white. Noteworthy, she later expressed feeling as if the area was being "colonized" through businesses and states "they come to colonize and now everything's white and they are all over now." Her discussion of colonization is significant because it further reinforces how the "they" she mentions refers to newcomers who are from a different race. It also further points to a sense of domination of the current space without regard for the needs and wishes of locals. Taken together, these words suggest that

the culture and authentic vibe of the area shifted dramatically once the area began to be

"Americanized."

While Elena mentions the impact of changes in the area, her response reveals the implications

of those changes from a business standpoint. In comparison, Claudia, who grew up in the area, talks

about the changes through a more personal account:

> I think at first it didn't hit because I remember, and I clearly remember because my mom and I were walking, and I'm like mira [look] el churrero is selling pretzels now. And she's like "o si verdad" [oh yeah true]. At first it doesn't hit you. And it's just like when you gradually start seeing the mass number of people that used to be walking around that area, you start seeing the flyeras disappearing because they're no longer needed to advertise the businesses, so it's like little by little, they're not only taking away businesses, but the people you connected with. It's like, oh yeah, Toñita got laid off, which was one of the of the flyer ladies, and she has two nietecitas [granddaughters] who she needs to take care of. So now you start seeing it in a perspective where it's like, wait a minute, this is not good. Not only for the businesses, [but] for the people that we know, it's starting to affect them and it's not a good change because people are losing their jobs and their businesses left and right.

As seen in the earlier excerpt by Elena, Claudia also talks about gentrification as a gradual process

that can often go unnoticed. In this case, Claudia did not take notice of gentrification until it started

affecting the people she knew in La Cuatro. Claudia mentioning Toñita, a flyera[7] of La Cuatro, is

important, as it highlights how the change in businesses affected people she knew in the area and

also indicates how the effects of gentrification extended beyond the loss of jobs. In this case, Claudia

had a connection with Toñita, to the point where she knew about her home life and granddaughters.

That connection was severed by the fact that gentrification eliminated the need for flyeras in the area.

In other words, gentrification impacted the social relationships and networks of the existing population

(Valli 2005) in La Cuatro. Noteworthy, Claudia points to Americanization as the reasons for these

changes when she says, "el churrero is selling pretzels now." This shift in the type of food being sold

indicates how the businesses, and in this case, vendors, began to modify their goods to target a new

demographic—a demographic that preferred pretzels versus churros. When probed about who

bought the pretzels, Claudia explicitly draws on the race of the new patrons in La Cuarto. She clarifies

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7 "Flyeras" is a term used by visitors of La Cuatro to describe the people whose work consisted of handing out flyers in
    front of businesses to help generate sales.

that the pretzels were for "the gringos," a slang term referring to white people, and reiterates the idea that La Cuatro began to be Americanized. Taken together, Claudia's words show that the process of gentrification manifested as an Americanization of not only the food and businesses in the area, but also as the displacement of the connections to the Latinx community in La Cuatro.

"I Feel Out of Place Going There Now"

Turning now to place identity, the findings from the earlier section suggest that participant's place identity with La Cuatro is rooted in language and socioeconomic status. According to participants, the process of gentrification impacted the two factors that created a sense of place identity for them. The following sections address the role of language and socioeconomic status in the alteration of place identity in La Cuatro.

"All of a Sudden, Everybody's Speaking English"

Earlier, Alejandro noted how he felt safe from stigmatization in La Cuatro because it removed the language barrier for him and his family. After gentrification, however, Alejandro no longer sees La Cuatro as a safe space for people who grew up in a similar situation. He highlights this fear of stigmatization by explaining:

> If there's an individual out there that felt the way I felt when I was little, it that's not there for them. You know they, they don't have a place to go, especially for immigrant families that doesn't speak English. It's not, La Cuatro is no longer the same vibe that was there for me where they felt safe from people who marginalized them.

When Alejandro uses the words, "they don't have a place to go," when referring to other immigrant families, he is highlighting the prior uniqueness of La Cuatro in its ability to serve as a safe space for Latinx families like his. Furthermore, the phrase towards the end of the excerpt when Alejandro says "felt safe from people who marginalize them" is important as it highlights how La Cuatro no longer provides Latinx people, like himself, a safe space from stigmatization. In other words, the people who used to stigmatize him outside of La Cuatro have become the new inhabitants in the area. This, then, suggests that his existing place identity with the area experienced a shift because he no longer felt a connection between himself and the predominant language in the area.

Similar to Alejandro and Raquel, Natalia also noted the language shifts in La Cuatro. Before touching on the verbal aspects of changes in the language, she also mentions how the signage in La Cuatro began to change, now referring to the area as Downtown Santa Ana or East End Santa Ana instead of La Cuatro. This reinforces Raquel's earlier sentiments concerning language while adding the idea that the gentrification in the area was targeted towards a new crowd and ultimately led to the start of the displacement of the Latinx community. Later on, in her interview, Natalia noted that people are trying to resist the changes, often using the space as a way to reclaim the culture that once existed in the area. For instance, when referring to her friend, she explained that:

> She'll be out there on the weekend, and she has like, she brings out her stereo, and she's playing like Mexican music and she's talking to the kids in Spanish, so she's trying to bring that a little bit more. But I think again, I think it's still like kind of suppressed by the general theme of the downtown feeling.

The statement "she's talking to the kids in Spanish," as a way to reinforce the language, provides a sharp juxtaposition to earlier findings. The idea that Spanish could be used as a way to experience autonomy or a sense of normalcy in La Cuatro is a thing of the past for Natalia. Also, the idea that this only happens on the weekends shows how the presence of Latinx culture and language is limited to certain parts of the week. The use of the word "suppressed" when she states, "it's still kind of suppressed by the general theme of the downtown feeling" is also significant as it highlights how the new downtown and gentrified vibe in the area supersedes attempts that try to reinforce the once existing Latinx vibe through language. In an earlier excerpt, Natalia stated that language was a significant contributing factor to her sense of community and community membership in La Cuatro. However, her more recent experiences in La Cuatro show that language, and consequentially, the sense of community once established through language, is weakened. Instead, that sense of community through language is now concealed by the Downtown atmosphere. For Natalia, this means that her sense of place identity is negatively affected because La Cuatro no longer informs her and other Latinx folx of their sense of community and group membership.

