

“THAT STREET’S FOR THEM NOT US”: PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES OF
PUBLIC SPACE IN GEORGETOWN, DELAWARE

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Geography

Fall 2014

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the University of Delaware Geography Department for giving me the opportunity to perform the research presented here. This research would not have been possible without the resources, education and funding provided to me by the Department. To my advisor, Dr. April Veness, I would like to express my gratitude for the support, time, and faith in both me and my abilities, for encouraging me to look deeper into my research, and for being a positive strong female role model. I would also like to thank the other members of my committee, Dr. Paul Jackson and Dr. Nina David, for their guidance and expertise. This work would not have been completed without the unwavering support of my family, friends, and fellow graduate students within the Department of Geography. Their positive outlooks and words of encouragement made completing this work possible.

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ABSTRACT

Georgetown, Delaware has undergone several significant changes in its population over the past thirty years. An influx of retirees and more significantly of immigrants from Latin America have caused population growth and changes in the racial composition of the town. These changes have caused modifications in the landscape and place identities of various spaces throughout the town. By utilizing a mixed methods approach this study sought to understand how various residents within Georgetown of various ages, and racial backgrounds look at and experience. Photo elicitation interviews revealed that many participants felt they were excluded from spaces in which their racial group did not hold a majority, and felt most comfortable in space where they held the majority. Georgetown is in a contest over how public space is envisioned and used, and this contest is reaching a critical point. The winners of this contest will play a defining role in the landscape identity of Georgetown.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 Introduction

In geography, the study of space, how it is utilized, the attachment individuals or groups have to it and the meaning it has to individuals or groups is quite important. Space is one of the driving concepts in geography. It is where people's lives take place. Private space, allows people to express themselves, this can vary in scale from what a person is wearing, to their home decor. This private space should be where individuals feel most comfortable and most able to express themselves. Public space has conventionally been viewed as a shared area that belongs to everyone and functions as a gathering and meeting space, as well as a place that can be used by individuals for their enjoyment (Goheen, 1994). This study in particular will look at spaces that are outside of the home. The non-domestic and largely non-private spaces examined in this study range from activity spaces such as the community center, to streetscapes and neighborhoods. The study will look at attachments to those public spaces, how those attachments vary between individuals, groups of people, different races, socio-economic groups, genders and age groups, and how those attachments are impacted by the length of time that people have been connected to a space. Finally, this study aims to examine how whites, Hispanics and African Americans in Georgetown look at and experience different types

of public spaces in their hometown as well as understand peoples' attachments to those public spaces and the factors that could generate positive and/or negative attachments.

Georgetown, Delaware has been faced with two massive changes in the demographic makeup of their town. An increase of in-migrants, mainly retirees, has created a housing need in not just Georgetown but all of Sussex County (located in southern Delaware).

Additionally, Latin American immigrants have been settling into Sussex County, forgoing traditional gateway cities such as New York City, Miami and Chicago to make southern Delaware their home. The availability of jobs in agro-business, specifically the poultry processing industry, has been the pull factor for many of these new immigrants.

These changes in Georgetown, a town with a historically white majority, have created a number of sociological and geographic problems. This study aims to better understand how different individuals in Georgetown use and experience public space. The changes in Georgetown will serve as a platform to better understand how space is experienced by different groups when large scale demographic change occurs in a small town.

This study will use a variety of qualitative methods including visual analysis, participant observation, interviews, and content analysis to better understand how individuals view various spaces throughout Georgetown. This study also seeks to understand the comfort levels of various individuals in these spaces and how these feelings translate into the larger picture of the town. More specifically, how Georgetown markets certain spaces, and the influence of this marketing on the perceptions of space, will be of interest. The

goal of the study, then, is to understand these differences and present them in a way that will encourage positive changes to spaces that may feel exclusive, and highlight those spaces that encourage inclusive feelings.

1.2 Introduction to Georgetown

Small towns across the United States have been dealing with demographic change in several different forms. The ratio of older people to younger people is increasing due to outmigration of young people from small towns to cities looking for better jobs and education (Gaffney, 2007). This change is coupled in some places with the arrival of immigrants. These towns, especially those that have been witnessing a growth in agribusiness, more specifically in poultry processing plants, are seeing more and more immigrants from Latin America, and other parts of the globe, than ever before. The United States is currently experiencing its fourth wave of immigration. This wave is dominated by people from Latin America, Asia, and the Caribbean (Jimenez, 2011). According to the 2010 Census, from 2000 to 2010 the rural Hispanic population grew over forty four percent, which was faster than any other minority group in the United States (Lichter, 2012).

These new immigrants are bypassing the typical gateways such as New York City, Miami, Chicago, and Los Angeles, where they have to battle a high cost of living, job competition and unsafe environments. Instead these new immigrants are moving to rural towns where work is readily available, the cost of living is more affordable, and in some

cases the neighborhoods in which these immigrants live are much safer (Crowley and Lichter, 2009; Thomas, 2011). Geographers such as Carr, Lichter, and Kelalas (2012) suggest that these immigrants are in fact saving small towns across America suffering from a diminished labor force due to a rapidly shrinking population. Immigrants are now providing that labor along with population growth and economic dynamism. This new labor force is willing to work in dangerous conditions for low wages and for extremely long hours (Horowitz and Miller, 1999). At the same time this new labor is expanding the tax base of these small towns, which aids in their revitalization (Crowley and Lichter, 2009).

One town in which this demographic and cultural change can be seen quite clearly in is Georgetown, Delaware. As a wave of rapid development hit the Delaware coast many locals were drawn to emerging jobs in the construction or service industry. This transition left many of the agro-businesses located not only in Georgetown, but all of Sussex County, in need of labor. In Georgetown's case, Hispanic immigrants, largely from Guatemala provided this labor at a low cost (Horowitz and Miller, 1999). This change in the ethnic makeup of Georgetown has not surprisingly caused tensions. Differences in language, socio-economic status, and cultural background have led to mistrust and misunderstanding. For residents who have lived in Georgetown their whole lives, changes created by the Hispanic newcomers are sometimes difficult to accept. This ethnic diversity present in Georgetown makes it a good location to look at how multiple groups identify and use and relate to space (Harlow, 2007a; Harlow, 2007b; Caldwell, 2006).

The United States is currently experiencing its fourth wave of immigration. This wave, which started in the 1960s, has been dominated by people from Latin America, Asia, and the Caribbean (Jimenez, 2011). This change at the national level is played out in Georgetown where changes in both population size and demographics have unsurprisingly caused some geographic and social problems as the town tries to adjust to its new size and new residents. Governmental services, such as the public educational system and those divisions that provide social services, have struggled to keep up. In Georgetown, along with the rest of Delaware, language barriers and an increase in the number of school-aged children have put strains on public resources (Harlow, 2007a).

Founded in 1791 Georgetown is an old town—a town very proud of its history. Many buildings along the main arteries date back to the town’s early years. Georgetown’s rich history, coupled with its many historic landmarks, reminds some residents of the Georgetown they remember from their childhood. So keen are residents to uphold this feeling of history, the town boasts not one but two organizations dedicated to the town’s past: the Historic Georgetown Association (Greater Georgetown Chamber of Commerce, 2014a) and Marvel Museum (2014). This desire to highlight Georgetown’s history can also be seen in ways in which the town and organizations within the town advertise the town. For example, the town’s website has a slideshow on its homepage depicting the important landmarks such as the Circle, Town Hall and the Courthouse (Town of Georgetown, 2014a). A deeper look into the way Georgetown markets itself will occur in Chapter 2. The town’s focus on its historic past, however, may inadvertently cause some public spaces to become less-than-inviting to newcomers who have not been part of the

town for many years or who do not feel comfortable with the landscape identities associated with these spaces.

At the same time, there are also public spaces within Georgetown that are becoming dominated by Latin American culture. Restaurants and stores catering to Hispanics are clustered along North Race Street, a side street just off East Market Street, which is a main thoroughfare. So while the government of Georgetown has made a formal declaration of the direction it sees the town going, residents who may not be a part of that vision are creating a vision of their own, by controlling certain spaces. I hope to show through my research that this space has become a place of comfort for these new residents.

As the county seat of Sussex County, Georgetown receives a lot of daily traffic, from people commuting into town to work, residents across the county coming to town to utilize the various county offices in the town, and tourists headed to the beaches to the east. Therefore Georgetown's political and economic leaders are quite attentive to how outsiders see the town, and they want to leave a favorable impression. Hispanic spaces, though not easily visible to most people driving into and through the town, create some uneasiness within. As you drive along the main thoroughfares, there is little overt evidence of the Hispanic community. To see evidence of the Hispanic community you must turn the corner, find the colorful signs with Spanish words, and look at what is on display in the windows. For example, as you walk in and out of the shops along East Market very little diversity in the employees and clientele is observed. One exception is

a camera shop at the far-eastern end of the business strip. This shop is owned by a Hispanic man. He speaks mainly in Spanish and serves the Hispanic community. Off of East Market Street some old and new businesses catering to the adjacent largely Hispanic neighborhood can be found. The majority of Hispanic shops and restaurants, then, are in segregated, less visible spaces. One of the research questions of this study is to look at the inclusiveness and exclusiveness of public spaces in Georgetown. Differences in the degree to which spaces encourage or discourage interaction and integration will be examined. This chapter will: (1) review the general literature defining space and place, establish what public space is in the context of geography and how it can be used as an exclusionary tactic by those who may not want to see their town altered by new residents and discuss the concepts of landscape and place identity and how these concepts relate to the use of public space; and (2) establish a context in which the changes occurring in Georgetown can be successfully examined.

1.3 Space and Place

The study of place is one of the topics in geography that distinguishes it from other disciplines. Just as historians use time and chemists use elements as abstractions, geographers rely heavily on place and space (Seamon and Sowers, 2008). Geographers often talk about space and place as two distinct entities. One that is an abstraction (space) and one that has true geographical ties (place). The division of these topics is necessary as it distinguishes geographies into categories based on characteristics such as the human experience, cultural, and physical space. In the 1970s geographers, particularly those who

were defined as “humanistic,” grew frustrated with the fact that there was not a clear definition of place or space. It seemed as though they could not intelligently or confidently speak about either without having some unifying meaning in which all geographers could agree upon (Seamon and Sowers, 2008).

To do any sort of study pertaining to space or place you need to define the difference between them and also find a way to understand the impact that humans have when creating place. Some geographers would argue that without human experience place would not in fact exist. Space is an abstraction, one that cannot be defined by a geographic boundary. It has no social connections tied to it. Whereas place is grounded by meaning given to it by culture. Place can also be given meaning by an individual as long as the place has some sort of conscious meaning to that person. The geographic boundaries of place can range from a room in a house, to a city, to a country, it is not the size of the place that defines it, but the meaning given to it by us (Tuan, 1977). According to Tuan (1977, p. 6). “...if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place.”

Space and place cannot exist without one another, yet they are concepts that have their own identities. Without truly understanding the human act and therefore impact of defining place, it would be difficult to understand why a certain place is meaningful or important (Relph, 1976; Seamon and Sowers, 2008). Researchers also argue that if there

is a lack an understanding when it comes to place it is not possible to identify new places that may be being created (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977; Seamon and Sowers, 2008).

Other geographers go on to explain how place cannot just be described by its geometry or its Euclidean distance. Instead they argue that the human experience is inextricably tied into place. Without a thorough understanding of the human experience, understanding place is hopeless (Buttimer, 1976). Therefore we, as researchers, must talk to people to understand their experiences in space if we have any hope of understanding it. There are several key facets to space: material space or the physical structures, meaning or the felt value of the place and practice or what the space is used for. In any place that we choose to study it is probable that we will encounter a combination of materiality, meaning, and practice and therefore we must be prepared to recognize each facet (Cresswell, 2004).

The way that most people often initially define a place is through material structures such as buildings, roads or landscape. For example, when you think of New York City you think of skyscrapers, apartment buildings and concrete. Conversely, when you picture a small town you may imagine family owned businesses, quiet safe streets, and green grass. This material recognition of place is tied closely to meaning and practice within place.

According to Butt (2012, p. 106), “place is often at the center of felt value and the meanings attached to place embody the historical and contemporary day-to-day interactions between different actors within a particular place.” Practice is what people do within a place. That place, while it may physically be defined a park, may serve multiple purposes. Some individuals may go there to exercise on the weekends while other individuals may go and eat their lunch in that same place (Low, 2000; Cresswell, 2004).

By focusing on this material or physical space you can more clearly see why certain social exchanges or daily uses fit into that particular place. These actions then give meaning to the space in question therefore creating place (Relph, 1976; Low, 2000; Cresswell, 2004).

Other scholars have noted that some of the confusion about place is partly because of its variability in scale. Place can reference something as specific as a tree in a backyard to as broad as a country. This variation, according to some geographers, makes a definitive definition of place impossible (Arefi, 1999). In addition, developments in technology along with advances in the speed and efficiency of transportation have changed the idea of place immensely (Castells, 1989; Arefi, 1999). Place is no longer a geographically bounded concept, it can be viewed as a “space of flows,” meaning place can happen between and among geographic spaces as well as within them (Castells, 1989). The third challenge when defining place is that it can have such varied meanings between individuals, even those referring to the same physical place. For some there could be an emotional attachment to a place, which creates meaning, while for others that meaning could be driven from something economic or historical (Altman and Low, 1992; Arefi, 1999). Despite the ongoing discussions of how to define place in a world where place is no longer bound by physical geography and distances, there are three general elements that can be seen in all conceptualizations and in all disciplines that study space: locale, location, and sense of place (Agnew and Livingstone, 2011).

Geographers and sociologists alike often attempt to look at how others ascribe meaning to place (Gustafson, 2001). They attempt to understand what makes places unique, why certain places have more meaning or less meaning to certain groups than others and in some cases why places can mean different things to different groups of people (Hull, Lam and Vigo, 1994). Understanding place, and how place can mean different things to different people or groups of people, is especially important in the study of public space.

1.4 Public Space

One of the earliest examples of scholars looking at how people ascribe meaning to place can be traced to the seminal work of Jane Jacobs (1961). In her work in New York City, Jacobs used city sidewalks as centers of public space. By studying how residents utilized sidewalks she could start to determine the health of a neighborhood. She conceptualized the sidewalk to be the divide between the street (which is public) and homes and businesses (which are private). Along this public continuum that separates the private from the public space, Jacobs observed the interactions that happened. She realized that in this public space there needed to be elements of trust, which were built over time. Both the repetition of people walking on the sidewalks every day and the habits of business owners who spent time watching the sidewalk worked together to have eyes on the street that create a safe and trusting environment. Jacobs later argued that this daily interaction helps to fight segregation and racial discrimination, something that cannot be artificially created public places (Jacobs, 1961).

The concept of public space has been studied by many disciplines since the 1960's when Jürgen Habermas wrote "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere," a study of how society uses and regulates public space (1962). Habermas added the idea of politics into the discussion of public space. He argued that that even in these apparently open and fluid public spaces there is an element of control. That is, although there is an implication that public space is in fact shaped by the public itself there are decision makers behind the scenes who determine who will have greater access to specific places, which gives them greater opportunity for place attachment to the space (Habermas, 1989). According to Ruppert (2006, p. 273), Habermas, "envisioned the public sphere as those institutions and activities that mediate the relations between state and society. For Habermas, the public sphere is an arena of political discussion distinct from the state and which can, in principle, be critical of the state." However, Habermas did not link the physical space to the theories in his book. Meaning that Habermas talked about place in an abstract way he never tied feelings of attachment or access to the actual place that they were occurring. In 1989, Habermas's pivotal work was translated into English for the first time. After this translation one can see more and more geographies attempting to ground the theories presented in his book to the physical space in which they exist. This grounding of the "public sphere" into physical space began to solidify the concept of public space as one that geographers can and still do study extensively (Ruppert, 2006).

In the early 1990s geographers put the idea of 'place' into public space. Geographers, who were already armed with a definition of place, now began to look at public space as its own type of place. However before this type of place could be studied it first needed to

be defined. Unsurprisingly researchers defined public space in different ways. Different sub-disciplines of geography (cultural, transportation, political) look at public space through a different lens. This in turn creates differing definitions of what public space is. Mitchell (1995) notes that the people who use public space often see it as an unconstrained area in which they, along with others, can gather for whatever purpose they choose. In contrast, those in control, the government for instance, view that space as an area in which the people are allowed to be present, as long as they conduct themselves according to the norms of proper public behavior. Mitchell (1995, p. 115) goes on to note that “Whatever the origins of any public space, its status as "public" is created and maintained through the ongoing opposition of visions that have been held, on the one hand, by those who seek order and control and, on the other, by those who seek places for oppositional political activity and unmediated interaction.”

Most researchers agree that space is a social production that includes many factors including ideological, economic, and social influences that work together to create a cohesive space. Public spaces can be viewed as places full of social encounters and exchanges, where groups with various interests are able to come together (Ortiz, Garcia-Ramon, and Prats, 2004). Since these places are open to everyone, ideally they should facilitate public use and active or passive social behavior (Mehta, 2013; Ortiz et al., 2004; Cresswell, 2004).

Viewing the physical space as secondary to the meaning that space holds is very useful when looking at how public space is formed (Low, 2000). It allows the realization that

while the physical geography of a space may not be created by humans, the meaning of the place is. The creation of space, especially public space, can be an expression of social history, which can then be expressed through the physical spaces (Low, 2000). It has been suggested by Low and others that it helpful to think of the built environment as well as the natural environment as a collective space with a ecology between them, since the space itself can influence the way people act and feel inside of it (Relph, 1976; Low, 2000; Mitchell, 1995).

It is generally agreed, then, that although public space by definition is open and available to all, many times a certain group, or groups of people, is discouraged from using the space, making the spaces not necessarily equal and often segregated. These issues of use and comfort lead to two good categories in which to define and measure public space, access and use (Mehta, 2013). Given the fact that public spaces are shaped by unspoken rules and expectations, there are many instances that give rise to tensions about who is really allowed in a public space (Mitchell, 1995). There are also instances where these rules are defined quite clearly by those in charge. For instance signs stating “No Loitering” or “No Camping” give clear definitions of who is welcome and what is permitted in that space (Mitchell, 1995). Therefore, the definition of place space becomes contested and must undergo change when these situations arise, as they raise questions about the “public” nature of public space as well what is considered to be a public space (Cresswell, 1992; Howell, 1993; Mitchell, 1995). Public spaces can range from the walls of buildings in New York City where graffiti artists created a new canvas for displaying their art (Cresswell, 1992), to historical geographers looking at access to public space in

the past through content analysis of journals and town records. The early 1990s saw a focus in defining where public spaces are and how they are changing.

Today the idea of public space is broader, as the influence of capitalism increasingly privatizes what had once been public space and brings with it new rules and regulations. These spaces also create new spaces where people can meet and ideas can be exchanged (Goheen, 1998; McCann, 1999; Cybriwsky, 1999). Shopping malls are a prime example of a new form of public space. While they are privately owned they draw diverse crowds that vary in age, gender and socio-economic status. How people navigate these spaces is one way in which geographers study the use of this new public space as well as more classic examples of public space (Thomas, 2006). Another illustration of the privatization of public space is the extension of restaurants onto the sidewalks outside their storefronts. This extension of space forces those wanting to sit outside to patronize those restaurants in order to use their seating. Tokyo and New York City are seeing more and more private interests owning and controlling parks and plazas and setting rules for how they can be used (Cybriwsky, 1999).

This idea that spaces, while being defined as public, do not present themselves equally to all members of society is widely studied in geography from a historical and cross-cultural perspective (Mitchell, 1995; Goheen, 1998; Wilson, 1995; McCann, 1999; Cresswell, 1996; Thomas, 2006). For example, there are spaces, especially those in Latin American countries that are male dominated, and while they are not explicitly banned to women, many feel unwelcome or uncomfortable being in those spaces (Low, 2000; Ortiz et al.,

2004; Bain, 2007; Bagheri, 2013). Wilson (1995) looks specifically at how public spaces in the nineteenth century condemned any women who was unaccompanied by a man in public as a prostitute and related women's "extreme emotions" to that of a dangerous out of control crowds. Part of this fear was the loss of control by men of women, and the conscious effort to constrain women's actions by limiting their actions and abilities in public space in Western societies. Although these actions proved unsuccessful, women "still feel, and often are, endangered or frightened in public space and they do not in practice have the same right to walk the streets as men do..." (Wilson, 1995, p. 151). By making public spaces inaccessible to certain groups, often through intimidation, those spaces can no longer be considered public. Low (2000) looked at the lack of women present in public spaces in Latin American plazas and how, when they were present, they were never by themselves and always off to the side, never a fully participating in the actions occurring within those public spaces. This type of unwelcoming exclusion of women in public space is also directed towards ethnic minority groups. Furthermore, this exclusionary feeling is often perpetrated by those who hold the power.

