

ATTACHMENT TO PLACE:
OUR LADY OF GUADALUPE PARISH
AND
THE GUADALUPE NEIGHBORHOOD

THESIS

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By

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For my Grandmother, Helen

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

“Information on the deep meaning of place will surely in the future be essential data for building a humane environment.” (Lynch 1976)

Place

Place is often viewed as an elusive concept, considered too vague, ambiguous, and insubstantial for its study to be applied to real-world geographic issues. Yet, its exploration has been the interest of many scholars shaping the discipline of geography since Carl Sauer (1925). The common idea of meaning extends through past and present place studies. Place meaning, its essence, is found in the conscious and unconscious actions and feelings that define place “as profound centers of existence” (Norberg-Schultz as quoted by Relph 1976). Place is who we are (Gabriel Marcel as referenced by Matoré 1966), and the study of place reveals what is important to a people over time through events, artifacts, and actions (Entrikin 1991). This research asks the question, what are the elements of place that people identify as significant in developing attachments to their home? It does this through an examination of the Guadalupe neighborhood in East Austin, Texas, with parishioners from Our Lady of Guadalupe Church via a series of surveys and interviews and participant observation.

Place: A Means for Solidarity

Place is made up of bonds that promote “a sense of solidarity” (Tuan 1980). Yi-Fu Tuan supports Martin Buber's suggestion that the traditional importance of community

[neighborhood] bonds stem from tribulation, toils, and work that grow from the necessity for people to labor together to survive. Also, within a neighborhood the propinquity of dwellings, services, and commerce elicit a home setting of “closeness and human warmth: men and women stand by each other, lean on each other, as the dwellings do” (Martin Buber as quoted by Tuan 1980, 49). The home place grows to be a sort of safe interior space that is reflective of a person’s and people’s values, intentions, and hopes. Places outside the home setting become exterior and less associated with these specific qualities.

Place: Specificity and Spectrum of Meaning

We are a mobile, national, and global society where “heterogeneity transcends local passions.” Operating and living at this scale “tends to dissolve unique symbolism and ritual and artifact, and cities become either strengthened discrete neighborhoods or areas of rootless strangers” (Tuan 1980, 51). Discrete neighborhoods, however, are much less numerous than areas of rootless strangers (Lynch 1976). Yet, “what lights up the world and makes it bearable is the feeling which we usually have with our links -- with it -- and more particularly of what joins us with other people” (Albert Camus quoted by Tuan 1980, 54).

If this is true, then traditional meanings still hold purpose in modern life and the *specificity* of place retains significance. Of course, persons and people vary in their lifestyles along a spectrum from traditional (rootedness) to modern (mobility). Therefore, dependence and identity attachments to home place vary in extent and type from innate to extrinsic for different individuals and neighborhoods.

Place: Quantitative and Qualitative Experience

Place experience valuation is both quantitative and qualitative. Yet planning, professionals, city officials, and private corporations have given little effort to analyze how the physical and cultural environment affects ordinary experience of every-day life, especially in terms of diverse people. The most intimate daily experiences of the senses and social relationships that envelop the emotional and symbolic realities of a neighborhood are considered unpredictable and too personal to be a part of any community policy and planning discussion (Lynch 1976).

Place, then, is usually evaluated on the level of “economics, transportation, politics, space requirements, landownership, and ecology” (Lynch 1976, 4). The "City Beautiful" movement, which incorporates neighborhoods, can be seen as a project that addresses the emotional and symbolic needs and realities. This movement, however, largely relates only to ornamentation for the eye. Human experience is more complex and considering experience with the landscape (neighborhood) and people is fundamental to sustain and promote the health of a person and a people (Lynch 1976). Incorporating the human experience of emotion and symbolism can abate the prevalence of a growing geography of “nowhere” (Kunstler 1993).

Edward Relph addresses the issue of “nowhere” as placelessness, an area without significance in diversity, symbols, and history (Relph 1976). The phenomenon of placelessness stems from a disregard of specific meanings because only a few professionals, uninvolved in the home place, decide how a place should “look.” An instant, efficient, and anonymous space results, and the emotional and psychological needs of the individual and neighborhood are not met. If home place becomes

anonymous and, as Relph notes, “we are not distinct from place; we are that place,” then a person and a people can become anonymous too (Relph 1976, 73).

Emotional and Symbolic Meanings: From Experience to Attachment

Yet, examining the intimate scale of home place can reveal specific emotional and symbolic meanings of attachments to place that are important for the assertion and confirmation of a sense of self for persons and people. Identifying these particular and collective universals and their meaning will provide critical and analytical information for developing and maintaining true places. For example, in Gainesville, Florida, the state court ordered the University of Florida to revise its campus master plan to preserve a passive recreational area. Relevant and appropriate data satisfied requirements for conservation and parks, recreation, and open space elements of the existing campus master plan and local government comprehensive plan. The court, however, went beyond general land-use compatibility and reviewed the qualitative aspects of the land that were important to the neighborhood residents. The residents convinced the court that “The Lake Alice Experience” was significant and its preservation was in the public's best interest. The court's ruling protected the area for its intrinsic value and the local community's enjoyment (Florida First District Court of Appeal 1998). Though the neighborhood considers the preserve a distinctive feature, it is a part of its residents' ordinary landscape, as essential as the streets in making their neighborhood home. The residents' identity, in part, is shaped by their unique experience with Lake Alice that engages them in the landscape that becomes central to every day life. Although the court statement suggests the neighbors of Lake Alice proved their point, they did so more through petition and pleading than by identifying specific meanings to the area.

Indeed, *The Gainesville Sun* reported that the university regents decided that it was in the *university's* best interests to drop an appeal and that the project was, in the end, not necessary at the time. Further investigation of the decision reveals that saving a bat house, based on ecology, was a large part of the court's decision, not qualitative meaning. Finally, the decision allowed the possibility of addressing the issue in the future. As the neighborhood and court will encounter economic, space requirements, and land-use needs by the university in the future, it will be important to present systematic research and analysis to support residents' desire to preserve "The Lake Alice Experience" for its emotional and symbolic meaning.

Examining Attachments to Place

Analyzing important needs, connections, and aspirations of place such as these can begin with investigating attachments to the specific place, *home*, at the neighborhood scale. This systematic, critical analysis of the traditional Our Lady of Guadalupe neighborhood: (1) elucidates what specific attachments have historically and are presently significant, (2) yields a base for identifying important attachments that apply to the spectrum of lifestyles today, and (3) provides equal creditability for emotional and symbolic attachments with empirical analysis of place for policy making and planning.

In east Austin, Texas, the Guadalupe neighborhood has encountered growth pressure from the city of Austin and private-sector corporations. As one of Austin's oldest neighborhoods, it holds a history and a distinctive way of life that enriches the city as a whole. Our Lady of Guadalupe Church is a strong component of the neighborhood, and its parishioners' attachments to place provide specific examples of how people feel about their home place. This work examines the deep needs in the home setting of the

Guadalupe neighborhood that go beyond strict economics that undermine the importance of specific place with the question: What emotional and symbolic attachments to home place are significant to Our Lady of Guadalupe parishioners in the Guadalupe neighborhood?

The “truth” of the landscape requires “understanding motives and intentions” that are often implicit (Relph 1981, 58). Answers to the following questions reveal a place that is “an interactive process of perceptible features together with the capabilities, values, and situations of its perceivers” (Lynch 1976, 9): What attachments are the strongest and why? What meanings do these attachments uncover? What attributes and findings are particular to the group and why? What is the balance of importance between the physical and cultural relationships? Answers to these questions divulge residents’ essential common needs that are emotionally and symbolically tied to a unique home place. These merits of attachments to place in the setting of an ordinary traditional home landscape (place) with a humanistic critical perspective are the focus of this research that exposes important components for the health and sustainability of the Guadalupe neighborhood.

Significance of Research

This research illuminates important specific traditional attachments to place for the Guadalupe neighborhood that may contain collective qualities that can serve other traditional neighborhoods to understand specific attachments to place in their community. The study also supplies aspects of attachments to place that are analytical, not merely “warm” information for new communities or meaning-decimated neighborhoods where persons and individuals are searching for sense of place, a home place.

The information gleaned from this investigation contributes to place studies by revealing the importance, complexities, and meanings of symbolic and emotional attachments set in specific ideology.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Home

Home, as distinct from the working definition employed here, is a popular term that assumes different meanings in research based on its context as Amos Rapoport (1997) summarizes in *A Critical Look at the Concept Home*. Home is often interchangeable with house or dwelling as a structure, or home is strictly a positive mental state of security, well being, and family. Linking these two ideas together forms a third definition that home=house + X, where X is a combination of relationships of people, plus people and the physical setting, suggesting that physical structure, the house, is the anchor for the concept (Rapoport 1997). However, certain persons or people may have a different anchor(s) in their home setting other than the house. At the very least, these multiple meanings render the term or concept problematic in research, leaving ample room for misinterpretation in the U.S. without even considering ideas of home in cultures abroad.

Rapoport suggests not using the word, “home.” Instead, he argues the use of the following clear and concise framework:

1. Using the concept of dwelling (defined as a system of settings) as the physical object, embedded in the larger system of settings, with the primary setting as anchor [not necessarily the dwelling].
2. Linking the settings in that system through systems of activities, including their latent aspects.
3. Defining the group in which one is interested in terms of lifestyle, social structure the like (“dismantling culture”).
4. Identifying the desired relationships between the group in question and the system settings. The evaluation of that system in terms of values, ideal schemata, norms, etc., results in its environmental quality being judged as positive, neutral, or negative. As a result certain decisions, choices, modifications, etc., are made and relationships established with these systems of settings which may be those subsumed by *home*. (Rapoport 1997, 37)

This framework, though straightforward, appears to be a process that is deductive and not inductive, maintaining that the researcher defines what holds meaning and how. While the strategy may incorporate some subjective importance, it does so only from the researcher’s point of view and excludes the possible unanticipated realities that evolve from specific home settings. A qualitative, post-positivist humanistic position remedies this deficiency.

