Introduction

In 2013, the Indigenous Design and Planning Institute (iD+Pi) at the University of New Mexico was approached by the newly established Zuni Pueblo Main Street organization to assist them in developing a development plan along State Highway 53. This nonprofit held the singular distinction of being the first and only tribal Main Street organization in the US. Chartered in 2012, Zuni Pueblo Main Street evolved as an arm of the Tribal Government and was entrusted with developing a master land-use plan along three miles of State Highway 53 adjacent to the old village and built atop a traditional road. The highway serves as a connection to an adjacent community, Black Rock, which was established at the turn of the twentieth century to house administrative offices, a boarding school, and a hospital provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Dodge, 2003). As far as could be determined, the highway was paved sometime around WWII and turned into a public thoroughfare. It connects the village of Zuni to surrounding Navajo and Mormon communities, as well as the nearby city of Gallup. Today, Zuni is a community with a population of approximately 6,300. It is a community that is driven by an informal economy (Bureau of Business and Economic Research, 2014) and although much of its wage economy is supported by tribal government and federal services, it is estimated that 80 per cent of all households produce arts and crafts to augment their incomes. With a median household income of $30,250 USD, these homemade efforts, as embodied by multiple artisans in a given household, are significant (ibid).

As we learned in the course of our engagement, few if any of these transactions go towards supporting local businesses or generating taxes. It has been estimated that the community loses circa $30 USD million in local revenue annually to surrounding businesses outside of the reservation (ibid). Because of this, the Zuni tribal government functions the same way that many other federally recognized tribes do. It relies on trust funding to support local government as well as public services for education, health, and other necessary functions. Due to this dependency on federal funds, little if any input for community development comes from the business or private sector. This is especially the case with the area designated as the Zuni Pueblo Main Street. This commercial strip – if it could be called that – originates at the Halona Market, intersects State Highway 53 at a four-way stop, and continues northward for a few more miles towards the Zuni Visitor Center. Along the three-mile route, there are...
two grocery stores, four trading posts, an art co-op, three gas stations, a bank, a commercial telephone business, a bistro, the tribal administrative center, a US post office, and numerous homes. The only establishments that house tourist services are the Zuni Visitor Center and the A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center, which on occasion, is closed due to a lack of revenues. Despite this situation, tourists are drawn to Zuni Pueblo because of its historic village, its cultural ceremonies, and its world-class traditional artwork. The community of artists, in particular, have evolved distinctive styles of jewelry, pottery, painting, stone animal fetishes (small carvings depicting animals and their holy peoples that are made with various precious nature stones by the Zuni people), and textiles. Zuni art has attained agency among specialized collectors. The demand is so great that it has created a secondary market of so-called ‘knock-offs’ or fakes. Such opportunists have allegedly fabricated millions of dollars’ worth of fake Native American jewelry (Cornell, 2018).

The challenge

The iD+Pi was established in 2011 in the belief that tribal communities should benefit from the best practices that design and planning have to offer, and in a manner that is culturally informed. This community development design and planning process requires that leadership balance the immediacy of action (short-term) with a comprehensive vision (long-term.) Community engagement and meaningful public participation is the key to its success (Jojola and Shirley, 2017). Indigenous planning is an emerging paradigm that uses a culturally responsive and value-based approach to community development. It is a participatory process predicated on establishing a set of principles that are informed by traditional knowledge. At its foundation are a seven-generations planning model that is intended to assist the community in connecting its past, present, and future. The structure is simple and is driven by a demographic model that is situational: older generations are identified as great grandparents, grandparents, and parents; the middle generation are adults who are in their middle years; and the younger generations are indicated as comprising children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. This generative model was used to convey to Zuni Pueblo Main Street participants how communities evolve and develop. Activities included mapping the land-uses along Zuni Pueblo Main Street and extended conversations as to why the streetscape provided little opportunity for artists to directly merchandise their wares nor provided places to shop and eat.