Those who hold power (often majority groups) have a lot of influence over space. This power makes it easier for some groups to make spaces unwelcoming to certain ethnic groups by modifying the physical appearance of the space through signage or fencing (Mitchell, 1995, 2003; Miller, 2007; Ruppert, 2013). New York City's public spaces, for example, have undergone these changes. Spaces that once had a sense of place where people were free to protest, linger, take a nap, or catch up with friends are now places through which people hurry from one place to the next. Heavy policing and surveillance

of these once-public place—places where people could "pause" and experience life—have caused a loss of place for some individuals (Tuan, 1977). According to Miller (2007), the qualities we take for granted when it comes to public space, such as openness and accessibility, public ownership and ties to democratic life, are rarely a reality for everyone in society (if they were ever really there in the first place). If spaces are no longer accessible to all, and they no longer facilitate democratic ideals, can these spaces still be considered public? Or are they instead just spaces people move through in transit to more private places (Mitchell, 1995; Miller, 2007)? Some argue that spaces are becoming less public because of increased privatization. Therefore public space is now less open to all members of society. The larger issue when it comes to public space is that of limited access, that although by definition these spaces are public, in practice they are anything but.

1.4.1 Public Spaces as Exclusionary Geographies

Historic preservation is an effective way for towns to maintain and secure places with historical value. However, some towns have begun to use historical preservation as a tool to prevent newcomers, or outsiders (be it new ethnic groups, or demographic groups) from making unwanted changes. Under the guise of historic preservation, the land use plans adopted by towns and cities make it nearly impossible for new groups to make physical changes to their space that would allow the town to feel more like home (Schein, 2009). For example, certain paint colors are prohibited; likewise, the addition of a room

to one's house, and the use of certain yard ornaments, must be approved by the town council in advance of installation (Cresswell, 1996). When historic preservation is used as an exclusionary tactic it can prevent outsiders from feeling welcome in their new home. Those who hold power, whether the power is formal or informal, are typically the ones making the decisions about how space is used. These individuals are generally people who have lived in that area for a long period of time, have attachments and memories associated with those spaces, and, when faced with demographic change, prefer to maintain the status quo. They allow for changes in demographics to remain hidden behind regulations of space. Consequently, those on the inside stay on the inside and those on the periphery stay on the periphery. The stronger your attachment is to a place the more you may feel the need to keep that place as it has always been, thereby continuing both formal and informal controls of that space (Trudeau, 2006). Often it isn't until people are faced with practices that are new to space that they begin to notice the degree in which their behavior in that space is controlled by the conceptions of the place itself, and often those realizations cause those in power to push back against these changes or perceived threats to preserve their own space (Devine-Wright and Lyons, 1997; Dixon and Durrheim, 2000; Hopkins and Dixon, 2006; Manzo, 2003).

Exclusionary geographies are not confined to historic spaces, they can also exist in the work place as well. When a new socio-economic or ethnic group enters a work force previously closed to them, they often face many challenges. They are expected to adjust to their new position as well as a new physical environment. Often it is harder for these

employees to adapt than it is for new employees from within the accepted social group (Philo, 1998).

This process of “othering” and the use of space in exclusionary processes has in some cases allowed those deemed as outsiders to create their own spaces within these public spaces (Wilson, 1995; Philo, 1998; Ruppert, 2006). Mitchell (1995) notes that these spatial politics allow for marginalized people or groups of people to find new ways to include themselves into these spaces that were not created for them, or in some cases created to keep them out of the picture all together. This creation of separate spaces inhibits social cohesion in communities. Examples of these types of carved out new spaces can be seen in Georgetown, and will be looked at as a part of this study in hopes to better understand why these geographies have become separate.

1.5 Landscape Identity

Before the concept of landscape identity can be discussed it is important to understand how geographers define landscape itself. The view of landscape can change depending on the scale of the study. Some view landscape in a regional way, and use similar features as a means of categorization. These regional landscapes are places that, when mentioned, everyone generally has the same picture in their mind. A meadow, for example, is a landscape in which the majority of people would picture an open field full of grasses and wild flowers (Rose, 2004; Trudeau, 2006; Setten, 2007). According to Trudeau (2006, p. 422), “Landscape is a visual idea that structures a perspective about social relationships

and how land should be used in a particular place. Landscapes thus offer a perspective of a particular territory and the community relations and identity of the polity associated with that territory.” For the purpose of this study, Trudeau’s (2006) definition will be used as landscape identity is being studied at a small scale.

Despite numerous studies discussing landscape identity, it is difficult to find a unifying definition or one used universally by geographers (Stobbelaar and Pedroli, 2011).

Although a general feeling of landscape identity can be outlined by a region’s character, a historical event, or the perception of a certain group of people, the ability to determine different forms of landscape identity is not yet clear. The most direct definition of landscape identity is simply the perceived uniqueness of a place (Trudeau, 2006; Setten, 2007; Stobbelaar and Pedroli, 2011). The reason it is difficult to define landscape identity is mainly due to the fact that landscape is not solely a physical place, but a social construct as well. Since humans are not rational actors, the identities of landscapes vary to the point that creating just one definition proves near impossible (Relph, 1976; Philo, 1998; Setten, 2007). Lowenthal (2007) goes on to note that defining landscape, and by extension its identity, at this smaller scale is made more difficult due to cultural differences such as language and tradition. However the general concept remains the same, people have a natural tendency to assign certain characteristics to the landscapes or places where they feel a deep connection (Stobbelaar and Pedroli, 2011).

Not all landscape identities are positive, and not all landscape identities are collective. Often times negative interactions with others, or even personal experiences in a

landscape, can have just as significant of an effect on landscape identity as positive experiences. For example if a woman walks through a neighborhood and hears catcalls or whistles she is far more likely to avoid that street in the future. If she avoids long enough she may forget why she avoided that street in the first place. Her perceptions of that street have become negative. These negative connotations are often harder to remove from a landscape than positive ones (Lowenthal, 2007). However, positive landscape identities can be formed by community events such as parades or clean ups, shared victories, and the creation of beautiful places. When large-scale steps are taken to improve the perception of a landscape for an entire group it is sometimes referred to as cultural landscape identity. Cultural landscape identities are almost always related to public places, for they are the identities held by a group, or groups of people. Personal landscape identities can be related to public places as well. For example, a tree with a special carving, a parking lot where parents taught their child to drive, or even a playground where two friends met can all qualify as personal landscape identities. However these identities are much harder to identify, and, because they are so personal, they are even more difficult to interpret (Lowenthal, 2007; Stobbelaar and Pedroli, 2011; Soini, Vaarala and Pouta, 2012). Personal landscape identities are less frequently studied by human geographers (compared to sociologists or psychologists). This may be why they are not a focus of this study.

Geographers often focus on three scales of study when looking at landscape identity: home, town, and region (Soini et al., 2012). This study will focus on the town and the various landscape identities within the town. Landscape identity can be classified as

cultural-existential landscape identity and cultural-spatial landscape identity. Existential landscape identity looks at those features in the landscape that stimulate and reinforce feelings of "we" or connects a group of people in positive or negative ways (Stewart, Liebert, Larkin, 2004; Stobbelaar and Pedroli, 2011; Haymes, 2013). And although these identities are typically formed through social processes, or shared histories, they are linked to tangible environments and therefore of interest to geographers (Wilkinson and Sigsworth, 1972). Cultural-spatial landscape identity, on the other hand, focuses on distinguishing characteristics between landscapes, or what makes those landscapes special (Eetvelde and Antrop, 2004; Haymes, 2013). It focuses on more concrete features that can be perceived by everyone, such as land use or vegetation (Wascher, 2005). This type of landscape identity is often used when attempting to define geographic regions. It is important to note that when studying landscapes at this scale, qualities are not listed as better or worse than one another but are simply described (Swanswick, 2002; Stobbelaar and Pedroli, 2011).

This study will focus on the on both the cultural-existential and cultural-spatial landscapes. The goal of the study is to understand how people and groups of people feel and relate to local landscapes as well as to identify what characteristics distinguish specific areas of Georgetown. Even more specifically the study will look at how people identify with places (smaller more direct areas) within the landscape.

1.6 Place Identity

A similar concept to personal landscape identity is place identity. It focuses specifically on how places cultivate meaning, whereas landscape identity focuses on what those meanings are. Place identity or “place-based meanings tell us something about who we are and who we are not, how we have changed and into what we are changing” (Hull, Lam, and Vigo, 1994, p. 110). People identify with places for a variety of reasons (Hull, et al. 1994; Rishbeth, 2001; Manzo, 2003). These reasons can be because of history, past experience, or even past experiences in a place that resembles a different landscape. Sometimes referred to as place attachment, researchers look at how places can cultivate meanings, either cultural or personal, beyond their physical appearance, or the utility that they fulfill and often come from childhood memories (Brierley-Newell, 1997; Rishbeth, 2001).

As authors Carter, Dyer and Sharma (2007, p. 757) say, “A place-based identity results when powerful meanings of the landscape influence people to the extent that their behaviors and self-identity (their sense of themselves), or their collective group belonging, become equated with a particular locale through process, project and performance.” However, place-identity should not be confused with using space for functional purposes such as fishing in a lake, or using an open space to play soccer with friends. These are activities done in a place that define that space as a place, but do not necessarily lend themselves to creating place identity (Manzo, 2003; Carter et al., 2007; Vaske and Korbin, 2001)

Place-identity is a concept that changes over space and time. The boundaries of place identity are not set in stone and may co-exist at multiple scales. Thus the meanings of those places are dynamic, open to negotiation and interpretation. In addition, meanings are not static, they can change for a multitude of reasons. For example power structures, and, more importantly, who holds power in an area, can play a major role in the maintenance, change, or even loss in place identities. Place identity can also be influenced by infrastructure, employment, and resource allocation, or the money put into different places by the government (Brierley-Newell, 1997). For example, if a large sum of money is allocated to only one area of a town, that area may flourish while other areas suffer. The intended use of a place can also have an impact on its identity. If a town builds a new baseball field with the intent that other towns (outsiders) will pay to use it, the field may not foster the same identity as a field built for the free use of residents in that town. The intended purpose can play an important role how that place is seen. “To observe that different groups may construe the same space in different ways does not mean that all are equally placed to act on the basis of their understandings” (Hopkins and Dixon, 2006, p. 177). Tourists and locals tend to have very different view of place identities. This can cause resentment or even conflict in areas of high tourism, as well as problems in areas that would like to increase in tourism. Locals often see the identities of sacred places being lost because of tourism (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Hopkins and Dixon, 2006; Carter et al., 2007).

1.6.1 Loss of Place Identity

As scholars in various disciplines have demonstrated, it is not only possible for a place to lose its identity, people can experience grief when places they are deeply attached to are erased of meaning. Grief occurs when the meaning or value of these places begins to erode (Del Pozo & Gonzalez, 2012; Butt, 2012). This can happen for several reasons: places can fall into disrepair, or become unsafe; places can become obsolete because of technology (especially the internet); populations in an area can change; those who have once utilized the place no longer see its value, or have access to it; or people may be forced to vacate a place important to them through disaster or dislocation due to urban renewal (Brierley-Newell, 1997; Rishbeth, 2001; Carter et al., 2007; Butt, 2012). As noted earlier place identity is often associated with childhood memories or experiences. Therefore, those people who are new to a place, such as immigrants or recently arrived retirees, may not share those same feelings of attachment that longtime residents. They have not had enough time to build the memories needed to help them build attachments to their new surroundings. At the same time, long-time residents may be feeling a loss of place and dislocation when newcomers arrive and attempt to fashion new memories in their new home (Brierley-Newell, 1997; Rishbeth, 2001).

Nogue and Wilbrand (2010) argue that loss of place or, as they call it, territorial identity, can be attributed to rapid globalization and the resulting transformations of landscapes. More importantly they note that these identities are social constructions and as such they are always changing and evolving over time just as the landscapes they exist in are

constantly evolving. This forces researchers to modify their concepts of place identity and note that while it can be a collective feeling, it is also high individualized (Manzo, 2003; Nogue and Wilbrand, 2010).

1.7 Summary

In conclusion, understanding the concepts of place, public space, landscape and place identity are essential to understanding my research problem in Georgetown. Through my research I hope to show that residents who have lived in Georgetown a long time (old-timers) are feeling a loss of both landscape and place identity in their public spaces. To combat this feeling they are making more of an effort to preserve spaces in ways they feel best represent them. At the same time, newcomers—both immigrants and in-migrants such as retirees—are creating spaces that encompass their identities and offer comfort. Instead of working to create new shared identities, each group is working to safeguard spaces that remind them of feelings of home and comfort. My next chapter will discuss the establishment and development of Georgetown.

Chapter 2

THE ESTABLISHMENT, EARLY HISTORY AND MODERN DAY ISSUES OF GEORGETOWN, DELAWARE

2.1 Introduction

Georgetown's history as a county seat has been a key component in the vision present in the town today. The geographical layout of the town, the town's interest in its historic past and effort to preserve its historic architecture, and the town's ambivalent response to social and economic changes occurring over the past 25 years can all be connected to Georgetown's unique history. In this chapter I hope to show how (1) the establishment and early history of Georgetown as the county seat of Sussex County, Delaware, (2) the importance of landscape to residents in Georgetown and (3) ambivalent attitudes towards some newcomers contribute to how the town is currently responding to social and economic change.

2.2 Establishment and Early History of Georgetown

Georgetown, the county seat of Sussex County, Delaware was established in 1791. Previous to its establishment, the county seat was located in Lewes, a town along the beach sixteen miles east of Georgetown. While Lewes proved to be a fine location for the county seat for many years, the addition of western territory to the state made the location of the county seat impractical. Through a series of amendments the State decided to

create a new county seat, from scratch, in a more central location to make the journey more equitable to all citizens.



Figure 2.1 Modern boundaries of Sussex County, Delaware, map provided by Google Maps (2014)

The appearance of Georgetown's public spaces has been important to the town since the mid-1800s. In 1851 Georgetown received self-governing powers from the Legislature in Dover, the most important of which was the power to collect taxes. Previous to 1851 taxes were collected by the government in Dover. Tax dollars allowed for the transformation of the Circle and continues to allow Georgetown to improve to this day. Without the ability to collect taxes Georgetown would have had a hard time maintaining public space. Much of the taxes collected in the first years after Georgetown gained

political independence was spent on the improvement and repair of existing roads such as Market Street and Bedford Street, the creation of new ones, and the instillation of street lamps along these main roads (Wade, 1975). Therefore it appears that the physical appearance of Georgetown, the way it presented its public spaces to the world, was of great concern to the town councils in the 1800s.

The planning that occurred in Georgetown in the late 1700s and early 1800s mimicked most other county seats along the east coast. It was not uncommon to see a grassy area (usually a square, in Georgetown's case a circle) surrounded by two main streets lined with government buildings. Conscious planning decisions were made to facilitate easy access to buildings needed by people all over the county (Price, 1968). Individuals traveled (and still travel) from all over southern Delaware to Georgetown on a daily basis to conduct business, go to the Courthouse or to the Town Hall.

By the end of the 1800s, Wade (1975) pointed out that there was a deep divide between workers brought to the town to work in the newly opened wooden-plate factory and workers already in Georgetown. The latter was not spatially integrated with the rest of town. Instead these new laborers lived in the Kimmytown neighborhood "the other side of the tracks." Despite that fact that these new workers were white, English-speaking Protestants, the newcomers were still unwelcome in Georgetown (Caldwell, 2006). Wade (1975) goes on to note that both the increase in industry in Georgetown, and the new residents, were fought tooth and nail by long-time residents. Big business owners were viewed as "outsiders" who had no real ties to the town itself. This did not sit well with

residents, especially when these outsiders wanted to make changes or advances in “their town”. According to Gaffney (2007), the idea of being defined by your address, living on the right or wrong side of the tracks, became a defining and permanent factor in Georgetown—a factor still very much present in Georgetown today. It can be seen in the way some people act towards newcomers, the way longtime businesses are marketed and the feelings of some towards the changes in their small hometown.

In 1920, Georgetown again stressed the importance of its visible spaces. The town made an agreement with the State Highway Department that resulted in a state constructed and maintained highway through the town. Per this agreement a newly paved Market Street was built. Market Street crosses through the Circle and is heavily traveled by Georgetown residents as well as visitors driving through Georgetown to get to the beach (Wade, 1975). Because of the visibility of Market Street to passersby, Market Street remains an important space in Georgetown. It is home to businesses and well-known establishments.

2.3 Impact of Rural Restructuring on Sussex County and Georgetown

Starting in the 1970s and increasing in the 1980s, neither Georgetown nor Sussex County could hold back change. Between its beaches, lack of sales tax, and low property taxes, Delaware had become a destination location for retirees as well as vacationers. Sussex County as a whole has been experiencing population growth since the early 1980s (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990). These retirees and vacationers have helped southern Delaware’s economy, as they are bringing incomes without needing jobs. However, their presence

has also required increased housing for these new in-migrants, and services such as new restaurants and shopping (Downes, 1994).

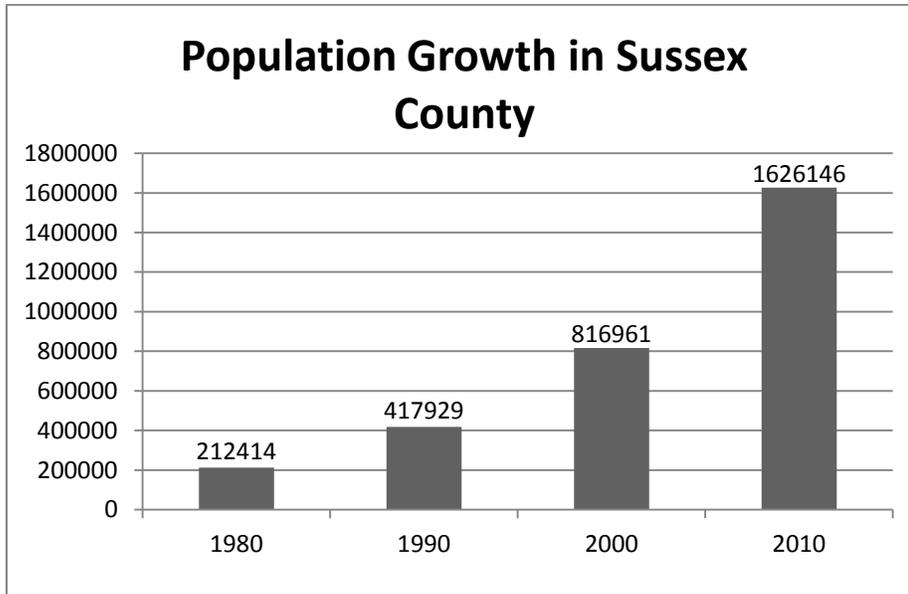


Figure 2.2 Bar chart demonstrating population growth in Sussex County.

Georgetown has been experiencing rapid population growth as demonstrated by the United States census. Between 1980 and 1990 the town grew from 1,710 residents to 3,732 residents (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990). Some of this growth is also attributed to an annexation that occurred in the 1980s. In 2000 the town expanded further to 4,643 residents, and finally in 2010 the population grew approximately 38%, to 6,766 residents (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

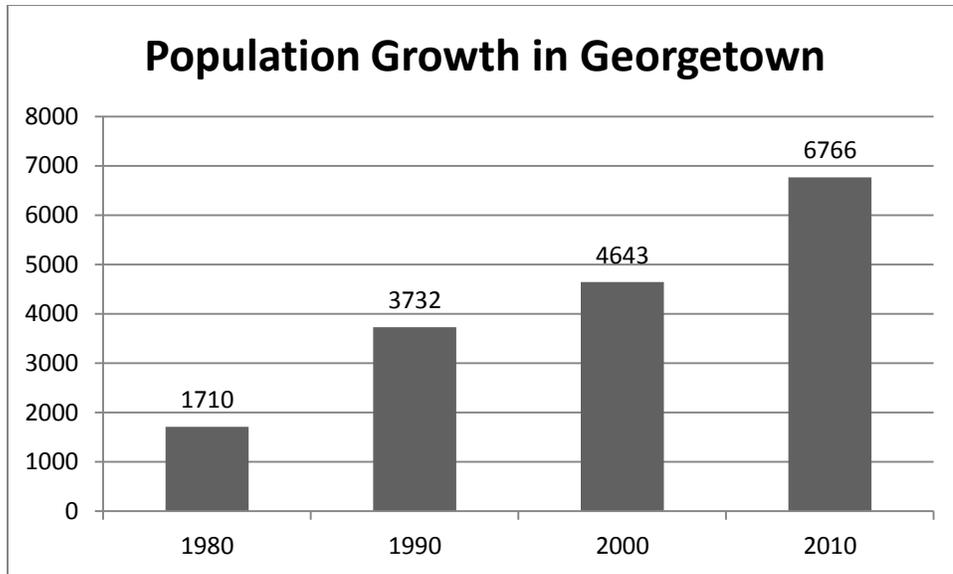


Figure 2.3 Bar chart of population increases in Georgetown from 1980 to 2010.