Therefore, in terms of contemporary humanistic geography, something is lost in Rapoport’s succinct structure. Home, though a precarious “warm” term for research, implicitly stresses the importance of unique time, experience, and intrinsic value precisely because of its popular convention (Entrikin 1991; Meinig 1979; Tuan 1977). Indeed, Rapoport would argue that these components lose meaning with the term *home* because of its equivocal usage. Rapoport disregards these elements of home when he

states, “that many people in the U.S. identify with types of environments rather than specific places, and that it is the former that are linked with identity” (Rapoport 1997, 35). This statement implies that place, sense of place, and attachments to place are replaceable, which has become the accepted view in planning, conservation, and preservation allowing gentrification in form and policy to pervade the country. However, this view precludes consideration of the fact that place is uniquely rooted in individual and collective experience.

Home Place in Context: Perspectives on Place and Sense of Place

James Fried explains home as the “core” of place (quoted by Rapoport 1997). Using this definition and modifying Rapoport’s framework by allocating consideration of unique time, experience, and intrinsic value, without regard to a predetermined anchor, throughout the framework, *home* can serve as a specific place, *home place*, that can be critically analyzed in terms of attachment to place.

How do attachments to home place come to be? Reviewing perspectives of place and sense of place provides a context to analyze detailed attachments to home. Positivist cultural geographers emphasize humans as agents acting on landscape in place making. As the empiricist tradition of Sauer began with “cultural landscape as the product of human activity” and was extended by Peirce Lewis to include the “reflections of ‘our tastes, our values, our aspirations, and even our fears...’ ” (Schein 1997, 661). Other humanistic geographers, however, present humans as reacting to features already in existence. The post-positivist humanistic geographic approach stresses social theories that stress human agency and human reaction that deciphers “the meaning of the minds, hearts, and words” (Hardwick 1993, 9).

J.B. Jackson explains how each tradition, positivist and post-positivist, respectively, might define sense of place: “A sense of place comes from our response to features, which are already there, either a beautiful spring or a well designed architecture” and “a sense of place, a sense of being at home in a town or city grows as we become accustomed to it. It is something we ourselves create in a course of time. A sense of place is the result of habits and customs” (Jackson 1994, 151-152).

Place and Spirit

Continuing with the evolving meaning of sense of place, Jackson explains that the origin of sense of place comes from the Latin term *genius loci*, not focusing on the place itself but the guardian divinity of that place and where the unique quality ascends to a supernatural spirit. It has only been in modern times that the divine has been rejected as a part of a sense of place (Jackson 1994). However, scholars, such as Jens Jensen (1939), Edward Relph (1976), and Eugene Waller (1987), support the idea of spirit and divinity as an integral part of a sense of place both implicitly and explicitly.

James Fernandez comments that emotional movement in social life is needed as persons and people must habitually affirm their identity. Historically, sacred places often supply this affirmation through individual experience, social experience, natural space, and/or designed space that together form rituals of place. These spatial rituals support spiritual notions of self, culture, and the ability to control and transform identity to a higher level (Fernandez 1984). Mircea Eliade’s study of religious symbolism supports this research as he notes that spiritual and/or religious symbolism help a person or people survive by mentally escaping limited time on earth, associating religion and/or spirit of

the next world as their center (Eliade 1952). Kevin Lynch identifies the range in scale and intensity of attachments to place:

What one can see, how it feels underfoot, the smell of the air, the sounds of bells, how patterns of sensations make up the quality of places, and how that quality affects our immediate well-being, in our actions, our feelings, and our understandings. It ranges from the refreshment of shade on a hot day to the [deep] symbolic meaning of a sacred precinct. (Lynch 1976, 8-9)

There is, then, a necessary connection between our physical, emotional, and spiritual self and with the space, people, and objects in our home setting for quality of life.

Attachments to Home Place: Dependence and Identity

This study of attachments to place draws from these traditions, identifying specific attachments to place and comprehensive interpretation of the meaning of these attachments. From this perspective, attachment to place is defined through two interconnected concepts that address meaning: dependence and identity.

The extent to which people feel they do not have a substitute for where they live exhibits dependence for members of the home place neighborhood. Home place dependence is found in assertions that the neighborhood is the sole provider of a type of church, school, landscape, or work, and that most family and friends are located there. Dependence subsumes centrality, which is the extent to which people feel their lifestyle revolves around the use of their neighborhood and can be realized through work, school, church, shopping, recreation, and family gatherings within the area (Williams 1998).

Identity is the extent to which people define their sense-of-self in relation to the home place (Williams 1998). Identity is complemented by involvement, the commitment and active participation people have within their neighborhood through activities such as

community watches, youth and church programs, and festivals. Involvement can also be seen in the level of association among families and neighbors.

Time and Experience

These attachments to place, dependence and identity, are formed through time and experience that shape the attitudes, values, and beliefs for a people within each area (Williams 1995). Tuan's work stems from this experiential and temporal viewpoint where space only becomes place when "we get to know it better" (Tuan 1977, 6). And, David Lowenthal amplifies the importance of time and experience as "essential to the maintenance of purpose in life. Without it we would lack all sense of continuity, all apprehension of causality, all knowledge of our own identity" (Lowenthal 1979, 103). It follows that home place is the center of meaning for place because it is where time and experience first occur in the smallest, most ordinary way. At home, individuals, families, and neighbors construct home through physical artifacts and social relationships. Physical artifacts include the house, yard, preservation of landscape features, schools, parks, land use, and architectural style, and social relationships may include family ties, neighbor relationships, neighborhood organizations. The social and individual cultural attributes are expressed on the landscape, and likewise, the landscape forms and shapes the individual and culture. The specific attributes of home place are associated with the function of the betweenness with the observer and the observed, which cannot be examined apart and serves as distinct quality of experience (Entrikin 1991). This interaction forms unique connections that are not only activity and goal oriented but also emotional and symbolic oriented, which shape dependence and identity attachments, respectively (Williams 1992).

Type of Place vs. Specific Place

Rapoport argues that attachments to place originate more from a need for a type of environment, not a specific and unique place, in the United States, because mobility is common, and rooted communities are scarce. Roberta Feldman notes that Fried and Harold Proshansky have recognized the possibility that the general personality of a place may be the deepest level that a people or person attaches to home (Feldman 1990). Feldman emphasizes in her article that psychological bonds with types of home places is becoming the important aspect in developing a place attachment framework because we are a highly mobile society. Tuan even writes that rootedness is associated with generations living at one locality with an unconscious attachment to it that revolves around work, play, learning, and spirit, as in the !Kung Bushmen and that a modern people consciously develop a sense of place (a sort of attachment) that by nature is less personal (Tuan 1980). While it is unquestionable that few societies are as rooted as the !Kung Bushmen, the disparity suggested by attachment frameworks that are based on types of home places or specific home places ignores the complex, multiple levels of attachment for a group. Multiple levels of attachment divulge meanings of home place that more fully represent a people's common needs (Williams 1992).

Home Place Attachment: Functional, Intrinsic, and Sensual Value

Daniel Williams's (et al. 1992) outline for place attachments is theoretically similar to place type based on multiple elements in a setting, but its ideas of place dependence and place identity stem from the necessity of specificity in understanding attachments to place. Specificity relates to instrumental, functional value (as discussed with human use), and also with intrinsic value of the physical/cultural landscape in evaluating home place.

Intrinsic is “being good in itself or desired for its own sake applies to all features, regardless of origin or usefulness to humans” (Nordstrom 1993, 475). Social, personal, historical, and recreational values can be explored within this idea to further illuminate the meaning of home place through humanistic approaches that uncover the objective and necessarily subjective aspects of intrinsic value (Hardwick 1993). Supporting this idea, Lynch (1969, 1991), Lowenthal (1979), and David Sopher (1979) repeatedly refer to the significance of the senses when investigating the meaning of home. Our senses connect our physical and social experiences in our families, neighborhood, and individually; the senses connect object to meaning and meaning to feeling. Direct sensual experiences along with cognitive home place experiences define those dimensions of self that produce strong emotional ties of dependence and identity (Williams 1992).

Articulation of Experience and Ideas in the Landscape

Complex emotional and symbolic attachments and their meaning can be read from the landscape and according to Sopher,

Social creation of a mythic [traditional] home seeks consciously to play up the uniqueness of place by accenting small distinctions in the landscape, by modifying it idiosyncratically, or by instituting in it a code of local signatures. All of these actions imply communication within a larger social group and the existence of conventions making such communication possible. (Sopher 1979, 138)

Ostergren discussed that historically the church in ethnic enclaves has been a “symbolic place and structure in the landscape” with the church organizing much of society and “dedicated to the preservation and propagation of a theological point of view” (Ostergren 1981, 227-228). In the tightly knit Guadalupe neighborhood, the strong impact of Catholic ideology unites and organizes the social and physical elements of the neighborhood. Religious beliefs and customs can first be found in the boundary or

“territorial niche” within the greater city (Jablonsky 1999, 32). And with perspicacious investigation, Thomas Jablonsky found “the life of the street and the life of the soul were intimately bound,” in particular ethnic groups in the Midwest (Jablonsky 1999, 32).

Similar associations are revealed in the Guadalupe neighborhood.