"It Feels So High-End"

Throughout the interviews, participants noted that La Cuatro took on a "high-end" and "uppity" vibe once gentrification took hold. Participants often employed these words as a way to refer to the increase of prices at new businesses, but also to the socioeconomic status of newcomers. Analysis of the data indicates that these perceptions of a gap in socioeconomic status led to a displacement of participants from the area and a disruption of place identity. When asked to describe some of the new businesses, Ismael, for instance, stated:

> You have all these businesses like the new, I would say fusion businesses. For instance, those popup shops that are very exclusive for you know, it's targeted for people who are in a different like income bracket. You know, you have those, I can't remember what it's called, like blends or some like shoe, I mean, people who are sneaker heads go to those places and they're dropping $200, $300, $400 for a pair of shoes, right. Where back then, I mean, having to drop $70 for a nice pair of botines or botas [boots] de cowboy, you know, and now you're dropping $300, $400. So I can see the change in that. And it's very exclusive.

Ismael's use of the word "exclusive" signifies how he is not part of the group that has access to these new fusion businesses. In other words, Ismael feels like an outsider and excluded in a space where previously he had insider status. He juxtaposes his experience of spending $70 on a nice pair shoes in the past with the new prices as a way to delineate further the difference in socioeconomic status between himself and the newcomers in La Cuatro. Ismael also adds to the idea of being outside of the exclusive group when he states, "it's targeted for people who are in a different income bracket." In other words, he is again elucidating to the fact that he is not part of those people in a different income bracket, and therefore, is not part of the exclusive group. By no longer being a part of the in-group in La Cuatro, Ismael's existing place identity is disrupted because he no longer feels a connection to the area's dominant group like before.

On a similar account, Elena notes the importance of socioeconomic status's impact on her feelings of being in La Cuatro. During her interview, she described her experiences growing up poor, expressing how she appreciated going to La Cuatro because her parents would be able to treat her to the $1 "fruta picada" from the street vendors. Now, the idea of being able to purchase fruit for one

dollar, or anything affordable for that manner, is quixotic. When referring to the prices and socioeconomic status of newcomers, she stated:

> Back then, you never see anybody like that, you know what I mean? Like that's not what, yeah. So, I do see a shift. It's not like before where you could just go, like definitely if you go, it's just, it seems like higher scale and if that's not how you identify, at least that's how I identify, it kind of makes me feel uncomfortable. So definitely not the same feel.

The keyword in Elena's quote is "identify." This highlights several important factors in her place identity. First, the idea of not identifying with the higher scale aspects of the area puts her at direct contrast with the newcomers the area who she perceives as identifying with the changes. This, then, suggests that she is experiencing feelings of being othered, and is, therefore, uncomfortable. And second, because this identity now has a reference group for comparison, the perceptions of a difference in socioeconomic status between herself and others are heightened. In other words, in the past, La Cuatro likely had visitors who were part of the middle-class, but by stating you never saw anybody like that," she elucidates to the lack of focus on the socioeconomic status that once existed in the area.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this study, I examined the place-based connections of Latinx participants in the social space of La Cuatro, located in Santa Ana, California. Specifically, this research aimed to answer the question: how do Latinx individuals experience place dependence and place identity in the social space of La Cuatro in Santa Ana, California, both before and after the onset of gentrification? Drawing from qualitative in-depth interviews with 20 Latinx participants, study findings examine and expand on existing conceptualizations of place dependence and place identity by suggesting that existing conceptualizations fail to consider the role of culture and sociodemographic factors in their analysis. Moreover, this work adds to the place literature by examining placemaking in a social space. Findings also further fill a gap in the literature that assesses gentrification's effects on the existing place-based connections of Latinx individuals in social spaces. Lastly, findings support the notion that gentrifying ethnic, social areas experience a cultural disruption of place that disturbs placemaking ties.

Place Dependence

The stories of Latinx participants in this study parallel and support the existing definition of place dependence proposed by Stokols and Schumaker (1981) which contends that place dependence, the notion that place provides conditions that support particular activities, manifest through goal and resource attainment and, additionally, in comparison to the availability of comparable places. Place dependence with La Cuatro is connected to three factors: the authenticity and profusion of Latinx businesses in the area, the special events catering to the Latinx community, and the lack of reasonable alternatives. While the lack of alternatives to place as a driver for place dependence is noted in the literature (see, for example, Davenport and Anderson 2006), the role of businesses and special events and their impact of place dependence remains unclear. Importantly, the present study adds a new perspective to existing work by situating the achievement of goals in relation to participant's Latinx identity, culture, and community.

Findings show that participants' ability to satisfy their goals and obtain resources was dependent on the perceived cultural authenticity of La Cuatro's businesses and special events. These findings are consistent with Tuan's (1974) claims that it is impossible to separate culture from one's understanding of place. In other words, participants' experiences in La Cuatro and their perceived dependence with the area cannot be separated from their understanding of their identity and culture. In La Cuatro, this perception stemmed from the abundance of "authentic" and "cultural" businesses and events for "true Mexicans" that once dominated the social space. Overall, participants expressed that they depended on La Cuatro's businesses to obtain resources and achieve goals, such as purchasing artisanal and ritual-related goods. Through these businesses and events, respondents were able to access Latinx items and resources that were crucial to the satisfaction of their needs as a member of the Latinx community. This was especially salient for participants like Claudia and Yesenia who had recently left their home country to come to the United States. This is important to our understanding of place as it shows that Latinx communities can become dependent on spaces outside of the home.