As the population rapidly expanded, the racial percentages changed as well. In 1990, 70% of Georgetown’s population was white, about 27% was African American and about 2% Hispanic. In 2000, white residents still held the majority in Georgetown with a little less than 50%, with African Americans at about 21% and Hispanics around 30%. By 2010, Hispanics held the majority with approximately 48%, African Americans having approximately 15% and white resident representing around 36% of Georgetown’s population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

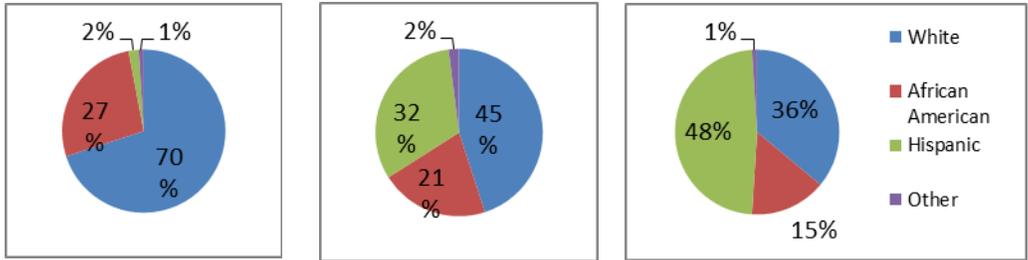


Figure 2.4 Pie charts showing race percentage, according to census data in 1990, 2000, and 2010 from left to right.

While official census estimate that Hispanics are 48% of the population, this number doesn't include those immigrants living in the town illegally who would not be counted in the official census.

2.4 Move Towards Historic Preservation

Georgetown markets itself as a historic town. It takes pride in its historical museum, the Marvel Carriage Museum, as well as in its historic Circle, Town Hall, and the Brick Hotel. Town leaders along with the Greater Georgetown Chamber of Commerce have worked hard to market Georgetown to outsiders through its website and Facebook, highlighting its history, restaurants, and antique shops. The Town of Georgetown's website boasts beautiful pictures of the Circle and East Market Street.



Figure 2.5 Images taken from Georgetown's town website of the Town Hall and the Georgetown Circle (Town of Georgetown, 2014a).

Strategic place marketing in Georgetown has been key to successfully advertising the historic feel. According to Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2008, p. 151), place marketing refers to efforts by towns to “differentiate themselves from each other in order to assert their individuality and distinctive characteristics in pursuit of various economic, political or socio-psychological objectives. The conscious attempt of governments to shape a specifically designed place identity and promote it to identified markets, whether external or internal, is almost as old as government itself.” It's the way in which a town desires to be seen, a way to control its label.

The town's website has a special link to its current effort to brand the community. This presentation, along with its 56 page Style Guide, is aimed at remarketing and reviving Georgetown with a focus on history and specific cultural attractions (Town of Georgetown, 2014b). This presentation includes specific guidelines to be used by all merchants, organizations and other local groups. Prescribed colors, typefaces, layouts and even the spacing of the town's logos on a flyer or letterhead are all part of the town

branding. Thus the color palette features muted tones in red, green, blue and purple— shades that represent its colonial heritage. The branding guidelines ask people to use the Pantone Matching System to ensure that all colors are identical. The guidelines also stress the importance of the color themes being matched exactly. The branding also dictates a primary and secondary typeface—Heroe Pro and Athelas respectively.

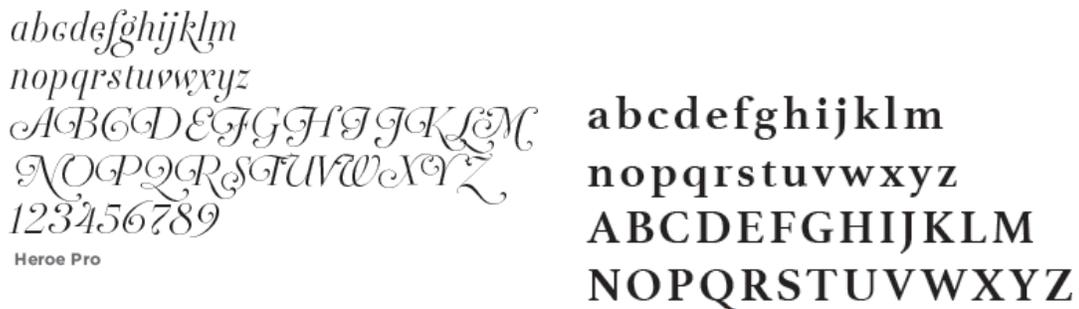
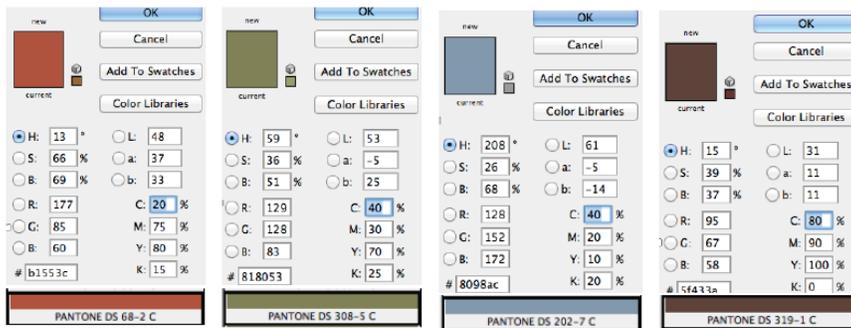


Figure 2.6 Colors and typefaces dictated by the Community Image Style Guide (Town of Georgetown, 2014b).

The town also has a branding statement that declares who Georgetown is, and how they want to present themselves to the rest of Sussex County and, subsequently, the world:

We Are Georgetown Delaware. For over 200 years, people have been drawn here to the heart of Sussex County. From Farmers to Lawyers, From Young to Old.

From those that grew up right here, to those who have chosen here from spots around the globe, Georgetown is a true community where its flavor and uniqueness are drawn from the people who call it home. Established for our location, it has long been said that Georgetown is 16 miles from everything. And that proximity makes us a great place to live. But we are just a quaint place to pass through, but an amazing place to live. Georgetown affords a well-rounded life. From the Farmers Market to the Concerts in the Park, from Wings & Wheels to the rich traditions of Return Day, Georgetown is alive and well today. There is a new energy in Georgetown. We are crafting a new vision for our future, we are growing new businesses, and attracting new customers. We are community of many faces, many names, and many backgrounds who are coming together to make Georgetown better. We invite you to explore this place we call home, experience the warmth of our friends and neighbors, taste our multitudes of flavors, and get lost around the heart of our community, the Circle, and you'll see what we mean when we say... Georgetown, Delaware. Well Rounded (Town of Georgetown, 2014b, p.3).

The phrase threaded throughout the presentation and subsequent style guide is “well rounded,” likely in reference to Georgetown’s historic and well known Circle, as well as to the various cultures and groups represented in Georgetown. The branding talks about new faces and various backgrounds in broad terms without being specific about who, exactly, these new people from around the globe are. At the end of the presentation a photograph of “El Mercado” is featured, a Hispanic grocery store that is removed from

the center of town, and not located near the other various Hispanic businesses in town. It is the sole photo of the Hispanic community.

It appears that Georgetown's agenda is to focus on its past, as well as a bit of its present, to actively manage its future. Georgetown's Comprehensive Plan discusses how history will be used to frame any future developments in the town:

The historic center of Georgetown will be protected so it will maintain its historical heritage and be strengthened as an active business center for the region. The Town will have preserved the best features of older neighborhoods and extended similar features into the newer development. The architectural theme of the buildings and the streetscape in the Town center has been used as a blue print for the design of newer development throughout the Town. Attractive streetscape improvements will make the center of town more pedestrian-friendly. Highway improvements will divert the heaviest traffic away from the center of Georgetown (The Town of Georgetown Comprehensive Plan, 2010, p. 2).

This historic feels helps draw in retirees who are attracted to that "simpler" way of life. According to Rosalie Walls, director of Marvel Carriage Museum, "We are getting a lot of older people coming into Georgetown. They like our small town feel it reminds them of when they were young. At least that's the impression that I get, and I see a lot of them since I work here" (Walls, personal communication, June 25, 2014). Between 1971 and 2011 Georgetown registered 19 places on the National Historic Registry (Town of

Georgetown, 2014c). Starting with the Courthouse and ending with McColley's Chapel, Georgetown has consciously made decisions to preserve spaces deemed historic.

2.5 Georgetown's Second Group of New Residents

This in-migration of retirees has been coupled with a second wave of new residents starting in the 1980s. Immigrants, the majority from Central America but more specifically Guatemala, have been making Georgetown their home. During the mid to late 1980s, Swift and Company, who opened a chicken processing plant in what is now northern Georgetown in the 1950s, found themselves in need of inexpensive, reliable labor. The previous employees, both white and African American, began to seek jobs that were less dangerous and paid better wages in the construction and service industries, industries growing due to the growing retiree and vacationer population, causing a labor shortage in the plant (Horowitz & Miller, 1999). Plants like the one in Georgetown, and others throughout the Delmarva Peninsula, increasingly turned towards immigrant workers from Mexico, Guatemala, and other Central American countries to fill these labor needs. According to the Horowitz and Miller study (1999) immigrant workers were less likely to complain about poor conditions, long hours and low wages than the local labor force and according to some sources were more likely to pass the state mandated drug tests, making them attractive recruits. The agro-processing plants focused on recruiting young men as they were the most able to work the demanding labor jobs (Harlow, 2009a).

This influx of residents in central Sussex County created an increased need for housing in many places. Georgetown, however, was one of the principal locations where this low-skilled, low-wage labor force found housing. According to Gaffney (2007) there were some entrepreneurs who noticed this housing need early on—they bought up homes and apartments buildings and then rented them to these Hispanic immigrants. These housing efforts proved to be futile, as more immigrants moved to Georgetown and housing continually became scarcer. Gaffney (2007) goes on to note that landlords in Kimmeytown took advantage of this situation charging individuals up to 1,000 dollars a month to rent homes from them. Landlords justified these rents due to the high costs of wear and tear on the properties. To deal with housing deterioration and code issues, in 1996 Georgetown employed its first housing inspector, who quit after only seven months because he was frustrated by the town's slow citation process. Adequate housing in Georgetown remains a problem to this day (Gaffney, 2007; Harlow, 2009c).

Despite efforts by new immigrants to put down roots in Georgetown, not everyone is happy about the changes. Immigrants have gotten married and had children or have been joined by their families from Guatemala, and some young families have moved out of Kimmeytown and into their own homes (Harlow, 2009c). In an article in the *News Journal* by Harlow (2009a, p. 2), a town councilman expressed his feeling that Hispanic immigrants needed to “pull their own weight. They need to prove they're paying their way and working themselves into society...If you're coming out of the backwoods of Tennessee and you want to eat at the country club, you're going to have to find shoes.”

This councilman was strongly hinting that “if you want to live in our community, you need to assimilate to our way of life”. Another example of how some longtime residents view the newly arrived Hispanic population is drawn from information obtained during a town-wide survey done by the *We are One Georgetown* Committee (Veness, Jacobson, Pugliano, 2013). A number of residents complained about Hispanic residents who dried their clothes on rooftops and bushes: “When you pull in [to town] you see laundry on windows/roofs. It makes the town look bad. It’s embarrassing. I don’t have a problem with the people, just the way their homes look,” said one survey participant (Veness, et al., 2013, p. 23). Some town residents were also dissatisfied with the fact that many of the newest residents do not speak English, and therefore it is impossible to communicate with them (Veness, et al., 2013). These examples demonstrate both a desire by some residents to avoid having the town appear to working class (for clothes strewn on bushes and roof tops go directly against the place marketing being put in place) and a wish to better understand their new neighbors.

Between negative images of the town, language barriers, and socio-economic differences, it is not hard to imagine that there are spaces in which old and new residents feel disconnected, or unwelcome in Georgetown. The social and spatial changes taking place in Georgetown have led to growing tensions in the town. To some old-timers, the arrival of Hispanic immigrants to Georgetown is an invasion that demands attention. Defensive feelings have been inflamed by the visible impact of seeing Hispanics gathering in public places or walking on the main streets after dark, according to one journalist (Caldwell, 2006). Long-standing social and spatial tensions between the white and African

American populations in Georgetown were not resolved by the arrival of Hispanics, they were pushed aside (Horowitz & Miller 1999; Gaffney, 2007).

In the early years Hispanics were not scattered in all neighborhoods of Georgetown; instead they tended to settle in Kimmeytown where the housing was less expensive to rent. Hispanic newcomers had a drastically different view of the neighborhood in which they lived. Where longtime residents saw Kimmeytown as a degrading neighborhood with unsafe streets, the newcomers saw what Horowitz and Miller (1999 p. 12) called a “vibrant center for their community”. There were: “A number of grocery stores and restaurants catering to immigrants have opening, creating a ‘Little Guatemala’ or ‘Little Mexico’ effect near the heart of this colonial city. The presence in Kimmeytown of these small businesses, a church staffed by religious orders which provide services for immigrants, spatially define the immigrant neighborhood” (Horowitz and Miller, 1999, p. 12). The fact that the area in which most of the Hispanic population lived was so geographically defined, as shown in the Analysis section of this paper, served as a great hindrance in the blending of the cultures. Over time spaces in Georgetown became defined as “white” or “black” or “Hispanic” and changing those classifications becomes quite difficult.

Defining which spaces are comfortable for which populations is an important key to understanding the changes and tensions that now exist in Georgetown. It is also important to understand why certain spaces have more or less significance for certain people or groups of people (Brown-Saracino, 2004). Why spaces are important may help to

understand why certain groups feel unwelcome in the spaces whether or not they are classically defined as public spaces. The way in which people use these spaces and act and interact within them are all important keys to potentially breaking through some of the tangible tensions in Georgetown. My next chapter will go into the methods and data of my study.

Chapter 3

METHODS AND DATA

3.1 Overview of Methods

For this study a mixed methods approach was taken in order to interact with participants in different ways, as well as to be sure to provide adequate documentation of perceptions of space in Georgetown. I utilized participant observation, content analysis of Georgetown's media sites, and visual analysis in the forms of photo elicitation interviews and photovoice, both of which were accompanied with semi-structure interviews.

The first method used was participant observation, a very common method in the social sciences. During participant observation the researcher takes part in the activities and events being studied as to better understand their cultural importance (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2010). By using participant observation I was able to, on some level, experience what my participants felt in the different public spaces. The first trip to Georgetown happened in January of 2013 during this initial trip I was introduced to members of the Blueprint Communities who were writing and organizing a town-wide survey concerned with the dissemination of information in Georgetown as a part of a community-based research project. Blueprint Communities is a program that was created in 2005 by the Federal Home Loan Bank of Pittsburgh. The program "helps cities, towns, and neighborhoods develop stronger leaders, a clear community vision and a detailed strategic plan for

sustainable community growth” (Blueprint Communities, 2014). The program was brought to Delaware in 2008, and in 2010 Georgetown became a Blueprint Community. This status came with: community revitalization training, led by the University of Delaware’s Center for Community Research and Service, a community profile that had indicators and trends for planning, access to a community development consultant, a mini-grant for technical assistance, and access to a network of funding sources upon successful completion of the program (Blueprint Communities, 2014).

As part of a course called Global at Home at the University of Delaware, my classmates and I helped the Blueprint Communities group with their project titled *We Are One Georgetown*. Between February and May of 2013 we visited Georgetown four times. During these trips, we met with other survey volunteers, practiced giving the survey, and created maps that divided the town into sections in which volunteers would walk door-to-door to administer the survey. On April 13, 2013, as part of that survey, a Hispanic volunteer and I spent four hours together. Paired as a bi-lingual team, we were not successful communicating with any resident in the town, we were able to approach residents who might have been leery seeing a survey administrator from a different-than-them ethnic group. Participating in this community research also allowed me to feel more comfortable in Georgetown. It allowed me to network with individuals who were dedicated to Georgetown.

During the summer of 2013 I spent approximately one day a week in Georgetown, either meeting with individuals who helped from the survey, or doing participant observation in

various public spaces in town. I spent around ten hours in the public library, ten hours in the Circle, and on East Market Street, and on days that it rained I spent about four hours driving around Georgetown. I also patronized many of the restaurants in town, both white and Hispanic, including Joe's Market, J & J's bagels (a Hispanic-owned bagel shop), The Georgetown Family Restaurant, The Upper Crust, and La Quetzalteca.

From July 2013 through March 2014 two types of visual analysis, coupled with semi-structured interviews, were used. Photovoice and photo elicitation interviews, both qualitative methods, allowed for more in-depth interviews with participants, which in turn elicited more thoughtful answers. Further analysis of these visual methods will happen later in this chapter.

Finally the last method employed in this study was content analysis of media, town websites, and published maps and documents. Content analysis "is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context" (Krippendorff, 2012, p. 403). The most well-known and widely used form of content analysis is in studies of media content. These studies often focus on how often a particular subject matter or image is repeated throughout different media outlets (Krippendorff, 2012). This analysis allowed me to understand which parts of the town, its organizations and residents wanted to highlight.

3.2 Visual Analysis: Photo Elicitation Interviews (PEI)

Photo elicitation interviewing is when a researcher uses photographs during semi-structured interviews to elicit or encourage deeper more thoughtful responses from their

participants. This method is also helpful as it grounds the topic in something real and tangible, the photograph, which makes a relatable platform for both researcher and participant. According to Harper (2002), photo elicitation interviewing (PEI) was developed in the 1950s by John Collier, a member of a research team at Cornell University charged with studying housing quality within the research area. Collier took photos of different types of housing and asked residents which ones they found most and least appealing and why. Using photos served a practical purpose for Collier by creating housing categories based on aggregated responses. From there, Collier continued to use photographs to aid his research. He believed that photos not only helped generate more thoughtful answers, they helped keep participants interested in the topic and involved in the interview process (Harper, 2002).

Building on the insights of Collier, photo elicitation has become a common method for researchers in multiple disciplines. Its main strength is its ability to prompt information from interviewees that help identify what is meaningful in human experiences of a place. In agreement with Collier, Harper (2002, p. 13) sees the positive side of this methodology: "Photo elicitation interview is a method often used in social sciences to help elicit deeper and more meaningful interviews. There is a physical basis: the parts of the brain that process visual information are evolutionarily older than the parts that process verbal information. Thus images evoke deeper elements of human consciousness that do words." In essence the use of photo elicitation may encourage not only more information from participants but different types of information as well. It is important to remember that the use of photos do not guarantee or automatically create better

interviews. The photos themselves must have enough meaning to evoke a memory or conversation, and the questions asked about the photograph must be relevant.

According to Harper (2002) using photographs in interviews serves three overarching purposes. First, they are visual inventories of relics, people and meaningful objects. As such they are carefully staged presentations of what people value. Second, photo-driven interviews portray events or moments that were a part collective past, meaning they were events that have meaning to a large group of people. These can be photos of work or school, as well as images documenting events that occurred throughout participants' lifetimes. For example, a yearly town-wide fair or festival may make for a successful photo elicitation. Third, these types of photographs can be used to portray the more intimate dimensions of social life; that is, they are lenses into what people think about social groups, families, or even one's own body. Photo elicitation interviews "connect 'core definitions of the self' to society, culture, and history" (Harper, 2002, p. 13). Photo elicitation has become a useful tool in many fields aside from its origins in Sociology and Anthropology. However, only recently have researchers elsewhere routinely incorporated PEI into their research. Planning specialists often utilize photo elicitation to evaluate a community's needs (Badland, Schofield, Witten, Schluter, Mavoia, Kearns and McPhee, 2009). They ask citizens to photograph spaces that they see as positive, as well as spaces they see as negative. By asking participants to create a visual representation of their town, more conversations about space and how spaces should look and feel can happen. It takes a space out of theoretical space and puts it in a more understandable visual context. Photographs, especially when taken by the

participant, can help the interviewer as well. By being given a visual of what the participant is talking about it levels the playing field and can allow for more pertinent or relevant questions to be asked.

