ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: **NEGOTIATING DIVERSIFICATION: IMMIGRANT SETTLEMENT AND NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE—THE CASE OF GREEKTOWN IN BALTIMORE CITY, MARYLAND**

Naka Matsumoto, Doctor of Philosophy, 2017

Dissertation directed by: Professor Howell S. Baum, School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation

Creating and maintaining diverse neighborhoods has been a challenge for planners, policymakers, and community organizers as the recent and rapid influx of immigrants from Latin and Asian countries into the United States generates many diversified neighborhoods throughout the country. This phenomenon has created new social dynamics in the neighborhoods due to the differences among new and longtime residents, such as ethnicity, language and culture, socioeconomic status, generation, and family type. The neighborhoods stand on the diverging point of whether the neighborhood stays diverse or one group takes over the place. This dissertation illustrates the situation in Greektown, Baltimore City, in Maryland, which has been seeing an influx of Latino immigrants as well as new, young professional residents in the last decade. This small neighborhood was once a Greek immigrant enclave and still maintains some original ethnic characteristics on the surface, yet it is becoming drastically more diverse. In this neighborhood, the three ethnically, socioeconomically, and generationally different groups—old timers who are mostly Greeks, Latino immigrants, and new residents who are in a higher socio-economic status than the others—are negotiating with each other on various occasions in various ways, which is leading the neighborhood in a certain direction. Interviews with the residents and community leaders, a survey, and more than two years of participant observation were conducted to

examine their relationships and possible outcomes. The results of this research show that although they live side by side in a small neighborhood, none of the groups has much social interaction with the others in the neighborhood. Despite the little interaction, however, the neighborhood maintains its diversity without major conflicts, and many seem to accept, and some even embrace, the diversity. The study finds there are positive "symbolic relationships" that are built upon perceptions and images in people's minds that derive from their previous experiences, their cultural heritage, and their self-identification. The symbolic relationships can be the foundation of a diverse and collaborative neighborhood. The study also finds that due to the diversity within each group, such as subsequent, US-born generations among the immigrants and racial minorities among the new residents generate various ties across each group's boundary. This dissertation argues that in the contemporary diverse neighborhoods where residents' interactions are becoming more selective, cultivating symbolic relationships and utilizing those multidimensional ties can be effective to create more collaborative yet diverse neighborhoods.

NEGOTIATING DIVERSIFICATION: IMMIGRANT SETTLEMENT AND NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE—THE CASE OF GREEKTOWN IN BALTIMORE CITY, MARYLAND

by

Naka Matsumoto

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Advisory Committee:
Professor Howell S. Baum, Chair
Professor Sidney Brower
Associate Professor Casey Dawkins
Professor Marie Howland
Professor Michael Paolisso

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Standing at the corner of Eastern Avenue and Ponca Street in Greektown, Baltimore City, made me puzzle over what this small neighborhood should be called. The signage on the main street says "Welcome to Greektown," but the streets are full of Latino children and their mothers, and Greek and Latino retail shops are side by side. "Does it look like Latino Town?" a Latino business owner whispered to me with a smile. But there is a Greek Orthodox Church in the neighborhood with Greek flags and murals with Greek themes. If we walk to the south, we see many brand-new row houses with young people walking their dogs and tuning up their bicycles. This small neighborhood certainly shows many faces within its borders, and many would call this neighborhood diverse.

1.1: Immigration-Led Diverse Neighborhood

Throughout its history, the United States has struggled to create diverse neighborhoods. Many are still racially and socioeconomically segregated, and the planners, policymakers and community organizations have been making efforts to create and maintain diverse neighborhoods.

Numerous housing programs have been nationally implemented with limited success, and empirical studies have shown that the mere physical admixture of different groups of people does not automatically generate harmonious communication among them (Joseph, 2006; Lees, 2008). Different socio-economic status and culture can crystallize differences and may lead to conflicts. What makes diverse residents coexist peacefully and in a more collaborative way is an important question that planners are addressing.