At the crux of the challenge were the conventions of ownership as poised by land tenure. Reservation lands are held in trust by the US federal governments for the Zuni people, but land tenure predates this. Because of its trust status, there is no equivalent of private property. Instead, the land is inherited by the right of a matriarchal system, with women inheriting the right to use and benefit from its productivity (Goldman, 2003). Approximately 16 land assignments are either undocumented or documented empty/vacant lands or commercial buildings (UNM Indigenous Design and Planning Institute and UNM School of Law, 2016). Once the land has been inherited and occupied through custom law, there is little or no opportunity to reinvest it for businesses or other non-domestic uses. The notion that the tribe or individuals can designate land uses as real estate is a non-sequitur situation. During the project, it became evident that there was little that could be done to impose a rational Western model for land-use. Although technically, the tribal government has the authority to reclaim lands that had been vacant or deemed unproductive over time, this is rarely imposed. This situation causes a quandary for vacant lands and abandoned buildings where the heirs of deceased owners have left the community for extended periods. Moreover, the secular tribal council cannot reclaim vacant land without working with the traditional religious leaders to determine matrilineal ascendancy.
Even in the event that heirs are disposed to opening businesses, the inability to use land held in federal trust as collateral curtails access to capital through bank loans.

The opportunity

Creative placemaking ‘animates public and private spaces, rejuvenates structures and streetscapes, improves local business viability and public safety, and brings diverse people together to celebrate, inspire, and be inspired’ (Markusen and Gadda, 2010). This is a concept that has been adopted by the American US mainstream as a way to utilize creative industries in establishing places of economic growth and production. In an Indigenous community such as Zuni, one cannot merely deploy a placemaking paradigm to its community development toolkit. At best, it will take decades, if not generations, to appropriate vacant lands or replace abandoned buildings along its Zuni Pueblo Main Street. The shorter-term solution, as such, is to enlist its artisans in other ways to bring their production to public light by building on locally based cultural practices.

In 2015, iD+Pi, with the help of partners from Zuni Pueblo Main Street and Creative StartUps, leveraged a $225,000 USD ArtPlace America grant to support the ‘Solving Real Places for Real People: Zuni Main Street’ project. The project was implemented over three years beginning with conversations with local artists, especially those who had marketed their products successfully and who had experience in managing their enterprises. The first set of conversations revealed that these artists lacked a way to collectively merge their efforts in order to bring local development to their village. Lacking this, they relied on outside marketers who handsomely profited by representing their wares elsewhere. The second set of conversations focused on local concerns as to who determined ‘what was Zuni art?’ Zuni artists regularly innovate by incorporating new techniques and materials. Their designs, however, rarely stray from depicting cultural motifs that are grounded in their beliefs and symbols. As newer generations of artists evolve, they began to introduce new mediums that are not considered to be traditional. It includes photography, spray-can media, digital media, performative arts, 3D printing, 2D screen printing, painting, and kiln-fired ceramics made from greenware (molded ceramic pots that just need to be glazed and fired). It was felt by some traditional artists that these processes devalued Zuni art because they result in wares that can be mass produced and easily replicated. At another level, an issue also came up as to whether performance activities such as music and storytelling, as well as, local village cuisine, could be represented as art.