A specificity of place approach to this research, then, links the individual and group to a geographic home place but also identifies the type or personality and underlying religious philosophies of the place, providing a multi-scale perspective on attachments to home place. Methods selected reveal attachments of dependence and identity that are functional, intrinsic, and sensual through time and experience.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHOD

Outline of Study

Our Lady of Guadalupe Church resides in central East Austin where generations of families have lived and maintained a traditional neighborhood despite being economically disadvantaged. The Guadalupe Neighborhood Association and Our Lady of Guadalupe Church have successfully stopped much gentrified residential, commercial, and retail development for decades. Surveys, interviews, and participant observation revealed information regarding how the parishioners have continually achieved victories. These methods illuminated home attachments and, consequently, the analysis of meaning and why the attachments are strong for the community. Census information, historical photographs, and church directories provided demographic information and visual context to support the particulars of time and experience.

Consideration of Analytical Frameworks

Uncovering the complex elements and relationships and specific attachments to place created a methodological challenge, as the data are both subjective and objective. The connections between people and home place are specific and often contingent upon personal and social realities (Entrikin 1991). The holistic perspective of nineteenth-century geographers Carl Ritter and Alexander von Humboldt has evolved into a discord

between quantitative and qualitative methods and positivist and post-positivist humanistic perspectives and various combinations of these methods and perspectives (Entrikin 1991; Graham 1999; Winchester 1999). Both data and analysis can be quantitative or qualitative in character, further complicating the matter. Also, data-driven research excludes the inherent connection between data and method and theory that influences both (Graham 1999). Therefore, a thorough investigation of analytical frameworks guided the “way of doing research.”

Hilary Winchester notes that the significance of quantitative methods has usually been considered the “real” science while positivists saw qualitative methods as anecdotal and supportive to quantitative methods because of the dualistic nature of these methods. “Work, science, objectivity, reason, masculinity are associated with the quantitative; and home, nature, subjectivity, passion, and femininity are associated with the qualitative” (Winchester 1999, 61). With this mindset, gendered power relations suppress the importance of qualitative methods.

Through the eye of empirical realism, qualitative methods do not embody the measurable, generalizable, objective, and replicable, nor do they conform to positivist tradition. If, however, qualitative methods are viewed from a different form of evaluation, then the methods stand on their own unique worth. Critical realism holds that “structures, meanings, and discourses without recourse to quantification” provide academic credibility (Winchester 1999, 61). Elspeth Graham supports this detachment from strict and narrow methods because “to engage fruitfully in multi-method research then we must at least be aware of the range of possible methods and how we might combine them” (Graham 1999, 77).

The aim of this research was to use a multi-method, humanistic perspective based in critical realism. The qualities of home place attachments drove the rationale for this framework because the essence of what needed to be revealed was based in causal mechanisms, discourses, and structures of individual and social processes. Therefore, an inductive process shaped the theory and conclusions of this research making the emphasis on relationships between phenomena, not logical deduction.

Beginning Point: Why a Survey?

To understand the parishioners of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church attachments to home place through this multi-method interpretive geography, interviews were a logical starting point. But, because this parish had been “poked and prodded” by developers, city agencies, and universities in ways that have often left many parishioners feeling uneasy, any “study” was met with an initial distrust (Mario 2000). Therefore, the research required a gradual introduction to the study from a trusted community member. A survey initiated after weekend Masses provided the necessary segue (see appendix A).

Although generally, a survey is a technique in deductive methods, the survey here approached parishioners sensitively and on a voluntary basis. The parish Priest explained the purpose of the research before the study began. The survey questions were qualitative and focused on how individuals felt about the parish and neighborhood. Though the qualitative questions sought to uncover dependence, centrality, identity, involvement, and a general sense of place, the data were used only to support attachment gleaned from subsequent interviews. Interview questions were not based solely on the survey. Consequently, the research did not guide the content and significance of particular attachments; rather, the interviewees dictated the meaning (Eyles 1988).

Results from the survey provided associations and not interpretations. The final survey question asked if the individual was willing to be interviewed concerning their feelings about the neighborhood and parish. The most important aspect of the survey then, in this study, was to identify individuals who could discuss specific attachments and meanings for those attachments that would illuminate reasons of why certain connections are significant.

Qualitative Interviews: Revealing Specific Home Place Attachments

A diverse set of parishioners constituted the study. They were long and short-term residents, female and male, and ranged in age from 18 to 70. The structure of the interviews was between formal and informal (see appendix B). Some formal questions elicited certain standardized answers, drawing on an empirical perspective. To develop questions designed to cover all possible replies would have been problematic in this study because many of the interviewees' answers would be based in emotion and symbolism, which could be infinitely complex. Also, formal interviewing disregards any problems between words and feelings where individuals may wish to "adhere to what society thinks as good" (Eyles 1988, 7).

Informal questions, on the other hand, adjust to the individual. The questions' sequence and wording fit the interviewee so that in effect a comfortable conversation takes place. The research is concerned with attachment dealing with time and experience, and for this reason the interviews had a close association with oral histories, personal narratives, and biographical accounts (see Bartholomew 1991; Boyle 1998; Jablonsky 1999; Smith 1993). Therefore, questions such as "what do you enjoy doing most when you are with your friends from Our Lady of Guadalupe Church?" and "what

is your favorite area or place in the Guadalupe neighborhood?” were asked. That gave the minimum structure needed to bring forth responses of specific emotional and symbolic attachments.

For example, in *Pride in the Jungle*, Jablonsky (1999) uncovers spatial and psychic attachments that Back of the Yard residents have with *home* through oral histories. Use of the oral histories provided information at an intimate scale showing “individual, family, block, neighborhood, and community level” attachments (Jablonsky 1999, XV). Emphasis on the processes of specific events and feelings supported Jablonsky’s assertion that most of the Back of the Yard residents had intense feelings for people and landscape (Jablonsky 1999, 80).

In this light, interviews with the parishioners of Our Lady of Guadalupe illuminated the personal, social, ordinary, grand, common, and exceptional elements that shape attachments to place. The interview sought to reveal the relationship between activity/goal-oriented and emotional/symbolic attachments in the neighborhood and parish. This required certain specific questioning to balance with open-ended questioning.

Interviewees explicated various emotions and symbolism from 1954 to the present day. The parishioners interviewed were mostly Hispanic, but not all live in the neighborhood. They fall into four categories that share or relate to the parish’s heritage with veneration. There are

- (1) Hispanics that have lived in the neighborhood their entire or almost their entire life,
- (2) Hispanics that grew up in the neighborhood but have moved to other areas in Austin,

(3) Hispanics or Anglos that live in other areas of Austin and the community reminds them of their South Texas hometown, and

(4) Anglos who belong because “the message of the church makes sense.”

Though different kinds of parishioners must prescribe varying levels of attachment, all those interviewed shared attachments of comparable character and meaning. These attachments, based in experience and temporal processes, are manifested in several sociospatial means and scales.

Participant Observation: Reading Home Place Attachments

Participant observation supported the interviews, by exposing important social and physical relationships. Herbert Gans discusses three types of self-defined participant observation: total participant, research-participant, and total researcher (Gans 1976). The level of involvement of the researcher from total, to partial, to no participation determines the nature of the data and the analysis. My role was as a total researcher where I looked for evidence in the cultural landscape that confirmed attachments found during the interviews by “reading” the landscape.

Christopher Alexander (et al. 1977) in *A Pattern Language* analyzes 253 home and community attributes from the minute “seat spots” to activity pockets to household types to sacred spaces to carnivals that explain the interplay of artifact, design, and individual and social relationships (Alexander 1976). The complexity of home place, and therefore, the complexity of particular attachments is understood more fully by observing the physical and cultural patterns of the Guadalupe neighborhood. Observing the landscape as a means of learning about ourselves has been documented from the sixteenth century as Jackson notes when Michel de Montaigne wrote that the world is “a

mirror where we must see ourselves in order to know ourselves” (Jackson 1980, 5).

Through observing sensual relationships of *home attachments*, an emotional dimension of the landscape can be known, its history, memory, present, and potential future can be reported.

The cultural landscape within the Guadalupe neighborhood is not a series of pictures, but rather an interpretation of what is significant to the individual and the neighborhood. The spatial organization of the *home setting* presents “experiences, bonds [or lack of]; spaces for coming together, to celebrate, spaces for solitude, spaces that [do change or] never change and are always as memory depicted them” (Jackson 1980, 16-17). The landscape of any *home setting* is unique and therefore specific, and only when the person or people’s emotional participation in the landscape is explored are its true qualities revealed (Jackson 1980).

Spatial delimitation of the Guadalupe neighborhood was formulated by the interviewees, by asking what area comprises the Guadalupe neighborhood through the use of nodes, edges, paths, landmarks, and districts relevant to the neighborhood (Lynch 1969). The Guadalupe neighborhood proved to be a small area, two and a half square miles with distinctive physical and social features. Parishioners outside the neighborhood offered a comparative delimitation of specific attachments and meanings. Blocks within this area, based on discussions with the interviewees of the neighborhood, were then used for observation of social interactions, gardens, yard-types, art, businesses, and architecture, for example. Repetition, concern with landscape, culturally and physically, unique events and artifacts were documented for comparison to support interview data that exposed specific attachments to place. The observation process also illuminated any

ambient and/or omitted features relevant to place attachment, particularly the emotional investment level residents have within their *home setting* through time and experience.

Connecting Specific Methods

The methods: survey, interview, and participant observation used within this humanistic, critical realist framework form a triangulation of comparison, not in the traditional sense of each holding equal importance within the analysis (Winchester 1999). Rather, the triangulation is a pyramid with the interview given the emphasis and the survey and participant observation information serving in a complementary, supportive role.

The success of this study relied on placing the framework and methods in historical context since attachments to place are time-dependent (Jackson 1980, 1994; Relph 1976; Sopher 1979; Tuan 1977, 1992). Archival information provided additional historical context to the survey, interview, and participant observation. Census data showed general patterns of neighborhood stability and ethnicity.

