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Cultural Connections in Santa Fe, New Mexico

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Cultural Connections in Santa Fe, New Mexico

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements

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Abstract

In an effort to see if there is tension among the various cultures in Santa Fe, New Mexico, this paper examines the social relationships among five cultural groups. The author investigates the nature of interaction among the Anglo, Hispanic, Hispanic immigrant, Native American, and Tibetan cultures by use of a survey which shows locations where participants spend time, who they interact with, and the purpose of the contact. Participants were questioned concerning their perceptions of cultural borders and interaction among the different cultures. The survey and feedback suggest that tension arises from cultural insensitivity and socioeconomic differences.

Keywords: cultural sensitivity, disconnection, identity, interaction, perceptions, separation

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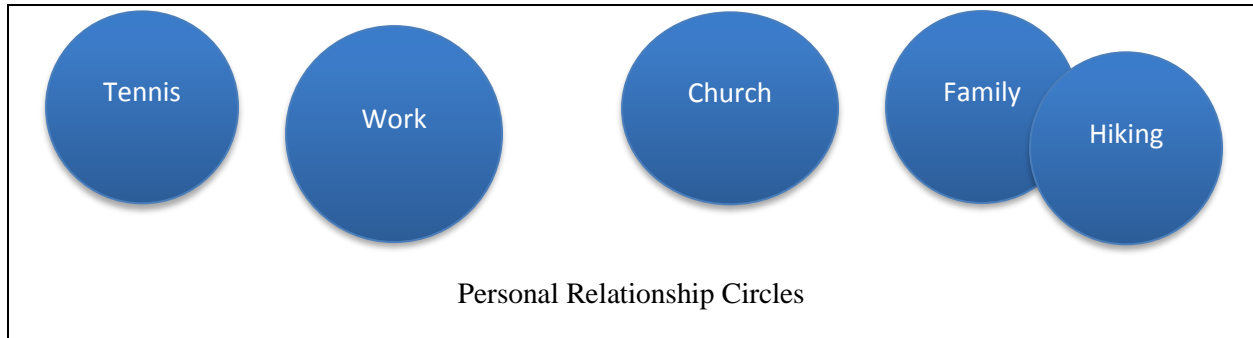
Introduction

This paper is intended to be a starting point to study intercultural relations in Santa Fe. I present a general understanding of current intercultural relations in the city. When I took the Intercultural Communication for Language Teachers class we discussed identities and it made me realize that I had never thought of myself as an American until I was in another country and I had not considered myself a white person until I was with people of other races. Before I took the class I observed the phenomena but did not have the words to express that I was used to being a member of the dominant culture. Living in Santa Fe, however, changed things and I started to wonder if there was a dominant culture in the city, and if so, which culture was it?

Part of the coursework in the S.I.T. Master's in TESOL program included the class *Intercultural Communication for Language Teachers*, ICLT 5700 (SIT, 2016, p. 37). An assignment we had in this class involved drawing the different social groups in our lives. Georg Simmel theorized that when a society is homogeneous a person's social groups intersect and overlap in many places ("Georg Simmel's Theory Of Intersecting Social Circles"). This is called connection. In a more heterogeneous society few people are in the same group, so a person's social groups do not overlap as much. A person then takes on different roles, called positions. These different connections and positions can make someone feel that their relationships have become distant and impersonal.

This is what I drew in the class to show the relationships in my life.

Personal Relationship Circles Diagram



As I drew my circles I started to see that my life was compartmentalized and that I was a different person, depending on which group I was in. It also seemed that some groups I was in were permeable and welcoming while others were not. Throughout the course, the theme of identity and belonging came into focus and began to influence how I saw things. In this paper, I continue following this theme as I describe the process of interviewing people from Santa Fe's different cultures. I asked them to describe their interactions with other cultural groups and to say if they thought that they had developed connections with other people in the city. I look at their feedback and use Milton Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) which is applied by Hammer, Bennett, Wiseman (2003) in a framework to describe why people have the cultural reactions they have.

When I was a child my father was in the military and I spent the first few years of my life in Costa Rica. My brother, sister, and I spoke Spanish when we played with the neighborhood children. I remember the colorful sights, smells, and overall relaxed feeling of that spectacular country. When I was nine years old my father received orders to Germany and I was able to spend three years exploring the big cities, villages, and countryside. I have a great memory in Berlin of my mother and I riding bikes to a museum she had discovered. It was an African art museum just a few blocks from the house and it had Zulu spears and shields, cast metal pots, and the bust of Nefertiti. When we moved back to the United

States I started 7th grade in Utah. At my father's suggestion I studied Spanish. When we moved to Southern California a year later he again urged me to stick with Spanish and predicted that someday knowing how to speak Spanish was going to be an important asset. I followed his advice and ended up studying Spanish through high school and college.

My brother left Southern California and his travels took him to Taos, in northern New Mexico. He encouraged my sister to visit and she also decided to stay. She, in turn, had me visit her and I remember being in her yard on a warm, September evening, just outside of Taos. I heard Spanish music that grew louder coming from a station wagon that was packed with people. The car was driving through a field and there was a cloud of dust behind it, and I remember that the car did not have any doors. At that moment my heart told me "I must live here." A few years later I spent Christmas with my brother, who was living in Taos, and we had Christmas dinner with his friends who lived on the Taos pueblo. Taos awakened parts of me that I had not thought of in many years. There were simple houses and farms where the sounds of Spanish mixed with the smells of wood fires and cooking beans. Taos had another side of fabulous restaurants, art galleries, and fantastic coffee. Taos brought together what I loved about Costa Rica and Germany. Finally, about twenty years ago, I moved with my own family to a beautiful city 90 miles south of Taos called Santa Fe.

Santa Fe is like a tapestry that is made up of different colors of beautiful threads. These threads are connected in such a way that they make a beautiful pattern. The pattern might not be obvious when you are close to the tapestry, but they make a beautiful picture when you change your view. The first time that I was in Santa Fe I saw the city through the eyes of an outsider. I saw houses that looked like the kind I used to make out of mud and sticks when I was a child. Most of the people spoke Spanish and I remember that they took their time when they were together. Even in stores, a clerk would stop what they were doing to talk with a shopper about their children, their health, or something personal. Sometimes, though, I look at Santa Fe and I see separation that does not seem beautiful or to have a purpose. In this paper, I explore the separation that I think that I see among the various cultures. I wonder if what I see is

really separation and if so, what are the reasons for it? If it is not separation, then what is it? If there is separation, what are the implications?

It is difficult to determine which of the cultures in Santa Fe is dominant. Some say that the Hispanic culture is dominant because they are the majority population and they are so influential in politics. Others say that the Anglos are because many are wealthy and Anglos have higher levels of education. Other people say that the Native Americans, who own large amounts of land, are the dominant culture.

I have learned that in New Mexico the term Hispanic refers to the people who descended from the Spanish who explored New Mexico. This includes the Spanish who intermarried with the Native Americans in Mexico or New Mexico even generations ago. The Hispanic immigrants I refer to are those people who have come from Mexico, Central America, or a Spanish-speaking country in South America within the last one or two generations. The whites are called Anglos. The Native Americans are the indigenous people in New Mexico and sometimes refer to themselves as Indians. The Tibetans are the people who were either born in Tibet or whose parents or grandparents were born there.

When I first lived here as a mother of young children we went to the museums because they offered fascinating hands-on programs that engaged my children. The city also had opportunities for my children to become members of musical groups. The art and philosophy departments of colleges had workshops that welcomed my children's participation and they learned photography, music, and a variety of art. I started to look around then at the students who were enrolled in these free classes and wondered why all of the children were Anglos. The colleges had advertised in the local newspaper so, it seemed to me that everyone was welcome. Where were the Hispanic and Hispanic immigrants? Where were the Tibetans and Native American children?

I noticed that many places I went were places where there were just Anglos. I began to play tennis and joined a gym and I only saw one to two Hispanic members, and no Native Americans,

Hispanic immigrants, or Tibetans. My tennis team traveled to matches in Albuquerque and I saw many Hispanic players on those teams. During the summers there were advertisements in the paper and on the radio about free jazz concerts where people sat on the grass and had picnics. Transportation was provided, but again, it was almost entirely an Anglo activity. There were free hikes that were led by geologists and anthropologists but only Anglos showed up.

My family wanted to find a church. The first few churches we went to were filled with wealthy Anglo transplants from Texas. There was one Navajo woman at a church and we became friends. She told me that she felt completely ill at ease at the church because she was the only non-Anglo. I was the only person who spoke with her. We bought a house in what turned out to be an Anglo neighborhood and ended up going to the church there. When I used to live in Southern California I knew my Hispanic neighbors and many of my co-workers were Hispanic. When I had visited Santa Fe before moving here the Hispanic culture seemed so prominent, so, when I moved to Santa Fe I expected that I would get to know many Hispanic people, but I only saw them when I was shopping or at a government office. Of course, I was not working at that point and my neighbors were almost all Anglos, so maybe it was not so different from California.