Place Identity

This study's results provide evidence suggesting that participants fostered a sense of place identity in La Cuatro. Place identity, which refers to ways in which environments inform the identities of those who interact with those places (Proshansky et al. 1983), was established by participants through experiencing feelings of belonging with other visitors in the area. This, then, informed participants of their identity both as an individual and as a member of the Latinx community. These findings echo the placemaking literature in various ways. For example, research suggests that people use familiar aspects of their physical environment to maintain and safeguard components of their self-identity (Proshansky et al. 1983), and that place identity also derives from the "social construction[s] that are founded in perceptions of individuals and groups" (Lalli 1992:291). In other words, place is as much a social phenomenon as it is a physical one. More recent work shows that place identity ties occur in recreational spaces, suggesting that place-based connections extend outside of the home

(Davenport and Anderson 2006). However, despite the knowledge that placemaking can happen in a variety of spaces, studies examining the place identity of Latinx communities tend to emphasize home-based place connections (Walter 2019). This work contributes important insight by demonstrating that Latinx people can experiences a sense of place identity in ethnic social spaces like La Cuatro.

Also, I contend that additional factors play a role in the fostering of place identity. Three additional, interlinked dimensions of place identity emerged from participants' narratives: language, race, and socioeconomic status. Despite being salient in the current work, extant literature on placemaking give these dimensions little to no attention.

The accounts and experiences with language provided by Latinx participants in La Cuatro indicate the following:

1. Latinx participants who continually visited La Cuatro before gentrification employed language in the area to create a sense of belonging and in-group membership to the Latinx community and culture. Their ability, through the use of shared language, to connect with other Latinx individuals and culture and their ability to experience belonging, despite not feeling welcomed in other places, lead to establishing place identity.

2. Autonomy as a result of shared language was experienced at both the familial and individual levels for participants. At the family level, participants fostered place identity in La Cuatro by seeing their parents experience a shared cultural understanding with others through language. On an individual level, being in La Cuatro allowed participants to experience a sense of normalcy during childhood by eliminating the language barrier of one's elders and, therefore, removed the expectation to translate.

3. Outside of La Cuatro, participants' encounters with non-Spanish speaking people called into question their sense of belonging among the larger society. La Cuatro, then, served as a buffer between participants and experiences of stigmatization that arise from not conforming to the linguistic expectations of the dominant culture. In other words, La Cuatro allowed participants to experience social acceptance and to maintain a sense of self-esteem as a member of the Latinx community.

Language, in this case, works as a mechanism to promote feelings of place identity through belonging and autonomy while, at the same time, also creating sentiments of out-group membership and exclusion. For instance, participants mentioned that having shared language in La Cuatro made them experience a home-like feeling in the area. On the other hand, language was also employed to exacerbate differences with non-Latinx people outside of La Cuatro. In a sense, the dichotomy

suggest that participants experienced double consciousness as propositioned by Du Bois ([1903] 1949). Through use of language, participants made inferences about their identity as a Latinx person who existed in the gaze of the English-speaking dominant groups outside of La Cuatro. This also supports Tajel's (1972) claim that people use social aspects, like language, to determine their place within a given society. In this case, language was a significant determining factor for one's group positions, despite the accounts of participants who reported speaking both languages.

Race was also salient in participants' abilities to establish place identity connections with La Cuatro. The experiences in this research indicate that establishing a sense of place identity with the area is rooted in the understanding and perceptions that one shares a common race with other people. By making racially-based associations between themselves and others, participants experienced a sense of belonging which informed them of their place as both an individual and a member of the larger community in La Cuatro. Consistent with Tajfel's (1972) conceptualization of in-group membership and Mendoza's (2006) and Walter's (2019) work on the placemaking processes of Latinx communities, this work reinforces the idea that race is employed as a tool to establish connections with others members of the Latinx community, which, then, lead participants to experience a sense of solidarity and belonging based on demographic attributes of a group. These findings also further reinforce DuBois's theory of double consciousness. For instance, participants expressed being aware of the fact that their Latinx identity was separate from their position as a resident in the United States, either because of race/ethnicity or language. Furthermore, this work also provides new insights in to the complexity of conceptualizing race-based findings as a purely phenotypical characteristic. For instance, several participants alluded to being the "same color" as everyone else. As noted earlier, it is unlikely that every Latinx person who visited La Cuatro shared the same skin tone. Instead, those stories show how race is employed to make assumptions about shared cultural characteristics, such as attitudes and behaviors, between participants and other visitors in La Cuatro.

Similar to language and race, participants employed socioeconomic status as a way to foster place identity. Participants repeatedly identified the businesses' affordability in La Cuatro, combined with their personal low socioeconomic statuses, as determining factors in their choice to visit routinely. For example, earlier in the findings chapter, Elena stated, "I remember we would go [to La Cuatro] because we were poor and that was an affordable place." The reality of being poor meant that participants felt judged in places outside of La Cuatro for not having money. These experiences highlight how the space of La Cuatro informed participants of their in-group status with other Latinx people in the area (Tajfel 1972), while also signaling them of their outgroup status in other places.

Taken together, the findings of the present study contribute to extant literature examining place identity of Latinx communities. Smith and Winders (2008) propose that legal status acts as a barrier to creating place. Additionally, Mendoza (2006) emphasizes how symbolic connections to a country of origin help establish a sense of familiarity and belonging. And, Walter (2019) details various ways that Latinx communities resist assimilation and create place through symbolic resistance. Adding to these premises, findings suggest that to understand and encompass place identity experiences of minority communities adequately, research needs to acknowledge and consider the multiplicative and intersecting nature of place identity.

Gentrification and Place Disruption

In some ways, the findings presented in this research relating to gentrification are not novel. Sentiments of an altered social character in a gentrified area are reiterated throughout the extant gentrification literature (see, for examples, Atkinson 2015, Valli 2015, and Versey 2018). Glass' (1964) groundbreaking work described gentrification as a "state-driven" process through which neighborhoods are stripped of their "social character," signaled by a change in the businesses and people. Additionally, González's (2017) study on La Cuatro highlights the state's role in the reinvestment of La Cuatro. Participants in this study alluded to those same points, but specifically conceptualized the shift in character as a sort of Americanization of La Cuatro. In other words, the process of gentrification is not limited to a fiscally motivated reinvestment of an area that displaces

people and businesses. Rather, by describing it as an Americanization of space, this work highlights how Latinx social spaces, like La Cuatro, that undergo gentrification experience a unique, ethnicity-based, cultural disruption of place that, in turn, affects their place-based connections.