From the specifics of this multi-method research based in a critical realist perspective, attachments to home place, dependence and identity, respectively, were determined through relationships between phenomena (Eyles 1988). Determination of important attachments to place was based on repetition of emotional and symbolic feelings and stated meanings, as well as, repetition of stated goals and activities. The merit of this study's approach drew from "non-quantifiable and non-replicable data, particularly experiences and attitudes, in a holistic sense to derive meaning" (Winchester 1999, 62). The research revealed causal mechanisms from specific data that may be applied to other studies of attachments to place.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Introduction

The Church Corner

On the corner of Lydia Street (Fig. 1), two Hispanic boys about ages 8 and 6 sneaked out of Mass early, getting a head start on the rest of the day. They gave me a quick stare, wondering if I were someone who could “tell on them.” I had been waiting to hand out a survey and passed them a smile. Assured that I did not know them, the oldest asked the youngest, “Home or to Grandma’s?” “Grandma’s,” he replied. The brothers took hands and proceeded to walk past the Church thrift shop, by themselves, down the hill on Lydia to their Grandma’s. It was apparent that the boys and their families felt safe-enough for them to walk alone, but we were in East Austin, which has a reputation for trouble and crime.

Later, on a weekday, I stepped out of my car onto East Ninth Street next to Our Lady of Guadalupe Church (Fig. 1), I heard music, a Spanish Hymn, its volume filled a few blocks. I thought its source was a daily Mass service from the church, but I was mistaken. The song came from a home across the street. I noticed an elderly couple walking down the street and three young children playing in front of the thrift store. No one seemed distracted by the music.

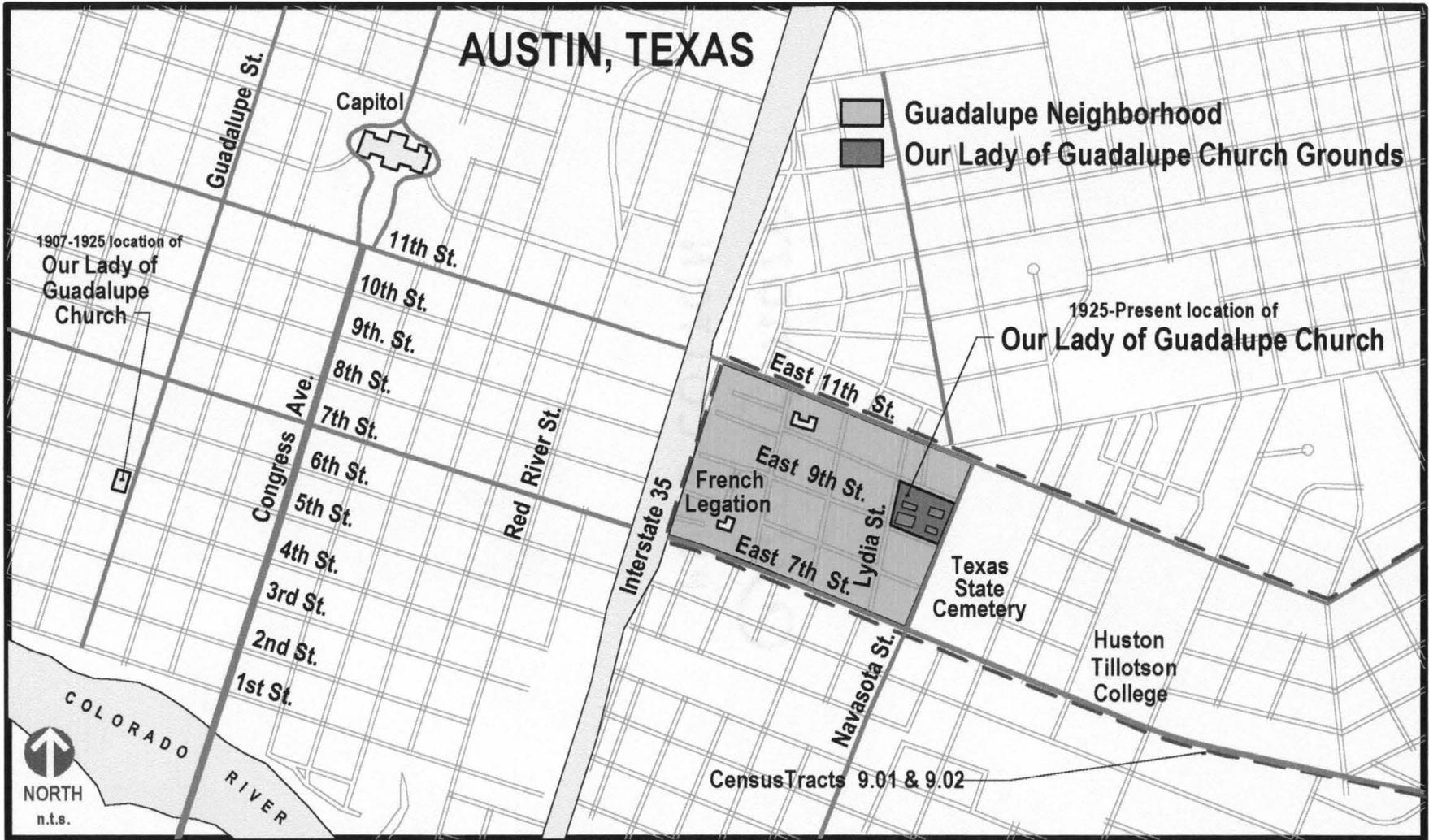


Figure 1: The Guadalupe Neighborhood and Our Lady of Guadalupe Church

(Source: Media Ventures 1999)

The relationship of the Guadalupe neighborhood and Our Lady of Guadalupe Church began to emerge from these typical days. They appeared to be common scenes to those a part of the neighborhood, but they raised questions concerning heritage, Catholicism, sacred space, community, tradition, and sociospatial manifestations that may affect the emotional and symbolic attachments, dependence and identity, to home place. As this analysis progresses, the idea of landscape as religion evolves at multiple scales. This concept is a more specific rendering of the “landscape as ideology” premise from Donald Meinig’s *The Beholding Eye* (Meinig 1976).

Towards Landscape as Religion

The structure and layers in everyday landscape can communicate ideology (Gregory 2000; Ostergren 1981). Though initially not necessarily perceptible, the representation is not insubstantial but rather profound in the rich, embedded discourse of place. Meticulous examination revealed powerful ideologies that constitute Our Lady of Guadalupe Church parishioners’ identity and dependence. Therefore, the landscape provides text of social realities not mere reflections (Duncan 2000). As beliefs change, the cultural landscape develops. Thus, the dynamic landscape communicates not one moment in time but a chronicle of culture.

As Meinig explains, the essence of landscape is “the organizing ideas we use to make sense out of what we see” and “any landscape is composed not only of what lies before our eyes but what lies within our heads” (Meinig 1976, 47). Reading the Guadalupe landscape through interviews and participant observation elucidates what the parishioners’ emotional and symbolic attachments are and how they are re-presented in the socio-physical landscape. The interpretation of ideas reveals that the landscape, the

place of the Guadalupe neighborhood, is specifically and uniquely essential in articulating the fundamental values, beliefs, and meanings, which are based in Catholic ideas.

A reflective research position is necessary to discern how intricate philosophies manifest. A reflective disposition is an inherent, unconscious attribute in the parishioners interviewed. Their deliberate character enables the neighborhood as a whole to organize and construct a unified social and political voice in Austin. This depth in identity and dependence upholds the Guadalupe neighborhood as a distinct but interconnected place in Austin.

The following research analysis based in face-to-face interviews provides a comprehensive view of the emotional and symbolic roles of the church and neighborhood tenets with a perspective that is more than “one symbolic frame of a fluid and perplexing scene” (Colten 1985, 71). Moreover, this approach answers the question: What emotional and symbolic attachments to home place, the Guadalupe neighborhood, are significant to the parishioners of Our Lady of Guadalupe church?

Early Links of Attachment: History of the Church and the Neighborhood

Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish and school began in 1907, located in central downtown Austin on Fifth and Guadalupe Streets, by The Holy Cross Fathers (Fig. 1). In 1925, the church moved to East Ninth and Lydia streets on the East Side, where “most new Mexican [immigrant and Mexican-American] families were locating” and the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate (O.M.I.) order of priests gained responsibility for the parish. Residents, with their own funds and labor constructed the present building, dedicating it in 1954.

U.S. Census statistics from 1940 to 1990 show that Hispanic, specifically Mexican, populations have concentrated in the census tracts that include Our Lady of Guadalupe Church without exception (Fig. 1) (U.S. Census 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990). Our Lady of Guadalupe Church has served the Hispanic community from the beginning with many pastors coming from south Texas, which has directly linked them to South Texan and Mexican immigrants in the parish. In 1983 the then current pastor, Rev. Charles Banks, declared, “This is the mother church of the Mexican-American community in Austin” (Valdez 1983). The church then began both as a territorial and national parish.

The mission of the O.M.I. set a direction for the parish that not only tended to the personal and community spiritual needs of the minority Hispanic-Catholic neighborhood but was active in broader social aspects of relief and justice, which continues to be a priority today. O.M.I. charisms or mission statements that directly influence the dependence and identity attachments of the parish and the neighborhood include:

1. A preference for the poor and those on the margins of society.
2. Encouraging and supporting the roles and responsibilities of lay people as the Spirit and the Church empowers them.
3. Working for peace and justice, striving to address economic, political, and social structures that affect the lives of our brothers and sisters worldwide.
4. Committing themselves to their own renewal and Missionaries in today’s world by forming communities that are life giving and experiencing the Risen Christ in their midst. (Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate United States Province Online 2000)

The interviewees’ discussions about the activities and work they participated in through the church, what was special to them about attending Our Lady of Guadalupe and/or

living in the neighborhood, and the unique qualities of the church and neighborhood reflect these mission statements and will be explained in later sections.