While planners stress the importance of creating and maintaining diverse neighborhoods, we have been seeing new trends, such as the rapid influx of new immigrants, that are naturally creating diverse neighborhoods (Maly, 2005). Since the enactment of the Immigration and Nationality Act in 1965, the number of immigrants has rapidly increased for the first time since the end of the second major wave of immigration[i] of approximately in the early twentieth century (Figure 1). Unlike the case of the early twentieth century, when most immigrants were from Europe, these new immigrants are mostly from Latin American and Asian countries. The Census Bureau projected that by the 2044 more than half of all Americans will belong to racial minority groups, and a large part of this is accounted for by the increasing number of immigrants from those countries (Colby & Ortman, 2015). As a result, they have added racial and ethnic diversity in many places in the United States.
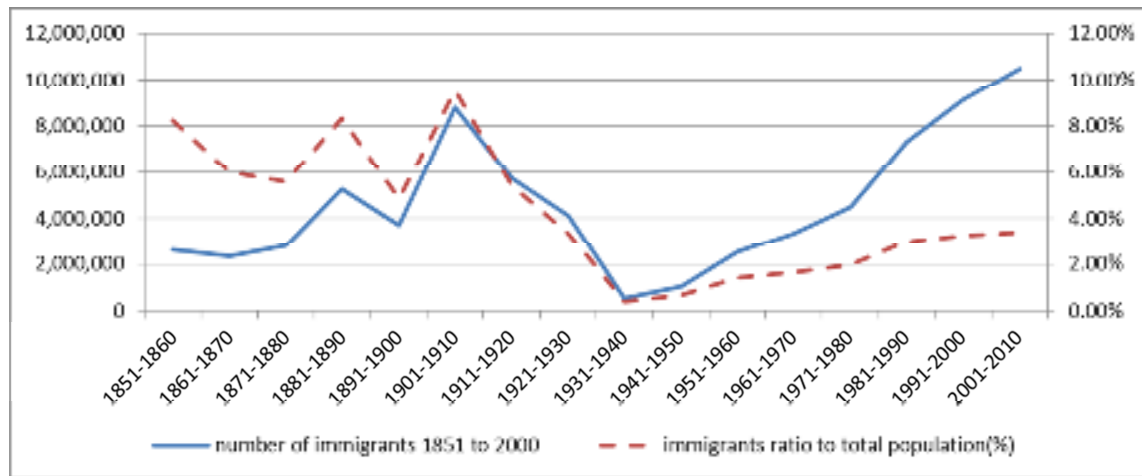
Figure 1. Immigration to the United States: Fiscal Years 1850-2010

Source: 2000 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service

*The ratio of immigrants to total population is calculated by dividing the total number of immigrants entering the United States in that ten-year period by the total U.S. population at the end of that ten-year period.

The settlement patterns of the recent immigrants differ from those of the earlier immigrants, however. Although large gateway cities such as New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles still receive a large proportion of immigrants, recent literature shows that many of the new immigrants settle down in more dispersed locations such as smaller cities, rural areas, and suburbs (Ellen, 1998; Maly, 2005; Marrow, 2005; Singer, 2004; Singer & Suro, 2000). Cities like Portland and Baltimore that were once immigrant gateways but have had little immigration since the early twentieth century have also started to receive immigrants again(Singer, 2004).[ii] For those cities, the typical story is that the first generation of European immigrants aged, and their children who were

born and grew up in the United States acquired higher socioeconomic status and moved out to suburbs where houses are larger, schools are better, and the neighborhoods are safer. The loss of population in inner cities resulted in disinvestment and poor social services. Ironically, this situation also creates an environment suitable for new immigrants who are looking for affordable housing that landlords are willing to rent to immigrants, close to where entry-level jobs such as those in restaurants and construction exist. Subsequently, immigrants have started to fill out the vacant houses in inner city neighborhoods (Maly, 2005; Waters & Jiménez, 2005).

In addition to housing, there are other factors that immigrants may consider when they choose a place to settle. One is the economic restructuring occurring in the United States that began in the latter part of the twentieth century that has moved traditional immigrant jobs such as manufacturing and construction from the old gateway cities to other areas, such as rural areas (Kandel & Parrado, 2005). The cost of living (i.e., whether living in large cities makes sense when the cost is compared with the income they can earn), political atmosphere (i.e., whether there are anti-immigration laws or not), and the assistance they can get from others within the neighborhood (i.e., whether they can find somebody who speaks their language) are all important factors when deciding where to migrate (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, & Holdaway, 2008). New technologies such as the internet and social network services (SNS) make the information flow easier and

broaden their decisions on where to migrate.