The present study contributes new insight in terms of showing that the process of gentrification can, at times, appropriate and commodify the existing culture in a social space. Consequently, this further displaces and alienates existing social groups. The findings in this work are in line with those of indirect displacement that is noted throughout the extant gentrification literature (see, for examples, Atkinson 2015, Valli 2015, Versey 2018). For example, this research indicates that many new businesses in the area attempted to maintain a sense of the Latinx culture that once prevailed in La Cuatro. However, participants highlighted two issues with the new businesses' attempts. First, similar to Valli's (2015) work, the drastic increase in prices made new businesses unaffordable, while also giving participants an impression that these businesses were catering to a new demographic. Second, the efforts to provide a sense of Latinx culture, combined with the high cost of once-affordable things, were seen by participants as ingenuine and inauthentic. Consequently, participants avoided the businesses and the La Cuatro area as a whole. This avoidance directly contrasts the sentiments of place dependence that are noted earlier in the findings. This suggests that participant's sense of place dependence was disrupted by the changes brought about by gentrification. These findings also further highlight Lefebvre's analysis of physical and symbolic spatial prohibitions. For instance, the avoidance by participants of the new businesses in La Cuatro is due to the physical changes of the area and the inauthentic and ingenuine cultural symbols in those businesses. In this case, the appropriated aspects of Latinx culture work as a symbolic prohibition that signals participants that the space is no longer for them. However, findings show that gentrified businesses in La Cuatro not only lack authenticity despite their attempt to incorporate Latinx culture, but also show how the businesses are more concerned with using cultural symbolism in the interest of profit and not the actual Latinx community.

The capitalistic nature of the process of gentrification is noted throughout existing literature (Glass 1974, Shaw and Hagemans 2015, Atkinson 2015, Valli 2015, and Versey 2018) and in this study. Also, echoing Lefebvre's (1974) theory and Gonzales' work (2018), the current research shows that space and spatial properties in La Cuatro, such as the infrastructure and décor, is employed to propel the interests of capitalists and other state actors. For instance, participants often said that the process of gentrification in La Cuatro targeted the new people who could bring more money to the city of Santa Ana. In other words, the space of La Cuatro, along with its current Latinx inhabitants and visitors, changed because the city saw a new potential to transform La Cuatro in to a more profitable space, regardless of the potential direct and indirect displacement of the Latinx community. This reinforces Lefebvre's claim that state officials ultimately control the discourse over space and its "organization…flow…[and] networks" (Lefebvre 1974:383). This is important as it strengthens the notion that gentrification is more in line with a capitalistic, state and money-driven process while also showing that gentrification often happens without regard for the needs and wants of existing communities.

This study also offers novel insight to the body of work on gentrification as it highlights how newcomers affect the placemaking ties of Latinx groups in gentrifying social spaces like La Cuatro. Extant literature indicates that the introduction of new social groups play a significant role in reshaping gentrifying areas (see, for examples, Atkinson 2015, Valli 2015, and Curran 2018). These new social groups tend to be labeled as "hipsters" and are often described as white, middle-class individuals (Valli 2015). In the context of gentrifying La Cuatro, these newcomers are also stereotypically described as white, young, middle-class individuals who do not speak Spanish and lack regard for their impact on the participants. These findings echo sentiments of DuBois' double consciousness since participants expressed being conscious of the presence of newcomers and also aware of their new position in La Cuatro in the eyes of them. For instance, the new social group in La Cuatro alienated participants from visiting and called into question their place and identity as members of the Latinx community in the area. This happens when interviewees "other" the

newcomers while, at the same time, engaging in a self-othering that further amplifies the perceived differences of socioeconomic status, race, and language. Although the notion that newcomers alienate existing populations in gentrifying areas is not new, this research connects these findings with the concept of place identity and indicates that these newcomers disrupt La Cuatro's ability to inform participants of their place and identity as a member of the Latinx community. This is important because it shows that newcomers brought about by gentrification not only alienate and displace existing communities. Rather, this disruption of place meaning is stripping entire communities of a collective identity that acts as a buffer against the anti-minority narrative that dominates the current political world.

Limitations and Future Directions

This study aimed to shed light on the placemaking process of Latinx individuals in the social space of La Cuatro before and after the onset of gentrification. The nature of this work did not lend itself or focus on the generalizability of findings, which is arguably a limitation. Instead, this study provides a qualitative, detailed account of the personal, lived experiences of Latinx people who have a deep familiarity with a specific geographic and social space: La Cuatro. Through these rich narratives, this work supported and supplemented the extant literature on placemaking and gentrification. To further advance the bodies of work to which the present study contributed, there are several conceptual and methodological areas in this research upon which future research can build.

A consideration of the current work is attributed to the lack of consensus among placemaking scholars over the most appropriate methods to measure place-based concepts among individuals. Taking a more positivist approach, for instance, some scholars argue that employing quantitative-based, empirical methodologies is the best tactic to measure and ground the field of placemaking. However, this viewpoint takes an ontological stance that assumes that we can empirically understand a phenomenon like place without further understanding how these feelings and experiences are constructed. In direct contrast to this worldview, this study suggests that a qualitative approach is

more well-suited for the task and supports a more holistic and lived experience-driven inquiry into the human-environment relationship.

From a methodological perspective, this research was limited by the preset eligibility criteria for prospective participants. While the age maximum was set to ensure that participants did not recall the area of La Cuatro before it became a Latinx social space, the age minimum did not function as originally intended. For instance, although the goal with interviewing participants who were at least 25 years of age was to ensure proper recollection of experiences in La Cuatro, this assumption was not supported by the literature or the data provided by the first participants. This, then, led to the potential exclusion of significant supplementary perspectives. For instance, a few times throughout this work, participants mentioned a "new-age," younger generation of Latinx folx who are reluctant to the changes in La Cuatro and yet, very much a part of the new infused cultural scene in the area. Additional work, then, is needed to understand the place and placemaking perspectives of these "new age" Latinx people.