According to church history, the importance of the parish was evident because there “was great rejoicing” upon the arrival of the first Oblates. The new Pastor had come from Laredo, Texas, and was “prepared to revive the ebbing spirits of the Mexican Americans” in Austin, a heavily eastern European ethnic area (Our Lady of Guadalupe Church History 1982 [?], 1). Although specific Pastors have been significant to the parish, over the first 55 years, the parish averaged a new priest every four years. The community developed continuity through the lay persons -- “there is a special spirit evident here, a long-standing loyalty, a love of their church which they [the parish people] have stood by through the lean years” (Our Lady of Guadalupe Church History 1982, 4). Lucas Carillo expresses this sentiment in a newspaper interview, “It was the center of the Mexican-American community . . . In the 30’s when we were growing up, our parents expected us to go to church and be active in it, and we were” (Valdez 1982 [?]). Robert Ostergren notes the significance of the church in ethnic groups in the upper Midwest from the 1850s to at least the 1930s: “Religious organization at the level of individual pioneer congregation [is] most relevant to the new settler” and that “the local congregation was a social institution that fulfilled the pioneers more immediate need for a sense of belonging and for community leadership” (Ostergren 1981, 227). Similar institutional significance was evident in those parishioners interviewed by their heritage with the Patroness of Guadalupe.

Our Lady of Guadalupe: Patroness of Latin America

As the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate have an established ongoing influence to the characteristics of the parish so does Our Lady of Guadalupe, Patroness of the Americas. Our Lady of Guadalupe and her story provide parishioners a sense of safety, heritage, and being special that affirms their identity. In 1531, She appeared before a poor Aztec, Juan Diego, asking that he run to the bishop in Tenochtitlan to tell him that She, the Mother of Jesus, desired that a church be built in this place to “see their [the poor’s] tears; I will console them and they will be at peace” (Catholic Online 2000).

Diego was unsuccessful convincing the bishop on his first meeting and returned to the place where Our Lady was waiting for him. She said, “My little son, there are many I could send. But you are the one I have chosen.” Diego went to the bishop again, and the bishop sent him away asking for a sign from Our Lady that she did indeed request a church be built. When Diego returned to Our Lady she said, “My little son, am I not your Mother? Do not fear. The bishop shall have his sign. Come back to this place tomorrow. Only peace, my little son.” Diego could not return that day as he took care of his very ill uncle (Catholic Online 2000).

A few days later, Diego went in search of a priest to administer last rights to his uncle. On his way he met Our Lady who said, “Are you not under my shadow and protection? Your uncle will not die at this time. His health is restored at this moment. [Now,] Go to the top of the hill and cut the flowers that are growing there. Bring them to me.” She arranged the roses in his *tilma* or carrying wrap. When Diego opened his *tilma* in front of the bishop, he fell to his knees and hailed her holiness at the sight a picture of the Blessed Virgin as Diego had described (Catholic Online 2000).

The account of the Our Lady of Guadalupe apparition situated in everyday life, symbolizes to many of the Hispanic parishioners at the church the divine in *their* every day and that they too, like the allegory of Diego, are important and special in spite of sometimes feeling as Diego did, “I am a nobody, I am a small rope, a tiny ladder, the tail end, a leaf” (Catholic Online 2000). Juan V., the youth coordinator at the church and who lives in the neighborhood represents the depth of identity and humility that can be felt through this heritage. “To be a Guadalupano is synonymous with being a Hispanic,” he said, and continued referring to Jesus and the saints, “I am not in charge at all-- humbling but elevating” (Juan V. 2000).

This opinion permeates the Guadalupe neighborhood. The fact that the neighborhood is called the Guadalupe neighborhood signifies the influence of the parish church and the Patroness, Juan V. explains, “because of the Spirit of Our Lady of Guadalupe -- because people who aren’t Catholic hold her in high regard, because people know who she is,” they participate in activities initiated by the church (Juan V. 2000). There is then a belonging, perceived by parishioners, which extends beyond the church grounds through the common reverence for Our Lady of Guadalupe. This inherent respect in the neighborhood place-name, Guadalupe, is an example of “one of the most enduring ways in which religion influences landscape” (Park 1994, 214).

Spanish-American Catholicism

With the Guadalupe name and being Guadalupano specific to a Mexican-American nationalized version of Spanish-American Catholicism, a distinct identity, at least in part, from other Catholic communities in Austin has evolved at Our Lady of Guadalupe Church. Spanish-American Catholicism is “worship participated by those

Spanish speaking citizens of Latin America whose cultural heritage took place during Spain's conquest of the New World" (Richardson 1990, 221). Its dominion is apparent in the parish of Our Lady of Guadalupe not only through the Patroness but also in traditions of personal faith, music, festivals, architecture, and sacred space and places in the church, neighborhood, and individual home.

Miles Richardson explains that Spanish-American Catholics experience the sacred through touching and seeing so much so that there is an overwhelming sense of presence. Whereas in other religions, sacred space and place is distinctly discriminated from the secular and profane, Spanish-American Catholics incorporate the sacred into their home setting that stems from "an objective, individual sense of the sacred" (Richardson 1990, 231). The overwhelming presence is in the repetition of ordinary days that like the ritual of Mass reaffirms the parishioners' identity, sacredness, and solidarity. Our Lady of Guadalupe parishioners' attachment to home place has its roots in this heritage and is a "reflection of cultural antecedents and processes" (Colten 1985, 72).

Emotional and Symbolic Attachment to Our Lady of Guadalupe Church and the Guadalupe Neighborhood

The Area: Defining the Bounds of the Guadalupe Neighborhood

When parishioners were asked, "How do you know when you are 'in' the Guadalupe neighborhood?" the majority first described it from a qualitative perspective and then quantified it with geographic metes and bounds. "It is a feeling," they remarked again and again, distinguishing it as Hispanic after the distinctive feeling of the neighborhood but always linking the two characteristics in concluding thoughts. The parishioners feel "comfortable," "at home," "togetherness," "an ambience," and "warmth." Joanna, a Hispanic University of Texas student, who has attended Our Lady

of Guadalupe for 18 months, notes a sense of arrival of “Oh, we’re here” (Joanna 2000). People of different generations are seen out, walking, talking, and watering plants and remind Laura, a Hispanic who now lives in the neighborhood, as her sister and brother do, of her south Texas hometown (Laura 2000).

Patty, who grew up in the neighborhood and attended the parish school when it was in operation now lives with her husband and four children in North Austin. She said,

There is a presence felt. I can’t deny the spiritual side. This is learned. It’s an *environmental* thing that’s learned as well. Every time I participate [in a parish activity]; it reinforces [this] place. It doesn’t have to be this way, I choose it to be. (Patty 2000)

Here a link is consciously made that establishes the environment as integral to experiencing the Spirit.

Parishioners that lived farther away from the neighborhood, who were not Hispanic and/or had no family ties to the neighborhood, showed less intimate feelings in describing when they knew they were “in” the neighborhood. They did note, however, that it was a “different world” or that the Guadalupe neighborhood was “settled.”

Interviewee, Julie, remarked that Austin had become a transient city with the technology industry boom, but that the Guadalupe neighborhood resists this change (Julie 2000).

Interviewees delineated the physical neighborhood uniformly by Eleventh and Seventh Streets, collector routes in and out of downtown, the Texas State Cemetery, and the French Legation and Interstate 35 (Fig. 1). Stating the explicit physical bounds as secondary to the emotional and cultural area attests to the strong identity of the Guadalupe neighborhood. The location of the neighborhood is a part of downtown but is disconnected from it by Interstate 35, which affects the church, neighborhood, and city culturally and economically. The small size of the Guadalupe neighborhood influences

the parishioners' emotional and symbolic attachment as an anchor to home place at the scales of individual home, church, neighborhood, and city.

Similarities to a South Texas Plaza

Our Lady of Guadalupe Church's physical and social position in the neighborhood serves several functions of a prevalent Spanish-American south Texas town feature, the plaza, in context, landscape, and activities (Arreola 1992). Most Hispanic south Texas towns formed after Texas became a part of the United States in 1848, but the towns' components illustrate Spanish-America influence although their morphology and function varied in a setting where Hispanics and Anglos interacted. According to Daniel Arreola (1992), a deep Mexican identity among Hispanic townspeople and Anglo-American leaders, who realized the plaza as an important aspect of immigrating Mexican culture, actively incorporated plazas into town layouts. In south Texas, plazas functioned as landmarks of regional identity that focused on religious and/or political structures or served as parks. The plazas are incorporated into the town grid and residences and municipal buildings border them (Arreola 1992). Years of civic and ecclesiastical emphasis made the south Texas plaza the social node of the community that strengthened identity and dependence.

Arreola classifies south Texas plaza spatial arrangement as: peripheral, central, segregated, or as a mall to the central business districts. The most repeated form, peripheral, included less institutional, commercial, residential functions than others and was on the edge of business districts. Many residences, Catholic churches, city halls, and merchant buildings directly bordered central plazas. Segregated plazas were adjacent to retail and churches but were separated from Mexican residences, and the mall plaza was

at the center of diverse building types. The plazas, Arreola explains, have altered in context because of changes in architecture, retail, business, and land uses that affect social activity and atmosphere in communities (Arreola 1992). As Richard Schein states, “Landscapes are always in the process of becoming -- just as people change over time” (Schein 1997, 662).

Because there is not a plaza in Austin that serves the Hispanic population with links to south Texas and Mexico, Our Lady of Guadalupe Church grounds have inadvertently become a place that supports some of the traditional purposes of a south Texas plaza. Because it is foremost a religious holding and the “plaza” a secular one, the range of activity and function within the church grounds must operate without offending Catholic convictions and opinions.