There are, however, drawbacks to using the PEI method. One big concern for the researcher is to ensure that the photographs are of good quality, but another is to ensure that the photo was taken for the correct audience. It is more important that the photos evoke conversations with participants and not just be interesting to the researcher. Harper (2002, p. 25) notes that “this method provides a way in which the interview can move from the concrete (a cataloguing of the objects in the photograph) to the socially abstract (what the objects in the photograph mean to the individual being interviewed).” In this sense the photos can work on two levels, creating concrete images to discuss, while also allowing for abstractions based on these images to occur.

3.2.1 Photo Elicitation Interviews in Geography

The use of PEI in the field of geography is becoming more common, although its use as a primary research method is still under-utilized, according to some (Harper, 2002, Latham, 2003, Croghan, Griffin, Hunter and Phoenix, 2008). The conceptualization of space, use of space, and importance of space are all ideas that can be captured using photography. The use of photographs can help ground the idea of space and enable participants to speak more clearly about spaces. Eetvelde and Antrop (2004) asked

participants to classify different landscapes throughout their town using black and white aerial photographs of their suburban homes. These photos enabled the participants to view the landscapes they are often immersed in in a new light; it created a different form of thinking and allowed them to create holistic boundaries. Chenoweth (1984) employed PEI when asking outsiders to come in and photograph spaces they found interesting or attractive in a small town and then requesting the reasons for their choices. These photos taken by outsiders were then shown to residents, who in turn gave an account of the meaning that they found within each photograph. Chenoweth repeated this same study six years later to analyze both how the outside perceptions of the town had changed (mainly because of increased development geared towards tourism) and how residents now perceived their “up and coming” hometown. Pablo Vila (2012) utilizes the PEI method extensively, but particularly when working with populations living in turbulent areas. For example Vila studied communities located near the U.S. and Mexican borders and used photographs to find out where locals they do and do not feel comfortable. While photo elicitation interviews were successful in better engaging participants in interviews, researchers took this method a step forward in the early 1990s and put cameras directly in the hands of their participants.

3.3 Visual Analysis: Photovoice

After some preliminary participant observation was completed in Georgetown, I decided that photovoice might be a way to interact with participants on a deeper, more intimate

level. I also felt that using photovoice was a good way to remove researcher bias from my study. Since this study is about space and what spaces feel inclusive or exclusive, and since I was curious about what makes these spaces feel that way, I did not wish to presume or guide respondents. Using photovoice I was able to focus on spaces important to the participants into my study, therefore putting the choices in their hands.

Photovoice in its purest form is a study in which your participants are given a camera and asked by the researcher to take photographs within specific guidelines. The photographs are then used by the researcher during interviews with the participant-photographer, an interview that is scheduled with the participant after the photos are taken. The photos are used to elicit deeper more meaningful answers to questions. Developed in 1994, photovoice, originally termed *photo novella*, allowed participants to “identify, represent, and enhance their community through a specific photographic technique” (Wang and Burris, 1997, p. 369). Caroline Wang and Mary Ann Burris originally developed photovoice because they continually noted weaknesses in other qualitative methods and believed that by using participant-taken photos they would be able to deepen their level of analysis as well as level the playing field in the research field.

Feminist theory noted that male bias has influenced much of participatory research and literature. Thus creating documentaries both through photographs and film offered more balanced perspective. The initial use of photovoice aimed to address the fact that most vulnerable (and most affected) individuals in situations, especially situations related to health and wellbeing, often have the weakest voice when discussing solutions to their

problems (Wang and Burris, 1997). Photovoice, then, allowed participants of all ages, genders and educational levels to participate, in part because use of the camera is both easily taught and learned. Cameras do not require the ability to read or write and therefore are more inclusive. People become active participants in the study as opposed to passive subjects of the research of others (Hergenrather, Rhodes, Cowan, Bardhoshi and Pula, 2009).

Wang and Burris, who were interested in needs assessment in the field of health research, describe a myriad of reasons why photovoice is an effective technique in their field. Many of these reasons transfer seamlessly into the many other disciplines, including geography. Wang and Burris (1997, p. 372) note that photovoice “gives practitioners the ability to perceive the world from the distinct viewpoint of their subjects.” It reduces the chance that researchers will neglect a problem that may be important to the community but they have overlooked. The process also, as noted earlier, helps to give a stronger voice to communities with more vulnerability. Photovoice allows for participants to provide deeper, more thoughtful responses and explanations to questions posed by researchers. It also affirms or discredits the questions that the researcher is asking, allowing them to either continue asking the right questions or reformulate what they are truly attempting to learn (Wang and Burris, 1997, Croghan, et al., 2008). Croghan et al. (2008) note that photo elicitation often shifts the focus onto the photographer’s interpretation of the visual, and allows for answers that would never have come from a verbal interview alone. Latham (2003) argues that using photographs in collaboration with other methods, in his case diaries, aids the researcher in producing data that is

truthful and respectful to its participants. Latham believes that an increased use in innovative qualitative methods in the field of geography will create more dynamic and empirically engaging results.

As with any research method, there are disadvantages to using photovoice. By giving cameras directly to participants you are creating a form of self-censorship, in that participants can create the world they want you to see through photographs, not necessarily the world that actually exists. Unsavory elements can be left out or ignored if they are not in the best interest of the participant. It also assumes the participant is physically and financially capable of getting to various locations in order to take the photographs (Wang and Burris, 1997).

3.3.1 Photovoice in Geography

Geography is a highly visual discipline. It relies heavily on visual imagery, such as maps and other geovisualizations, to present knowledge (Lombard, 2012). A growing number of geographers have begun to incorporate photovoice into their research, helping to better understand the lived experiences of their subjects and how they relate to the world around them (Stewart, Leibert and Larkin, 2004; Thomas, 2006; Lombard, 2012).

Stewart et al. (2004), for example, used photovoice in a small Midwest community to understand community identity and learn the meaning of various environments such as parks, protected fields and forested areas. By having residents take photos of important

environments, Stewart et al. wanted to understand how local environments reflected community-based meaning and how this meaning could help develop planning strategies. Using photovoice was a way for these researchers to see what spaces were most valuable and why. Thomas (2006) did a study focused on teenage girls, looking at how they utilize public space and feel safe in what the author calls male dominated spaces. By having the girls photograph important spaces, they were given a tangible method in which to present ideas about their social activities and identities. “I regard photography as both part of a larger research process and as a particular method that yields material visual data,” said Thomas (2006 p. 590). Using photovoice for a different purpose, Whitzman, James and Powerseu (2013) wanted to know where New Guinea villagers traveled by foot the most. This was done to help determine the best locations for the creation of new roads. In Thailand researchers used photovoice to try and understand how natives, who rely on fishing for income and survival, are dealing with climate change and the alterations to their lives that accompany it. Thus photovoice can be a valuable tool for studying complex issues from the point of view of native populations (Bennett and Dearden, 2013).

Yet another popular form of photovoice is through the use of family photographs. Although these photographs are taken with the direction of the researcher, they are photographs that participants have they themselves taken. Several geographers, including Rose (2004), have used family photo albums to look at the spatial proximity of family and understand the idea of “togetherness” as it relates to family. Although the use of photovoice has not become a mainstream method in the field of geography, it is clear that

its success and usefulness are becoming more obvious, especially researchers interested in how their subjects relate to their perceived world around them.

3.4 Utilizing Visual Analysis in Georgetown

This study utilizes both forms of photo analysis to connect on a more intimate level with participants. I felt that I would be successful in my interviews if I used photo analysis techniques for several reasons. The first was that by spending time taking photographs throughout Georgetown I felt I had a better understanding of the town. If a place was mentioned in an interview there was a good chance that I had driven or walked by the space during one of my photography sessions. In addition, by having photographs interviews were grounded in common understanding; they demonstrated to the participant that time was spent getting to know their town. The photographs also demonstrated that I cared about what aspects of the town were important to participants, to the social groups they are a part of, and to the decisions-makers of the town. In order to understand people's attachment to space in Georgetown, as well as understand why certain individuals or groups of people are connecting to places in Georgetown, I felt that using visual methods would be mutually beneficial to both the participants and the researcher (myself).

Initial participants for the photovoice study were identified through key informants in the community. These informants sent out mass emails letting their friends, coworkers, and acquaintances know who I was, what I was doing, and my contact information. Once

these prospective subjects were identified I contacted each individual and explained my project either by email or phone. I then relied on the snowball method (participants identifying other possible participants) to enlarge my study group. All participant-interviewees were asked to sign a consent form that informed them that their identities would remain anonymous and pseudonyms would be used if any direct quotations were taken from interviews. Each participant was then given the option to not be tape recorded, as well as the option to opt out of any question that made them feel uncomfortable. In the photovoice method, study participants were asked to photograph important spaces with provided cameras. They were told that any space with a personal connection to the participant could be selected. Instructions were purposefully vague to gain a better understanding of what each participant found important, and not to insert interviewer bias into their photographs.

The photographs were developed by the researcher, and then a follow up interview was held where participants explained the reasons why they considered the spaces in the photos they took important to them. Each participant was encouraged to take as many photos as he or she could, as this would help gain a better understanding of their important spaces. For example, if a participant took twenty photos this person's follow up interview would be much longer and richer than someone who only took four photos.

After I looked at the photographs as a group on their own (directly to the participant), I looked at the photographs collectively to look for patterns. Interviewees could have been asked to simply describe the spaces that they found important to themselves, and afterwards I could have gone to these places to look at them. However, by asking

participants to photograph these spaces on their own it created a different context to interview them in. Participants were encouraged to think for a longer period of time about what spaces were important to them, important enough to go out of their way to photograph. In this sense they were not rattling off a list of places right after the question was asked; instead they took time to contemplate (ideally) which spaces are really important to them.

There is a downside to using these visual methods, the biggest being the time commitment needed from participants. An interview can often be accomplished in an hour or so, and then your participant is finished (except for possible follow up or clarification which can often take place over the phone). In a photovoice study, participants are asked to dedicate a more significant amount of time to your research. During the initial interview, which was typically thirty minutes or so, I spent time introducing myself and the research project, getting to know the participant, and giving the participant a camera and instructions. The participant then had to take time to go out and photograph spaces, which often took several weeks. Once the participant was finished I would get the camera on my next trip to Georgetown, have the film developed and schedule a follow up interview. This process took about three weeks, as getting film developed took about ten days. In my experience, albeit limited, participants were available for a preliminary interview, took cameras and often times weren't able to follow through with the rest of the process. In the end although I gave out fifteen cameras I only had five participants complete the photovoice process. I had much better success utilizing

the photo elicitation interview method, in which I already had photographs to show my participants.

The second form of photo elicitation used in this study was the more conventional photo elicitation interview form, where participants were each shown a set of predetermined photos. These photos were determined from two sources: spaces that were repeated by photovoice participants, as well as spaces I chose from around Georgetown. I used photos of spaces that were repeated in different participants photographs. For instance, all the photovoice participants except one had a photograph of the Circle, Georgetown Middle School, and East Market Street. The rest of the photographs were based on conversations during participant observation, images I saw repeated in my media analysis, and places that would be defined by anyone as a public space. I felt that the twelve photos represented important places to different ethnic groups in town, as well as different aspects of Georgetown itself.

Though each one of these photos represented a specific space, some were fully accessible spaces (such as streets which are available twenty four hours a day), others were quasi-public spaces (like church grounds), and others were public spaces (like sports fields), and yet others were public but had regulations, making them a private-public space. None of the photographs were of interior spaces; they were all publically visible from the street. Photos ranged from streetscapes down main roads, to specific public buildings like the Catholic Church. None of the photos I used in my elicitation had people in them. Not having anyone in the photos was a very conscience decision. By leaving people out I

hoped to understand how people felt about the physical space. If participants mentioned other people who went to that space, it indicated that they were somewhat related the physical space and the social events happening there.

Using photo elicitation was key in determining whether my participants knew the geography of different locations. This method allowed me to ask participants if they knew certain locations without saying the locations name. For example, I could not ask a participant about a streetscape without telling them the name of where I was referring. By instead showing a photograph of the location, I could better gauge which participants knew where it was located, how they perceived this location, and whether or not they felt comfortable being there.

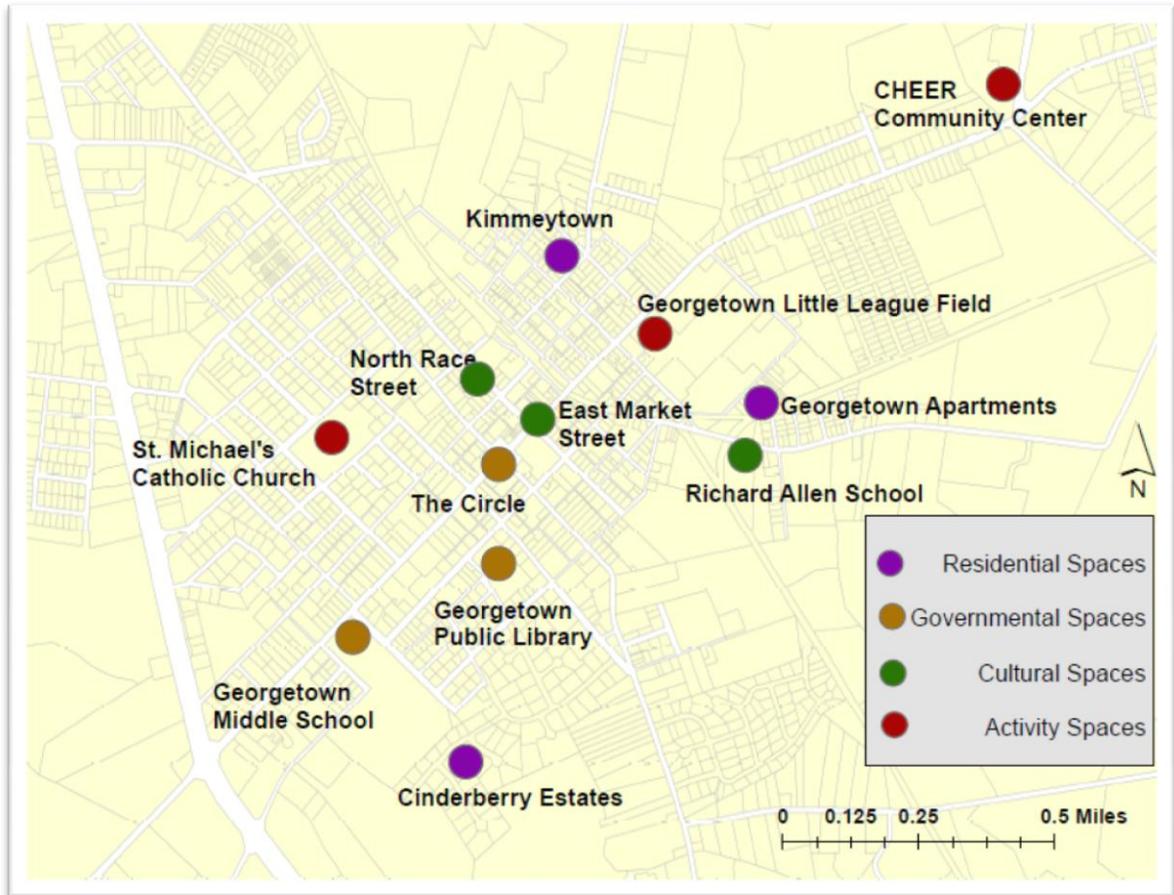


Figure 3.1 Spaces used in the photo elicitation interviews done in Georgetown.

The first group of photos was of *residential spaces* determined by participant observation. Each residential space in the elicitation was associated with a particular ethnic/socio-economic group. Three residential neighborhoods that represented these groups were chosen from throughout town: Kimmeytown, where a majority of the Latin American immigrants live; Cinderberry Estates, a higher income area occupied by primarily white residents; and Georgetown Apartments, where a majority of African American residents live. The second group of photos were of what I am calling

inclusionary spaces, which included institutional and government spaces. These three inclusionary spaces were: the Georgetown Public Library, a street with a large number of established businesses near the Circle, and Georgetown Middle School. The third set of photos represented *culturally inscribed spaces*, including: East Market Street, North Race Street where a large number of established Hispanic businesses were located, and the Richard Allen School, which was an African American school before schools were integrated. The African American residents I spoke with mentioned the Richard Allen School many times. The fourth group of photos represented *activity spaces*: the CHEER senior center, Little League Field, and St. Michael's Catholic Church were included in this final set.

The twelve photos in the public space slideshow were shown to the thirty participants in the study as well as to participants included in the photovoice part of the study.

Interviews took place in two locations, Delaware Technical Community College and the Georgetown Library. The community college location was chosen specifically for the variety of participants I would have access to. Participants from this location varied in age, as some were recent high school graduates attending the school full-time while others were taking a class while working. I also had access to professors as well as staff, ranging from the custodial department to administrative assistants. My second location for conducting the photo elicitation was the public library. I visited the library in both the morning and the afternoon because I realized that in the morning the library typically had older residents (presumably retired). Later in the day there tended to be younger people. The library was chosen to focus on a specific purpose. While the college reached students

and people who were employed, it did not reach people who may have been looking for a job or retired. Therefore, the library was chosen to ensure information was obtained from a broader demographic.

While I was at the technical college I recruited participants in one of two ways. The first was to spot an individual walking on campus. If the individual seemed approachable in that they were not rushing across the campus, or talking on the phone, I would introduce myself. I would then inform the individual that I was a graduate student from the University of Delaware and asked the individual where they were from. If the person was from Georgetown and eighteen years or older, I asked him to participate in my study. This was another benefit to going to a college. I did not encounter anyone who was under eighteen. Once I established those two factors I asked potential interviewees if they would be willing to talk to me about some pictures I had of different spaces in Georgetown. A large number of individuals I approached did not live in Georgetown, and still others who did chose not to participate. In the end, the sample I used was comprised of participants ranging in age from 18 to the mid-70s. There was a fairly even distribution of males and females, as well as respondents from the white, African American and Hispanic communities in Georgetown. In addition participants came from various socio-economic groups. All participants were informed that participation was completely voluntary and would remain anonymous throughout the analysis.

If an individual agreed to participate in the study, I explained that I would not write down his name, this way ensuring that all answers would be completely anonymous. I then

explained to the individual that I was curious about how different people viewed and related to different spaces in Georgetown. I showed the participant the photos. As I showed each photo, I always asked the same first questions: “Do you know where this photo was taken?” and “Could you describe the location to me?” These two questions allowed me to gauge how well the participant knew the space in question. I then went on to ask whether the participant ever went to that space or knew anyone that did, if the participant felt comfortable being in the space being discussed, and the participant’s experience in that space was. Most times participants, especially when they knew a space, had plenty to say and I did not have to ask many questions at all. Participants often shared memories from their childhood with me as well as positive or negative experiences. I was surprised at how willing my participants were to tell me what they did not like about spaces, when they did not feel comfortable, and also why they had discomfort or comfort in that space. I believe that having the photographs of the spaces with me made a big difference. Participants knew that I took time to take these photos, get to know their town, and have a vest interest in what happened there even though I am not from Georgetown.

As I stated earlier, not everyone approached had time or was willing to speak with me. There was a fifty percent success rate. For every two people I approached who were from Georgetown, one could be convinced to participate. I also noticed that people who were by themselves were generally more amenable to talk with me, as opposed to those walking or sitting with groups.

3.5 Methods of Analysis for Visual Data and Interviews

The interview data I collected from the photo elicitation method was fully qualitative. Each interview conducted was a series of both open-ended questions and yes or no questions. This made analysis of the data rely principally on coding. A code is a word, or sometimes a phrase that assigns a cumulative attribute to a set of data (Saldana, 2007). In this case a set of codes was used to determine people's comfort level in each location. If someone stated she knew the location and went there often, she was given a score of (1, 1). If the person knew the location but did not go there, she was given a score of (1, 0). Finally, if a person did not know the location, she was given a score of (0, 0). These codes were then used to create a series of maps that showed each of the three ethnicities in my study and whether or not that group knew about places, and felt comfortable in those spaces. Chapter five will discuss the findings of the study.