I began teaching at Santa Fe High School about 10 years ago. Most of the students were from the Hispanic and the Hispanic immigrant community. One day my students asked me where I shopped for groceries and I told them that I shopped at Trader Joe's. I had one Anglo student and she was the only student who had ever heard of it. The class took a poll of where people shopped and it we learned that the Anglos shopped at Trader Joe's, the Hispanics shopped at Smith's grocery store, and the Hispanic immigrants shopped at Lowe's (now King's) grocery store. None of the students were surprised; they knew that certain cultures shopped at different places. But this made me look at the city in a new way; what other activities were separated? Why did people from different cultures shop at different stores?

When my daughter finished college and got a job in Santa Fe she and her Anglo friend looked for an apartment to rent. She told me that when they were walking around the south side of town an Anglo police officer stopped them and asked what they were doing. They told him they were apartment hunting and he warned them that it was not a good area for them. He recommended that she live on the north side. This added to my incentive to watch for signs of parallel lives and separation. I have asked my friends, who are all Anglos, what awareness they had of cultural separation in Santa Fe. I asked if they expected to have non-Anglo friends and whether they had them. Some of my friends had lived in multicultural communities before where they mixed with other cultures and thought that they would have the same experience in Santa Fe. Those who had not lived in multicultural communities did not seek out those relationships and did not feel like anything was missing. Some described cultural bumps with Hispanics in state offices. One time a woman who was working for a senator tried to get office supplies but was refused. When she returned with a Hispanic co-worker she got the best service. One person said that she was talking with a state employee when another customer appeared. The employee stopped what they were doing and spoke with the other person. They felt that this was a sign of disrespect as well as inefficiency. No one had any stories about contact with Native Americans. A few knew that there were Tibetans in town because they had seen them working at Whole Foods, an up-scale grocery store. Everyone knew that there were a lot of Hispanic immigrants because they saw them shopping in stores and working in restaurants. These stories made me want to investigate what was really going on regarding cultural separation. Do members of non-Anglo cultures feel a disconnection? If so, what causes this and what impact does it have?

Where is Santa Fe, New Mexico?

I want to describe where Santa Fe is and how it developed because it may help to understand how and why cultures in Santa Fe interact. It is a city with a long and rich history, with both beautiful and destructive elements. Santa Fe, New Mexico is in the Southwest region of the United States. Its northern border adjoins Colorado and on the western side are Utah and Arizona. It borders Mexico to the south and Texas and Oklahoma to the east. The state is about 370 miles long and 343 miles wide. Santa Fe, the capital, is about 280 miles north of the Mexican border. The city of Albuquerque is about 65 miles south of Santa Fe. The Rocky Mountains, which start in Canada, run through the center of the state and in New Mexico they are called the Sangre de Cristo (Spanish for “Blood of Christ”) Mountains. The range ends in Santa Fe. The highest point in the state is a mountain in the Sangre de Cristo range, Mt. Wheeler. It is 13,161 feet high and is 90 miles north of Santa Fe. Santa Fe’s elevation is 7,200 feet.

The Rio Grande is the main river and it runs through the state from the north to the south. The land along the rivers is fertile but quickly becomes arid and infertile as you move away from the rivers. The land turns into deserts and plains and there are various mountain ranges throughout the state.

Population Data

The population of New Mexico is 2 and a half million people and Santa Fe, the capital, has about 80,000 people (U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.). About 9 % of the state population is Native American, 38% are white alone (Anglo) and 46 % are Hispanic. Almost 2% are Asian. The census data does not delineate between Hispanic and Hispanic immigrant. There is no U.S. Census data on the number of undocumented immigrants in the state. The population statistics for Santa Fe show that 43% of Santa Feans are Anglo, 46% are Hispanic, 2% are Native American, and 1.4% are Asian. It is interesting to note the huge population shift that Santa Fe has undergone. It began as a Native American settlement, and now Native

Americans make up only 2% of the city's population. Also, in the 1830s, 90% of the people in Santa Fe were Hispanic with the remainder Native Americans and Anglos.

The state poverty rate in 2013 was 22%, compared with the national rate of 16%. Santa Fe's rate was 17% ("Santa Fe, Mexico (NM) Poverty Rate Data – Information About Poor And Low Income Residents Living In This City"). The poverty rate is over 30% for Native Americans in New Mexico, 24% for Hispanics, and 12% for Asians. (NM Voices, 2013).

The Spanish in New Mexico

In 1527 a Spanish expedition became stranded in Florida. A few men tried to sail to Mexico but their raft washed ashore in Texas. In the eight years that they spent getting back to Mexico City, they heard that there were seven cities of gold in what is now New Mexico. Francisco de Coronado was the governor of a province in Mexico, and he sent an expedition out to investigate. Reports came back that there was lots of gold, and in 1540 Coronado set out with a large expedition to look for it. He went through central New Mexico, along the Rio Grande, and even up into Kansas. Of course, he did not find gold, so the Spanish ignored New Mexico for another 50 years. The Spanish sent an expedition to New Mexico to convert the Native Americans and claim the territory for Spain. They settled a few miles north of Santa Fe, but because they mistreated the Native Americans they revolted in 1610 and drove the Spanish to what is now Santa Fe.

Over the decades the governors and Franciscan friars continued to mistreat the Native Americans, burning their religious artifacts and forcing them into labor. One Spanish military leader even chopped off one foot of captured rebellious native fighters. Finally, in 1680, the Native Americans revolted and pushed the Spanish back down to El Paso, Texas. Twelve years later, carrying a statue of the Virgin Mary, the Spanish returned to retake the city. The event is commemorated with fiestas where people march through the city with a statue of La Conquistadora, the Conquering Virgin Mary.

The Spanish kept New Mexico insulated from outside influence. They were concerned about keeping their territory out of the control of the French, English, and Americans, so they did not allow anyone to come into their territory without permission. The Spanish heard that the American expeditions of Lewis and Clark and later Zebulon Pike were actually spy missions so they sent scouts to try to capture the explorers. The Spanish government frequently arrested officials who worked for it and the New Mexicans who worked for the Spanish government always felt the looming threat that they would be arrested for an infraction. This led many to use their positions to take as much as they could for themselves and their families before the inevitable day of arrest. New Mexicans learned to not rely on the government to provide for them. Instead, they maintained strong ties with their family and friends who they expected would support them. They learned to maneuver around the government.

Mexico Rules New Mexico

Spain maintained control of New Mexico until 1821 when the Mexicans won their independence from Spain. Mexico then took over New Mexico. They allowed trade with outsiders and the Santa Fe Trail, starting in St. Louis, Missouri, was opened. The trail brought trappers, traders and then settlers.

New Mexico Becomes a U.S. Territory

The United States and Mexico went to war in 1846, and in 1848 the United States won the war, making New Mexico a U.S. territory. It became a state in 1912. Interestingly, the state constitution requires that school should be taught in English and Spanish.

Native Americans in New Mexico

The Native Americans have lived in New Mexico for thousands of years. (New Mexico Office Of the State Historian | Historical-Events-And-Timeline”). The Anasazi were Native Americans who lived

from about 850 to 1140 AD in the Four Corners area of New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, and Arizona. They built three and four story buildings and traded with people in Mexico, but they eventually disappeared. Many Pueblo Indians believe that they have descended from the Anasazi. They believe that the Anasazi left the Four Corners area and settled along the Rio Grande in northern New Mexico. They initially farmed along the river, but because of attacks from Apaches, many built homes in the cliffs.

The Pueblo Indians now live in nineteen Pueblos, eighteen of which are near the Rio Grande. The Zuni Pueblo is close to Arizona. The tribes speak Keres, Tewa, Towa and Tiwa. There are an estimated 65,000 members of the Pueblo tribes and it is estimated that about 11,000 people can speak their native language (About the Pueblos n.d.). All five languages are considered endangered and efforts are being made to sustain them (Pariona) and (“Tiwa Language And The Tiwa Indian Tribes (Tigua, Isleta, Picuris, Sandia, And Taos Pueblos)”). The Indigenous Language Institute in Santa Fe supports the training of language teachers and programs to preserve the languages. The Pueblo and public schools that are close to the Pueblos offer native language classes. The children in those Pre-Kindergarten classes are in full immersion. English is gradually added in later grades. In high school the students usually get to take one class in their native language. Typically, the Native Americans over age 70 speak their native language fluently and speak it with one another. When they speak to other native people between 40 and 70 years old they can have conversations in their native language but it is usually not sustained. When the older Native Americans speak with the younger generations they frequently use English.