A final series of conversations emerged as to what aspects of Zuni culture the community wanted to share with the outside and what they did not. This undercurrent has persisted for generations – especially among the religious leadership – who assert that some depictions are shared only among those who have been initiated in the proper way. One example of this controversy are murals that were painted inside the walls of the old Zuni historic mission church that depict the seasonal spirits that are an integral part of the ceremonial cycles of the Zuni moiety. These are the handiwork of renown Zuni artist, Alex Seowtewa (1933–2014), who was enlisted by church, federal, and village officials in 1966 to reintroduce this motif as part of the reconstructed church (Seowtewa, 1992). An uneasy measure exists to limit the public exposition of these murals as the family of Seowtewa, traditional leaders, and the secular tribal government continue to attempt to resolve its cultural patrimony and depiction. As artists continued to reflect on these concerns, the main issue that everyone did agreed upon was how their organizing could control how marketers were misrepresenting their art. These acts were seen as not only degrading the culture, but its impact weighed heavily on maintaining standards of Zuni authenticity. In particular, artists felt that stereotyping was affecting the quality of their craft, cheapening the value of their work and foreshortening demand for higher quality pieces.
As Zuni artists pondered the next action steps, the non-profit Creative StartUps partner was enlisted to provide organizational and cultural entrepreneurship training. As these workshops ensued, the participants turned their attention away from bringing in outside venture capitalism and onto identifying existing assets among them. With no opportunity to move to storefronts along the Zuni Pueblo Main Street, they worked at other solutions. One major point that was made is that many artists worked in studio spaces in or adjacent to their homes. The more accomplished of them had display rooms where they conducted business. A simple solution was to create a map showing where artists lived. This posed its own challenge, however, as the traditional village lacked street signage, house numbers, and reference points. Privacy, especially during ceremonial events, further hampered visitors from moving freely through the village. Moreover, there was uncertainty as to where public egress was allowed. Eventually, artists discussed the possibility of linking their studios along a specified route. This idea would entail enlisting artists who were willing to allow visitation in their homes. This was deemed as agreeable as long as it occurred during specific times or by appointment.

The Zuni Pueblo Artwalk

As the discussions ensued, a concept of an art walk emerged. It entailed organizing a daylong event where participating artists would open their working studios to outside visitors, but in a regulated manner. Logistically, two key factors had to be solved. One was creating a loop that could be plied by public transportation or cars. The other was designating a schedule for completing the loop during which visitors could choose which artist to visit and for how long. This solution was a breakthrough. The venture would not only allow the artists to circumvent the need to occupy storefronts on Zuni Pueblo Main Street, but it would also educate the potential buyer through cultural sharing and crafts demonstration. The approach would become the Zuni Pueblo ArtWalk.

Leadership from within this group enlisted other local partners to provide assistance. One key partner was a local Zuni video team, ShiwiSun Productions, who created, ‘I am a Zuni Artist’ artist profiles demonstrating their personal stories, meanings behind their artwork, and the process they used to manufacture these unique pieces. These were then posted on a newly created the Zuni Pueblo ArtWalk website. iD+Pi facilitated the wayfinding design-build component of the ‘ArtWalk.’ Through a Summer studio, university faculty and students from UNM’s School of Architecture and Design fabricated metal signposts. Students designed and created symbols to represent each art form. Community volunteers then helped place the signs at the entryway of each artist’s home. The destinations were further identified by placing ‘breadcrumb’ stones that were gathered from a nearby quarry. These were painted blue and yellow to form and serve as a visible reference for those visitors who opted to do their own self-guided tour. Seven Zuni artists founded the event, which was inaugurated on Saturday, October 14, 2017. The date was chosen to coincide with the Zuni Visitor Center’s annual Main Street Festival. Visitors registered at the Zuni Visitor Center and took a free hop-on/hop-off shuttle provided by the A:shiwi Transit.

The event proved to be a resounding success. It fostered personal engagement, cultural learning, and resulted in a substantial value-added return on items sold. It built on existing assets and circumvented the lack of storefronts on Zuni Pueblo Main Street. The Zuni Pueblo ArtWalk was originally envisaged to be held four times during the year but is now done on the second weekend of each month. In just one year, the number of participating artists increased from the original 7 to 23.
Reflections on PlaceKnowing

How do we go forward, [and] how do we use those gifts of our intellect of our creator that we have been bestowed with... I’ve always been of the thought that as native people, Pueblo people, we’re bestowed with that gift, but for some reason, somewhere along the way, we’ve buried it. And we need to extract that... to bring that out, you know, and not be afraid of our gifts; of our intellect and genius.