Chapter 4

FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter analyzes the findings of my participant observation coupled with the two types of visual analysis. It looks at each sub-section of public space (to be defined later in this section) and tries to determine whether participants have any sort of attachment to the space, and, if they do, why that attachment exists. Possible reasons for why certain spaces have more or less meaning to different groups of participants in Georgetown are also offered and triangulated with information taken from in other sources, such as public documents and web sites. In this way I attempt to compare what respondents said with statements made in the press or on public websites.

This study had thirty participants, and included members from the three largest demographic groups, according to Census information in Georgetown. Twelve participants were from the white community, ten from the Hispanic community and eight from the African American community. From within each group participants varied in ages, from between 18 to 77. The only subpopulation not well represented in the sample was the older Hispanic population (over the age of 35). Access to this community was limited for several reasons. The first was the language barrier; I speak very limited Spanish, not enough to be able to conduct a successful interview. The second was my

lack of entree into this population. Several attempts were made to speak with participants' parents, with help from their children, but for various reasons it was not possible to interview older Hispanics. I will now go over the findings from the Photo Elicitation Interviews.

4.2 Marked Exclusionary Spaces: Residential Spaces

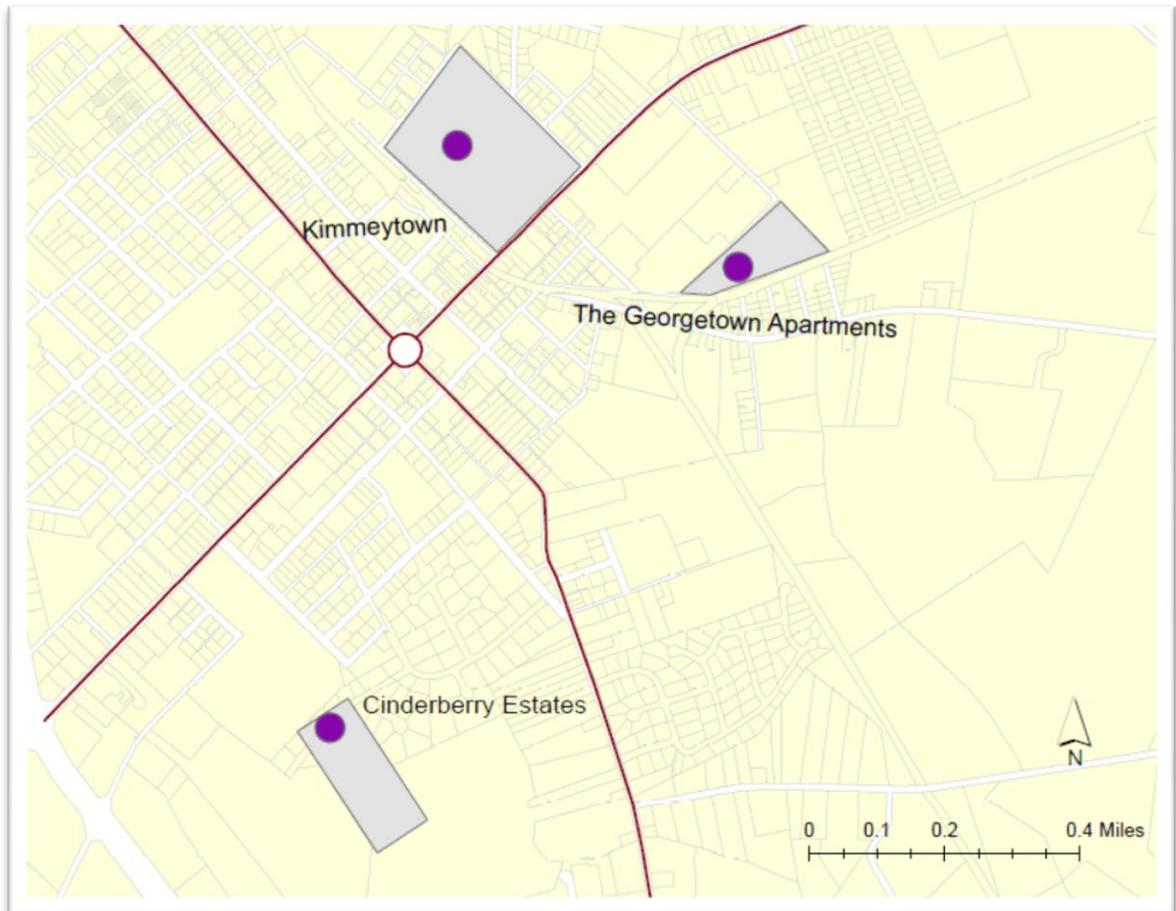


Figure 4.1 Map showing the approximate locations of the Residential Spaces. The purple dots represent the approximate location of where the photo was taken.

4.2.1 Cinderberry Estates



Figure 4.2 Streetscape photograph of Cinderberry Estates used in photo elicitation interviews.

Cinderberry Estates is a wealthy housing development on the southwestern edge of Georgetown. According to aggregated block data from the 2010 U.S. Census the area has a population of about 89 people. Of those residents 94.25% were white and 71% of them owned the homes in which they live. Because the area was so small, block level data on median age, income, and house value were not available. Data was available for the block group in which the development is located. The block group, 050504-1, is 35.2% white and 96% of the residents speak English as their primary language. At the block group level, there is a 70% owner occupancy rate and median house value of \$271,700. The median household income is \$59,954, compared to Georgetown as a whole, which had a median income of \$44,861 (USA.com-Georgetown, DE, 2014).

Hispanic participants in the photo elicitation expressed some uneasiness when shown a photo of Cinderberry Estates. In fact, five of the ten participants were not even aware of the location of this neighborhood. Hispanic respondents who knew where Cinderberry Estates was located did not go or feel comfortable there. According to one participant, “Nothing but rich white people live back there, you can tell from the green grass that they have money.” Statements like this may indicate that the division in Georgetown is not solely based on race but might have socioeconomic dimensions as well. Thus divisions in Georgetown based the relative status of newcomers versus old timers are exacerbated by divisions based on income and ethnicity as well as housing tenure.

The reaction to Cinderberry Estates was similar with the African American participants. While all were aware of the location, none of the participants went there. Some of these participants told me they did not know anyone at all that lived in that neighborhood, hence they would have no reason to go there. Others were more forceful in their answers. They indicated that they did not feel welcome or wanted in that area. When asked for examples of what made them feel unwelcome, none of the participants could articulate a specific example. Instead they told me that it was just a general feeling they got when they went back there. One younger female African American participant (18-25) described how “The way they have the neighborhood labeled, with those signs that basically say don’t come in, I wouldn’t even wanna take a walk through it. It’s sad though because they have really nice trees and the houses are giant.” Because of its location away from the center of town, this neighborhood is not a space that would be casually driven through if passing through Georgetown. Though it is not a gated

community, so residents from any part of Georgetown should be able to comfortably travel through the neighborhood and not feel unwelcome, it fosters a sense of exclusivity via its curvilinear roads, no-soliciting signs, and visually unifying well-kept landscape.

The twelve white participants had a very positive reaction to Cinderberry, some even displaying notes of envy in their voice when talking about what a nice neighborhood it was, and how they wish they could afford to live there. None of the participants actually lived in Cinderberry. When talking to one 18 to 25 year old white woman at the community college, she told me: “Ugh, I want to live in there so bad, the houses are huge, and everyone has these bright green lawns, and there are these giant trees, have you been in there? Duh you have, but every house is so nice, I told my boyfriend that’s where we should buy a house one day!” Whites are not reluctant to imagine themselves in this space if they had the money to buy a house there. They want to connect to this space and its place identity. As another white participant said “Cinderberry is where the best of the best of Georgetown lives. I have no idea what they do to afford to live there in there, but the people who live back there have made it. I had a friend who lived back there and her dad was like a lawyer.”

In the summer of 2013 I spent approximately one day a week doing participant observation. During this participant observation I spent several days taking photographs of different spaces in Georgetown. When I took photographs of Cinderberry I was aware that this neighborhood had no solicitation signs posted at the entrances, so I stayed on the street and only took photos of streetscapes.



Figure 4.3 Cinderberry Estates sign marking entrance to neighborhood, writing in white states “No Soliciting”. Photo permission of author.

While I was wandering around Cinderberry Estates a police officer approached me and asked what I was doing. I told him I was a graduate student at the University of Delaware, and I was taking photographs of all different areas of Georgetown for research I was doing. The officer politely told me that I could not take pictures in the neighborhood. I told him that was not a problem and I left. There is very little traffic through the neighborhood, so it seems likely that someone called the police as opposed to the police just driving through the area and spotting me there. Nowhere on the Cinderberry sign does it say that photography is prohibited. I was not stopped anywhere else in town while I was taking photographs. This suggests that local authorities understand that the landscape identity cultivated in this neighborhood is one of privilege

and power. Participants in the study from the Hispanic and African American community do see themselves in this space.

4.2.2 Georgetown Apartments



Figure 4.4 Photo of Georgetown Apartments used in photo elicitation interviews.

Georgetown Apartments has seventy six units, seventy five of which are section 8 assisted living units (Affordable Housing Online, 2014). The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) performs physical property inspections every several years on all properties that they own or subsidize. This includes all public housing as well as multifamily assisted housing, such as the Georgetown Apartments. Properties

are given a score between one and one hundred, where any score over eighty six is considered to be a healthy and safe living environment (Housing and Urban Development, 2014). In 2007 (the last posted inspection listed) Georgetown Apartments received a score of eighty. This score indicates that there are structural problems within Apartment complex that need to be addressed (this score is down from eighty-eight in 2001 (Housing and Urban Development, 2014) The Georgetown Apartments are the only subsidized housing in Georgetown; therefore, they are the only complex on the HUD website with a housing score. The average score for Sussex County is eighty-nine.

Georgetown Apartments is located in the 050504-2-037 2010 Census Block. There is a total population of 238, and of these residents approximately 66% were African American, in 2010. Another 24% were Hispanic and 10% were white. This area was 100% renter-occupied, which makes sense given it is an apartment complex. The median age of residents in this block group was 19.5 years (USA.com-Georgetown, DE, 2014).

When asked about Georgetown Apartments, all the African American participants were aware of the space and felt comfortable going there. Despite the low housing quality score given by HUD, there was a general sense of comfort when looking at the photo, exemplified well by one 18 to 25 year old female African American participant: “Everybody knows somebody that lives there, even if you don’t like them, you know them.” This participant also said, “it’s like the area you grew up in, ya know, you may not like it or really know the people like on a personal level, but you know of them. It’s a small town, everybody knows everybody.” A level of comfort can be distinguished from

this participant's words. Even though she may not personally know everyone in the complex (community) she feels comfortable and safe in the space in the photograph. For her, it was not about the condition of the space but about the community that existed inside of it. This may be why she was significantly more vocal about that space.

On the flip side, when this same participant was uncomfortable in a space (for instance, Kimmeytown) she was less vocal and more reluctant to speak at length about the space. Responding to a photograph of the Hispanic neighborhood, she said: "Oh, um yeah, that's Kimmeytown, I mean I know where it is and all, but um no I don't think I would go there, I'm sorry." I told her there was no need to apologize, that I was not there to judge anything she said to me, and then asked why she would not go there. Her reply was: "Oh I don't know, well you know, I just don't know anyone there, and I don't speak Spanish, so yeah that's why I don't go."

Only one of the white participants in this study stated that he felt comfortable going to Georgetown Apartments. This participant indicated that while he had never actually gone there, if he had to for some reason he would be all right with it. The same goes for the Hispanic participants. Only one participant told me he would be comfortable going to Georgetown Apartments; however he then proceeded to tell me he had never been there but liked to go all around Georgetown, especially when the weather was nice. Neither of the two male participants (one white and one Hispanic) had ever gone to the apartments, they only spoke in hypotheticals about going there. This avoidance of space defined as African American shows up in both Hispanic and white participants. It is interesting and

probably done for different reasons. At least on the surface, white participants were reacting to the physical conditions of environment itself, yet there are clear overtones of racism in the use of the term “ghettoish” to describe that part of town. One white female participant between 50 and 58 remarked: “It’s a very run down area of town, and it’s a shame because when people have to live in bad conditions, it’s sometimes assumed that the people are bad too.” This participant’s comment about how what a space looks like influences what people think about the residents inhabiting that space applies to other spaces in Georgetown as well. Physical appearances matter to residents. They not only conjure up stereotypes they reinforce judgmental attitudes about the people who utilize the space. Participants made stereotypical generalizations in both Cinderyberry Estates and Georgetown Apartments. The condition of the houses, which in the perceptions of the respondents correlates with race and socioeconomic status, dictates the landscape identities of these neighborhoods.

While participating in the *We Are One* survey in Georgetown, survey organizers stressed the importance of two males going door to door in the Georgetown Apartments complex. One of the survey organizers noted that it was not safe, that no one should go alone. This was an important rule for everyone in the survey; however none of the survey administrators were sent door-to-door by alone—everyone was partnered during that survey. One of the female African American volunteers, an older woman and active community advocate, offered to go to the apartments at a different time, thinking she would have better luck getting responses. The Hispanic participants seemed more

concerned with the fact that they did not get along well with the African American community in general, and that is what gives them discomfort in that space.

4.2.3 Kimmeytown



Figure 4.5 Streetscape of Kimmeytown used in photo elicitation interviews.

Kimmeytown is a neighborhood located to the northeast of the Circle. As noted earlier, Kimmeytown has been an area with a high rental population for many years. According to the 2010 U.S. Census, the population of Kimmeytown is approximately 827. Aggregated block level data tells us that the neighborhood is 79% Hispanic with an

average age of twenty five. Approximately 75% of the housing is rental. Kimmeytown is in block group 050503-1 of the Census, and has a median household income is \$41,806, which is lower than the Census block where Cinderberry Estates is located (\$59,954). Surprisingly, about 23% of Census respondents reported that Spanish was the language spoken in the home. This number is surprising given the area is 63% Hispanic (USA.com-Georgetown, DE, 2014). This high level of English being spoken in the home could indicate efforts to become a part of Georgetown's community. By taking steps to eliminate the language barrier in Georgetown, maybe more successful communication can exist.

The reactions to Kimmeytown by the white participants were similar to their reactions to the Georgetown Apartments. While all of these participants were aware of Kimmeytown, none of them felt comfortable in that space. There was a general sense of discomfort in both the space, as people spoke about the photos, and with the people that lived there, even though the photo had no people in the space. One white female participant aged between 26 and 30 explained: "It's not the kind of place you go, you know it's just I don't know, like I'm not saying there's anything wrong with the people that live there, it's just like you don't go there." Other participants shared similar sentiments, pointing out that Kimmeytown was predominately rental, so its run down appearance was not necessarily the fault of the occupants but instead of the result of neglectful property owners, (The same concession was not made for the run down conditions at Georgetown Apartments). One white male aged 42-49 stated: "It's hard because I don't think they [residents of Kimmeytown] know that they have rights as renters. I think, well I mean I

don't know for sure, that a lot of them aren't here legally, and so I don't see them wanting to make a fuss or anything. They just pay their rent and keep their heads down.” Participants tended to be careful with their descriptions of this space, and took time to think about their words before telling me what they thought. I cannot be sure of why participants were so hesitant when it came to discussing Kimmeytown, maybe it was their attempt to keep things politically correct, or maybe since the new Hispanic population is such a hot button issue in Georgetown they did not want to offer their opinion on the subject. During the *We Are One Survey*, 16 residents of Kimmeytown were interviewed. Fifteen of these respondents stated during that survey that they thought of Georgetown's diversity as an asset; however one Hispanic noted that the relationship between races was not necessarily easy. This respondent stated: “Georgetown would be better if people were on better terms with one another” (Veness et al., 2013, p 23).

As a whole the eight African American participants were not so cautious when it came to describing Kimmeytown. “Nah girl, don't go there, it's the ghetto” one female participant between 18 and 25 told me. Another African American male aged 50-58 said “Nope, full of Mexicans, I don't go there and neither should anyone.” A third participant, an African American male between 26 and 33 years old, stated: “Honestly, I don't go there, me and my friends don't really get along with the Spanish population in town, so you know what they have their space and we have ours. It's just better that way; it doesn't cause trouble that way. I don't mean to be rude, you probably think I'm really rude, but I'm just being honest with you. I promise I'm not a jerk.” These honest descriptions of their disconnect with this Hispanic space seems to say more about the occupants of thi space than the

physical space itself. None of the African American participants mentioned Kimmeytown's high level of rental property or the condition of the properties in any concrete way the way that the white participants did.

All ten Hispanic participants knew the location of Kimmeytown and felt comfortable going there. Overall all the participants spoke enthusiastically about space. "Oh yeah, that's the neighborhood my best friend lives in, Kimmeytown," one Hispanic male participant between the ages of 18 and 25 told me. "I go there all the time, we have dinner at his place, his mom makes the best food. Like seriously, I eat there more than my own house." Another Hispanic female participant of a similar age said: "We never lived in there, we moved to Georgetown a few years ago and we moved into a different neighborhood, but I know a lot of Latinos live there. It's almost like they have their own little village in there, it's like a big family, everyone helps each other out." The focus of the Hispanic participants was also on the people more than the space itself. However they see this space as community based, as a space where people come together and work together. There was a focus on how the people in this space interacted with one another, and what events took place in the space, and not the physical condition of the space, which was a defining factor for these participants when looking at Cinderberry Estates.

Overall, participants seemed most comfortable in those residential spaces in which their racial group held the majority. When they did not hold the majority, they felt uncomfortable, not necessarily welcome, and did not relate to the landscape identities portrayed by the space.

4.3 Inclusionary Space: Institutional and Governmental Space

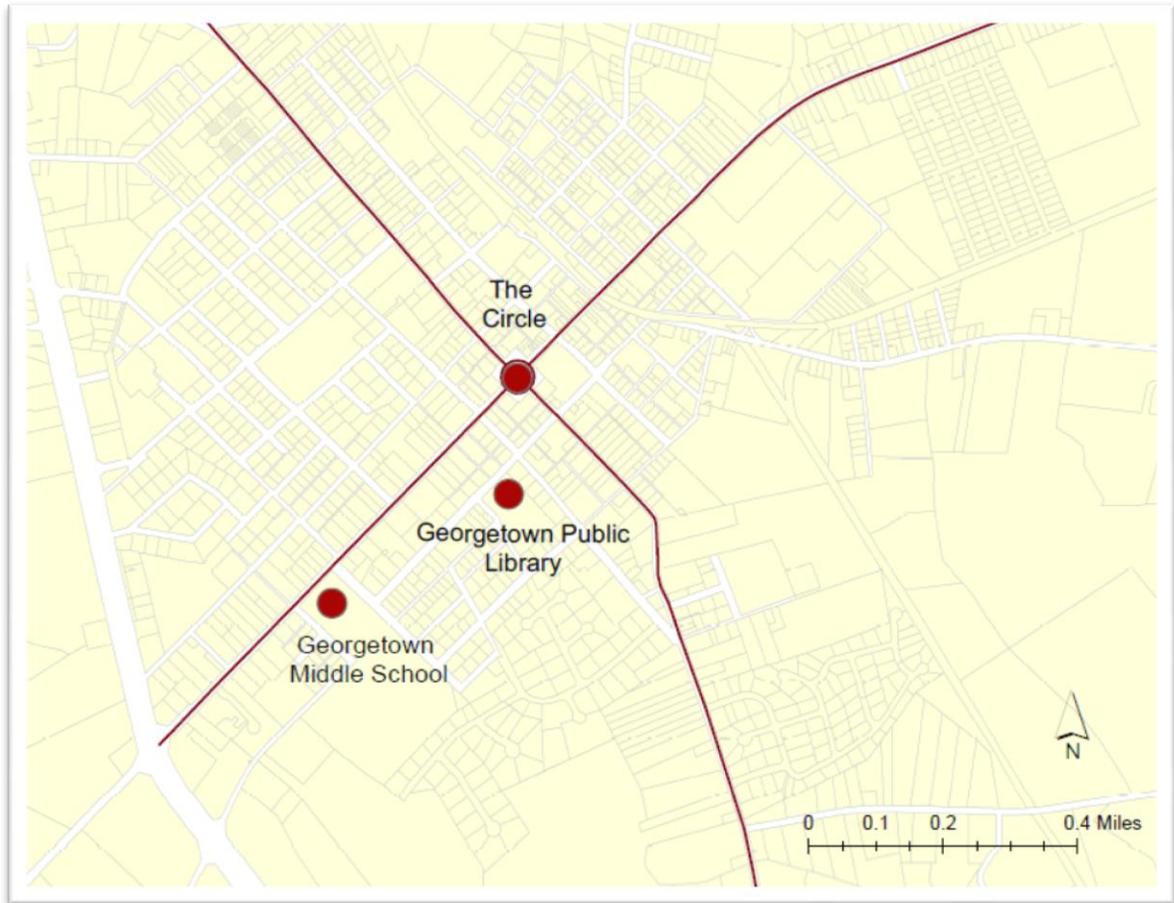


Figure 4.6 Approximate locations of institutional photos used in photo elicitation study.