Spain gave land grants to the Pueblo Indians so they could live in their ancestral land. When Mexico took over it continued to honor the Spanish grants and this continued under the United States government. A few of the 19 pueblos have casinos and some have golf courses on their land. Most of the jobs are minimum wage and the payouts to the local tribes are offset by the increase in gambling debts. The Native Americans poverty rate in the state is over 30% (Macartney, Bishaw and Fontenot 1-20).

In the state, 55% of Native American households with children have no parent who had full-time employment (Kids Count in New Mexico 11). Native students struggle to complete high school and the graduation rate for Native Americans is 63%, below the state graduation rate of 69% (NM-IBIS n.d.). One gauge for literacy is the how well fourth graders read. In New Mexico, the overall reading proficiency for fourth graders is 20% and it is 12% for Native American fourth graders. (Kids Count in New Mexico). In the 2015-2016 school year only 27% of New Mexican students tested proficient in English Language Arts and only 20% tested proficient in Math (Kids Count in New Mexico).

Santa Fe has many institutions that support Native Americans. In 1890 the U.S. government established a boarding school, called the Santa Fe Indian School, for Native American children. The All Indian Pueblo Council, representing the 19 pueblos, took ownership of the school in 2001. The school has over 600 students in grades 7-12, and about two-thirds of them board (About SFIS n.d.). As of 2013, of the approximately 13,000 children in the Santa Fe Public School District, there were fewer than 300 Native American students. The Institute of American Indian Arts is a four-year college with 700 students enrolled from over 100 tribes from across the country. The Indigenous Language Institute is in Santa Fe and its mission is to preserve the endangered languages of Native Americans and give teachers tools to teach languages.

Tibetans in Santa Fe

Tibet is a country that is about the size of Texas and lies between India and China. Nepal and Bhutan are on its southern border. The Chinese invaded Tibet in 1949, and for three years the Tibetans fought the Chinese. Over 85,000 Tibetans were killed and hundreds of monasteries were destroyed. In 1959, the Dalai Lama fled through the Himalayan Mountains to India. In the three years following his escape, thousands of Tibetans fled to India, Bhutan, and Nepal where they lived peacefully in Nepalese communities. (“Tibetan Americans – History, Modern Era, Significant Immigration Waves, Settelement Patterns”).

In 1990, the United States allowed 1,000 Tibetans who lived outside of Tibet to enter the United States and about 150 Tibetans came to Albuquerque and Santa Fe this way. (Los Angeles Times, Deborah Baker). The population has remained about the same.

Many of the Tibetans meet at The Tibetan Association of Santa Fe. Tibetan families meet there every week and the children are taught the language and history. Their activities are for members only, although in the summer they offer classes on dance and culture to the community. Another important location for Tibetans is the Thubten Norbu Ling Tibetan Buddhist Center. This is open to the public (“Thubten-Norbu-Ling”).

Although it is a very small population I thought that it would be worthwhile to include in my study of cultures in Santa Fe. They are similar to the Hispanic immigrants in that they are newcomers, but I wanted to see what differences and similarities they have. I did not know much about the Tibetan community and did not have any ideas of what to expect from interviewing members of the Tibetan community.

Anglos in Santa Fe

From the late 1800s until World War II Americans from all over the country were looking for a cure for tuberculosis. Following doctors' orders to seek a high, dry, and sunny climate, many came to New Mexico. Santa Fe became a mecca for sanitariums and many of the people ended up staying. A hundred years ago artists from the east coast began to travel to Taos and Santa Fe and they started an art colony in Santa Fe. This attracted more artists from around the country and the number of Anglos began to increase. Santa Fe started to grow but the city did not have much industry. During the Great Depression, the federal Works Progress Administration program encouraged artists to develop their local arts and crafts. The craft industry continues to give people a sense of pride in their culture.

New Mexico became a testing ground for rockets in the 1930s and this began the establishment of federal science laboratories in the state. During World War II the federal government developed the research laboratory at Los Alamos, about 30 miles from Santa Fe. Since then Santa Fe has been a magnet for highly educated scientists, who are mostly Anglos. They generally live on the north side of town, near the downtown area, because of its beauty and because it is closer to Los Alamos.

After World War II a private preparatory school opened and well-off Anglos sent their students there. As Anglos moved in many Hispanics sold their properties that were close to downtown and moved to the outskirts of town, now 'mid-town'. In the 1950s a city ordinance, spearheaded by an Anglo architect named John Gaw Meem, required that "Old Santa Fe Style" be used in all new buildings. This gives the city great charm but also angers some people who either cannot afford to build and maintain that kind of structure or who do not want to be told what to do.

A Description of Santa Fe

Santa Fe is home to artists, writers, and scientists. It is home to many charitable organizations. But, it is a city of contrasts. The state illiteracy rate is 46%. (New Mexico Coalition for Literacy n.d). Santa Fe has a high school graduation rate of 64% while the national average is 85%. (NM-IBIS n.d.). There are hundreds of homes that cost over a million dollars and at the same time, the city poverty rate is 16.7%. The national rate is 14.5% (Maccartney, Bishaw and Gontenot 2).

The city has three main geographic areas. The downtown area, with most of the galleries, museums, hotels, and restaurants, is on the north side. It is where the most expensive homes are and most of the people who live there are Anglos. The second area is the mid-town. It was developed in the 1950s and 1960s and is home to mostly Anglos and Hispanics. These homes are less expensive than downtown. The third area is the south side and this area was developed within the last 20 years and is generally where

the Hispanic immigrants, Native Americans, and Tibetans live. Homes there generally cost less than the mid-town homes.

High Schools

I think that it is relevant to look at the high schools in Santa Fe because it is representative of separation that seems to exist in the city. Santa Fe has many small charter high schools and two major public high schools. Students are accepted into the charter schools by lottery. Students are assigned to either of the two high schools, depending on where they live. One of the larger schools, Santa Fe High School, is in the center of town. About 75% of the students are Hispanic and 18% are Anglo. There are a small number of Native American, Asian/Pacific, and African-American students. (“Santa Fe Public Schools Demographic Information”). The principal said that the breakdown of the Hispanic students is probably 70% Hispanic and 30% Hispanic immigrant students. Capital High School on the south side of town and also has about 75% Hispanic students and 18% Anglo students. The principal there estimates that the breakdown of Hispanic students is probably 10% Hispanic students and 90% Hispanic immigrant students. About 600 students, mostly Anglos, attend private high schools.

Investigation Project

My experiences in Santa Fe led me to think that there is a tension among the cultural groups. This tension causes the cultures to live separately as if people had parallel lives. The city seems to be divided into cultural sectors and I wanted to learn from people in different cultures about what their experiences and perceptions were about how connected they felt with other cultures. From the onset, my purpose was not intended in any way be a formal inquiry project. Rather, my goal was to meet with people from each major cultural group. I planned to interview them and use a survey to learn what their experiences and impressions were of cultural connectedness in Santa Fe. I considered using the variables of education and income to select people but I felt that those questions were too sensitive to ask. In fact, I never asked the

interviewees about education and income and only reported it if they mentioned it during the interview. I also did not ask people about their legal status.

Two of the people who I interviewed are native Spanish speakers. I was able to understand one woman with a combination of her English and my Spanish. With the second Hispanic immigrant woman who I interviewed I had a translator who helped clarify some of the conversation. One Tibetan woman was not completely fluent in English and her Tibetan co-worker helped to translate.

I met individually with the people who I interviewed because I thought that they would feel safer and freer to share their beliefs and experiences than if they were in a group. For each one, we met in a place that was convenient for them. I met with three people at their places of employment, two people at their homes, two at coffee shops, and two at a library, and one at the Tibetan Association Center. I reminded them that I was looking into how different cultures in Santa Fe mixed or connected. I did not share my assumption that there were tension and separation among groups. We reviewed the Consent Forms and they signed them. Two people wrote their own answers to the prepared questions. I wrote the answers to the questions and follow-up questions for the other eight people.

I first gave the interviewees a street map of Santa Fe and asked them to mark on the map where they lived. Then I asked them to think of a typical day where they were not going to work and had them mark each of the places they would go to on this typical day. I gave them the example that I might go to K-Mart, then the gym, then go out to lunch at El Parasol, then shop at Savers Thrift Shop, and finally grocery shop at Trader Joe's. Then on a separate form for each place they went I asked them to write the purpose of the trip, such as errand or personal. Next, they were to write who they spoke with at the place they were at and write what language or languages they used. I gave an example of going to K-Mart to do errands, speaking with a clerk, and speaking in English.