There is also a significant difference between the recent immigrants and the past immigrants as to what kinds of neighborhoods they are moving into. As Figure 1 shows, although the number of recent immigrants is almost equal to the old wave (around 900,000 per year), the ratio compared to the total population is much smaller (less than 4% for the new, versus 9% for the old immigrants). Many of these recent immigrants are moving into neighborhoods that have indigenous residents, while the European immigrants in the early twentieth century often moved into newly-built residential areas mostly populated by immigrants like themselves (Simon, 1976). Unlike the earlier immigrants, the recent immigrants must come to terms with the existing residents who have lived there for generations and often possess feelings of ownership of their neighborhoods. In the case of this "immigration-led diversification," negotiations and adjustments are needed between the groups, the outcome of which will determine whether or not they can successfully live together in the neighborhood.

Greektown in Baltimore City is one of those neighborhoods experiencing an influx of immigrants. Baltimore once enjoyed the economic growth generated by heavy industries such as ship building and had accepted many European immigrants in the early twentieth century. It is now accepting the new immigrants, primarily from Latin American countries, after a long dormant

period. The immigrants are settling in the southeast area of the city, where the old immigrants started their lives in the United States almost a hundred years ago. Many of the old and modest row houses have been turned into rental properties while there are still longtime residents, including immigrants' descendants, living in the neighborhood. The issues that arise in and the hopes and dreams of the residents of Greektown are representative of those of many postindustrial cities throughout the United States.

At the same time, some of those cities have also seen signs of gentrification in downtown neighborhoods that echo the "back-to-the-city movement" among young and professional populations with higher socioeconomic status—rather than moving to the suburbs, they are coming back to the city center (Sturtevant & Jung, 2011). They see the old housing and warehouses as a good investment with their affordable prices and also find they have attractive historic characteristics and an eclectic atmosphere. Additionally, those houses are conveniently located near businesses and entertainment venues that are favorable amenities for the younger generations. As a result of this phenomenon, some neighborhoods are seeing a rapid influx of different groups of people—immigrants and gentrifiers—simultaneously. [iii]

This phenomenon could create new social dynamics in the neighborhoods due to the differences among new and longtime residents. For example, language and culture, socioeconomic

status, generation and family types, and the new dynamics can lead to new neighborhood conditions

that are possibly confrontational, non-associated, or collaborative. Such neighborhoods stand on the

diverging point of whether the neighborhood stays diverse or one group takes over the place. How

planners, policymakers, and community organizers can create and maintain a diverse yet inclusive

community is a central challenge for those neighborhoods. Sandercock (2000) states that "… we do

share the space on the planet with others who in many ways are not like us, and we need to find

ways of co-existing in these spaces…" (p13). This dissertation seeks to identify ways for such

neighborhoods to foster co-existence and tries to determine the relationships among those diverse

groups that lead the residents to be more collaborative and inclusive. Collaboration and

inclusiveness are not easy to achieve as they require trust and shared ideas among participants and

ultimately create a new identity for the neighborhood. It is not just Latino immigrants renting the

houses from Greeks or new young residents moving to new housing units, but how those different

groups of people live satisfactorily in the neighborhood and promote collaboration while preventing

any unwanted characteristics from emerging. These new immigration conditions present three

important sociological, planning, and policy questions, which this research investigates.

1. **How does the new settlement of immigrants in Greektown affect the existing**

   neighborhood and community? What kinds of relationships exist in Greektown across the

different groups?