(Pueblo PhD cohort, focus group, March 27, 2018)

One does not choose to be Indigenous. You are born into it (Jojola and Shirley, 2017). A worldview represents the community’s understanding of itself and its relationship to the natural world that sustains it. From the first heartbeat to the last, a person is the steward of the culture by ascribing to the Indigenous worldview and attending to their collective responsibility. Although the Zuni Pueblo Main Street project was premised on the assumption that a place could be revitalized through economic opportunity, there were other cultural determinants that factored into the making of place. As learned, a sense of place is embodied by the whole. It was not engineered in a single moment of time but evolved over time and into the present. As seen in the Zuni Pueblo ArtWalk project, art supersedes the material basics of color, materials, medium, and form. Instead, its representation carries the spiritual and philosophical meaning of its culture. This understanding is not transferred through a classroom. As people learned, they used their own cultural assets to create a way to both market and educate the visitors to Zuni. It was less about placemaking and more about sharing the meaning around place.

Because the lessons learned from the Zuni project were so important, we wanted to see if other Indigenous practitioners shared the same perspectives about placemaking. In 2017, iD+Pi applied for and received funding from the McCune Foundation to hold a series of five conversations about placemaking held in different parts of the country over the course of a year. The participants ranged from PhD scholars of the Santa Fe Indian School Leadership Pueblo Indian PhD Cohort program, their degrees granted by Arizona State University; Indigenous university students and faculty; ArtPlace America grantees from Indigenous communities; as well as tribal planners, Indigenous architects, and designer-maker practitioners. The iD+Pi team began each meeting with a presentation of Indigenous Planning concepts which was followed by findings from the Zuni Pueblo Main Street and Zuni Pueblo ArtWalk projects at Zuni Pueblo. The open discussions that ensued were audio recorded and later transcribed for purposes of doing content analysis. When the final draft document was produced, it was summed in a manner that consolidated the key findings with the voices left intact.

What ensued was a rich discussion that was infused with deep theoretical understanding, deference to traditional knowledge, and qualified by practical application. The major key finding that was shared among all groups is that placemaking, in itself, was a misnomer. The idea that places could be ‘made’ in time and place was antithetical to indigeneity. Rather, the consensus is that tradition is inherited and that places are rooted, first and foremost, in the culture. Places make people. People do not make places (ArtPlace America Pre-Summit, focus group participant, unidentified, May 21, 2018).

The concept that best exemplified that notion is PlaceKnowing. PlaceKnowing is defined as a place whose meaning is derived from a cultural construction. This results in a holistic understanding of how places are evolved through time and space. Although it shares the same conceptual framework as placemaking, the major difference is how traditional knowledge serves to inform how communities give meaning to the cultural landscape they use and inhabit. As the discussions progressed there were four distinct determinants that were identified as being...
integral to PlaceKnowing. They are kinship, fluidity, culture, and land. The following subsections explain these in more detail:

**Kinship**

I think it goes back to when we [are] born as babies; how our placenta is buried and where [it is] rooted. I am always grateful that with my daughter when she was a baby, [had] her placenta rooted there [at the Pueblo]. I think about my father when we were growing up. We had opportunities to go move to different places but I think he wanted to keep us home so that we would know our place... It makes sense now. That’s sort of why I’m trying to grapple with the term placemaking – because it is very complicated and it is esoteric.

(Pueblo PhD Cohort, focus group participant, unidentified, March 27, 2018)

Despite being away, individuals are always connected to home and the land. A Diné (Navajo) planning student recalled this same custom and suddenly realized that the landscape where she was from has borne countless umbilical cords from numerous generations. She was surrounded by a cultural landscape of placentas:

I’m a planner, and I know… it always gets to the notion of what is planning for, us as people, and what does that mean? It goes back to [the question of] how do we relate to each other, and how do we relate to the land? In Navajo we say k’ e, which is kinship. People lived according to the kinship in a system. It’s the way they relate to each other and how they relate to the community.

(Tribal Planners’ Roundtable, focus group participant, unidentified, September 14, 2018)

The history of the family is another important facet of culture. Knowing one’s family’s history is an essential reference for the concept of home. Home builds connection as implied by one participant:

How do we create that space where we recognize the sacredness in one another and that they’re connected to the ancestors to where they come from?