I designed questions that were intended to learn about the attitudes and opinions people had about the frequency and nature of contact among members of different cultures. It was important that the

questions were not intrusive or too personal, and I took care to not discuss immigration status. The questions were in English. I spoke to all but one of the people by telephone before the interviews. I first spoke with a Tibetan woman at the bookstore where she worked and it was clear that I needed an interpreter. Her co-worker agreed to help. I could tell from my telephone conversation with one of the Hispanic immigrant women that she had emerging English skills so I had an interpreter with me when we met. The second Hispanic immigrant woman had stronger English skills and we were able to communicate with her English and my Spanish. When I spoke on the telephone with one of the Tibetan women it was clear that she was fluent in English.

Guidelines for surveys recommend that they are short and simple (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2011). Following this recommendation, I only asked six questions. The questions that I asked were open-ended. With some people that was all they needed for them to speak at length. With some other people, however, I realized during the interviews that I needed to paraphrase the questions. When I did they opened up more. I was then able to ask them follow-up questions. These are the questions I asked:

1. Are you often aware of your cultural identity when you interact with people in Santa Fe? Please explain.
2. Are you often aware of other people's cultural identity when you interact with them? Please explain.
3. How often do you interact with members of other cultures when you are not at work?
4. Do you feel that you understand people and are understood in some places of business more than at others? If so, what are those places?
5. Do you feel more welcome in some places of business than others? What are those places?
6. Are there places where you feel unwelcome or hesitant to go to? What are those places?

How I Chose the People to Interview

To select the people who I interviewed I used a non-probability approach called purposive or judgment sampling. In this approach, the subjects to be surveyed belong to a particular group and the person doing the survey wants to find a typical case, (Research Methodology). The person conducting the survey uses their judgment in selecting people to be surveyed. An example is asking college students their opinion about something. The college students are chosen because they are easy to access. People are not picked randomly. In this survey, I used my judgment to choose people who I thought would be representative of their cultural group and would have similar beliefs and opinions to other people who were in their cultural group. One drawback of using this approach is that people's opinions cannot be used to generalize information but it does provide general attitudes that help to complete the picture of cultural connectedness. I also used a non-probability approach called a 'Snowball' approach (Atkinson and Flint). This is when one person who I interview refers me to another person. Snowball sampling is typically used when access to a group is difficult to get. I needed to use this with the Hispanic man I interviewed. I needed to get a referral from a Hispanic woman, Joanne, to meet with Jose.

The predominant culture groups in Santa Fe are the Anglo, Hispanic, Hispanic immigrant, Native American, and Tibetan communities. My goal was to interview two members of each group. My niece put me in touch with Sam and a co-worker connected me with Lenore. Joanne is a woman I have known for years and she referred me to Jose. A Native American friend who is active in the arts put me in contact with Daniel. I contacted the Santa Fe Indian School and they connected me with Matt. I contacted the local United Way office where I had taught English to immigrants and asked if they could put me in contact with two Hispanic immigrants. No men were taking their classes so I interviewed two women. I went to the Tibetan Association Center and found a woman to interview. One of the women encouraged her friend to meet with me.

Interviews with Anglos

I interviewed an Anglo man named Sam who is in his mid-thirties and was born north of Santa Fe in Taos, New Mexico. Both of his parents came to New Mexico from out of state and were well-educated hippies. They eventually moved to Santa Fe and he attended public school because his parents did not want him to be around only affluent Anglos at the local private schools. Sam went to Columbia University and became a baker. He lived in San Francisco for ten years and recently returned to Santa Fe. He co-founded a foundation to provide low-income people with bicycles and he is active in the local bike scene. He said that the majority of bicyclists in town are Anglo but it is a very inclusive group. The local cooking community is diverse and Sam has Native American, Hispanic, and Hispanic immigrant friends from this community. Sam is aware of his cultural identity when he is out in the community and says that growing up here has given him the ability to size up what culture someone belongs to. He does not speak Spanish. He feels comfortable and welcome in most parts of town except for the more affluent establishments or places that are “hip”. He gives an example of being at the Ikon Coffee Shop or Better Day Coffee Shop. The patrons seem to all be rich Anglos that scope him out to see if he is well off.

Lenore is a very outgoing woman in her twenties who was born and raised in Albuquerque. Her parents were from the Midwest and decided to live where it was warmer and had a slower lifestyle. She works at a frame shop close to downtown and also performs in a band. Lenore moved from Albuquerque to Santa Fe four years ago because her boyfriend lives here and she is really surprised at how cultures here do not interact. She compares life here to Albuquerque where she grew up in the International District. That neighborhood is home to many African, Asian, and Hispanic immigrant people. She speaks a little Spanish. As a child in Albuquerque she always went to the houses of people from different cultures and even felt completely at home when she visited the tough ‘South Valley’ neighborhood. She has had a very hard time getting to know non-Anglo people in Santa Fe and she would like to. She said in Albuquerque the neighborhoods, shops, and restaurants were integrated. Here, she said, she has Hispanic neighbors but they do not talk with each other. On a typical day, she will ride her bike around town with

her boyfriend and stop and eat at a restaurant in mid-town where there usually are the only Anglos. She shops in mid-town where she sees both Hispanic and Hispanic immigrants but she does not talk with them. When she first moved to Santa Fe she lived on the very 'hoity-toity' north side, which she said is where people have extravagant second homes and they are rarely there. She is more comfortable now that she is living in the mid-town area.

Interviews with Hispanics

Joanne is in her sixties and was born and raised in Santa Fe. She and her husband, an Anglo, have an insurance company and she speaks Spanish all the time with their clients. She has spent time as a medical interpreter for doctors overseas. Her family originally came from Mexico and has been here for seven generations. Joanne and her sister spoke Spanish and English at home. Her parents spoke Spanish to each other and even now her aunts speak Spanish that is sprinkled with some English. Joanne speaks Spanish with them when she visits them in their mid-town houses. She feels very comfortable everywhere in town. She does errands on the south side of town where there are mostly immigrants. She also enjoys going to the Plaza, which is in the downtown area, to enjoy cultural events. When she goes to Mexican restaurants she speaks Spanish and the staff is very happy to hear her speak.

She grew up on the north side but her family sold the house in the 1970s to buy something new and more affordable in mid-town. I asked Joanne if she has friends from different cultures and she said that she absolutely does. However, she says that she does not know any Mexican immigrants except the woman who cleans her house. She does not know any Tibetans although she has heard that there are Tibetans in town and has seen them working at Whole Foods. A few years ago she lived a little north of town, in Espanola, and knew quite a few Native Americans when she and her husband had their insurance business there, but since moving back to Santa Fe about fifteen years ago she has not gotten to know any Native Americans.

Jose is in his forties and speaks Spanish whenever he can. He is an auto mechanic. He proudly says that his family came to New Mexico in the early 1700s and settled in Las Vegas, New Mexico, a town about 60 miles east of Santa Fe. The family received a land grant when Mexico took control of the area. He grew up in a tiny town outside of Las Vegas where his family did subsistence farming. They spoke mostly Spanish at home. His older sisters started to speak to him only in English when it was time for him to go to school. He and his sisters spoke Spanish to their parents and English with each other. His father got a job at the hospital in Las Vegas so his family moved into town. When Jose was in high school he learned to be an auto mechanic. He lived and worked in towns around northern New Mexico and finally settled in Santa Fe. His wife is Hispanic and also is from Las Vegas. They speak Spanish with each other. They did not speak Spanish to their children because they did not want them to learn the language. He said that he wanted to speak with his wife and not have the children understand. His children, who are grown, understand Spanish but do not speak it. Jose noted that his company tries to hire people who speak Spanish and that now the immigrants are getting hired, but it does not seem that he regrets not teaching his children to speak Spanish.

Jose lives on the south side of town and his neighbors are both Hispanic immigrants and Hispanics. His errands take him to Walmart and Sam's Club. I asked him if there were places in town where he did not like to go and without hesitation, he said the Plaza. Jose explained that he thought that the downtown area was snotty. I asked him to describe that and he looked embarrassed. I sensed that Jose did not want to offend me by saying that he did not like to be around Anglos. I asked if he meant that the Anglos were unwelcoming and he said that maybe they were but also it was expensive and he did not feel welcome. I went ahead and said that I knew that some of the Anglos, especially some Texans, could be snobby and he agreed.

Jose and his wife enjoy going out to eat at The Flying Tortilla restaurant, which is on the south side of town. Most of the staff is Hispanic immigrants and Jose speaks Spanish with them. His Spanish is so good that the staff thinks that he is from Mexico. He jokes that he is from Mexico and says that the

staff is from Old Mexico and he is from New Mexico. He said that the staff speaks to his wife in English because they think that she is Anglo because she has a light complexion. I asked him about what he likes to do for fun and he said that he likes activities where he can be with his family. They don't like to go to places like museums where you have to pay. He likes doing things like camping, watching sporting events, hunting, and fishing. When I asked him if he had Anglo friends he said sure, and then explained that he worked with Anglos, but really during his free time, he was with his family. He did say that a couple of his friends had Anglos wives and that they mixed well.