The East Side in Austin particularly the Guadalupe neighborhood developed into a Hispanic enclave. Sanborn maps from 1935, 1959, and 1971 show that most businesses in the neighborhood are located within a block of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church. The church grounds were the largest socially active area in the neighborhood during these periods and are today too. Homes surround the church, which is centered on the east edge of the neighborhood with the Texas State Cemetery immediately behind it and church grounds reflect a central plaza despite no governmental buildings reside near it. Yet, the plaza-like adaptation of the area fulfills certain community needs and follows the manner in which south Texas towns’ plazas changed from Spanish-America based on contemporary issues and confines. The spatial structure of the church grounds and the information gleaned from the interviews suggest similarities between landscape features

and activities that relate to the religious and some social functions but none that are specifically commercial or governmental.

South Texas plazas landscape features included walkways, benches, fountains and *kioscos* or bandstands. Our Lady of Guadalupe Church grounds contains these elements in similar form except for the *kioscos* (Arreola 1992). A statue sitting area with trees, main walkways, and the old and new halls enclose a central space, though not a structure that serves the bandstand function. It is the stage area for musical, religious, and political gatherings in a park-like style. In addition, the church grounds have open green spaces for special social activities and supply the neighboring Ebenezer Church with a grassy field for their children to play on.

South Texas plaza social activities include traditional fiestas, religious celebrations, foodways, arts and craft shows, and political gatherings (Arreola 1992). Our Lady of Guadalupe hosts similar activities that are dependent on a plaza-like space that are religious and/or ethnic, social, or political that are specific to the broad concerns of the local church and Catholicism in general.

Religious occasions include events such as live Advent scenes, the *Posada*, *Jamaica*, and Stations of the Cross. The *Posada* is a specific Mexican tradition on Christmas Eve that solemnizes Mary and Joseph's pilgrimage from Nazareth to Bethlehem. The event, a procession, starts with a few hundred people, including parishioners, residents, and others from Austin on Christmas Eve who gather in the church's outdoor plaza-like assembly area. Candles light the entire path as the group stops at various places and sings "Litany of the Virgin," which asks if there is lodging for Mary and Joseph. Time after time, the sung response is no, and the group moves on. Our Lady

of Guadalupe extends participation to stops at non-parishioners homes and even at other churches in the neighborhood like Ebenezer Baptist Church. Joanna commented that the *Posada* extended the neighborhood for her by incorporating non-Catholic places and people (Joanna 2000). The *Posada*'s final destination is Our Lady of Guadalupe Church with the crowd pleading to the Pastor who jubilantly welcomes them. In the church prayer and song complete the service with all participants kneeling around the manger scene.

Jamaica in October is a fiesta that includes various members of the neighborhood and Austin. Traditional music, dance, food, and arts and crafts form this annual harvest festival that brings many generations together. The Stations of the Cross, just before Easter, is a devotion commemorating Christ's journey of his crucifixion and death. Examples of social services and political interests that benefit from the use of the plaza-like church grounds include job fairs for youth and adults, youth recreation, and a gathering area for community and/or city-wide marches (that are concerned with planning and social and religious beliefs impacted by government). Our Lady of Guadalupe Church grounds, similar to a south Texas town's plaza, enables interaction by its context, landscape, and activities. The physical and visual qualities of this specific space express and are inherently linked to the emotional and symbolic attachments, identity and dependence for the parishioners.

Social and Political Influence of the Parish

Without necessary regard for the socio-spatial aspects of the church grounds, Our Lady of Guadalupe Church addresses multiple religious, ethnic, social, and political needs and problems. Table 1 summarizes the ways in which the church affects the neighborhood and actuates community involvement.

TABLE 1: Programs Affecting Social and Political Issues

SOCIAL SERVICES	DESCRIPTION
AIDS Care Team	Working with AIDS patients, fundraising efforts and awareness.
Austin Interfaith	Work for social change.
Block Leaders	Assist in finding a Christian leader on every block. To become an extension of the parish through evangelization, prayer and study.
Diabetes Support	Provides support and educational instruction on topics that relate to living with diabetes. Diet, exercise, and medication information.
Food Bank and Clothing Store	Now open for those needing assistance.
Get Out the Vote	Voter registration and information on candidates, issues, and trends.
Gabriel Project	Work with women and men with crisis pregnancies who are contemplating abortion. Offer one-on-one support.
Health Ministry	Offers the parish a health plan, exercise program, weight control techniques, mammograms, diabetes information and support group. This ministry works with the Department of Health to implement these health programs.
Jail Ministry	Providing spiritual support for incarcerated individuals from our community. Also works with families whose loved ones are in jail.
Job Training	Specialized job training for adults to improve the income of workers.
Narcotics Anonymous	Support group for addicts.
Project Rachel	Work with women and men who have had an abortion and who are having difficulty with the memory.
St. Eugene Mazenod Social Assistance Program	Visit those seeking assistance from the parish such a food, utilities etc. A knowledge of how to connect with different welfare agencies.
YOUTH SERVICES	DESCRIPTION
Youth Charter	Help assure high school graduation for our youth.
Summer Jobs	Job coordinating, training, and placement.
Juvenile Court	Offer spiritual guidance for youth that are incarcerated.
Mentoring	Provides guidance and stresses the importance of education to young people.
A.B.C.	A Beginning in Christ is a program that gives preschool aged kids a beginning in their faith journey through videos, art and stories.
Guadalupe History	Research and learn about the history of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church and Guadalupe neighborhood.

Several parishioners described Our Lady of Guadalupe as an “activist church,” and that it must be for the continuation of their values. Mike G. said, “The church has its pulse on the social fabric of the community and the needs of East Austin. It [Our Lady of Guadalupe Church] stands just not for religion but for political and social issues” (Mike G. 2000). Two organizations, the Guadalupe Association for an Improved Neighborhood (G.A.I.N.) and the Guadalupe Neighborhood Development Corporation (G.N.D.C.) have no formal affiliation with the church but are explicitly linked because their governing boards’ majorities are Guadalupe parishioners. These associations not only exemplify the church’s influence in non-religious based community groups but represent model examples of socio-political action.

G.A.I.N. circulates its newsletter in the church office and is active, for instance, in a city-sponsored planning process, volunteer improvements, historic preservation, and youth maintenance crews. The new Guadalupe Neighborhood Police office resulted from G.A.I.N.’s collaboration with the Austin Police Department over ten years. “The primary goal of the office will be to maintain the reputation of Guadalupe as being one of the safest neighborhoods in Austin,” according to the G.A.I.N. newsletter quoting Manuel Renteria, the community liaison (*Guadalupe Neighborhood News* February 2000, 1). As seen by Mr. Renteria and most of the parishioners interviewed, the Guadalupe neighborhood is a distinct, safe spot in East Austin.

The G.N.D.C.’s main objective is to provide low cost housing for members of the Guadalupe neighborhood and the greater East Side. “The G.N.D.C. fights unacceptable development. Anyone [who affects growth] that comes into the neighborhood must deal with us and the parish,” Mike G. said (Mike G. 2000). While Mario (another G.N.D.C.

board member) was discussing the organization he exhorted, “We [the parish and community] must have a constant vigilance to protect what is important to us and that includes more than Catholics” (Mario 2000). Parish and G.N.D.C. members regularly attend city council, neighborhood, school, and city agencies’ meetings to play a visible role to safeguard their community because it is “a constant battle,” and frequently, “we feel that we’re only putting band-aids on,” continued Mario (Mario 2000).

The socio-politically active women and men stated that the church and neighborhood atmosphere is often “chaotic,” “stressful,” or “very busy.” Some worry that the leaders will get “burned out” because so much energy is required, however, “It gives an example to the young,” said Mario, and he admitted that intensity is needed (Mario 2000).

Although Our Lady of Guadalupe Church and the neighborhood are often in disaccord with the City of Austin as well as other development and social interests, they do not alienate themselves from the larger community. For example, when a city council candidate, who was African-American, accused the Guadalupe neighborhood’s positions and actions as racist, the neighborhood fought back. According to the press, the candidate used unethical racial and other strategies for a “mudslinging” campaign. The Guadalupe residents never addressed the candidate’s comments but instead voiced their message and mission through the media and social organizations. Residents were particularly concerned because though they are a mostly Hispanic parish, Our Lady of Guadalupe parish considers itself a “city-wide” church that welcomes variety. As Julie explained, “Our Lady of Guadalupe Church is multi-ethnic, multi-income, and diverse in lifestyle” (Julie 2000).

According to parishioners the difficulty of the situation increased the solidarity of their community and helped them to “grow up,” as they had to be “smart” in organizing politically and rely on their spiritual strength. When the candidate lost the election a spontaneous celebration erupted in the neighborhood that filled the streets and spilled into downtown with music and fireworks. Mario said,

It was a victory for the community. On that day, the city vindicated us -- like something was lifted . . . It ended four years of nasty stuff -- Things said about me and my family and Father Bill -- all targeted as anti-black. (Mario 2000)

These two grassroots organizations, G.A.I.N. and the G.N.D.C., reinforce the confidence, power, and capability for the community to impress physical and social articulation in their neighborhood that is based in the endurance of their heritage and tradition.

Specificity Matters

Specificity is found in the details of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church. The physical and social foundations of the church represent the significance that parishioners place on their religious ideology.

Margaret recalled her sons helping build the new school in the 1960s (Margaret 2000). Ryne noted that the church had a “human hand, worked” feel that has a “certain authenticity,” which other parishioners supported (Ryne 2000). Anne commented that particular areas in the churchyard were designed and maintained by different families or individuals in the parish. “We don’t have landscape artists per se,” she said proudly (Anne 2000). Throughout the interviews the narratives resonated a reverence that parishioners contribute to neighborhood and church place-making.

Two statues of Our Lady of Guadalupe each surrounded by a fountain or garden are located in the churchyard with individual and shared sitting areas. They both occupy

high-traffic pedestrian areas on the church grounds. These areas provide a personal area between the communal spaces of the church, two recreation centers, and the parish hall. Several parishioners mentioned that the courtyard areas situated under the trees and next to the church were their favorite places at the church. The alcoves of repose also allow parishioners to be a part of church events. Again, parishioners expounded upon shared and personal sacred space.