(Pueblo PhD Cohort, focus group participant, unidentified, March 27, 2018)

This task is invested in protocols. When one introduces themselves to a group or another community, they first relate their clans and the places their families are from. That information links other clan relatives who may or may not have grown up in the same place. Stated in another way:

[PlaceKnowing] is owning the place, it is somewhere you can always reference to as home… [I]t’s a place that you are proud of, even though there may not be that much there. There should be a movement to make people want to go back home… [C]lans are place-based.

(ASU Faculty and Student, focus group participant, unidentified, April 10, 2018)

In essence, the discussions got to the root of identity:

Who are you when you say ‘I am Pueblo, Diné, Lakota,’ or whatever. It’s very interesting to hear the answers to those questions… [T]he next question is, well, that’s great [but]
what do you care about? And then, lastly, … how does [that matter in] how that makes a building or makes a plan? That’s our pretty simple [approach for] any conversation.

(Pueblo PhD Cohort, focus group participant, unidentified, March 27, 2018)

As further pointed out by other conversations, when cultural bonds break, it introduces a decline in the quality of life:

My own mother, whose mother was a healer, went to nursing school. She rejected her [practices], because [she felt] the new way was a better way. I look at art and culture and re-imagine how we [can use it to go back to] a good place… The assumption [is that] we’re all going to be able to find those old ways… Remember, the bad part came from the exterior culture, reacting [negatively] to those old ways. So, this [is] how we heal internally.

(ArtPlace America Pre-Summit, focus group participant, unidentified, May 21, 2018)

Kinship is about belonging. It fosters a relationship between people and shapes the places they inhabit. It helps inform designers and artists about the role that culture plays in giving meaning to what they design.

Fluidity

Then there’s the fluidity. My friend wrote this beautiful piece on time. [It] talked about fluidity. Gosh, Pueblo people probably don’t consider themselves urban… because there’s fluidity within you. I live in Santa Fe, but there’s fluidity to Jemez. And you’re probably feeling the same attachment to Cochiti. [It’s] deep and I [imagine] that’s the same for Indigenous people in [other places of] the United States.

(Pueblo PhD Cohort, focus group participant, unidentified, March 27, 2018)

This is a concept that even though places are fixed, culture is fluid. An Indigenous person, as such, is nurtured in place and as a result of that grounding, they are a reflection of its culture. They are part of a cultural continuum in time and place. Fluidity also brings into perspective the role of intergenerational knowledge and exchange. Youth, adults, and elders interact seamlessly as they participate ceremonially in the societies that they have inherited. Those connections are communicated by traditional languages. As related by one participant:

Yes, it almost seems like the ones that do succeed are the ones given over to the grandparents of the parents. That does two things. One, it rejuvenates them. It gets them out of their isolation. Second, they’re the ones that, in many cases, are the keepers of the cultural knowledge and the language. Children [raised] from those types of situations are the ones that come out speaking and participating.

(Pueblo Education Convocation Planning Meeting, focus group participant, unidentified, May 5, 2018)

Tradition is not static. As Indigenous people migrated throughout the generations, they built interconnections among other places. These movements and the significant things they saw and learned were remembered through storytelling. Knowledge was power and it was manifested in language. The power of stories becomes integral in building bonds of fluidity through the generations:
The concept of memory – place[s] will evoke certain memories for elders… For me, it is always about the story-work, the memory-work, [and] the kind of communication that [gets] structured into the environment. [This] allows people to leave a record in perpetuity.

(ASU Faculty and Student, focus group participant, unidentified, April 10, 2018)

Culture

Our hills, not only are they able to heal us as artists, but it also heals any visitors… we want everyone to learn from it. Obviously, [you won’t know what it] means what it actually means until you’re taught, or it’s explained to you.