Jose said that he used to know some Native Americans when he lived in Taos but he has only met a few since he moved to Santa Fe. He does not know any Tibetans.

Interviews with Hispanic Immigrants

Graciela is in her mid-thirties and is from Chihuahua, Mexico. Chihuahua is a state in Mexico that borders New Mexico. She came to the United States in 1999. Her husband, a construction worker, is also from Chihuahua and they married 14 years ago. Their three children range in age from 5 to 13 and they live on the south side of town. The family speaks Spanish at home although Graciela is very proud that her children are bilingual. They even know how to read and write in Spanish. Graciela has been taking English classes on and off for a few years and will soon be taking the citizenship test. She is very happy in the United States and has not returned to Mexico because of the violence there. After she drops her children off at school she usually does errands at the Smith's grocery store, Sam's Club and Walmart. Then she goes to her Zumba class where everyone is from Mexico and they speak Spanish. I asked her if she has ever gone to the Zumba classes at Body, an exercise mecca on the north side of town. Graciela said that she had never heard of it. She will then go to a local coffee shop, Java Joe's, in mid-town where she meets her English language tutor. Graciela says that she is usually the only non-Anglo there but always felt warmly welcomed. Then she picks up her youngest child and takes him to a reading or art program at the South Side Library. The South Side Library is a mixing place for many different cultures in town. They offer food distribution, classes for adults, and other services like help with taxes.

She says that sometimes when she is in a store she speaks in Spanish to ask a sales clerk a question. Patrons at Sam's Club, Walmart, and Smith's grocery store have scolded her many times for not speaking English so now she gets anxious when she goes in a store. Graciela says that the patrons in these places are either Anglos or Hispanics who have lived in Santa Fe for generations. She said that about half of the sales clerks in town speak Spanish and they are usually polite to her, although once or twice they have shown their impatience that she does not know English. Graciela is not interested in going to places on the north side of town. Her family enjoys going on picnics and does not need to go to galleries or museums. She said she is happy just spending time where she does.

Graciela says that she has acquaintances but does not have close friends in town. Her family does not participate in community activities except for school and sports events. Besides her English tutor and other former English teacher, she does not know any Anglos. She does not know any Native Americans or Tibetans. She does not think that this is strange or a sign that she is in any way unwelcome.

Another Hispanic immigrant who I interviewed is Sonia, a woman in her forties. She came to the United States from Mexico City fifteen years ago. She has two grown children and an eleven-year-old daughter. Her former husband is from Chihuahua, Mexico. Sonia works as a hairdresser, baker, and a house cleaner. She says that her English is very poor but she does not have time to take classes. Sonia lives in mid-town. When Sonia does errands she usually goes grocery shopping at King's, a Mexican discount grocery store in mid-town. Everyone there speaks Spanish and the prices are great. She always speaks Spanish there. Then she goes to Walmart and Ross Dress for Less where she will speak in English if she cannot find a Spanish-speaking employee. Most of the employees at those stores also speak Spanish. The only place on the north side of town she goes to is the Violet Crown Movie Theater. Sonia says that when she goes to the movies people do not welcome Spanish speakers there. She said that the Anglos and Hispanics waiting in line for tickets commented negatively about her not being able to speak English with the ticket sales person.

Sonia is very proud that her daughter is bilingual in English and Spanish and is a good student. She takes her daughter to the mid-town Paragua Little Theater for acting lessons. She first heard about it from a flyer at her daughter's school. Sonia has some friends there who are parents and they speak with each other in Spanish. However, it is very expensive and she does not know how long she can continue with the lessons. Many places in town where her daughter wants to go are very expensive, such as the Children's Museum and the Rock Wall climbing gym. When I asked her if she feels that there are any parts of town where she does not feel welcome she noted the feeling of exclusion she gets because of not being able to afford some activities.

Sonia notices that the people in town have changed in the last ten years. Specifically, the immigrants from Mexico drive wildly and do not follow the rules. Sonia said that the Hispanic immigrants used to be more polite and law abiding. She is from the capital of Mexico, and the majority of Mexican immigrants are from Chihuahua. She notes that the people from Chihuahua are more country people and backward. They still make tortillas by hand in that part of Mexico.

Sonia does not participate in a church or other community activities. She does not have a strong support system and as person from the more sophisticated Mexico City, she does not feel like she is a part of the local Mexican community. The only Anglos who she knows are connected with her daughter's school or teach with the theater program. She does not know any Native Americans or Tibetans.

Interviews with Native Americans

Matt is in his twenties and is a member of the Cochiti Pueblo. Cochiti is about 20 miles south of Santa Fe and is one of seven pueblos where people speak Keres. Keres is not written in his community, although in nearby San Felipe and Santo Domingo Pueblos the Keres is written. He grew up speaking Keres and English at home. Matt went to the elementary school on his pueblo. He had the choice of attending the local public school or attending the Indian School in Santa Fe for high school and he chose to go to the local high school because he wanted to be closer to home. When he speaks with his Native

friends his age he usually speaks in English, but sometimes switches to Keres. Matt said that he has taken some courses at the local community college and has decided to get a certificate in Sustainable Technology. Currently, he works as a substitute teacher at the Indian School. The Indian School teachers mostly live in town but the other employees tend to live on the pueblos and commute. He said that Santa Fe does not have many Native Americans for him to spend time with, so he often drives back to his parent's house on weekends to spend time with his family and Native friends. Matt shares an apartment on the south side of town. After work, he will go grocery shopping at Walmart and occasionally enjoys eating at a Mexican restaurant near his house. Matt feels perfectly welcome everywhere in Santa Fe and does not feel that he is discriminated against. He does not spend much time downtown because it is expensive and he is not that interested in galleries. He knows people from different cultures but he does not spend his free time with them. He is content to live and work in Santa Fe and drive back to Cochiti on weekends where he enjoys a more traditional life. After he earns his certificate in Sustainable Technologies he would like to work somewhere in New Mexico and be within a day's drive of home.

Daniel is a Native American in his forties and is a member of the Acoma Pueblo, which is about 60 miles west of Albuquerque. The people in Acoma speak Keres. He was raised by his grandparents and spoke Keres at home and he did not learn English until he went to school at age 7. After he graduated from high school he studied art and business in college. After working in Albuquerque for fifteen years he was offered a job in Santa Fe. His duties include investigating Native American art forgeries and art that was illegally taken. It took him a while to get used to Santa Fe because he had always thought it was pretentious. However, in the 5 years that he has lived in Santa Fe he has been on many boards and attended many types of art and government functions. He said that this has helped him to become comfortable with the many well-off Anglos he sees. Daniel made a pact to not drive a car because of his environmental beliefs. He lives downtown and walks or rides his bicycle around town. Because he is single goes out for meals a lot, mostly in the downtown area. He feels welcome walking in town and when he is on the Plaza, which is the very center of downtown, he seeks out the Indians who sell jewelry.

He looks for someone from one of the pueblos where they speak Keres and he speaks with them. Daniel spends a lot of time in galleries but there are a couple of galleries where he feels unwelcome. He explained that these are places where he brought charges against them for selling knock-offs.

Interviews with Tibetans

I wanted to interview a Tibetan who had recently arrived in the United States. I asked some Tibetans about that and they said that the Tibetans in town have lived here for quite a while. The population has remained at about 150 since the early 1990s.

A Tibetan woman named Tenzin came to the United States in 1997. She was born in Nepal in 1980. Her parents were both born and raised in Tibet. Her father escaped from Tibet on his own when he was about 10 years old. He was shot in the leg and lived in a cave for two months and took two years to reach Nepal through the mountains. Tenzin's mother was also a child when the Chinese invaded. She was imprisoned for a few months. The mother, her parents, and three brothers escaped to Nepal. Her mother and father met and married in Nepal. Tenzin's family was a part of the Tibetan community in Nepal and although they were safe the understanding was that they were not a part of the Nepalese community. They always felt like refugees. Her sister came to the United States in 1994 and worked for an American woman in Santa Fe who owned a resort. She treated the sister very well. Tenzin finished high school in Nepal and her sister suggested that she come to the United States to work at the resort. She was allowed into the United States on a regular visa and worked at the resort for about eight years. During that time she met and married her husband, a Sherpa from Nepal. They speak Nepalese with each other. They recently adopted a child from China but because the child has a speech difficulty the speech language-pathologist encouraged them to speak only English with him. In 2005, she and her husband opened up a small import shop and every year they go to Nepal and Thailand for a couple of months to buy things for their store.