4.3.1 Georgetown Public Library



Figure 4.7 Photograph of the Georgetown Public Library used in photo elicitation interviews.

Georgetown's first public library was established in 1899 by the Georgetown New Century Club, a women's social and service organization. Over the years the library has had many homes, and in August 4, 2010 the current public library was opened in Georgetown at 123 West Pine Street (Georgetown Public Library, 2014). The Georgetown Public Library is a space accessible to all residents of Georgetown. The library itself goes above and beyond to provide amenities for all the residents in Georgetown, including informational brochures and packets printed in Spanish, computers available for free when patrons sign up, read-aloud and knitting classes for the young and old, and an overall sense of comfort for those who are inside.

Participants who took part in the photo elicitation interviews viewed this space in three distinct ways. The African American participants viewed this space as utilitarian, one that provided free Internet access, places to sit and read a newspaper or even charge a cell phone. One older male African American participant said: “I come here at least three times a week. I don’t have Internet in my house so I like to come here to use the free computers. Since I’m retired I go through like three books a week, this library is really great. I was real happy when they built this new one.” Another older retired African American male participant echoed these sentiments: “The cable companies charge you an arm and a leg for Internet, why would I pay when I can come here for free I only need to check email anyway.”

White participants, with an exception of two of the older female participants who borrow books on occasion, tended to view this space less for its utility and more for the legacy that they helped to create. To them this space is partly a status symbol, a space that they created or “gifted” to the town for the benefit of others. As a female participant in her mid-forties told me, “Oh it was great when the town needed money to build a new library. I know a lot of people depend on the free Internet there, and it provides that service and others for them.” I asked her who uses the library the most, and she told me “People who don’t have a lot of money. There are a lot of people who can’t afford internet or books so they use the library, there’s a large immigrant population in Georgetown, I would think they use it a lot, I don’t really know.” This idea of gifting space can be further seen in the bricks outside of the library displaying names of individuals and businesses who contributed to the construction of the space. As

Interestingly, the ten Hispanic participants in this study did not utilize the library in the same ways that the other two groups of participants did. One Hispanic female participant, who was between 18 and 25 years old, said she “never really thought to go there,” and another Hispanic male participant, also between 18 and 25 in age, told me “I never knew I could go there until I got to college. Then one of my teachers at Del Tech told me I could go there and that they have computers you can use for free.” The knowledge that all community members are entitled to utilize a public library was not in this participant’s socio-cultural frame of reference. Not until he left his sub-community and became part of a larger more diverse community via the college did he have a deeper understanding of resources available to him. While the library is a place that actively works to be inclusive (it hosts events for children, working adults and retirees, and provides bilingual literature for adults and children), it does not automatically follow that all groups feel included in this space. Despite all the assets the library boasts, in the minds of the Hispanic participant above, it is still a different space, a place unknown to some. The desired landscape identity is still unseen as the place identities of participant groups override it.

4.3.2 Georgetown Middle School



Figure 4.9 Photograph of Georgetown Middle School used in photo elicitation interviews.

Like the public library, Georgetown Middle School is an educational institution supported by tax revenues, and it is intended to serve the whole community. The middle school is a space that generated positive comments from all of my participants. Even if participants said they would not go there, typically it was because they did not have a reason to go and not because of any lack of knowledge or discomfort experienced in the space. Most participants reminisced about what a good time they had in school, even if that was not the school they went to. One middle-aged white female participant told me about the history her family has with the school: “My grandfather went to school there, and both of my parents. I went to high school there, and my daughter went to middle school there. It brings back such fun memories and every time we pass it. I can’t help but

think about how my parents met there, and how I met my best friend there, and how my daughter made so many of her friends there. It's such a neat thing, how much a place can make you feel and remember." To this respondent the school was memory marker and important element of the landscape. Hispanic participants, who on the whole were younger than other participants in the study, told me about how scary it was for them to be in this new place, especially if they arrived not being able to communicate well in English. In some self-pride, they also mentioned that their awkwardness and anxiety encouraged them to work hard to learn English, so they could communicate with other people in school and around town. They saw the school as a transitional and accepting space that helped them, that made them more confident in their surroundings. It was a safe place as well as a place to make friends. "Before I started going to school, I only knew the people who lived next door to us. But then, at school, I met friends and met people who were really nice," one Hispanic male aged 18 to 25 years told me. Another Hispanic female, also 18-25 of age, stated: "At first I was worried that no one would like me because I was different. But once we started being in the same classes some of the other girls were really nice to me. My best friend is white, and she is the nicest girl I know, that's why we're best friends!" The safe environment created in this space allowed for this participant to grow and flourish as well as create solid bonds of friendship.

4.3.3 The Georgetown Circle



Figure 4.10 Photograph of the Georgetown Circle used in photo elicitation interviews.

Georgetown’s iconic Circle has been a part of the town since its establishment. In the late 1700s the Circle was so unique and special Georgetown was called “the circle within the square” (Wade, 1975). The Circle is a piece of history and a place where major town events are held. During the holidays Georgetown has Caroling on the Circle, an event hosted by Sussex County Council but actively supported by the Town and other local organizations. The relatively recent addition of caroling in Spanish was due to the efforts of El Centro Cultural, an organization focused on Hispanic arts and culture, as well as St. Michael’s Catholic Church (Veness, et al., 2013, p. 16).

The Circle is also an important staging area for Georgetown’s famous Return Day. In 1792, the first Return Day was held, as Delaware state law required all votes for elective

office to be cast at the County Seat (Georgetown). Therefore, all voters in Sussex County came to Georgetown on Election Day to cast their ballot. The voters would “return” two days later to learn the results of the election. Eventually voting districts were established across the county, but votes were still counted at the County Seat and the voters as well as the candidates would return to Georgetown to learn the results of the election two days before. The two hundred year old tradition of Return Day has long included elected officials from across the state of Delaware, and it is a major event that draws thousands of visitors to Georgetown to witness the “burying of the hatchet”, listen to presentations and enjoy foods prepared for the occasion (Sussex County Return Day, 2014).

The Circle is also home to many other town events, such as the more recently established but less well known and attended annual Tag Sale on the Circle (Veness et al., p. 16).

This event turns the very central and visible town center into a town wide yard sale every spring. Numerous town-wide events have helped make the Circle the social center of Georgetown. The Circle was undoubtedly a space that was easily recognized by all of the participants. For some it evoked great pride, and fond memories, while for others, it conjured feelings of inequality or ambivalence.

All thirty participants in the study were aware of the Circle. When asked to describe where the Circle was located, a majority if not all participants responded by saying the Circle was in the middle or “center” of town. The Circle is, indeed, at the geographical center of the town where commercial activities were historically clustered and where

administrative functions remain. The town's two main thoroughfares intersect at the Circle and most of the historic buildings in the town are located on or just off the Circle.

In 2007, with the support of town officials, businesses and the local community, the Circle was redesigned. A small committee of Georgetown residents, selected by former Town Manager David Baird on the basis of "the niceness of their yards and gardens," examined the Circle's landscape and overall lure and came up with some suggestions about how to improve both (D. Baird, personal communication, August 15, 2013). The effort to spruce up the heart of Georgetown was driven by various concerns, including the loss of nearby businesses and lack of maintenance in the downtown area (see Town of Georgetown Comprehensive Plan, 2010). In fact, during the *We are One Georgetown Survey* one online respondent said "Having lived here for 35 years, and my wife for over 60, we are disappointed by how the appearance of the town has declined," and another said the town looked "frumpy" (Veness et al., 2013, p. 18). What is interesting in terms of this study is that the criteria for being part of the Town Manager's visioning committee was having a "nice yard," which implies particular landscape tastes and enough discretionary time and/or income to invest in status-reinforcing landscaping. It also likely means that residents involved in this committee were not renters, and not immigrants. While creating a committee of residents to design a public space is good, creating it around the interests and abilities of one segment of the community does not bring in diversity and inclusion. Who knows what the Circle might look like under the leadership of a committee with a different composition, and who knows whether the residents of Georgetown might have formed a different attitude toward and relationship to that highly

visible public space. In the end, the historic character of the Circle was reinforced both via public landscaping and via regulations about how properties listed on the National Historic Register can alter their facades. Below is a map of all the spaces in Georgetown that are on the National Historic Register.

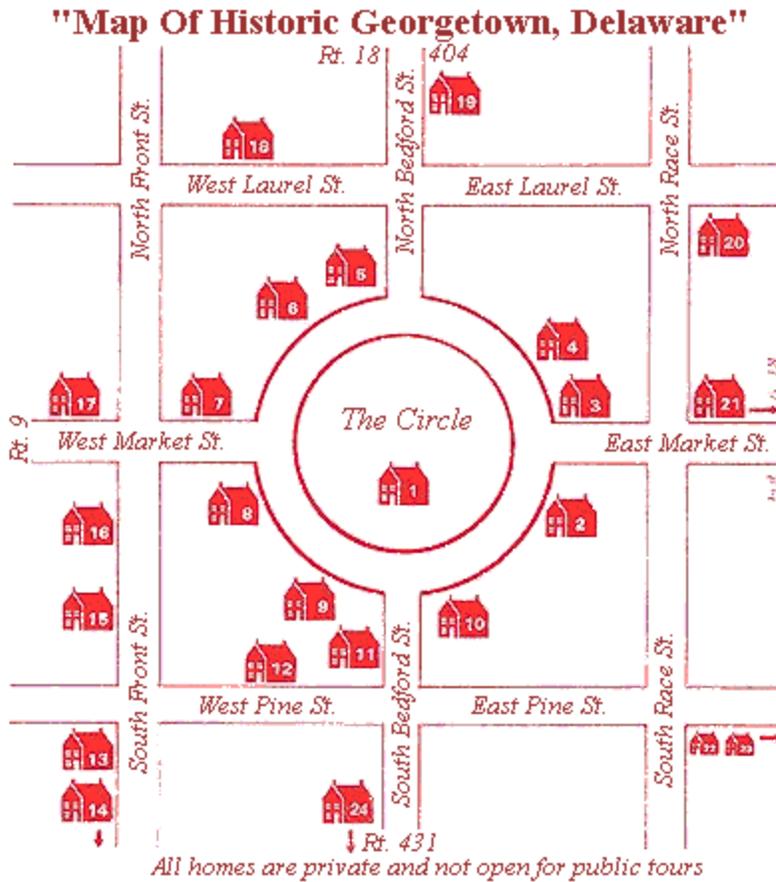


Figure 4.11 Map of National Historic places in Georgetown (Town of Georgetown, 2014c).

As responses from this study’s participants illustrates, not all Georgetown residents feel comfortable going to the Circle. The African American participants in particular were no fond of that area. “Oh, the Circle? Nah you don’t go there unless you have to pay a ticket.

I mean you drive through it every day, you can't really help that, but I'd never go and hang out there." When asked why they would not want to hang out at the Circle, one participant told me "There is nothing to do there, like maybe if there was like a basketball court or like a snack stand or something people would have a reason to go there. Now it's just some flowers and fountain." The lack of something to physically do in that space was a common theme among the younger participants as a whole.

Many of the older white participants, especially those who grew up in Georgetown, spoke fondly of the Circle, how nice it was to sit by the fountain and read, or to gaze at the lovely old buildings along the outer edge of the green space. One older white female participant told me: "While I don't go to the Circle every day or anything like that, I do go to all the events there. I love Return Day, there is so much history and tradition in it." Traditional events like Return Day solidify the importance of the Circle in Georgetown for some residents.

During my fieldwork, I spent several hours conducting participant observation from a bench located on the Circle. I was there in both the summer and the fall, and while I would see people cut across the space to get to the buildings on the other side, and would occasionally see an employee from the town hall or the courthouse sit on one of the benches to smoke a cigarette, I never saw anyone enjoying the space or sitting talking with friends. Though it seems like the Circle was designed with the intent to be used and enjoyed on a regular basis—there are benches, walking paths, potted flowers and manicured lawns, a nice fountain, some shade trees, and trash receptacles—it is not a

space easily accessed. Pedestrians must cross two lanes of traffic to get to the island-like central park. Vehicular traffic is not stopped by any traffic lights at this location; rather the Circle is true traffic circle, with cars entering the circle giving way to cars already in the circle. The Circle, then, is very important to Georgetown's identity but more as a periodic ceremonial space than as a daily-used community space.

Overall these governmental or institutional are all meant to be open and welcoming to all of Georgetown's residents. However, the participants in this study only unilaterally embraced one of the spaces (the middle school). The other two spaces were seen in various lights by all groups. These spaces were not equal, in the eyes of my participants, but differentially perceived, used and experienced.

4.4 Culturally Inscribed, Parallel Spaces

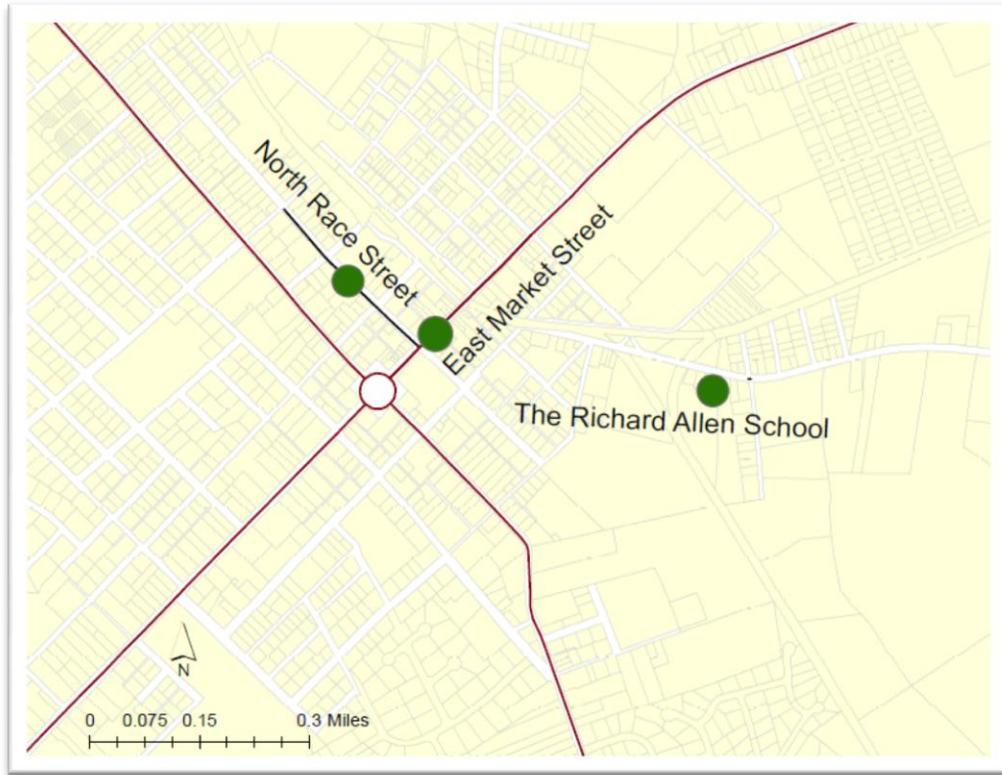


Figure 4.12 The green circles show the approximate locations of where the photographs were taken.

4.4.1 East Market Street



Figure 4.13 Photo of East Market Street used in photo elicitation interviews, photo taken by author, with back to the Circle looking east.

East Market Street provides retail space for several restaurants including the well-known and long established Georgetown Family Restaurant, the relatively new and trendy The Upper Crust coffee shop, and the casual and beloved Caruso's Pizzeria. It has been a main thoroughfare in Georgetown since its establishment in the late 1700s and has always been a space where businesses have existed. It is also the location of many bail bonds businesses, which is to be expected given the Courthouse is located nearby. It is also an area that draws visitors to several antique shops. Of the eleven Hispanic

participants in the study, no one felt comfortable going to East Market Street. “One time my family and I went into Georgetown Family Restaurant,” recalled one female participant aged between 18 and 25, “and everybody was white and everybody stared at us when we sat down. We didn’t leave, we stayed and ate, but none of us would ever go back there. Everybody was whispering the whole time and it made me feel very unwanted.” When prompted to explain why she thought her family reacted in this manner the participant responded: “I don’t know, maybe we were the first Hispanics that ever went in there.” The Georgetown Family Restaurant serves lots of dinner classics including grits, chili, chicken potpie and various other home cooked favorites associated with downhome, mainstream, middle-America food.

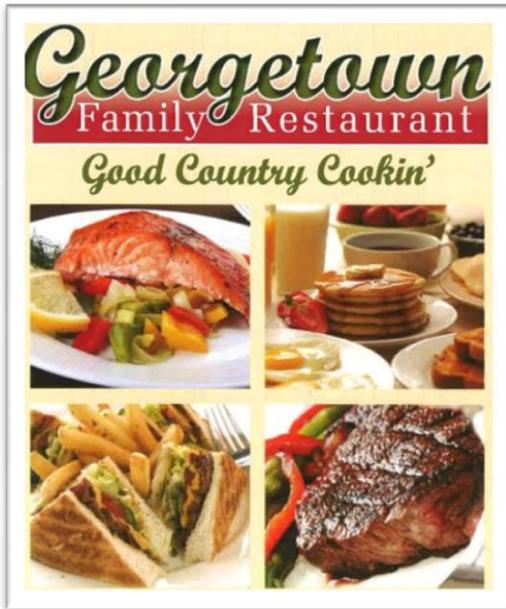


Figure 4.14 The menu cover from Georgetown Family Restaurant, found on Greater Georgetown Chamber of Commerce (2014b)

Georgetown Family Restaurant is a favorite of lawyers and locals during lunch time on weekdays. During my participant observation I had coffee in the diner one early afternoon. When I arrived at the restaurant the hostess seemed surprised that I wanted a table to sit at rather than ordering food to go, but as she sat me she asked me where I was from and was very friendly. The waitress was very welcoming as well; she was curious about where I was from and what I was doing in Georgetown. I ordered coffee, sat and half-read a book as I observed patrons in the restaurant. While I was there only white patrons entered, and every subsequent time I passed by the restaurant and looked in the windows this observation was echoed.

Other Hispanic participants also noted a general sense of discomfort being on East Market Street and entering businesses located up and down the street. In reference to the “Upper Crust” coffee shop, one female Hispanic participant, aged 18 to 25 years, said:

Even if I could afford the overpriced coffee, I don’t think I’d feel comfortable going there.” When I asked her why she would not feel comfortable, she responded: “I guess it’s a few things, the first is the name, the Upper Crust [it] just sounds like rich white people, like they are the upper crust of the town. And since I’m not white I guess I’m not upper crust. And ummm I guess like the second thing is where it is [located], like it’s around all these bail bonds places, which like help people get out of jail. It’s such a weird place to have it. So yeah I think that’s why, I never really thought about why till you just asked me now.

The Upper Crust coffee shop on East Market has taken on more roles than simply selling specialty coffees and sandwiches. In an effort to boost civic pride and spread information, this business has created a community bulletin board on its website. The site boasts the use fair trade coffee and local produce, offers a directory of downtown businesses, allows community organizations to post information about upcoming charity events, and gives businesses a venue for paid advertising (The Upper Crust, 2014). The bulletin board features its ads in English with Spanish translation underneath, which is positive addition to the site. By featuring both English and Spanish, the website is encouraging everyone to become involved in the civic activities it broadcasts. It also takes away the language barrier and lets town members with Internet access find information no matter which language they speak. As of now, the only part of the site in both languages are the community bulletins, the menu and restaurant description are only in English (The Upper Crust (2014).