(ArtPlace America Pre-Summit, focus group participant, unidentified, May 21, 2018)

Culture is the foundation of identity. As is the case among Zuni Pueblo artists, the pieces they fashion depict PlaceKnowing stories. Their pieces become mnemonic objects. Artists who are knowledgeable about them use them to evoke meanings. As one muralist explained:

Yes, I was just going to say that our Zuni community is very rich in culture. With the [mural] project that’s going on with the Zuni Youth Empowerment Program (ZYEP), we’re trying to create art that’s going to tell the story of our culture. Each mural… tells the story of our migration. [One depicts] the story of how our clan systems came about. [Another] the story about agriculture and just life in general. [This is] how art heals in Zuni community. That’s what we think about.

(ArtPlace America Pre-Summit, focus group participant, unidentified, May 21, 2018)

Culture becomes a determinant, especially when it pertains to the youth. Children have a special place in advancing their communities. They are considered the investments in the future and it was generally agreed that their engagement in design and planning sets the stage for community visioning:

It’s the youth that is also pushing for change. [They] are currently in the position of actually changing communities. They have their ideas; they want to be heard. Let’s include them as part of that discussion so that at the end, we’re better than we were today.

(Tribal Planners’ Roundtable, focus group participant, unidentified, September 14, 2018)

Land

Since I’ve met [my professor], I’ve been developing a better appreciation for design… they take into [account] a lot of thought process into their design… As contractors, where do we fit into this? We are not designing the buildings; we’re not planning the communities. But we do need to understand where they are coming from. Understanding what their inspirations are, understanding what the values are, and being able to maintain that throughout the construction process; understanding that once we touch the land there are connections to the land we need to have respect for.

(ASU Faculty and Student, focus group participant, unidentified, April 10, 2018)
Land not only provided the sustenance and the resources that their communities needed to survive but it gave them identity. The diverse ecosystems – deserts, coastal areas, mountain forests, wetlands, and plains – are the connections that bond people as one with the land. Land is sacred. If this is not respected, it leads to imbalance and the lack of sustainability. A central conversation among participants dealt with the imbalances created by the exploitation of the land for shortsighted economic development:

When you insert placemaking, Indigenous placemaking, it really begins introducing a whole new philosophy of how we should govern ourselves. Not in the county’s boundaries, but the regional level. And so, when you placemake with an Indigenous philosophy, it always boils down to balance. So to me, placemaking is really critical, and we need to sit down with the traditional ones. They will say at a very fundamental level, [that] the environment, the land, the water, [and] the air cannot sustain the influx of life that does not necessarily belong here.

(ASU Faculty and Student, focus group participant, unidentified, April 10, 2018)

Connections with the land also applied to the suitability of materials used building construction. It was indicated that efficiency and energy standards could be exceeded when using traditional methods:

The idea [is] that the materials are the soul of the building. There are structures that have existed for thousands of years, and there is a reason why they are still standing. There are different elements. Water is the soul, [and it gives] life to every tribe in this state… That is another aspect of placemaking. The materials, how you use them, where you get them, [and] how can you be more efficient with them.

(ASU Faculty and Student, focus group participant, unidentified, April 10, 2018)

Indigenous designers moreover indicated that they base their practices on traditional knowledge:

You sit down with the client to talk about programming and the big picture – up high, 30K feet up. You start to talk about a sense of place and the spirit of place to anchor their identity and history. These are some big, magic words… And [as] I shared about this quote on water from an Edward Abby book, it goes something like this, ‘there is no shortage of water in the desert. That there is the perfect ratio of the rocks to rocks and trees to trees.’ It goes on to say that there was no shortage of water in the desert because everything is perfect unless you try to establish a city where no city should be. I am still hooked on that. We, the first people, understand this. Our elders understood this notion. This basic principle about the soul of the space [is the] Indigenous way of thinking.