Tenzin says that there are about 150 Tibetans in Santa Fe and they are a very close community. They are all members of the Tibetan Association of Santa Fe where they meet every Saturday and have classes in the Tibetan language and culture for their children. They always have a potluck. Tenzin said that there are three generations of Tibetans in Santa Fe. The Tibetans who were born in the United States are better educated and have good jobs. Many leave after they graduate from high school to go to college but they return after they graduate. The generation in their 50s or older mostly did not get much education in Tibet or Nepal and some struggle to speak English. They now mostly work at the Whole Foods grocery store and other retail stores in town. The ones like her are in the middle generation. She graduated from high school in Nepal and learned English when she came to the United States.

Everyone in the Nepalese community lives on the more affordable south side of the town. Tenzin says that she feels very comfortable in Santa Fe. Her store is on the north side of town but she says she only is there for her work. She is not interested in going to galleries of the museums. She has not felt any discrimination except for one isolated incident a few years ago. She said that she went into Dillard's, a high-end retail store, and the sales clerk said something to the effect that you needed money to shop there. Tenzin says that because of this she welcomes everyone into her store, even if she can see that they do not have any money to spend. Her store has a picture of the Dalai Lama and customers quickly spot this and want to talk about the Dalai Lama and the Free Tibet movement. Most of her customers are Anglos. She spends almost all of her free time with Tibetans but does not feel that she is excluded from other cultures.

Dechen is a very shy woman in her seventies who was born in Tibet. She works in a bookstore that specializes in spiritual paths and sells crystals and incense on the north side of town. Her English is difficult to understand and when I interviewed Dechen we had the help of her Tibetan co-worker who translated for us. When Dechen was a child her family lived in Lhasa, Tibet, where her father ran a general store. She remembers when the Chinese invaded and her family suddenly became very poor. They were afraid to go to celebrate the holidays for fear that the Chinese would attack them, so the family celebrated secretly in their home or in friends' homes. She remembers that the family heard that the Dalai

Lama escaped and not long after they left, too, walking for weeks to Nepal. When they were in Nepal the government gave them a house and they lived in a community of Tibetans that grew over the years. Her father worked at a store and the family managed all right. She and her brothers and sister went to Nepalese school and learned the language, but she quit school to get married. Her husband, also a Tibetan refugee, was a stone worker. They had three children. In the 1990s their friends were able to get visas to the United States and they decided to apply. They were accepted and the whole family came over in 1992. Her children were teenagers at the time but they had studied some English and welcomed the move to Albuquerque, New Mexico. Her husband got a job cutting stone in Albuquerque and within a year he got a job offer in Santa Fe, so the family moved.

They now live on the south side of town. The children enjoyed going to Capital High School and they all went to college. Two of them live and work in Santa Fe and the third one lives in Arizona. One of her children is married to a Tibetan and the other two are married to Anglos. When they lived in Nepal they spoke Nepalese and Tibetan, and when they moved to the United States the parents tried to speak English but mostly spoke Nepalese and Tibetan. She remembers that after just a few months being here her children started to speak English with each other. When her children are home with her they speak Tibetan and Nepalese. Her children speak Tibetan and Nepalese with the grandchildren, but the ones who are married to Anglos have children who can only speak English.

Dechen's husband learned English quickly because he used it on the job. She took some English classes but had to quit because she got a job at Target. That job helped her to improve her English and she stayed until the owner of the bookstore she now works at saw her at Target and offered her a job. The customers are all very kind and respectful to her and want to talk with her about Tibet. She has gotten used to talking about herself although it is not her nature to do so.

Besides going to the north side of town for her job she attends the Tibetan cultural center a couple of weekends per month. They also go a couple of mornings a week to the Buddhist Center in mid-town.

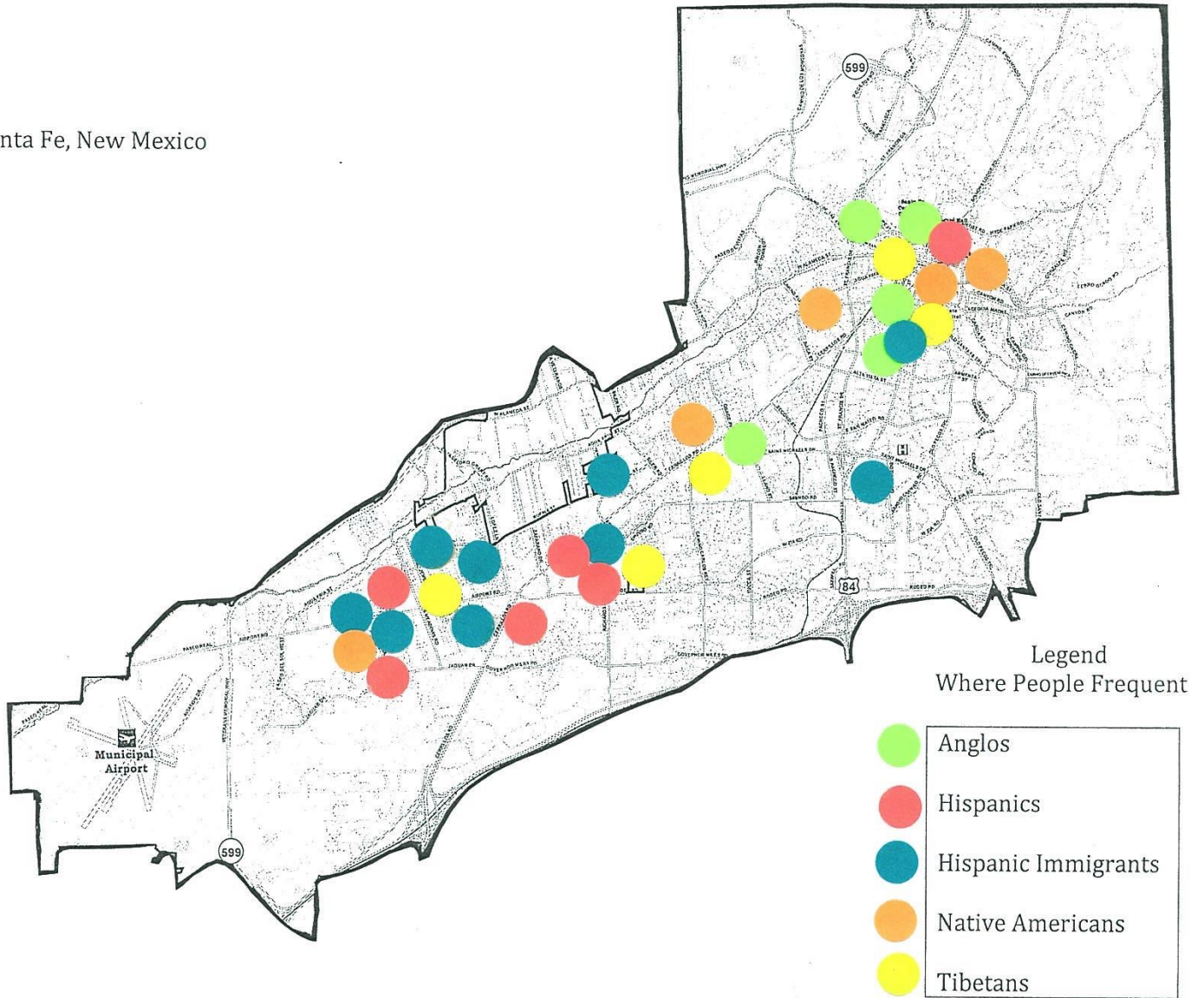
She takes her grandchildren to the South Side Library for reading time and usually goes on errands with her husband to Smith's grocery store and to Walmart. She always feels welcome wherever she goes. Instead of going to restaurants they have friends over or go to houses of other Tibetans.

Dechen works with Anglos at the bookstore and they invite her and her husband to their homes. Her neighbors are Hispanic immigrants and they greet each other but that is all. She does not know any Native Americans or Hispanics. Dechen feels comfortable everywhere in town but only goes to the north side for work and events at the Tibetan Center.