Despite the efforts of one business to practice inclusiveness, some participants in this study felt discomfort on East Market Street. Their discomfort seemed to operate on two levels. On one level, feelings of exclusion were generated by the high prices for some items and the names some establishments had for themselves. On another level, feelings of exclusion were elicited because of negative associations with some of the administrative functions carried out in this part of town. Courthouses, bail bonds businesses, lawyers' offices, and City Hall can engender positive or negative emotions depending on one's relationship with those types of establishments, depending on one's position in the community. Residents who find themselves unable to follow all laws,

regulations, and deadlines (and thus too often face penalties and fines), and residents who may be in the community unlawfully (and thus too often face penalties, including deportation), those types of businesses and the spaces in which they are located are worth avoiding.

These feelings of exclusion were not just felt by the Hispanic participants but by the African American participants as well. These two communities have both faced feelings of marginalization in Georgetown and expressed those sentiments in very similar ways. The African American participants expressed the same feelings of discomfort when asked about East Market Street, with one participant noting that “They built that street so long ago, when black people probably couldn’t even walk down it, and now they want to keep it lookin’ just like that.” While another stated “It’s full of old buildings that were built like before the Civil War. I mean I go down it but I don’t go anywhere on it, we get pizza at Domino’s.” The focus is still on the history of the town, but for these participants the history being represented in this public space may not conjure positive experiences. It is clear that those participants who belong to minority groups in Georgetown do not perceive these public spaces, spaces advertising extensively by the Chamber of Commerce and maintained by the town, as spaces where they feel comfort.

For the white participants in this study it was a different matter. They had no qualms about being on East Market Street, indicating it was a place to go for favorite restaurants, such as Caruso’s Pizza, and a space whose rich history reverberated with them and their families. Opened in 2008, Caruso’s Pizza has become a well-established Italian restaurant

in Georgetown. They do not have a website, but they do have a spot on the Greater Georgetown Chamber of Commerce website (2014b) that showcases their menu. Other restaurants recommended by the Chamber include: Georgetown Family Restaurant, the Brick Hotel, the Airport, the Upper Crust, and J & J Bagels. In addition to feeling at ease in this part of town, many of the older white participants reminisced about the photo of East Market Street—a photo evoking memories of businesses that used to be on the street and all the fun afternoons they had hanging out with their friends. “We used to go downtown every day after school. My mom would be at the hairdresser, and sometimes we would get candy from the store on the corner, the one that’s the antique store now. It’s so different now, everything has changed, it’s sad,” reminisced one participant. To this participant, the East Market Street she remembers and connects to no longer exists: “It’s sad because now there are bond places all over and no one on the streets, business men drive in to work in the law offices or wherever they work and then leave at five to go home, it isn’t what it once was. I think a lot of towns are like this now though everyone inside watching television instead of being social with their neighbors.”

Overall this space is one that created a feeling of exclusion for a majority of participants. While the history of this part of town is cherished by some (white) participants, it is questioned by others. Likewise, the desired landscape identity of this space is also not uniformly understood or embraced by the majority of the participants.

4.4.2 North Race Street



Figure 4.15: Photograph of North Race Street used in photo elicitation interviews. View of North Race Street looking southeast towards East Market Street

Since the arrival of the first Hispanics to Georgetown during the late 1980s, North Race Street has become home to many Hispanic businesses and today it is a bustling area of commerce. Joe's Market, for example, a popular and well-established Hispanic business opened in 1992 (Gaffney, 2007). The street is lined with small shops that sell everything from toothpaste to potato chips, any item one might need on a daily basis. There are restaurants specializing in Latino cuisine, at affordable prices, as well as a Laundromat for people whose houses and apartments do not have washing machines. The spacious Laundromat filled with large washers and dryers that run on quarters, is equipped with lots of seating and even has inside of the building a business for sending remittance

money home. It is an important place for the many Hispanic residents of Georgetown—a place that allows people to gather while laundry is being done and catch up with friends. Out of all the white participants in the study, only two said they felt comfortable going to North Race Street. One of these participants told me that he only goes there if he has to do laundry, since his family does not have a washer or dryer. The other’s connection to that space was via her memories. She told me how she used to own a restaurant on North Race Street with her husband, “We owned a restaurant for many years in the eighties and nineties, and when the Hispanic population started moving into town they were some of our best customers. The men—they were all men at first [and then] brought their wives later—were always really friendly. I only sold the place because my husband passed away and it was too hard to keep it going by myself.” This positive interaction with both the Hispanic population in Georgetown, and the fond memories of her business, gave this participant a way to feel connected and comfortable in the space. Again, however, the place identity held by this participant is one created by memories from the past, not necessarily by what events are happening now on the street.

The other ten white participants did not share similar feelings of connection and comfort in this space. One white male participant between 18 and 25 of age stated: “That street’s for them not us.” While another white male of the same age category responded: “Little Mexico? Even if I wanted to go there, I wouldn’t be able to talk to anyone.” These comments summarize the general feelings of discomfort on North Race Street due to it being unfamiliar, as well as feelings of being unwelcome because of the language barrier. The inclusive experience that visitors to the “Little Italy’s” and the “Chinatowns” in other

U.S. cities and towns have not yet been cultivated in the section of Georgetown that some folks refer to as “Little Mexico”. Other participants noted that they “don’t remember [this street is] there,” or they “don’t go on that side of town.”

This idea of invisibility of this area of town can be seen in the town’s tourism and promotional literature as well. For example, on the Greater Georgetown Chamber of Commerce home page (2014c) there is a one and half minute long video produced in 2013 that highlights the attractions of Georgetown and promotes tourism. The video “Visit Georgetown Delaware” describes the town's rich history, its fine dining, and its high-end sports complex, called “Sports by the Beach,” that is “located a few miles from the center of town”. All the actors featured in the video are white, despite the fact that today Georgetown’s white population is approximately 30% of the total. The intended audience of this video, then, is potential visitors to Georgetown. By highlighting its fine dining and fun activities, Georgetown is trying hard to entice tourists located sixteen miles to the east at the beach to spend some of their discretionary time and money in Georgetown.



Figure 4.16 Still shots from the “Visit Georgetown Delaware” promotional video (Greater Georgetown Chamber of Commerce, 2014c)

The African American participants had similar feelings towards North Race Street. The general sense from the African American participants was one of distaste, almost as though they would prefer that North Race Street were not there at all. Several younger participants, both males between 18 and 25 years old, told me that they were “not interested in being on that street,” and another stated: “it doesn’t belong in Georgetown.”

When asked why they did not like North Race Street, these participants (who were interviewed together, per their request) told me: “It’s just not right, this isn’t a big city or some north Delaware town, this is Georgetown.” This participant not only implying that North Race Street doesn’t fit in with the Georgetown’s historic past, which was black and white, he is implying that new immigrants do not belong in a part of the state that has long been rural. These participants would prefer that the Hispanic community be located elsewhere.

This unfriendliness towards the Hispanic space may seem surprising at first, given that African Americans have historically been a minority in Georgetown. Members of this community may be responding to the felt injustice that for years they were invisible and relatively disempowered, yet here is a new group that has been able to prosper in a town where they could not. An African American respondent to the *We are One Georgetown Survey* confirms this sentiment: “Guatemalans are taking over, we should have more say” (Veness et al., 2013, p. 22). The deep divide between these two populations is something that needs to be studied further.

Unsurprisingly, Hispanic participants felt highly comfortable on North Race Street. All said they felt comfortable going there, and spending time there. This is a space that they have made their own. One female participant told me: “Oh that’s Race Street, I go there all the time. I usually get like all my accessories like things for the house like soap and stuff from the convenience store. We get lunch on Saturdays from Joe’s Market too, and we do our laundry, we are probably there every day for one thing or another.” A second

male participant mirrored her thoughts: “Sometimes when you go to other restaurants or stores in town people look at you not in like a bad way but they just stare. There you don’t have to worry about speaking Spanish or nothing everyone is just cool with each other.” North Race Street, just like Kimmeytown, has developed a strong landscape identity, one that has allowed Hispanic participants to feel a part of a larger community. They were both places in which these participants felt comfortable, and safe. Only positive statements were given about both of these spaces by all of the Hispanic participants. At the same time, they are spaces that are very unwelcoming to those who are not a part of that community.

4.4.3 Richard Allen School



Figure 4.17 Photograph of the Richard Allen School used in photo elicitation interviews.

Richard Allen was born into slavery in Philadelphia on February 14, 1760. After becoming involved with the Methodist church, Allen, at the advice of his master, purchased his freedom and earned money working for the Revolutionary forces as a minister. Throughout his life, he traveled between Pennsylvania, Delaware, South Carolina and New York. He worked as both a minister and advocate for equal rights for African Americans until his death in 1831 (Africans in America, 2014).

The Richard Allen School is located on South Railroad Avenue and was built in the late 1800s and was open until 2010. It served as Georgetown's only African American elementary school until schools in Delaware were desegregated in 1966. The space is currently unused. The building is still standing (as can be seen in Figure 5.14), but the building and adjacent fields are hemmed by fences to keep residents from utilizing the space. The school has been slated to become the new home of the Boys and Girls Club (currently located on North Race Street). According to an article by Rule (2014) entitled "Georgetown Residents Fight for Future of Richard Allen School" and published on WMDT.com, an affiliate of ABC, not everyone is pleased by this decision. Officials have decided to add on to the school to create a new space for the Boys and Girls Club of Georgetown. Even though officials indicate their plan to work with locals to maintain the school's history, Rule reported that some African American residents did not want the building to be touched at all because it represents an "important piece of black history" (Rule, 2014).

All eight of the African American participants and six of the white participants were aware of the Richard Allen School. Participants aware of the school ranged in age from 18 to mid-70s and few of them were informed about future plans for the site. Only one participant knew the site would be the future home of the Boys and Girls Club, despite a large sign on the fence outside announcing this. This demonstrates that even if individuals pass the space they do not “see” it. As mentioned earlier, the school is located on South Railroad, a street located within a neighborhood occupied by primarily African Americans. Anyone traveling to the local airport and popular Airport Restaurant would drive past this school, so it is not hidden away. In fact this area of town is increasingly being developed. One African American participant between 50 and 58 in age reinforced the school’s history and hopes that it will not become a space that excludes African American youth: “That used to be the black elementary school, until the schools desegregated in the 60s. Now it’s going to be the Boys and Girls Club. I hope it works out for the kids, it’s a really good place for them.”

The other seventeen participants, including all ten of the Hispanic participants and seven white participants, were not aware of the geographical location of the school or its social history. This number indicates that more than 50% of my study population was unaware of this space, suggesting it is a space that people pass through but do not take note of.

One white male between 18 and 25 years said: “I don’t really know what that is—I guess it’s a closed school? I think it used to be a school for like troubled kids.” This comment is interesting because it illustrates that an unknown space is a troubling space. It is a huge jump from not knowing what the space was, to thinking it was a closed school, to

deciding it used to be a school for troubled kids. This space once at the margins of Georgetown is now being contested as the African American community asserts its importance to them.

Overall spaces in Georgetown that have cultural importance to various participant groups only feel inclusionary to those participants whose racial group is dominating that space. Although there could be a way to share the culture of the spaces with a broader audience, the spaces, right now, have place identities that are only positive to the group that dominates the area.

4.5 Activity Spaces

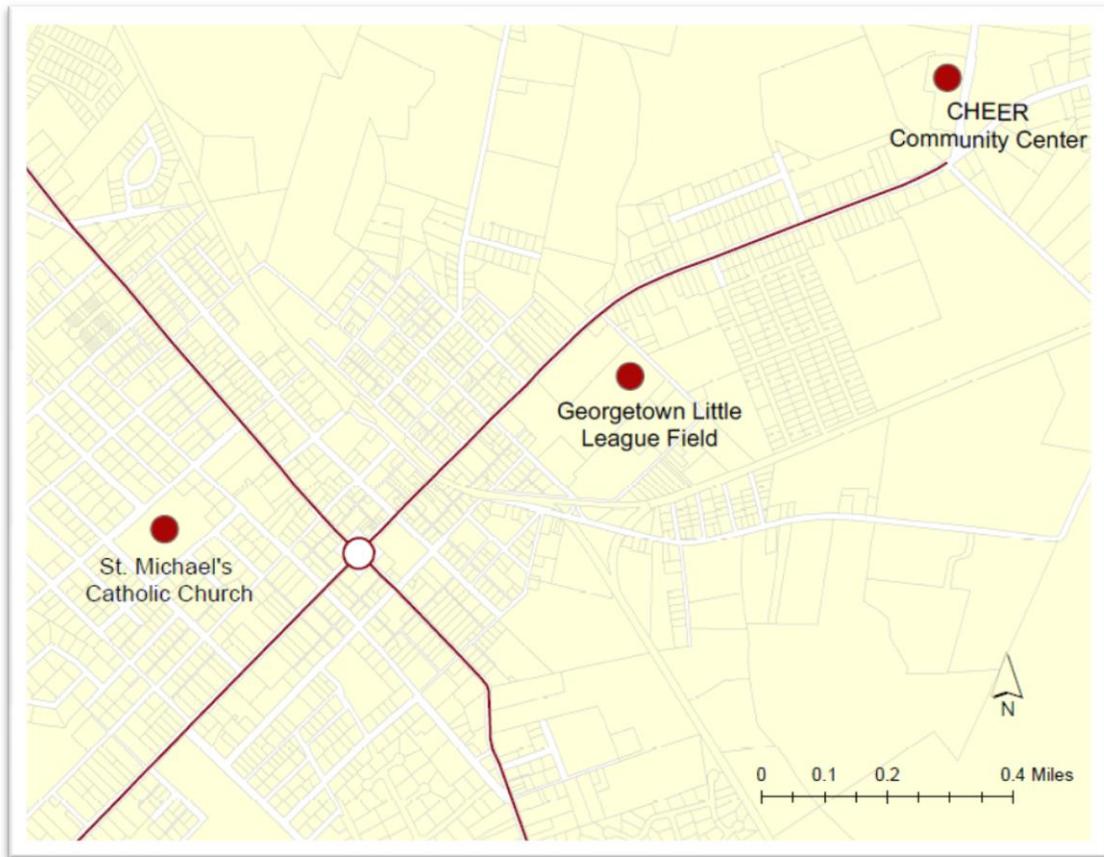


Figure 4.18 Map of approximate locations of photos of the three activity spaces featured in the photo elicitation interview.

4.5.1 CHEER Community Center



Figure 4.19 Photograph of the CHEER Community Center used in photo elicitation interviews.

The Warren L. & Charles C. Allen, Jr. CHEER Community Center is a multi-purpose facility. The center has a banquet hall that is open to all, and often holds luncheons for businesses as well as wedding receptions. The center also has a fitness center, game room, hair salon and restaurant that are open for breakfast and lunch. The fee to be a member of the CHEER center is \$25 a year and it is open to anyone over fifty years old. Attached to the community center is an adult day care that offers individuals over 50 daily activities with nurse oversight (CHEER Community Center, 2014). Approximately 29% of Georgetown's population is over the age of forty five and a little more than 12% are over the age of sixty five (USA City Facts-Georgetown, DE, 2014).

Among the African American participants five of them knew where the CHEER Center was and only two female participants have ever been there, one for a business lunch hosted by the Chamber of Commerce. One participant between 42 and 49 years of age said: “The Chamber [of Commerce] does lunches there, I went once, they are mostly for business owners, I’m not one, but my friend is, I went with him, the room was nice, well kept, it wasn’t anything too memorable really.” The other woman went to a birthday lunch for a family member. The latter participant told me: “It was nice, the room was really big and they gave a lot of time and didn’t like rush us out.”

Among the Hispanic participants, six knew where and what the CHEER Community Center was, and one had been there, for a friend’s wedding reception: “It was really nice, like the reception was so fun! I bet it was expensive though they had like hundreds of people there!” None of the participants, including the woman who had been there before (and would feel comfortable going there) or people I described the center to, had a clear picture of what went on in that space: “Oh that’s what that is,” said one woman, “I always see people there, but like I don’t know what it was, so no I wouldn’t go there. I wouldn’t fit it.” When asked why she thinks that, she told me: “It’s probably really expensive to go, and probably full of white people, no offense! That’s not bad or anything I just wouldn’t want to be the only Hispanic woman there.”

Eleven of the twelve white participants knew where and what the center was and ten of them had been there for one reason or another. One older woman who had a membership to the center told me: “It’s so great you can’t find a cheaper gym anywhere. It’s twenty

five dollars for the whole year, my girlfriends and I go twice a week, we work out and then have breakfast at the little restaurant they have there, it's pretty good and affordable. We really love it, it's such an asset." The other two participants had no discomfort about the space, just never had a reason to go to the center. This seems to be perceived as a white space to both the Hispanic and African American participants in Georgetown despite the positive experiences had by each group.

4.5.2 Georgetown Little League Field



Figure 4.20 Photo of Georgetown Little League Field using in photo elicitation interviews.

The Georgetown Little League has two seasons a year, in the spring there is baseball and softball and in the fall they host Fall Ball. The registration costs before equipment are \$10 for the fall, as it is a shorter season (Georgetown Little League Facebook, 2014). This fee includes a team t-shirt and the pants which are loaned to players for the season. Players need to provide their own cleats, glove, as well as any other protective gear they may need. The games vary between nights and weekends, and practice schedules are at the discretion of the coaches. Parents of the players, while not required, are expected to volunteer at the concession stand, take turns bringing snacks for the team, and to sell candy to raise money for the league (Sussex Countian, 2009).

This little league field is another space in which the minority populations in my study felt uncomfortable. Among the Hispanic population, all participants were aware of the location of space; however, none of the participants went to or utilized the field. When pressed about why they never go to the field, participants said that they do not go for two reasons: it was too expensive to buy the equipment and pay the fee to join any of the teams that play there, and no one (namely their parents) had time to take them to practices or games. One Hispanic male participant between 18-25 years of age told me: “I mean I woulda like to have played but I always had to watch my sister after school, so I couldn’t go to practice and then I got an after school job at the Walmart so I couldn’t ever play.” This lack of time and resources has made this space seem unattainable to these participants.

The African American participants had similar feelings towards the space, the financial aspect deterred most of them, as one female who was between 18-25 told me: “It’s just really expensive to be on those teams, and then you have to be driven all over, like to practices and games in other towns. Plus you need to buy all the equipment and if you do join you’re usually the only black girl on the team, you know what I mean, so alotta times you don’t go. And you can’t use the field just to play on like when there aren’t games. So to answer your question no I don’t feel comfortable going to that space.”

On the opposite end of the spectrum the white participants were all aware of the space and ten of them have been there multiple times, to participate in or watch games. This is another space that due to socioeconomic differences has become a very white space, somewhat invisible to those without discretionary resources such as time and money to be involved in these activities. As one male participant told me, “Oh man, me and my friends grew up on that field! We played t-ball and then baseball. I have so many memories of that field, my little brother plays now it’s great watching him!” To this participant the privilege of getting to play on these teams is not mentioned, just the fun that was had.

4.5.3 St. Michael's the Archangel Catholic Church



Figure 4.21 Photograph of St. Michael's the Archangel Catholic Church used in photo elicitation interviews.

St. Michael's the Archangel Catholic Church was built in 1956. It is located on Edward Street on a large lot that takes up the length of a block. The size of the church and its property make its geographical presence just as important as its social one. Since its construction it has become a well-known presence in the town and among its residents. The parish is very diverse with over two thousand members. These members include approximately three hundred English-speaking families and four hundred Spanish-speaking families. St. Michael's offers weekly services in both English and Spanish (St. Michael's the Archangel and Mary Mother of Peace, 2014)

It seems as though St. Michael's is a space that appeals to two of the subpopulations in the study. All of the Hispanic participants in my study were aware of the church and felt comfortable going there. One participant described the space quite well: "It's far back in this little neighborhood, on a big piece of land. You walk into the church and the ceilings are so high, and they speak Spanish and help you out and you just feel safe. My family goes every Sunday; we don't ever miss church, unless it's snowing, haha!" This participant's honest answer shows how this space has become one of safety for the Hispanic participants in this study. Even if participants had not been there in years they still appreciated the space, felt comfortable in it, and knew they could go there if they need support.

The white participants were also all aware of the location of the church, and eight of them have been there on multiple occasions. Those who attended church services regularly to spoke about how nice the space was, how large the land parcel was and how much they liked going there. One middle-aged white woman explained: "I honestly enjoy church. The space is so lovely and the sermons are so moving. The Church really does a lot for the town. It hosts a Christmas event every year and they have all the kids sing carols at the Circle. It's so cute my kids did it when they were little. They are really great about helping the town too. If someone is in need they find a discrete way to help them out." Interestingly, none of the white participants mentioned anything about the fact that the church offers Spanish services or support of any kind to this community, even though it is made clear on their signs. They found ways of talking around it, by saying things such as

the church helps the town and does things for the less fortunate, never stating outright the church helps many members of the Hispanic community.