2. **What conditions encourage or hinder collaborative relationships in Greektown and other similarly diverse neighborhoods?**

3. **Is the Greektown neighborhood likely to remain diverse? What can planners and policymakers do to support diversity and collaboration in Greektown and similar neighborhoods?**

The first question tries to understand how immigrants' settlement affects the demographic makeup, residential diversity, and social relations of the neighborhood. As the neighborhood rapidly becomes diverse, the study examines how the different groups of residents, who have differing cultures, life experiences, and socioeconomic status, end up living there and interacting with and perceiving their neighborhood and neighbors. As it is often the basis of promoting mixed-income residential developments by officials, whether this spatial proximity produces any meaningful relationships or not needs to be examined. The assessment of what kinds of relationships can be found in Greektown will lead to the second question, which is how those relationships can be developed into more collaborative relationships, characterized by the residents in different groups accepting and trusting each other and sharing ideas to make the neighborhood a more desirable

place. Finally, those investigations can lead to the third question, which speculates about the future

of Greektown and neighborhoods with similar experiences. This study illustrates the complex set of

relationships that diverse groups of people cultivate within a small residential area in one of many

neighborhoods operating under the effects of deindustrialization, immigration, aging population,

and redevelopments, and identifies implications for how planners and policymakers can work to

create and maintain diverse yet collaborative neighborhoods. The fundamental inquiry here is how

the diverse groups of people can accept each other and collaborate together in their neighborhood,

something that is needed in the current globalized and stratified society.

1.2: Organization of the Dissertation

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 presents past theories and relevant

literature to frame this study. The new phenomenon—new immigrants moving to neighborhoods

that already have longtime residents who are also descendants of immigrants—requires new

analytical tools that connect neighborhood changes and immigrant assimilation theories. This is due

to the fact that immigrants usually carry distinct cultures, embodied not just by language, religions,

and food, but also what they value in their daily lives and how their ethnicity is different from that

of people who have grown up in the United States. Incorporating those cultural factors can

illuminate the social relationships among the diverse groups.

Chapter 3 focuses on the history and demographic data of Greektown and Baltimore City through the archives and census data to illustrate how the neighborhood has evolved and how it manifests the current demographic conditions. In these days, regardless of its size and location, no neighborhood is free from external influences from the city, region, nation, and international community. How the economics, racial conflicts, and redevelopments have influenced Baltimore City and Greektown is discussed in relation to the recent influx of immigrants and new, young professional residents. Chapter 4 presents the research design used to understand this complex situation through the lens of socio-cultural relationships. Ethnographic research has a long tradition in investigating complicated and nuanced social conditions at the neighborhood level, starting with the Chicago School of Sociology to now, and this research was informed by previous studies such as those of William Foote Whyte (1943), Herbert J. Gans (1962), and Elijah Anderson (1990). Yet, as all the neighborhoods are different in some ways, I also tried to apply the methods that were best suited for Greektown by adding surveys. The more than two years of fieldwork required consistent review of the methods to obtain the data to analyze the social dynamics, and that review process itself also informed me of each group's attitudes to the others.

From Chapter 5 and on, the study explores the findings from the fieldwork. Who the

actors in this narrative are—how each group made the decision to settle in Greektown, what they

value in the daily lives, and how they interact with the other—is illustrated. The text highlights the

differences and similarities in what the residents value and how they are generally associated with

both members in their own group and outside of the group, and it sets the stage to analyze the social

dynamics in the following chapters. With those characteristics in mind, the study turns to analyzing

how the residents' relationships with the others in the neighborhood really are in Chapter 6. The

relationships take various forms—family, friendships, business partnerships—and the degree of

how intimate they are also varies. Through the stories from the residents, the chapter discusses

layers of those different relationships. Although I find that there are limited "real" interactions and

social relationships, the study reveals the existence of "symbolic" relationships that are based on

their cultural values and personal experiences. By exploring the concept of symbolic relationships,

the reasons this neighborhood stays in relative peace despite the minimum social interactions in the

neighborhood can be understood.