Although the Latinx eligibility criteria was not a limitation, the overall sample gathered proved to be homogenous. In the end, all participants in the study (n = 20) were of Mexican ethnicity. Although I began this study intending to recruit all forms of Latinx individuals, the sample yielded participants who all identified as Mexican. This was not surprising given the fact that La Cuatro was known as a predominantly Mexican space. Considering this, an all Mexican sample presents implications for this work. For instance, knowing the homogeneity of the sample in advance would have changed sections of the literature review to focus on Mexican populations versus the broader Latinx community. Also, data analysis could have looked more into the various aspects of Mexican and Mexican American cultural events and symbolism in the creation of place and how those are possibly unique to this sample. The sample consisting of all Mexican and Mexican-American individuals also leaves out the experiences of other Latinx communities who migrated to the United States. While this was not inherently a problem for the richness of the data, future research is needed

to examine how Latinx groups who do not identify as Mexican experience social spaces like La Cuatro.

Closing

Perhaps the most powerful message from this study is that the placemaking mechanisms of Latinx individuals occur in spaces beyond the home. Claudia's sentiments noted at the beginning of this paper, and this work, overall, show that social spaces, like La Cuatro, which are significantly underexamined in the place and gentrification literature, can provide people with strong home-like connections of belonging that inform them of their identity, sense of community, and collective identity as part of being Latinx. In this sense, then, La Cuatro's gentrification is not merely a matter of redevelopment and new businesses for the sake of capital gain. These findings show that gentrification interferes with Latinx participants' place meanings in La Cuatro, specifically those tied to the community's cultural character.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Project: M.A. Thesis
Researcher: Jozef Robles - Sociology MA Candidate, CSU Fullerton
Contacts: Jozef Robles & Devon Thacker Thomas, Ph.D.

<u>Retrospective</u>
Please describe the area of La Cuatro as if you were describing it to someone who has never been there
> ➔ Buildings
> ➔ Businesses
> ➔ Sounds
> ➔ People
> ➔ Atmosphere

Tell me what you know about the history of La Cuatro
> ➔ History vs Current

How did you learn about the area?
> ➔ See socio demographic question about city of residence

Tell me about one of your earliest memories of La Cuatro?
> ➔ How old were you?
> ➔ Who did you go with?
> ➔ What did you see?
> ➔ What did you feel?

Walk me through a typical visit of La Cuatro when you first began visiting the area

Please provide examples of the interactions that you had with others during your visits?
➔ Vendors
➔ Businesses
➔ Other Latinx individuals

Tell me about the businesses you visited
➔ Type of business
➔ How often
➔ Relationship with the vendors/business owners

<u>Place Making</u>
What makes you feel included in La Cuatro?

In your opinion, what makes La Cuatro special?

Earlier I asked you about your earliest memory of the area, now can you tell me about your fondest memory of La Cuatro?
> ➔ Location
> ➔ Why is it important to you?

➔ Does that location/business/area of La Cuatro feel the same today?

Can you tell me about other places in La Cuatro that are important or memorable to you
➔ Describe them to me

Thinking about more recent visits, can you describe for me the activities that you engage in when visiting La Cuatro now
➔ Can you do this in other places? If so, where? If not, why? What makes La Cuatro unique?

Post Gentrification
Please describe for me some of the first changes that you noticed

I'm more interested in the changes over time, please give me examples of how La Cuatro has changed over time
➔ Atmosphere
➔ Businesses
➔ Visitors

Describe for me your reaction about those changes

What are some good changes you have witnessed?

What is the worst change that you have witnessed?
➔ How would you change it to make it better?

How do you feel when you visit La Cuatro today?
➔ Relate back to retrospective questions

Describe to me the people who visit La Cuatro today
➔ In what ways has that affected how you socialize in La Cuatro?

Tell me about how others talk about those changes

Please provide some examples of any potential concerns that you have about the future of La Cuatro

Please give me some examples of what comes to your mind when you hear the word 'gentrification'

Closing
We covered a lot today, is there anything else that you might like to add that I have not asked you about?

Is there anyone else with whom you think I should speak?

If I have any follow up questions, may I contact you again for clarification?

APPENDIX B

PARTICIPANT TABLE

Participant	Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Highest Education	Ethnicity	Religion	# of Visits Per Year
1	Alejandro	38	Male	Some college	Mexican	Catholic	4
2	Maite	35	Female	Bachelor degree	Mexican	Christian	6
3	David	30	Male	Some college	Mexican	Atheist	50
4	Michael	25	Male	Bachelor degree	Mexican	Catholic	12
5	Araceli	27	Female	Bachelor degree	Mexican	Catholic	52
6	Elena	39	Female	Masters or Ph.D.	Mexican	Other	12
7	Ismael	40	Male	Bachelor degree	Mexican	Catholic	12
8	Luz	38	Female	Bachelor degree	Mexican	Catholic	5
9	Vanessa	40	Female	Masters or Ph.D.	Mexican	Catholic	3
10	Mary	39	Female	Masters or Ph.D.	Mexican	Catholic	8
11	Ana	39	Female	Some college	Mexican	Catholic	5
12	Claudia	33	Male	Bachelor degree	Mexican	Catholic	2
13	Raquel	40	Female	High School	Mexican	Catholic	5
14	Veronica	45	Female	High School	Mexican	Catholic	4
15	Yesenia	25	Female	Bachelor degree	Mexican	Catholic	4
16	Daniel		Male	Bachelor degree	Mexican	Atheist	6
17	Xochi	33	Female	Bachelor degree	Mexican	Catholic	35
18	Erick	38	Male	Masters or Ph.D.	Mexican	Catholic	150
19	Natalia	40	Female	Masters or Ph.D.	Mexican	Catholic	6
20	Esmeralda	41	Female	Bachelor degree	Mexican	Other	8

APPENDIX C

DATA CONSENT FORM (ENGLISH)

Study Title: *Sense of Place: Latinx Identity and Place Attachment in Post-Gentrified Spaces*

Protocol Number: HSR-19-20-319

Researcher: Jozef Robles - M.A. Candidate, Department of Sociology, California State University, Fullerton

Faculty Advisor: Dr. Thacker Thomas - Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, California State University, Fullerton

You are being asked to take part in a research study carried out by Jozef Robles. This consent form explains the research study and your part in it if you decide to join the study. Please read the form carefully, taking as much time as you need. Ask the researcher to explain anything you don't understand. You can decide not to join the study. If you join the study, you can change your mind later and leave the study at any time. There will be no penalty or loss of services or benefits if you decide not to take part in the study.