For the African American participants this space evoked little response, perhaps not surprising since none of them appeared to attend that church. Interestingly these participants also did not seem to care much about town events the church helped to coordinate either (which take place in the Circle). “Yeah, they do the Christmas concert, I don’t usually go. It’s pretty lame,” one male participant between 18 and 25 years said. None of the African American participants mentioned that the Hispanic population attends the church.

Overall each of these activity spaces felt inclusive to some participants and exclusive to others, and this divide is evident between racial groups as well as age groups within the study. However, the spaces in which groups felt included went above and beyond to help individuals fit in. For example the CHEER Community Center worked to provide affordable services for community members over 50; St. Michael’s Catholic Church provided services members of their congregation in need of assistance (primarily the Hispanic members), and the Little League Field created an environment that built teamwork for those young community members able to participate in sports there.

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Overall Feelings of Participants

As the photo elicitation interviews part of this study demonstrated, participants from the different ethnic-racial groupings described varying levels of awareness of and comfort in the public spaces of Georgetown, Delaware. While at least one participant from each of these three groups was aware of all of public spaces included in the photo elicitation (meaning there were no spaces in which the entire sample did not know about), there were some spaces that entire subpopulations felt uncomfortable visiting. The Georgetown Middle School, for example, is a place associated with positive experiences and a high degree of comfort. Although not all participants responded they would go there, as they wouldn't have a reason, none of the participants felt they were unwelcome or did not belong at the school. Similarly, there were no public places completely avoided by all participants because of a feeling of discomfort. As a study population as a whole, then, at least a few participants felt comfortable in each public space. There were spaces, however, in which two of the three subpopulations felt uncomfortable. This pattern mirrors the idea that those groups who did not hold the majority in a space did not feel particularly comfortable.

Beyond the issues of levels of awareness of and comfort in public spaces in Georgetown, many participants expressed feelings of grief over the loss in place identity in public spaces that they knew. For example, many white participants, particularly older

participants who had lived in Georgetown a longer period of time, indicated that places such as East Market Street have changed so much that they no longer felt connected these space. The landscape identity had changed so significantly that participants often focused on memories of the past instead of addressing what was present in the photographs. Overall, however, each subpopulation within my study tended to have similar overall feelings toward each space in the study. All the Hispanic participants, for example, felt extremely comfortable going to, and speaking about St. Michael's Catholic Church. While their individual moments and memories varied, the landscape identities held by each group was largely the same.

5.1.1 Overall Feelings of White Participants

There were many public spaces where white participants felt comfortable. Cinderberry Estates, East Market Street, the CHEER center, and the Little League field were all public spaces in which this population felt comfortable, even if they felt some nostalgia and sadness about changes to those spaces. The landscape identities associated with these places were positive; they held fond memories for these participants

There were also public spaces in which the white participants felt uncomfortable. These spaces tended to be culturally inscribed to other racial groups present within Georgetown. For example, Kimmeytown and the Richard Allen School were both places that had meaning to the respective Hispanic and African American communities. White participants may have believed that these spaces were the exclusive territories of the

town's Hispanic and African American communities and thus the landscape identities of these spaces were marked by ethnicity and race. In addition, given that whites are increasingly a minority of the town's population, whites may avoid or feel uncomfortable in those public spaces because changes in the physical appearance of those spaces, language barriers within those spaces, or the preconceptions whites have about the ethnic-racial groups that historically and currently populate those spaces. It is unknown whether the plan to turn the Richard Allen School into a Boys and Girls Club for the town will alter perceptions of that space by whites. If this public space becomes familiar to and is used by children from all ethnic-racial backgrounds then that space may automatically become a more comfortable space. In the same way, if North Race Street increasingly becomes more bilingual and inviting to the non-Hispanic residents of Georgetown, avoidance behaviors and negative perceptions of landscape may begin to change.

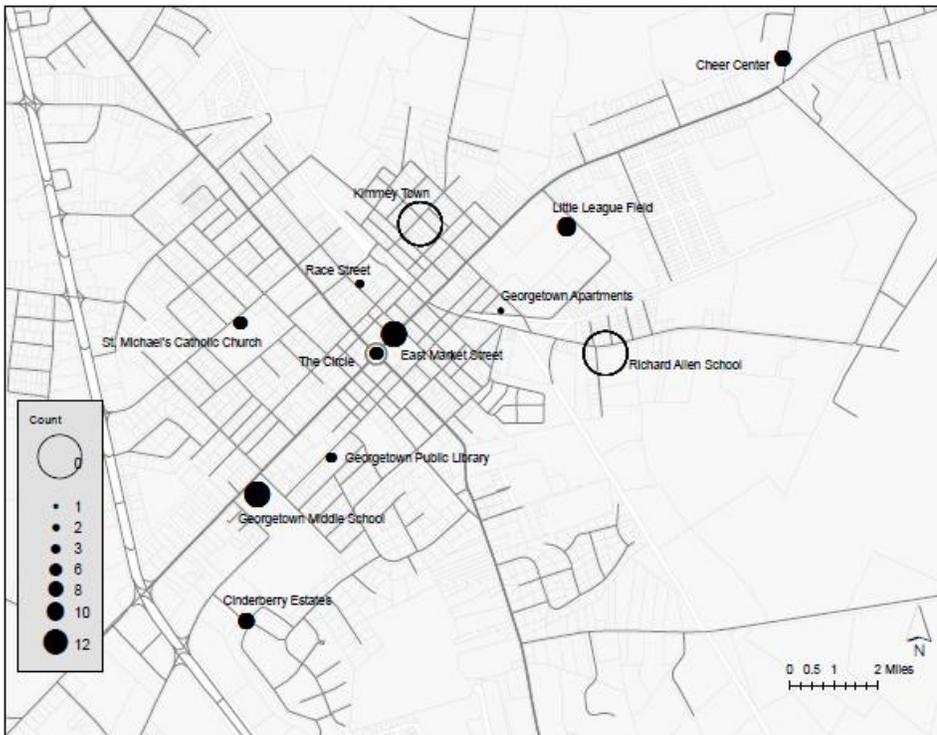


Figure 5.1 Map of the spaces in photo elicitation where white participants feel comfortable.

5.1.2 Overall Feelings of Hispanic Participants

This trend of one ethnic-racial grouping not feeling comfortable in spaces associated with other groupings is not restricted to the white participants. Hispanic participants also knew little about, showed avoidance behavior and often did not feel comfortable in public spaces associated with the white and African American population in Georgetown. In fact, Hispanic participants in this study identified more public spaces where they collectively did not feel comfortable than the other two groups. They felt uncomfortable going to East Market Street, the Georgetown Little League field, the Richard Allen School and Cinderberry Estates. These spaces have culturally inscribed meanings to both

white and African American participants. The landscape identities associated with these public spaces felt exclusionary to Hispanics, for a variety of reasons. Landscaping cues that symbolized a level of wealth and status that Hispanics did not have, place identities associated with histories and cultural activities that Hispanics did not understand or feel part of, and negative personal experiences in particular public spaces all serve as factors that contribute to these negative landscape identities. This lack of comfort or belonging can serve as an indicator that positive changes could be made to these places.

On the other hand, Hispanic participants did relate to several public spaces in very positive ways. Kimmeytown (where a majority of the Hispanic population in Georgetown lives), North Race Street (where Hispanics own businesses and do their shopping), and St. Michael's Catholic Church (where many Hispanics worship), are all supportive, inclusive settings in part because they are so strongly associated with the Hispanic population. It is unknown how Hispanics might feel about these public spaces should they become more integrated, more familiar to and used by whites and African American residents.

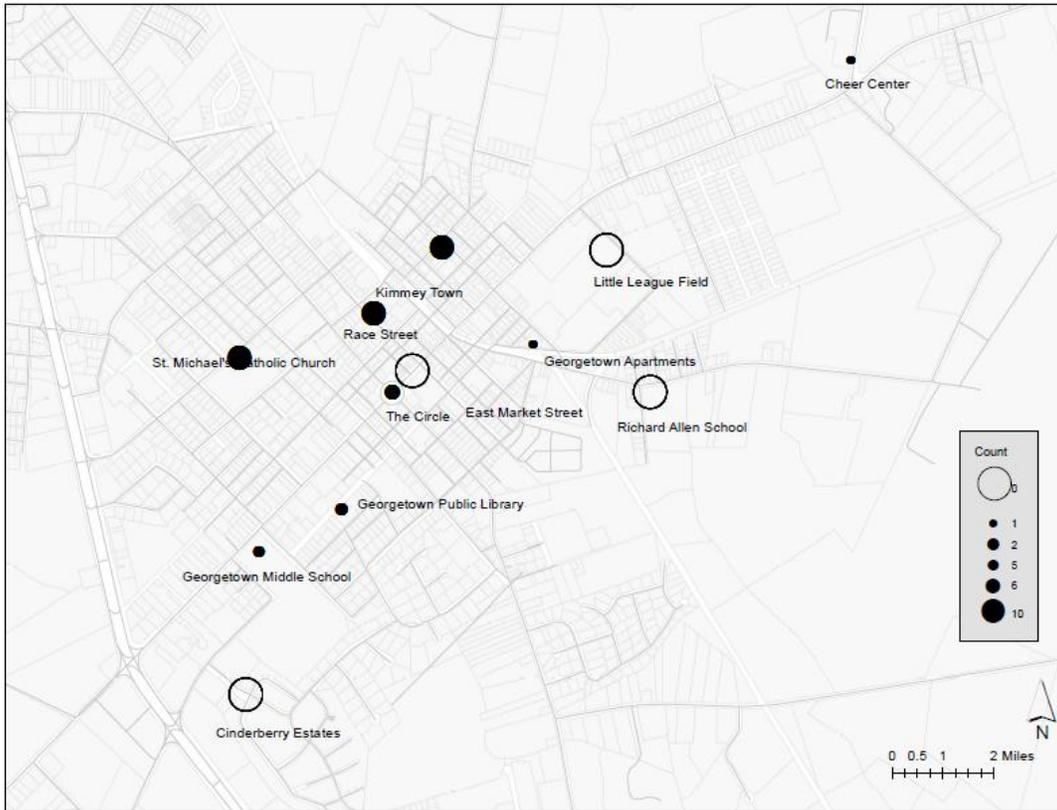


Figure 5.2 Map of the spaces in photo elicitation where Hispanic participants feel comfortable.

5.1.3 Overall Feelings of African American Participants

African American participants also felt excluded, unwelcome, or uncomfortable in various public spaces in Georgetown. Collectively, none of the African American participants felt comfortable in Kimmeytown, on North Race Street, at St. Michael's Catholic Church or in Cinderberry Estates. Many of the African American participants noted that the types of businesses along East Market Street and North Race Street did not feel welcoming due to landscape cues about wealth and social status as well as language barriers. None of the participants had any concrete examples of personal experiences that

made them feel uncomfortable. Rather participants expressed an overall feeling of reluctance and ambivalence. They felt as though they (the African American participants) did not belong there. Again within this subpopulation we see participants equating the condition of the streetscapes and storefronts with those who occupy it.

African American participants, however, felt very attached to the spaces in which they felt most comfortable. The public library, for instance, was a welcoming and supportive public space that offered helpful services. It was also a public space whose function was clearly understood by the African American and white populations—a function that was not understood by Hispanic participants. By increasing awareness of the library and expanding bilingual services, the landscape identity of this public space could potentially change for the Hispanic community. Similarly, Georgetown Apartments is also a space where more could be done to change the perception of the space to residents outside the African American community. By rebranding this space, it could garner a more positive landscape identity.

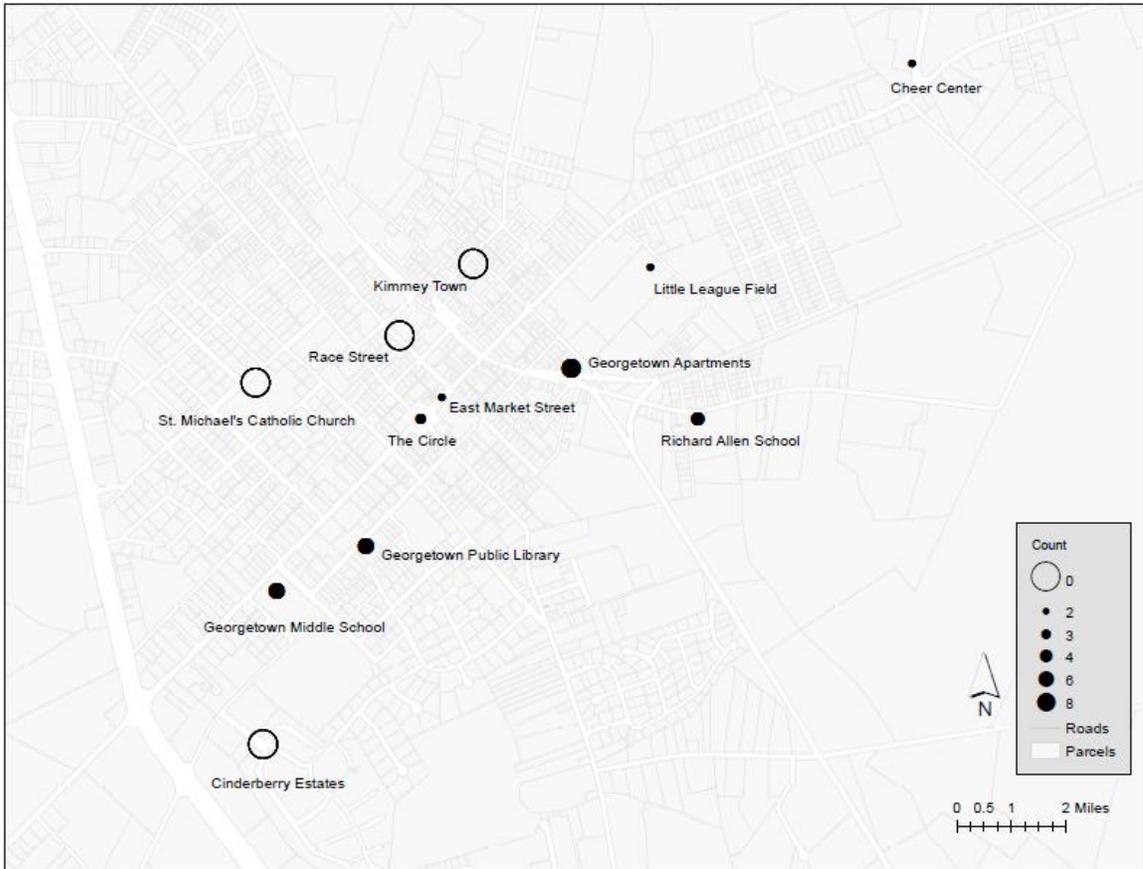


Figure 5.3 Map of the spaces in photo elicitation where African American participants feel comfortable.

5.1.4 Summary

Each of the three ethnic-racial groupings in this study, and even each individual in the study, had his own level of place attachment to the public spaces included in the photo elicitations. The problem is not that the feelings people have towards spaces differ, but that there are people who do not feel comfortable in different spaces in their town.

Individuals' place identities are often formed and solidified by personal experiences so to

try and dispute these identities would be fruitless. What could be done, however, would be to try to change the overall landscape identities held by spaces to be more inclusive and inviting of everyone in Georgetown. In a town that is still so small, these hard geographic divisions may lead to gangs, violence, and crime. These problems could lead to sharper divisions between the populations, which will not be mended by place marketing or multi-lingual signage. These divisions could also diminish Georgetown's aspirations to become a tourist destination. Tourists want to get away to places that feel safe, fun, and happy, and without a cohesive population, Georgetown may not be able to successfully achieve this goal.

5.2 Conclusion

As this study has shown, public spaces in Georgetown are not perceived or viewed in the same way despite the fact that they are, ostensibly, for the public or entire community. Rather public spaces in this small town of less than 6,500 people have been defined along racial-ethnic lines. That is, instead of public spaces being arenas for multiple publics, for multiple groups to interact, many of the public spaces in Georgetown have become associated with either the white, Hispanic or African American population.

This social differentiation of public spaces according to race/ethnicity raises many issues for the town. Is it possible to create public spaces that do not act as ethnic-racial enclaves but instead act as integrative settings where the town's diversity is celebrated, practiced and preserved? In many ways there is a contest underway about how public space is

envisioned and used in Georgetown and this contest is reaching a critical point. The racial-ethnic place identities that have formed in Georgetown are being contested by a branding effort now underway. The Georgetown government, along with businesses and organizations actively promoting revitalization of the town, are paying attention to the advice brought to them by a consulting firm hired to come up with a possible public landscape that project a more uniform identity, a more unified public. This branding, which has a focus on the historic aspects of the town, dictates what fonts, colors, and themes should be used when advertising spaces. This focus on the historic is actually reasserting the white identity that used to be prominent in Georgetown. The rebranding largely ignores the demographic, cultural, and socioeconomic changes that have been occurring over the past twenty years. The place identities that have been cultivated by some non-white participants and participant groups are being overlain with the Town's ideas about what the "official" landscape identity should be.

This study, of course, has limitations. It has a small sample size because of the qualitative and descriptive nature of the questions. A larger sample, a sample in which all socioeconomic demographics were represented, could have been achieved if the questions asked were less close-ended and handled in a survey fashion. But that approach would have eliminated the opportunity for participants to discuss their experiences in depth. Finally, a study with more photos could have achieved an even clearer view of what spaces are seen and unseen in Georgetown. In the future, researchers could look at how to make spaces more accessible to all populations.

The findings of this study have implications for small towns across the U.S. now struggling with the same demographic, cultural and socioeconomic changes that Georgetown is facing. Towns like Russellville, Alabama, Hazelton, Pennsylvania, Ulysses, Kansas, and West Liberty Iowa are just a few examples of towns dealing with the same changes as Georgetown (Thompson, 2011; Kelleher, 2011; Sulzberger, 2011; Carr et al., 2012). Each of these towns is handling change in its own way, some in a positive way and others in a negative one. These changes that towns are facing are new; there is no precedent that has been set for them. Each town has been tasked with creating its own solution to integrating their new populations. They have each realized that solving the problems that come with rapid population growth, by a group drastically different than the one present, is not easy.

Georgetown, then, is not alone in its situation, and the town is being given a unique opportunity to lead by example. It is unknown whether the place branding effort in Georgetown will foster a larger, inclusive place identity that all residents will embrace. It depends on how well the branding model threads the town's past and present into a future that includes all members of the community. Signs can become bilingual and more modern, to show Georgetown's focus on the present as well as the past, and civic groups leading efforts to redefine who and what Georgetown can try to become more inclusive Georgetown's different ethnic-racial groupings, age groupings and socioeconomic groupings. By creating inclusive, inviting spaces that welcome all residents, Georgetown can come together and really achieve its *We Are One* goal. It can

demonstrate to other towns in similar situation what can be done to successfully integrate populations.

Georgetown, Delaware is a town with a number of positive characteristics. Its central location in Sussex County and relative proximity to the coastal amenities, its rich history, its diverse population, and its small town charm and walkable streets are all elements that could make Georgetown shine. The key now is to learn how to best combine all the positives in a way that benefits everyone. Every resident in Georgetown is trying to figure out where they fit in their new town. Georgetown can be a destination location like it wants and still ensure that its residents feel comfortable and safe as well as visible and heard. Working to ensure that all residents are included when it comes to designing, changing, or advertising spaces is key to creating a cohesive town.

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Appendix



RESEARCH OFFICE

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DATE: July 22, 2013

TO: Hannah Jacobson
FROM: University of Delaware IRB

STUDY TITLE: [493046-1] A case study of landscape identity and social cohesion in Georgetown, Delaware.

SUBMISSION TYPE: New Project

ACTION: DETERMINATION OF EXEMPT STATUS
DECISION DATE: July 22, 2013

REVIEW CATEGORY: Exemption category # 2

Thank you for your submission of New Project materials for this research study. The University of Delaware IRB has determined this project is EXEMPT FROM IRB REVIEW according to federal regulations.

We will put a copy of this correspondence on file in our office. Please remember to notify us if you make any substantial changes to the project.

If you have any questions, please contact Jody-Lynn Berg at (302) 831-1119 or jlberg@udel.edu. Please include your study title and reference number in all correspondence with this office.