Based on those findings, Chapter 7 presents conclusions from the research. It emphasizes

the importance of symbolic relationships and multidimensional ties among different groups in the

diverse neighborhoods. Those ties are not intimate and direct relationships that people usually

consider as "relationships" because they are not based on direct interactions, but on ideas that are

forged from cultures the residents value and on their personal and group experiences. Yet the symbolic relationships can be a powerful foundation for real social relationships in the future and are needed for the spatially diverse and socially separated neighborhood. The discussion is tied to the theory of Social Capital (Coleman, 1988; Lin, 1999; Putnam, 1995; Warren, 1999) and weak ties (Granovetter, 1973) to present the possibilities for cultivating such ties in diverse neighborhoods. The chapter then revisits the theoretical framework to explore how the neighborhood changes in connection with immigrant assimilation theories. The current immigrants face many structural challenges—widening wealth gaps and persistent discrimination—and often are not allowed to be fully assimilated into a given society. Where they live, whether in an ethnic and homogeneous or diverse neighborhood, is no longer determined by the length of their stay in the United States. Rather, this study points out that the various relationships within and outside of the group influence their residential decisions.

In the final chapter, the foreseeable changes in the neighborhood are discussed and how the relationships found in Greektown work under those circumstances. This leads to the implications for planners, policymakers, and community organizers—how we build positive symbolic relationships and multidimensional ties in order to mitigate negative outcomes. It also discusses how we can create the new "us" identity that all can relate to and share in a diverse

neighborhood, rather than one group, often less powerful minority, to adjust to the other, more

powerful majority. My hope is that this study—based on the various narratives in Greektown—

presents some hope to people who tirelessly work to make their neighborhood just, collaborative,

inclusive, economically thriving, and a place to be proud of on the part of those who live there.

1.3: A Note on the Terms

I use several terms in this study with the following intended meanings.

Latino/s (or Latina/s) and Hispanic/s: While the term Latino and Hispanic are often used

interchangeably, the former describe those people who are from Central and South America or have

ancestry from those countries, while the latter means people from Spanish-speaking countries. In

this paper, Latino is mainly used to describe the immigrants and their descendants from Central and

South America for both genders in order to follow what most of my interviewees and their

organizations used to describe themselves.

Greeks: In this study, unless it is specified in the sentence, the term Greeks means Greek

immigrants and their American descendants, including second, third, and fourth generations of an

immigrant family, living in the United States.

New Residents: They are neither Greeks nor Latinos and moved to Greektown less than 15 years

ago. Many of them live in the new developments, but some live in the existing neighborhood.

Old Timers: The group of people who are neither Greeks nor Latinos, but have stayed in the neighborhood more than 16 years. Many of them have been living in Greektown for their entire lives.

New Developments: The two residential developments that were built on the former industrial site at the southern periphery of Greektown from 2012 to 2014. All units are sold at market price.

Existing (Old) Neighborhood: Most of Greektown except those blocks of the new developments. The residential neighborhood was built in the early twentieth century.

Second Wave of Immigrants: Although there have been several waves of immigrant influxes from the beginning of United States, in this dissertation, the second wave is defined as those immigrants from mostly Southeastern and Central European and Asian countries who came here in the period from the late 19th to the early twentieth century. This group is sometimes referred as "Old Immigrants" in this study. Meanwhile, the first wave of immigrants refers to those who arrived in early to the mid-nineteenth century from Germany, England, and Ireland.

Third Wave of Immigrants: The third wave of immigrants is defined as those who have come from mostly Latin and Asian countries after 1965. This group is sometimes referred as "new immigrants" and "contemporary immigrants".

i See the explanation of the terms on pages 14

ii Although Baltimore was not categorized as a "Re-Emerging" city in the Singer article that was based on Census 2000, an increasing number of immigrants identified by Census 2010 shows that Baltimore can be moved from the "Traditional" to "Re-Emerging" category.

iii See Vicino, Hanlon, & Short, (2011)

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework of this study is formulated from the theories and models of neighborhood change and immigrant assimilation. These theories of neighborhood change such as Ecological and Political Economy focus on physical places—who lives where and how the demographic characters change over time—and discuss how the various factors influence the scenery of neighborhoods. On the other hand, the theories of immigrant assimilation such as straight-line model and segmented assimilation theory focus on how the immigrants accept, resist, and adjust to the culture of the new land, and how they build new relationships in there. Consequently, they talk about where and how they live—whether they stay with their own ethnic groups or not—, although the focuses of what those assimilation theories are more for the in-group and out-group relations.