What is this study about?

This research study is being conducted to examine the potential shift in the sense of identity and place attachment of Latinx individuals who visit the area of La Cuatro. You are being asked to take part in the study because you: (1) identify as Latinx; (2) are between the ages of twenty-five and forty-five years of age; (3) have continually visited the area of La Cuatro over the last decade. First, for the purpose of the study, the term Latinx can apply to all people who identify as Latina or Latino, regardless of birthplace. The Latinx requirement is set in place to minimize issues of cultural differences among people who visit La Cuatro. Second, all potential participants must meet the age requirement. Meeting the age requirement ensures that participants are able to respond to retrospective questions. Lastly, in order to qualify under the third requirement, potential participants must have visited the area of La Cuatro at least four times per year, over the span of ten years.

Taking part in the study will take about 1 - 1.5 hours. You cannot take part in this study if you are under the age of 25, do not identify as Latinx, and/or have not continually visited the area of Downtown Santa Ana, CA.

What will I be asked to do if I am in this study?

If you take part in the study, you will be asked to spend approximately one to one and a half hours in an interview with Jozef Robles. First, you will be asked to fill out the socio-demographic survey, which consists of eight questions, and will take approximately five minutes to complete. Questions on the socio-demographic survey will range from age, religious affiliation, gender identity, and city of residence. The remainder of the time will be used for the interview. Interview questions are designed to explore participant's attachment to La Cuatro. Interview sample questions include: *How did you learn about the area? Tell me about one of your earliest memories of La Cuatro? Please provide examples of the interactions that you had with others during your visits? What makes you feel included in La Cuatro? In your opinion, what makes La Cuatro special? How do you feel when you visit La Cuatro today?*

Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you can skip questions or not answer any questions. The interview will be audio recorded, unless you specify otherwise on this form. Recording will be utilized only so that the researcher does not miss any important details, and

so that no part of your interview is lost in translation. Ultimately, the goal of audio recording is to ensure accuracy of your words and the experiences you share during the interview. If you choose to opt out of audio recording, the researcher will rely on the use of handwritten notetaking for your interview.

Are there any benefits to me if I am in this study?

There is no direct benefit to you from being in this study. However, participation in the study may help advance the understanding of how identity and place attachment of minority groups may be impacted by the onset of gentrification in social spaces. Social spaces like La Cuatro are critical to the development of a community, emotional health, and identity for minority individuals. For years, La Cuatro served as a space to indulge and connect with Latinx culture and identity. If gentrification impacts connection, then it is crucial to understand how and why through experiences like yours. The findings of this study may also contribute to the lacking body of literature surrounding gentrified social spaces.

Are there any risks to me if I am in this study?

The potential risks from taking part in this study include discomfort talking about the subject and loss of confidentiality. The researcher will make every attempt to reduce these risks by reminding you that being part of this study is completely voluntary and you can skip questions or not answer any questions. The researcher will also make every effort to not record any identifiable information during the interview. The interview will be audio recorded and transcribed. Any identifiable information will not be noted in the transcription and pseudonyms will be used as needed. Any information collected from you in this study will be stored in a secure, password protected location and will not be shared with anyone who does not have appropriate permission to access the information.

Will my information be kept anonymous or confidential?

The data for this study will be kept confidential to the extent allowed by law. No published results will identify you, and your name will not be associated with the findings. Under certain circumstances, information that identifies you may be released for internal and external reviews of this project. Any information collected from you in this study will be stored in a secure, password protected location and will not be shared with anyone who does not have appropriate permission to access the information. More specifically, data will only be accessible by Jozef Robles and his faculty advisor, Dr. Devon Thacker Thomas. The results of this study may be published or presented at professional meetings, but the identities of all research participants will remain anonymous. The data for this study will be kept for a minimum of 3 years after completion of the study but may be kept indefinitely. If data is kept, it will only be utilized for future educational use, presentations, or publications.

Are there any costs or payments for being in this study?
There will be no costs to you for taking part in this study. You will not receive money or any other form of compensation for taking part in this study.

Who can I talk to if I have questions?
If you have questions about this study or the information in this form, please contact the researcher Jozef Robles [joeyrobles@csu.fullerton.edu]. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, or would like to report a concern or complaint about this study, please contact Dr. Thacker Thomas at (657) 278-8416, or email at dethomas@fullerton.edu. Additionally, the Institutional Review Board can be reached at (657) 278-7719, or e-mail irb@fullerton.edu

What are my rights as a research study volunteer?
Your participation in this research study is completely voluntary. You may choose not to be a part of this study. There will be no penalty to you if you choose not to take part. You may choose not to answer specific questions or to stop participating at any time.

What does my signature on this consent form mean?
Your signature on this form means that:

· You understand the information given to you in this form
· You have been able to ask the researcher questions and state any concerns
· The researcher has responded to your questions and concerns
· You believe you understand the research study and the potential benefits and risks that are involved.

Statement of Consent

I have carefully read and/or I have had the terms used in this consent form and their significance explained to me. By signing below, I agree that I am at least 18 years of age and agree to participate in this project. You will be given a copy of this signed and dated consent form to keep.

Name of Participant (please print) _____

Signature of Participant_____Date _____

Signature of Investigator_____Date_____

If you are requesting permission to audio or videotape; create a second signature line for that.

An individual could conceivably be willing to participate, but not to be included in an audio or

videotape.

Your signature below indicates that you are giving permission to audio/video tape your

responses.