Moving from the churchyard to the church structure the exterior of Our Lady of Guadalupe is Romanesque style that was popular in the 1950s throughout the United States. The architecture is less ornate than many Catholic churches of the decade, and its use of red brick is more common in Protestant churches. The rounded windows and the domed pediment for the Crucifix on the roof give hints of Spanish Catholicism from Mexico. Ostergren's research in upper Midwest national churches notes that in those churches the exterior is American while the interior design represents the homeland parish or place of ancestry and this arrangement is also true at Our Lady of Guadalupe (Ostergren 1981).

Upon entering, the church foyer immediately expresses Spanish-American Catholicism. There, a small niche includes a statue of Our Lady of Guadalupe, candles, and an individual prayer kneeler. Over the interior doors that open to the church sanctuary is a Gospel verse painted in Spanish. Instantly, visitors fathom a Hispanic heritage. Moreover, the Patroness' painted image occupies the wall behind the altar, and the Crucifix stands to the left of the altar -- particular to the reverence that Spanish-American Catholicism gives to Mary.

Our Lady of Guadalupe Church's interior compares with Richardson's description of the experience inside a Mexican *iglesia* with, "as we approach niches, we deepen or understanding, each figure becomes a distinct personage," and "over there, if we are in Mexico, stands the Virgin of Guadalupe, her figure etched for eternity over a blanket of roses" (Richardson 1990, 223). The church's stained glass windows that include parish family names common to many American Catholic churches provides a tangible image that identifies the church through the parishioners who worked to build it. Laura expressed this ownership when she recalled that the Pastor, Father Bill, always told her that it was *her* church. She said that she never understood or could feel that, but now, after having been involved with the parish for several years she does feel it is her church (Laura 2000). The visual heritage of Our Lady of Guadalupe is a central, repetitious reminder of identity and solidarity. Dependence attachments deepen for the parishioners based on these particulars and life events including baptism, first communion, confirmation, and marriage that take place at the church.

Mass

Our Lady of Guadalupe incorporates traditional Hispanic music and Spanish prayer during the Mass, and Father Bill says two Masses entirely in Spanish for the weekend vigil. The parishioners find this handing over of tradition from the older generations to the younger generation meaningful because they feel it gives them a sense of "longevity," "belonging," "family," and "nurturing." Mike G. said he liked growing up in the tradition, and "he knows what it stands for" (Mike G. 2000).¹⁴ This identity firmly connected with the past ensures that the parishioners "will never lose touch [with who they are]" (Mike G. 2000). Joanna said that she is "musically attached" and that Our

Lady of Guadalupe is “a place like home and feels like family, [and] family is my life” (Joanna 2000).

The experience of Mass includes individual and communal relationship with the divine. For example, after an individual receives communion they return to their pew with family and friends, kneeling together but praying silently. Mario observed,

People come in with hurts and pains -- praying privately, but you know because you know what happened earlier in the week. It's refreshing [to be at Mass], something [when there] begins to make sense or doesn't, or you're still mad at yourself or God, but you get that reflection back, so you begin again. It is a special place for the whole community. (Mario 2000)

This shared center is home and sensed among parishioners with many revolving their lives around the church.

Personal Home

The individual homes in the Guadalupe neighborhood emulate Our Lady of Guadalupe Church and the values and intentions of Hispanic Catholic culture through phenomena that result between social space and physical objects. Parishioners characterized the homes as simple, humble, or quaint and that they mirror the nature of the people in the neighborhood. “You can see that I, myself, live pretty modestly,” said Clare, a Hispanic parishioner of almost two years, but who has lived in North Austin all her life (Clare 2000). The architecture is similar but each home is unique, “no one is set apart here,” explained Patty (Patty 2000). Those parishioners who do not live in the neighborhood noted that the homes are at a scale they can identify with, remind them of home, and are welcoming in design because they are close to each other, close to the street, and encourage people to be outside. Mike M., a life-long parishioner, commented

that the old houses are solid and were well built by those that live or lived there (Mike M. 2000).

This kind of physical investment is still true today. In 1998, Juan and his wife had 50 people -- close friends, strangers, and even kids -- to help build their home. "Those people make the neighborhood special," he said. In fact, more established members from the parish and neighborhood spoke to the financial institution so that Juan and his wife would receive a home loan. Father Bill, the Pastor, provided them housing at the church during construction because Juan had recently accepted the Youth Coordinator position, which paid significantly less than his previous job. The home, designed by architects in the parish neighborhood, reflects the area's existing modest style (Juan V. 2000). This involvement at the individual level encourages community dependence. Yet Margaret, who has lived in the neighborhood since 1954, likes that she can live privately and still visit her neighbor without calling (Margaret 2000).

Margaret's son, Mario, a life-long member of the neighborhood and deacon of the parish, was born in a home in the neighborhood. "It was one of three little houses in a row. They're no longer there, but I think about that spot" (Mario 2000). Mario, whose grandparents, mother, brothers, children, and grandchildren live in the small neighborhood, goes to his mother's, two blocks south, or grandparents' house, four blocks west, when he needs time away. "It's those little places, you think, 'not much,' but those places are important to me. I love the church but when I want to get away that's where I go" (Mario 2000). Not travelling far to get away suggests that Mario and others have developed a rootedness with no need to go outside the neighborhood for a range of emotional needs.

Inside, the individual sense of the sacred is revealed as in Juan V. and his wife's new home. For example, they have a prayer closet that is similar to niches in Mexican *iglesias* or churches, where one can pray to God or petition a saint. It has two windows, prayer books, candles, a Bible and religious statues where family members can go for meditation. And, Margaret has an area where she says the Rosary every day, a ritual passed on by her mother and grandmother (Margaret 2000). The inside of many Our Lady of Guadalupe parishioners' homes had similar spaces adorned with religious items that articulate the visual and tactile environment of Spanish-American Catholic churches and fulfill part of the spiritual needs of the parishioners (Park 1994, Richardson 1990).

Yards, Fences, and Porches

The yards in the Guadalupe neighborhood are an expression of individual identity. Though most parishioners commented on the neatness of the yards, Laura commented on the exception,

I don't mind that people don't always clean up their yard. It gives them the freedom to be who they are. My neighbors are distinct people and it is reflected in their home and yard. I can just be me and be accepted. People in the neighborhood concentrate on the individual and not the home. It is a different value system, like the older people's [based] in another time. (Laura 2000)

Ryne, an Anglo parishioner, who lives on the West Side in Austin, commented that even though many of the residents in the Guadalupe neighborhood have little money they still plant plenty of flowers -- everywhere in anything -- "a plantedness" he called it, which "shows a respect for life, a dignity for one's space" (Ryne 2000). His thoughts concerning the "plantedness" are a notion that can be attributed to the Respect for Life theme in Catholicism. The meaning, then, that Ryne attaches to the process and care in planting, stems from his Catholic belief system.

To Catholics the church is literally the house of God and is manifested in different ways within Our Lady of Guadalupe parish (Park 1994). As discussed previously, homeowners may model Our Lady of Guadalupe Church's interior and also extend this into the yard with shrines of Jesus or Our Lady of Guadalupe. These visual symbols contribute to providing parishioners "a sense of reality that transforms the profane self into a sacred self" that extends from the Mass and church to their homes (Richardson 1990, 226). Just as after the consecration of the bread and the priest welcomes and declares, "Happy are those who are called to the Lord's supper," with the host becoming the Body of Christ and the "the external sacred [is] now internalized," it is so that in like manner that those are welcomed into the home setting of resident parishioners in the Guadalupe neighborhood, as they see themselves as the mystical body of Christ (Richardson 1990, 226). Several parishioners continually cogitate this extension of their faith commenting that they, the parish and as individuals, live the Gospel and were taught this by the older generation. They feel that they are the Church. Ryne observed that in his experience the Hispanic parishioners at Our Lady of Guadalupe approach community a little differently, that they understand a sense of community and mystery (Ryne 2000). For example, Joanna said,

People take time to make their space pleasant even if not extremely ornate. It says something about the way they feel about their community and people are welcome. Anyone who passes by becomes a part of this neat, beautiful, little space -- I like that. (Joanna 2000)

Laura noted that if you say you are from Our Lady of Guadalupe then "the person at the door says, 'Come, come. Come in!' It isn't just someone, it is someone from Our Lady of Guadalupe" (Laura 2000). It is someone who shares their same communal faith, which allows them to feel safe to reach out as they as a community do at Mass.

And, when parish residents Patty, Mario, and Mike were growing up in the 1960s, no yards were fenced (Now, approximately 25 percent are fenced.). Mario said that his family and two adjacent families shared all three backyards as one conjoined outdoor area. He elaborated,

There were no fences growing up. . . Boundaries were foreign to me. When they [a neighbor] did put up a fence, it was chain link. It had a lock but was always open. People were almost embarrassed and apologized when they put up a fence and say, "Well, I have this dog and need to keep him in." They felt like they needed to explain to their neighbors and they'd continue, "not because of you . . . Sometimes, I get lonely. I don't want the dog to get hit in the street." (Mario 2000)

Although today fences are in the neighborhood, they are under three feet and chain link or open in character. The parish residents' awareness and concern for the impact that one's personal space and actions has on the neighborhood as a whole attests to the solid shared identity and significance that they attach to the community.