Maps

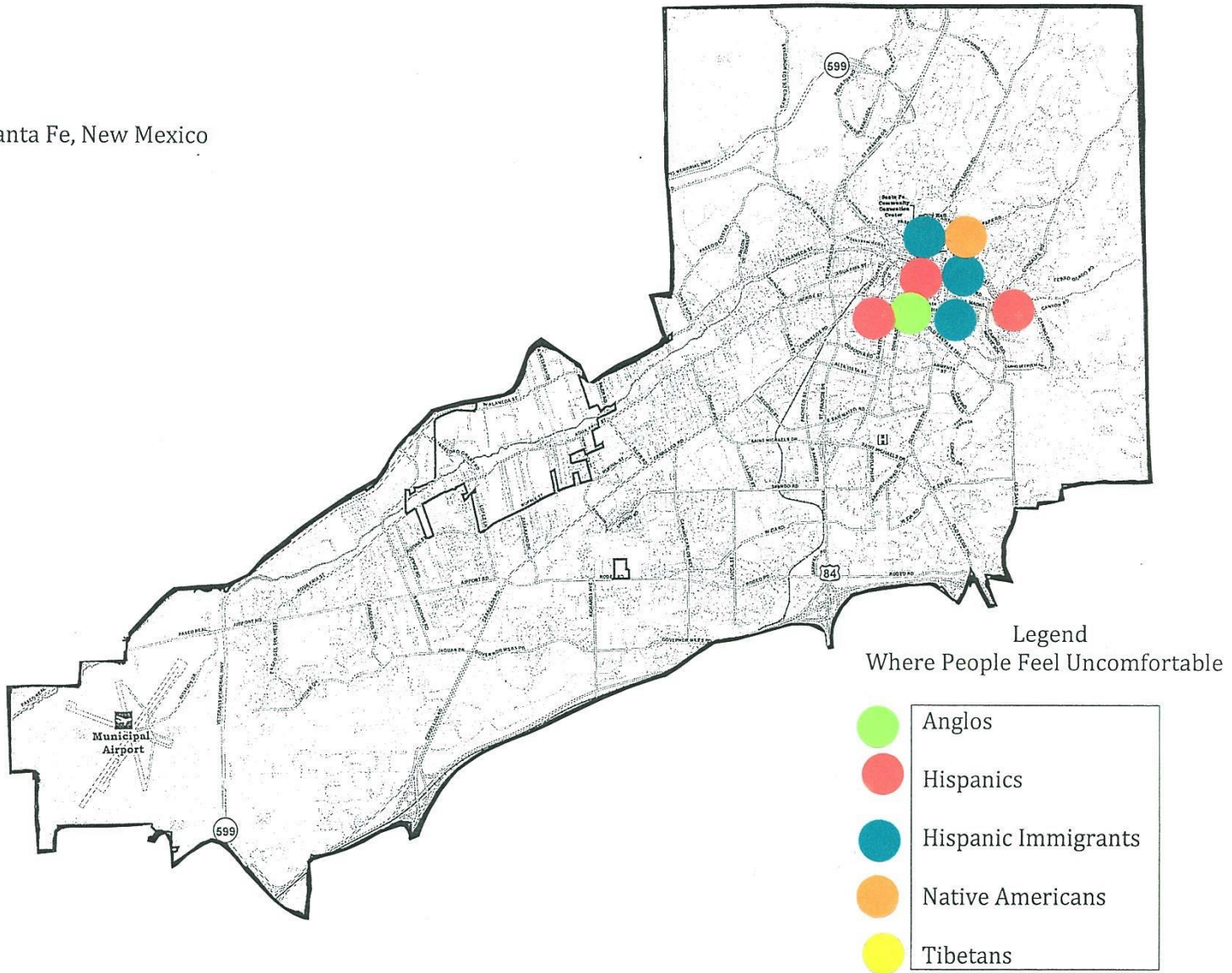
Maps – Where People Frequent

Santa Fe, New Mexico



Maps – Where People Feel Uncomfortable

Santa Fe, New Mexico



Survey of Santa Fe

A survey that was sponsored by the City of Santa Fe in 2016 (Culture Connects Santa Fe A Cultural Cartography) is useful to look at because it looks into questions that are similar to the ones I have about the sense of connectedness people experience. The four-month study surveyed 700 people to assess the ‘cultural pulse’ of the city. The word ‘culture’ in this sense includes the environment and intangibles such as values, art, relationships, and the feeling of being connected to something that’s deep and meaningful (Culture Connects Santa Fe A Cultural Cartography 10-13). They asked the following questions:

1. What I most love seeing/doing in Santa Fe?
2. When you think of experiencing culture in Santa Fe, where do you most think of?
3. Where do you wish you felt more comfortable?
4. If the City created an office for cultural affairs, what cultural service would you like to see it provide?
5. Please rank the items below from 1 to 10 (1 being most important) as opportunities you would like to see Santa Fe Implement by 2020. (Choices included diverse nightlife, synergy between public libraries and visual/performing arts, diversity in producing and participating in cultural life, and increased understanding of the variety of culture in the city.)

Participants in the project engaged in a mapping project where they put stickers on a map showing, among other things, where they felt the strongest sense of culture as well as where they wished they felt more comfortable. The two places with the most stickers that showed where people had the strongest sense of culture were the museums on the north side of town and a south side neighborhood called Agua Fria Village. There were four places where people wished they felt more comfortable. These were the hospital, a gated community, the north side street that is filled with galleries called Canyon Road, and the south side street called Airport Road.

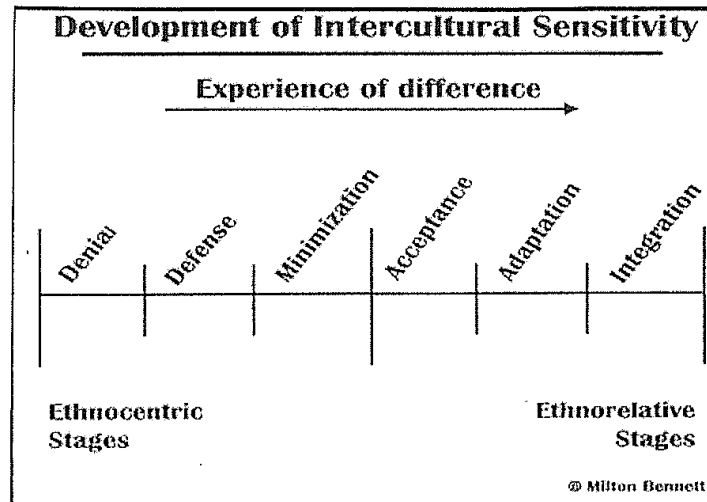
The survey found (p. 28) that the major concerns were the economic gap, the inability of younger people to afford to live in Santa Fe, the patriarchal tradition, poor teacher training, and isolation. Some expressed the there was a division in the city that was possible due to centuries of tensions or from not knowing each other's story. I think that it is interesting that some people did not think that division was a concern. Some of the people who I surveyed felt that there was a division within the city and others did not think that was an issue.

Milton Bennett's Model

I think that it is useful to apply a model that describes and measures the stages of cultural sensitivity because it may help to understand the beliefs and behaviors of the people who I interviewed. This can hopefully apply to the larger picture of cultural relations in Santa Fe.

The Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) is a tool that was developed by Milton Bennett (Hammer, Bennett and Wiseman 421-443) to describe the six stages people pass through when they encounter different cultures. The underlying belief in this model is that as people are exposed to more complex cultural differences they are more able to analyze cultures non-judgmentally. The stages progress from the ethnocentric cultural worldview to the ethnorelativist cultural worldview. Ethnocentric describes how a person categorizes cultural experiences through their own viewpoint. There are three stages in the ethnocentric worldview. Ethnorelativism is the belief that a culture can only be understood relative to another. It describes a person who adapts not only their thinking but also their behavior and can switch among different cultural frameworks. The diagram below depicts the six stages (von Tangen Lund-Christiansen).

DMIS Model



Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity

The first stage in the model is the denial of difference. This describes a person who is unaware that there is a difference between their culture and another culture. People in this stage can be aware that there are other cultural groups but do not recognize any differences. This also describes someone who notices cultural differences and reacts judgmentally or someone who sees that there are outward differences but does not recognize that there are inward differences.

In the second stage, the defense against difference, a person sees that there are differences and develops a defensive attitude that can develop into believing negative stereotypes. They criticize people from other cultures. This can even turn into a feeling of cultural superiority.

The third stage, the minimization of difference, is the last ethnocentric stage. A person in this stage still looks at other cultures through their own cultural lens. They see outward differences but believe that inwardly people are all the same and they share the same values.

The fourth stage, the acceptance of difference, is the first of the ethnorelative stages. People in this stage are beginning to realize that there are other cultural frames of reference. They are interested in learning about other cultures.

The fifth stage is the adaptation to difference. A person who has adapted realizes that knowing the cultural context is key to understanding differences. They empathize with people from other cultures and can live in two cultures simultaneously.

The final stage is the integration of difference. In this stage, people can see a situation and evaluate it through the lens of another culture. They are able to consciously choose elements of different cultures in their own lives. They instinctively change their behavior when they are with people of other cultures.

Application of DMIS Model

Can I apply Bennett's DSIM model to help evaluate the cultural sensitivity of the people I interviewed, and from that get a clearer picture of cultural relations in Santa Fe? The limitations of applying it are obvious. I want to be cautious about putting people into categories, especially since I only spent about an hour speaking with each person. Also, the project was limited to two people from each of the five cultures. However, the people who agreed to speak with me understood the gist of my project and showed a willingness to share their personal experiences and opinions. Each one told me that they were interested in learning about the results or findings that their input might help to formulate. I believe that with an understanding of the limitations, it would be useful to look at peoples' responses using the DMIS model.