(ASU Faculty and Student, focus group participant, unidentified, April 10, 2018)

In summary, PlaceKnowing is comprised of four basic determinates. The first is kinship. Kinship sets the foundation for belonging. It builds an understanding of how individuals grow to assume roles complement the needs of the community. The goal is not merely to fulfill a task, but its role is to build cultural resiliency within the community. Second is fluidity. Fluidity is the concept that culture is fluid and that a person is part of a continuum in time and place. It represents the connectedness to home and the land through the transfer of intergenerational knowledge and exchange. Third is the culture. Culture is the foundation of identity. Elements include history,
language, ceremony, and other intergenerational ways of passing understanding from the elders, to the adults, and onto the youth through time and space. The fourth is the land. Land is sacred. Respect for the land builds sustainability. It provides for a community’s sustenance and becomes the foundation from which a worldview is borne.

**Conclusion**

‘Indigenous ancestor’ spirits pray for its peoples to respect all forms of life, family, homes, relationships. Ancestors’ spirits maintain faith and assurance for its peoples to thrive because they love unconditionally. Ancestors’ spirits offer its peoples strength to carry forward and onward toward brighter and better times to come. Ancestors’ spirits secure its peoples’ futures for all time.’

_(Shirley, 2020)_

For indigenous communities such as Zuni, a sense of place has evolved over countless generations. Over the millennia, ancestors have given meanings to the places they inhabit. The meaning of place is what they have passed on and each succeeding generation has continued to be influenced by it. For Zuni people, art is regarded as a ‘material record of the past’ (Pueblo of Zuni, no date). This revelation was employed as a way to reconsider a new approach for how Zuni artists could empower themselves as an artist community and to formulate a vision of how this effort would affect visitors and buyers alike. This became the seed for designing a PlaceKnowing intervention strategy to create a program to stage a ‘show-and-tell’ experience as a way of educating the public. The **Zuni Pueblo ArtWalk** had the goal of getting visitors to appreciate and respect the work through learning and engagement. In other words, knowing about Zuni art is a requisite to appreciate their culture. However, for all the reasons related to land tenure, prospects of building a more diverse economic presence by occupying or building new businesses on Zuni Pueblo Main Street was not viable. Instead, the Zuni community had to look locally at their assets: home-based art studios which were typical for many artists. Through the exchange, visitors learned how pieces were unique because of the materials and traditional methods employed, but most importantly how each piece carried meanings from the Zuni culture.

As urbanization and modernization continue to create challenges for Indigenous peoples and their communities, PlaceKnowing interventions will become more important. The elders from the Pueblo of Santo Domingo elders said it the best: ‘When we no longer walk our land with our children, we lose our culture’ (Santo Domingo Comprehensive Plan, 2015).

**References**


Further reading in this volume

Chapter 4: A future of creative placemaking
Sarah Calderon and Erik Takeshita

Chapter 6: Listen, connect, act
Kim Cook

Preface: ‘Disastrous forces, accidental actions, and grassroots responses’
Tom Borrup

Chapter 8: Queer placemaking, settler colonial time, and the desert imaginary in Palm Springs
Xander Lenic

Chapter 10: From moon village to mural village: the consequences of creative placemaking in Ihwa-dong, Seoul
Jason F. Kovacs and Hayun Park

Chapter 12: Public transformation: affect and mobility in rural America
Lyndsey Ogle

Chapter 16: More than a mural: participatory placemaking on Gija Country
Samantha Edwards-Vandenhoek

Martin Zebracki

Chapter 22: Embedded Artist Project: Epistemic Disobedience + Place
Frances Whitehead

Chapter 25: ‘If you can make it there, you can make it anywhere...’: cultural placemaking at the heart of cities
Sherry Dobbin

Chapter 40: Transforming community development through arts and culture: a developmental approach to documentation and research
Victor Rubin

Chapter 41: Rituals of regard: on festivals, folks, and findings of social impact
Maribel Alvarez

Chapter 43: A theory of change for creative placemaking: the experience of the National Endowment for the Arts’ Our Town program: An interview with Patricia Moore Shaffer, PhD
Maria Rosario Jackson

Chapter 45: How the city speaks to us and how we speak back: rewriting the relationship between people and place
Rosanna Vitiello and Marcus Wilcock