The welcome that resounds in the area strengthens the solidarity in the parish and neighborhood is also realized on front porches. For example, Mario said,

The porch is the central meeting place for people [here]. Even if they don't have a porch, they make a little spot out front, where you can take a chair out and meet everyone. People are proud of what they have, not that they're better than anyone, but people plant flowers and gardens -- you can always start a conversation about that. Porches were always the jumping points for conversation, and they've always been important to me, the way they are in the landscape. (Mario 2000)

Patty's memory of growing up supports this idea about the neighborhood,

I remember people gathering on porches as I grew up. You'd visit. People would put chairs outside on the porch or even the sidewalk. Watering the grass, talking, and someone would bring out a watermelon, and we would pass it around the neighborhood. Porches invite. A lot of them now are HC accessible, but it's still the same. (Patty 2000)

She laughed and then explained that she feels a connection and appreciation for the wisdom of not only with the elderly in the neighborhood but also with those deceased -- she can feel their presence and it comforts her and gives her sense of belonging.

I guess sometimes I take it for granted, but there is no substitution. There is a tying in [here] that takes a village to raise. I feel fortunate. I guess it is possible to have had this experience somewhere else, but I can't help but feel special. (Patty 2000)

Patty's statement resonates the sentiments of the parishioners and encapsulates attachment to place they find with the Guadalupe neighborhood.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The critical realist, inductive approach of this research with an emphasis on relationships between phenomena illuminates emotional and symbolic attachments, their meaning, and significance in the Guadalupe neighborhood. Investigation of causal mechanisms, discourses, and structures revealed historical and present-day attachments of dependence and identity for Our Lady of Guadalupe parishioners. The multi-method framework, based in a qualitative perspective, exposed attributes that are particular to individual and social processes for the neighborhood and those that apply to a spectrum of lifestyles. Interviews divulged strong attachments relating to complex religious ideology, which the survey and participant observation support.

In the beginning, the forming Mexican enclave provided a socio-physical opportunity for solidarity that encouraged attachments of dependence and identity. The prominent Spanish-American influence in the church's form of Catholicism, order of priests (Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate), and reverence for Our Lady of Guadalupe contribute to the parishioners' dependence and identity. Furthermore, the similarities that the churchyard has with the socio-political aspects of a south Texas plaza and the parish's religious heritage instills a shared regional ethnic identity. This

heritage formed the physical, social, and spiritual foundation of the neighborhood and is the neighborhood's emotional and symbolic anchor today.

The neighborhood continues to develop distinct interwoven home place attachments involving the community, church, and personal home that are articulated in the socio-physical landscape of the neighborhood. The parishioners' dependence attachments are based in them; they feel that the church and neighborhood provide a unique way of life or an example of a desired way of life. It is pronounced and upheld through the social services and political voice of Guadalupe with, for instance, The Gabriel Project and the Guadalupe Neighborhood Development Corporation.

The broad social meaning of dependence and identity nurtures the strongest and most significant attachments for the parishioners that include community, family, and individual representation of the innermost spiritual philosophies of Spanish-American Catholicism. The home settings' emulation of the church setting conveys an inseparable, deep association and balance between the physical and cultural relationships in the landscape.

For example, in the Mass parishioners experience individual and communal relationship with the divine, as when an individual receives communion and returns to their pew to kneel with family and friends, but prays silently. Resident parishioners experience these same sort of personal and shared feelings in their own home settings in the Guadalupe neighborhood. These most significant emotional and symbolic attachments of identity that parishioners living in the neighborhood feel are based upon the particular sociospatial components of the homes, from the tactile quality of interior

statues, to a grandmother's porch or a personal garden, or to the repetition of conversation with *certain* individuals that are an articulation of their religious ideology.

Those parishioners living outside the Guadalupe neighborhood shared similar attachments with those, like Patty, that lived in the neighborhood concerning their experiences, and their participation in the neighborhood now through the church contributes to future memories. Thus, to those parishioners outside the Guadalupe neighborhood, it is a type of home setting they yearn to have and desire to be specific to them. Therefore, meaning is in the *specificity* of home place and *type* is merely a category or a stage setting with no intrinsic value. The *specificity* of place, then, is who we are, which applies to a range of lifestyles, and reveals a people's ideologies over time through events, artifacts, and actions (Entrikin 1991). Ryne explained that as Catholics they are called to be something more, through an interwoven personal and shared experience. "Individual purpose is found through community," he said and then added, "It is a Spirit that emanates from the church" (Ryne 2000). In the Guadalupe neighborhood, the essence of home place continues to grow through time towards landscape as religion.

APPENDIX A

ATTACHMENT TO PLACE: OUR LADY OF GUADALUPE PARISHIONERS AND THE GUADALUPE NEIGHBORHOOD

How do you Feel about the Guadalupe Neighborhood?

Please circle or check the answer that best describes you in relation to the neighborhood.

- I live within a _____ 1/2 mi. _____ 1 mi. 2 mi. 3 mi. 4 mi. 5 mi. greater than 6 mi. from Our Lady of Guadalupe Church.
- I have lived in the Guadalupe neighborhood for ___ years. I am ___ female ___ male.
- I work in the Guadalupe neighborhood. ___yes ___no.
- I went (go) to school in the Guadalupe neighborhood. ___yes ___no.
- Other members of my extended family live in this neighborhood too ___yes ___no.
- If yes, please answer their relationship to you (i.e. parent, grandparent, child, aunt/uncle, etc.)

- I (or my family) ___owns ___rents the place where I live.
- I have been a member of the Our Lady of Guadalupe Church for ___ years.

Please indicate the extent to which each statement below describes your general feelings about the Guadalupe neighborhood or Our Lady of Guadalupe Church as indicated. (Circle the number that best describes how you feel about each statement.)

	Stongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
▪ No other neighborhood can compare with the Guadalupe neighborhood.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ Our Lady of Guadalupe is the best church that I know of.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ If given the choice of neighborhoods to stay in, I would stay in the Guadalupe neighborhood.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ A visit to Our Lady of Guadalupe Church is a bit like giving a gift to oneself.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ If I would have lived in another area of Austin my general experience would be about the same.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ I feel no commitment to the Guadalupe neighborhood.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ I feel a commitment to Our Lady of Guadalupe parish.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ Most of my friends are in some way connected to the Guadalupe neighborhood.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ Most of my friends are in some way connected to Our Lady of Guadalupe parish.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ The Guadalupe neighborhood is very special to me.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ Our Lady of Guadalupe church is a place I often come to in my free time.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ My career/job or volunteer goals are influenced by my desire to live in the Guadalupe neighborhood.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ The Guadalupe neighborhood makes me feel like no other place can.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ Our Lady of Guadalupe makes me feel like no other church can.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ Living in the Guadalupe neighborhood helps me attain the life I strive for.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ Being a part of Our Lady of Guadalupe parish helps me attain the life I strive for.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ My time spent in the Guadalupe neighborhood could just as easily be spent somewhere else.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ My time spent in Our Lady of Guadalupe parish could just as easily be spent somewhere else.	1	2	3	4	5

▪ You can tell a lot about a person by whether they live in the Guadalupe neighborhood.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ You can tell a lot about a person by whether they belong to Our Lady of Guadalupe Church.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ I can relate this neighborhood to other parts of my life.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ I can relate Our Lady of Guadalupe Church to other parts of my life.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ When I am at Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, others see me the way I want them to see me.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ When I am in the Guadalupe neighborhood others see me the way I want them to see me.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ I find a lot of my life is organized around the Guadalupe neighborhood.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ I find a lot of my life is organized around Our Lady of Guadalupe Church.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ It really doesn't matter to me which Catholic parish I belong to.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ Visiting Our Lady of Guadalupe Church leaves me totally indifferent.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ I am emotionally attached to the Guadalupe neighborhood.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ I have invested (am willing to) my heart and soul in this neighborhood.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ I have invested (am willing to) my heart and soul in this parish.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ I would (have made) personal sacrifices to save/protect/preserve/maintain the Guadalupe neighborhood.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ I would (have made) personal sacrifices to save/protect/preserve/maintain Our Lady of Guadalupe Church.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ I feel very strongly about the land and natural features that make up the Guadalupe neighborhood.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ I feel very positively about the people and culture of the Guadalupe neighborhood.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ There are specific aspects of living in or visiting the Guadalupe neighborhood that I strongly identify with.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ I feel very strongly about the design of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church inside and out and the outdoor areas.	1	2	3	4	5
▪ I feel very positively about the people and culture of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church	1	2	3	4	5
▪ There are specific aspects belonging to Our Lady of Guadalupe Church that I strongly identify with.	1	2	3	4	5

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- I would like to do follow-up interviews after completion of the survey for personal perspectives, experiences, and feelings about the Guadalupe neighborhood and Our Lady of Guadalupe Church. These interviews will greatly enrich my research. If you are willing and want to be interviewed, which would take approximately 35 minutes, at a convenient time for you, please indicate so and supply me with a way to contact you. The interview can be done in person or over the phone.

___ Yes, I am willing to be interviewed, and I may be reached at:

Thank you for taking your time to help me with my research, I appreciate your efforts. I believe your help will benefit your community and others in terms of preserving a sense of place.

Sincerely,

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APPENDIX B

Interview Questions:

1. How do you know when you're "in" the Guadalupe neighborhood?
2. What are some unique qualities of Our Lady of Guadalupe parish and the Guadalupe neighborhood?
3. What do you like/dislike about the homes in the Guadalupe neighborhood?
4. What's a day like at Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish and in the Guadalupe neighborhood (if you live there) or what's it like when you're there?
5. What do you like most and least about Our Lady of Guadalupe parish and the Guadalupe neighborhood?
6. What do you enjoy doing most when you are with your family and your friends from Our Lady of Guadalupe Church or the Guadalupe neighborhood?
7. What is your favorite area or place at Our Lady of Guadalupe parish and in the Guadalupe neighborhood?
8. What kind of activities or work do you do at Our Lady of Guadalupe parish and in the Guadalupe neighborhood?
9. How do you feel connected (what is special to you) with Our Lady of Guadalupe parish and the Guadalupe neighborhood?
10. What are some memories you have of Our Lady of Guadalupe parish and of the Guadalupe neighborhood?

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VITA

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