Both of the Anglo interviewees said that they enjoy being with people from other cultures. Each says they are uncomfortable when they are around wealthy Anglos who seem to be status conscious and competitive. Sam's connections with people in different cultures occur when he bikes, goes to restaurants and shoots pool. Lenore is busy after work with her band. Sam says that he appreciates being in the homes of his non-Anglo friends and enjoys the differences among them. Lenore, who grew up in a mixed-culture neighborhood, is looking to establish that for herself in Santa Fe. Sam grew up in Santa Fe and has a larger network of friends in the area than Lenore has. It could be that on the surface the city

seems divided. Maybe individuals who want to make inter-cultural connections need to pursue their own plan to connect by pursuing their interests to make connections with other cultures. Lenore's experience of not yet connecting with other cultures may also be a factor of being female. She may expect or be expected by other cultures to not tend to be the one who initiates contact. Lenore and Sam both appear to be in one of the ethnorelative stages.

The two Hispanic people I interviewed show similarities and differences. Joanne, who is comfortable everywhere in town, says that she does not think that there are any cultural challenges in the community. She easily moves between speaking Spanish with her aunts to going to Anglo homes with her husband. She is not concerned that she does not know any Native Americans or Tibetans. Although Joanne shows characteristic of integration by shifting between the Hispanic and Anglo cultures, she does not seem to show a curiosity about unknown cultures. She is unaware that other people have difficulty establishing connections with other cultures.

Jose is different from Joanne because he is uncomfortable going to the Plaza due to either the conspicuous wealth or because there he sees Anglos who he feels act superior to him. He is reluctant to say. Jose says people from all cultures are the same, which is an attribute of the denial stage. Jose seems to see that the differences are socioeconomic and not based on a possible his cultural bias of his. He has close friends who are Hispanic immigrants who live in his neighborhood. Joanne, however, does not know any Hispanic immigrants, possibly because she lives on the north side. I think that their differences represent the divisions of the Hispanic population in the city and show that part of the Hispanic population feels a resistance towards the Anglos and another part does not. Both Joanne and Jose seem to show a lack of awareness. Joanne moves between the Hispanic and Anglo cultures easily and she does not think that there is cultural tension in Santa Fe. I can see how this might fit in the minimization stage in that she may believe that people have the same values, or it may possibly indicate that she accepts differences.

The two Hispanic immigrants I spoke with are very conscious of their status as newcomers. Both of them grew up in Mexico and came to the United States as adults and are aware of the cultural similarities and differences. Graciela seems to have stronger ties with the Hispanic immigrant community than Sonia. She occasionally experiences negative reactions from Hispanics and Anglos when she speaks Spanish in stores. Instead of being defensive and critical of the people who do this she is motivated to learn English, which is a characteristic of an ethnorelativist. Graciela lives mostly in one world where she is with Hispanic immigrants but she is able to step into the Anglo world where she learns English. Although she has few contacts with English speaking people because of her limited English, she feels that she is her authentic self when she is at the coffee shop learning English.

Sonia spends almost all of her time with Hispanic immigrants but even though they are also from Mexico she is uncomfortable with them because she sees them as rougher, country types. As described in the second stage of the DSIM, she feels culturally superior to them, which is a sign of ethnocentrism. Sonia did not express to me that she had contact with other cultures in the city other than business transactions.

Both Native Americans say are comfortable in the city. Matt spends very little time here because he works at the Indian School and usually goes home on the weekends. When he does go someplace in town, while he is very aware of being Native American, he seems to not notice the different cultural spheres. Because of this, I think that Matt is in the minimization of difference stage.

Daniel, on the other hand, came to Santa Fe reluctantly because he expected that he would not fit in. He says that he changed and has gotten to know Hispanics and Anglos and feels that he can be himself anywhere he goes. He travels back to his traditional pueblo and fits in there. I see Daniel either in the adaptation stage or the integration of difference stage. Daniel says that when he is in Santa Fe he is himself, meaning that he does not change his behavior. However, he can go from the boardroom to

speaking with the Native Americans selling jewelry on the Plaza, so I also see that he instinctively changes. This is characteristic of the integration phase.

Tenzin grew up in Nepal being able to interact with both the Nepalese and Tibetan communities. She was fluent in both languages and intimately knew the values of both cultures. When she came to Santa Fe Tenzin saw the different cultures, but since her contact with other cultures has been mostly through business, she does not feel like she knows the cultures on a deep level. Her husband is Nepalese and she definitely has an integrated home. Tenzin feels comfortable and herself as she negotiate amongst the various cultures. I see Tenzin as either in the adaptation or integration stage because she lives within her culture and interacts comfortable with other cultures.

Dechen has adapted to moving from Tibet to Nepal and the United States. Like Tenzin, she moves easily between the Nepalese and Tibetan cultures. Because of her experience living a bicultural life in Nepal, she easily saw the different cultural groups in Santa Fe. She has some grandchildren who live mostly in the Anglo world. When she is with them she says that they both make changes to enjoy each other. I see Dechen as in one of the ethnorelativist stages. She is outwardly very traditional and at the same time, she enters the world of her grandchildren.

Although I am careful to not generalize from the surveys that I conducted, I think that the DMIS model helps to understand how some people seem to adapt better than others to Santa Fe. People who have had exposure to other cultures recognize that Santa Fe is not just a city where everyone may look differently, but people also think and feel differently. The DMIS model shows the spectrum of cultural awareness that people have. Despite centuries of sometimes tumultuous relationships among the Native American, Hispanics, and Anglos, I see Daniel's change in attitude and behavior as proof that views and behaviors are not fossilized.

The Cultural Cartography project that was undertaken by the City of Santa Fe also questioned people about the feelings of isolation or division they have experienced. The findings showed that some

people experienced that while others did not, which is what my survey of only ten people found. They did not apply the DMIS model but simply concluded that some people believed that there were divisions that were caused either by cultural or socioeconomic tensions.

Conclusion

This paper attempts to show how welcome and connected people feel in their daily encounters with Santa Fe's diverse cultures in everyday spaces. I realize that interviewing ten people is not sufficient to make conclusions about how cultures co-exist but it is useful to get an impression of the culture in Santa Fe.

People come to Santa Fe, New Mexico for different reasons and it is possible that the reasons impact how people perceive their lives. The Tibetans have been dispersed from Tibet and have lived as pseudo-refugees in other countries. They would have been satisfied to live in any country where they were accepted and it appears that they are accepted in the United States. They are realistic about not returning to Tibet. The Hispanic immigrants left Mexico because of the violence and lack of opportunity and have no plans to return. They chose Santa Fe because they knew people who were here and when they came they were a part of at least a small community. Most Anglos made a conscious choice to move to Santa Fe because they, or their parents, saw this as an improvement in their way of life. Each person said that they were aware of their cultural identity in their daily life, especially the Hispanic immigrants. They both said that they feel anxious when they ask for a Spanish-speaking employee.

The DMIS framework helps to categorize what participants said about their beliefs and behaviors. Some participants seemed to be in an ethnocentric stage while others seemed to be in an ethnorelativist stage. Of the four people who scored in the ethnocentric stage, two felt uncomfortable in the city and two did not. Of the six who scored in the ethnorelativist stage, four felt uncomfortable in the city and two did

not. These perceptions seem to support the idea that some of the discomforts are rooted in the feeling of socioeconomic tension and are not culturally based.

The people who said that they felt comfortable everywhere in town, Joanne (Hispanic) and Matt (Native American) were both born and raised in the area. Neither of them thought that there were cultural tensions. I feel that they scored in the ethnocentric range. The other two people who felt comfortable in the city were the Tibetan women. I feel that they scored in the ethnorelativist range. It is possible that they feel comfortable because of their extensive experience with other cultures, or because in Santa Fe being from Tibet is considered novel.

Both of the Anglos, who I feel scored in the ethnorelativist stage, said they experienced socioeconomic discrimination. Daniel, the Native American, who also scored in the ethnorelativist stage, felt some discomfort in some galleries. Jose, who scored in the ethnocentric stage, was uncomfortable on the north side because there were more Anglos. Both Hispanic immigrants reported being uncomfortable. Graciela seemed to be in the ethnorelativist stage and Sonia in the ethnocentric stage.

Santa Fe is a city with shifting culture patterns and dynamic interactions. The people who were interviewed showed a range of cultural sensitivity, and the DMIS scale is useful to explain their behaviors. The interviews reveal that some people have relationships with multiple cultures while some people's relationships are restricted to their own or maybe one other culture. Whether this is due to cultural insensitivity cannot be determined from this survey. Research needs to be conducted into this subject. There is room in the city for greater cultural sensitivity and awareness.

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