Signature of Participant_____Date_____

APPENDIX D

DATA CONSENT FORM (SPANISH)

Título del estudio: Sentido de Lugar: Identidad Latinx y Apego al Lugar en Espacios

Gentrificados

Número de protocolo: HSR-19-20-319

Investigador: Jozef Robles - Candidato de M.A., Departamento de Sociología, Universidad

Estatal de California, Fullerton

Asesor de la facultad: Dr. Thacker Thomas - Profesor Asociado, Departamento de

Sociología, Universidad Estatal de California, Fullerton

Se le pide que participe en un estudio de investigación realizado por Jozef Robles. Este formulario de consentimiento explica el estudio de investigación y su parte en él si decide participar en el estudio. Lea el formulario detenidamente y tómese el tiempo que necesite. Pídale al investigador que le explique cualquier cosa que no entienda. Puedes decidir no participar en el estudio. Si se une al estudio, puede cambiar de opinión más adelante y abandonar el estudio en cualquier momento. No habrá penalidad ni pérdida de servicios o beneficios si decide no participar en el estudio.

¿De que se trata este estudio?

Este estudio de investigación se está llevando a cabo para examinar el cambio potencial en el sentido de identidad y el apego al lugar de las personas Latinx que visitan el área de La Cuatro. Se le pide que participe en el estudio porque: (1) se identifica como Latinx; (2) tiene entre veinticinco y cuarenta y cinco años; (3) ha visitado continuamente el área de La Cuatro durante la última década. Primero, para el propósito del estudio, el término Latinx puede aplicarse a todas las personas que se identifican como latinas o latinos, independientemente del lugar de nacimiento. El requisito de Latinx se establece para minimizar los problemas de diferencias culturales entre las personas que visitan La Cuatro. En segundo lugar, todos los posibles participantes deben cumplir con el requisito de edad. El cumplimiento del requisito de edad garantiza que los participantes puedan responder a preguntas retrospectivas. Por último, para calificar bajo el tercer requisito, los posibles participantes deben haber visitado el área de La Cuatro al menos cuatro veces al año, en un lapso de diez años.

Participar en el estudio tomará aproximadamente 1 - 1.5 horas. No puede participar en este estudio si es menor de 25 años, no se identifica como Latinx y / o no ha visitado continuamente el área del centro de Santa Ana, CA.

¿Qué se me pedirá que haga si estoy en este estudio?

Si participa en el estudio, se le pedirá que pase aproximadamente una hora y media en una entrevista con Jozef Robles. Primero, se le pedirá que complete la encuesta sociodemográfica, que consta de ocho preguntas, y le tomará aproximadamente cinco minutos completarla. Las preguntas sobre la encuesta sociodemográfica incluyeran: edad, la afiliación religiosa, la identidad de género y la ciudad de residencia. El resto del tiempo se utilizará para la entrevista. Las preguntas de la entrevista están diseñadas para explorar el apego de los participantes a La Cuatro. Las preguntas de

muestra de la entrevista incluyen: *¿Cómo se enteró del área? ¿Cuéntame sobre uno de tus primeros recuerdos de La Cuatro? ¿Proporcione ejemplos de las interacciones que tuvo con otros durante sus visitas? ¿Qué te hace sentir incluido en La Cuatro? En tu opinión, ¿qué hace especial a La Cuatro? ¿Cómo te sientes cuando visitas La Cuatro hoy?*

Su participación en el estudio es completamente voluntaria y puede omitir preguntas o no responder ninguna pregunta. La entrevista se grabará en audio, a menos que especifique lo contrario en este formulario. La grabación se utilizará solo para que el investigador no pierda ningún detalle importante, y para que ninguna parte de su entrevista se pierda en la traducción. En última instancia, el objetivo de la grabación de audio es garantizar la precisión de sus palabras y las experiencias que comparte durante la entrevista. Si opta por no participar en la grabación de audio, el investigador se basará en el uso de notas escritas a mano para su entrevista.

¿Hay algún beneficio para mí si estoy en este estudio?

No hay ningún beneficio directo para usted al participar en este estudio. Sin embargo, la participación en el estudio puede ayudar a avanzar en la comprensión de cómo la identidad y el apego al lugar de los grupos minoritarios pueden verse afectados por el inicio de la gentrificación en los espacios sociales. Los espacios sociales como La Cuatro son fundamentales para el desarrollo de una comunidad, la salud emocional y la identidad de las personas pertenecientes a minorías. Durante años, La Cuatro sirvió como un espacio para disfrutar y conectarse con la cultura y la identidad Latinx. Si la gentrificación impacta la conexión, entonces es crucial entender cómo y por qué a través de experiencias como la suya. Los hallazgos de este estudio también pueden contribuir a la falta de literatura sobre espacios sociales gentrificados.

¿Hay algún riesgo para mí si estoy en este estudio?

Los riesgos potenciales de participar en este estudio incluyen incomodidad al hablar sobre el tema y pérdida de confidencialidad. El investigador hará todo lo posible para reducir estos riesgos al recordarle que ser parte de este estudio es completamente voluntario y que puede omitir preguntas o no responder ninguna pregunta. El investigador también hará todo lo posible para no registrar ninguna información identificable durante la entrevista. La entrevista será grabada y transcrita en audio. Cualquier información identificable no se anotará en la transcripción y se utilizarán seudónimos según sea necesario. Cualquier información recopilada de usted en este estudio se almacenará en un lugar seguro, protegido con contraseña y no se compartirá con nadie que no tenga el permiso apropiado para acceder a la información.

¿Mi información se mantendrá anónima o confidencial?

La información para este estudio se mantendrá confidencial en la medida permitida por la ley. Ningún resultado publicado lo identificará y su nombre no estará asociado con los hallazgos. Bajo ciertas circunstancias, la información que lo identifica puede ser divulgada para revisiones internas y externas de este proyecto. Cualquier información recopilada de usted en este estudio se almacenará en un lugar seguro, protegido con contraseña y no se compartirá con nadie que no tenga el permiso apropiado para acceder a la información. Más específicamente, Jozef Robles y su asesor académico, el Dr. Devon Thacker Thomas, solo podrán acceder a los datos. Los resultados de este estudio pueden publicarse o presentarse en reuniones profesionales, pero las identidades de todos los participantes de la investigación permanecerán anónimas. Los datos para este estudio se mantendrán durante un mínimo de 3 años después de la finalización del estudio, pero pueden conservarse indefinidamente. Si se guardan los datos, solo se utilizarán para uso educativo futuro, presentaciones o publicaciones.

¿Hay algún costo o pago por participar en este estudio?

No habrá costos para usted por participar en este estudio. No recibirá dinero ni ninguna otra forma de compensación por participar en este estudio.

¿Con quién puedo hablar si tengo preguntas?

Si tiene preguntas sobre este estudio o la información en este formulario, comuníquese con el investigador Jozef Robles [joeyrobles@csu.fullerton.edu]. Si tiene preguntas sobre sus derechos como participante de la investigación, o si desea informar una inquietud o queja sobre este estudio, comuníquese con el Dr. Thacker Thomas al (657) 278-8416, o envíe un correo electrónico a dethomas@fullerton.edu. Además, puede comunicarse con la Junta de Revisión Institucional al (657) 278-7719, o envíe un correo electrónico a irb@fullerton.edu.

¿Cuáles son mis derechos como voluntario de estudio de investigación?

Su participación en este estudio de investigación es completamente voluntaria. Puede elegir no ser parte de este estudio. No habrá penalidad para usted si elige no participar. Puede optar por no responder preguntas específicas o dejar de participar en cualquier momento.

¿Qué significa mi firma en este formulario de consentimiento?

Su firma en este formulario significa que:

· Entiende la información que se le proporciona en este formulario

· Ha podido hacer preguntas al investigador y expresar cualquier inquietud

· El investigador ha respondido a sus preguntas e inquietudes.

· Cree que comprende el estudio de investigación y los posibles beneficios y riesgos involucrados.

Declaración de consentimiento

He leído cuidadosamente y / o me han explicado los términos utilizados en este formulario de consentimiento y su significado. Al firmar a continuación, acepto que tengo al menos 18 años y aceptó participar en este proyecto. Se le entregará una copia de este formulario de consentimiento firmado y fechado para conservar.

Nombre del participante (en letra de imprenta) _____

Firma del participante Fecha _____

Firma del investigador Fecha _____

Si solicita permiso para grabar audio o video; cree una segunda línea de firma para eso. Un individuo podría estar dispuesto a participar, pero no ser incluido en un audio o video.

Su firma a continuación indica que está dando permiso para grabar sus respuestas en cinta de audio / video.

Firma del participante Fecha _____

APPENDIX E

SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY (ENGLISH)

Participant #_____

Please indicate your gender identity
□ Female
□ Male
□ Other
□ Prefer not to answer

Please indicate your age

_____

What best describes your marital status?
□ Single, not married
□ Married
□ Living with partner
□ Separated
□ Divorced
□ Prefer not to answer

What is your highest level of education?
□ Less than high school
□ Graduated high school
□ Some college
□ Bachelor Degree
□ Masters or Ph.D.

In what city do you currently reside?

_____

How often have you visited La Cuatro area in the last 10 years?

_____

Please indicate your Latinx identity

□ Mexican
□ Peruvian
□ Venezuelan
□ Columbian
□ Salvadoran
□ Chilean
□ Guatemalan
□ Ecuadorian
□ Brazilian
□ Other

Please indicate your religious affiliation

□ Christian
□ Catholic
□ Mormon
□ Jehovah's Witness
□ Muslim
□ Atheist
□ Agnostic
□ Other

APPENDIX F

SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY (SPANISH)

No. de Paticipante_____

Por favor indica tu género
□ Mujer
□ Hombre
□ Otrx
□ Prefiero no contestar

Por favor indique su edad
_____

¿Qué describe mejor su estado civil?
□ Soltero, no casado
□ Casado
□ Viviendo con pareja
□ Separado
□ Divorciado
□ Prefiero no contestar

¿Cual es tu nivel más alto de educación?
□ Menos que la secundaria
□ Escuela secundaria graduada
□ Alguna universidad
□ Licenciatura
□ Maestría o doctorado

¿En qué ciudad reside actualmente?

_____

¿Cuánto tiempo ha vivido en esa ciudad?

_____

¿Con qué frecuencia ha visitado el área de La Cuatro en los últimos 10 años?

_____

Por favor indique su identificación Latinx
□ Mexicano
□ Peruano
□ Venezolano
□ Salvadoreño
□ Chileno
□ Guatemalteco
□ Ecuatoriano
□ Brasileño
□ Otro

Por favor indique su afiliación religiosa
□ Cristiano
□ Católico
□ Mormón
□ Testigo de Johovah
□ Musulmán
□ Ateo
□ Agnóstico
□ Otro

APPENDIX G

RECRUITMENT FLYER (ENGLISH)

APPENDIX H

RECRUITMENT FLYER (SPANISH)

APPENDIX I

RESEARCH ASSISTANT CONFIDENTIALITY FORM

I, _____, agree to assist the primary investigator with this study by **Jozef Robles** [interview transcription]. I agree to maintain full confidentiality when performing these tasks. Specifically, I agree to:

1. Keep all research information shared with me confidential by not discussing or sharing the information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) with anyone other than the primary investigator;

2. Hold in strictest confidence the identification of any individual that may be revealed during the course of performing the research tasks;

3. Not make copies of any raw data in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts), unless specifically requested to do so by the primary investigator;

4. Keep all raw data that contains identifying information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) secure while it is in my possession. This includes:

   • keeping all digitized raw data in computer password-protected files and other raw data in a locked file;

   • closing any computer programs and documents of the raw data when temporarily away from the computer;

   • permanently deleting any e-mail communication containing the data; and

   • using closed headphones when transcribing recordings;

5. Give all raw data in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) to the primary investigator when I have completed the research tasks;

6. Destroy all research information in any form or format that is not returnable to the primary investigator (e.g., information stored on my computer hard drive) upon completion of the research tasks.

Printed name of research assistant: _____

Address: _____

Signature of research assistant_____ Date _____

Printed name of primary investigator: **Jozef Robles**

Signature of primary investigator_____ Date_____

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