In response to the Waters & Jiménez's (2005) concern that the discussion of how the neighborhood changes are not well tied to the immigrants' assimilation process, this study concerns the new social relationships that are built among the newly arrived immigrants and longtime residents, and how these relationships influence the neighborhood's future to become collaborative,

non-associated, or conflictual. Therefore, the theories of neighborhood change and immigrant assimilation need to be closely tied and formed into a new theoretical framework to look at this diverse neighborhood created by the immigrants' influx.

The chapter first introduces various approaches for looking at the neighborhood changes and then argues about what aspects are needed to focus on looking at the case like Greektown in Baltimore, where increasing numbers of new immigrants are arriving. Next, the theories of immigrant assimilation from the early twentieth century are summarized and tied to the neighborhood change models to present a new framework for this study. Finally, a multidimensional nature of this model is discussed.

2.1: Neighborhood Change

The United States has gone through many notable changes at the neighborhood, city, and regional level such as urbanization, segregation, suburbanization, and urban renewal. The situation in Greektown—rapid influx of new immigrants from Latin countries creating the diverse neighborhood – represents one of the latest phenomena in the United States. Neighborhood changes have been one of the central issues in urban planning, sociology, and other disciplines for a long time, as the place where people physically live is the base of their daily lives, and those changes in

the neighborhood directly affect people's well-being (Guest & Wierzbicki, 1999; Hunter, 1975; Ishizawa & Jones, 2016). It clearly affects people's finances regardless of whether they are renters or homeowners. Therefore, planners, policymakers and community advocates have paid great attention to the process and consequences of neighborhood change, and have tried to understand the conditions of how and why the changes in the physical places happen, to determine if there is any way to prevent negative outcomes such as displacement of longtime residents or serious conflicts. The theories argue why and how people move in and out of particular neighborhoods—whether it is for ecological, political and economic reasons, or social and cultural ones.

2.1.1: Demographic, Ecological and Structural Approach

In the early twentieth century, the University of Chicago School of Urban Sociology developed the influential theory of "Invasion and Succession" that Park (1952) explains as a *natural process* of competition, conflict, and accommodation that are caused by changes in aging houses and demographic composition. The ecological changes here suggest that the built environment in the city is inevitably decaying and therefore attracts different groups of people with lower-incomes than existing ones. Hawley (1950) defined it as a population's adaptive activities that are structured in the neighborhood's population turnovers. The process is that as a new group of residents moves

into a neighborhood, they compete with longtime residents for available resources, especially housing. Inevitably, conflicts occur and eventually one group takes over the neighborhood.

This Demographic Ecology approach tries to explain the neighborhood changes as a product of the structural changes in society, that are the changes in economic systems (i.e., what industries are there for people to work and generate incomes), and demography (i.e., whether particular kind of race, ethnicity, age, family types increase or not as well as where people concentrate on.) For example, the rapid influx of a working-class population into inner cities during the economic growth in the late 19th and early twentieth centuries created a congested and unhealthy living environment. As a counteraction to this, together with the growing usages of cars and highway construction, depopulation in inner city's neighborhoods became clear in the mid twentieth century. The increase of nuclear families, often with the husband as a sole bread-winner while the wife stays at home with children in suburban house, supported the trend (London, 1980). Recently, as more women entered into the workforce, the convenience of living close to the work places and various entertainments has attracted the younger generation (those are also increasingly coming back to inner cities due to the tax abatement). Temkin & Rohe (1996) explain that those demographic ecology changes are caused by larger social and economic forces that individuals have nothing to do with. The changes are, therefore, all inevitable and naturally happens as the society

changes.

2.1.2: Political Economy Approach

While the Demographic Ecology approach tries to explain neighborhood changes as the

ecological changes of human aggregates in society, another group of scholars present changes that

are created by certain stakeholders, politically and economically. Schwirian (1983) summarizes this

approach as:

The Political Economy approach views community change in terms of the complex

linkages among economic and political institutions and various segments of the business

and housing markets (p 94.)

Within this framework, Molotch (1969, 1976) describes the city as a "growth machine," to see the

city as a fundamental unit for economic growth that is shaped by specific interests—especially real

estate/land-use interests. Based on his argument, the inner city is redeveloped by powerful actors,

such as politicians, private developers, and planners, not just ecological human activities. Those

people who have economic and political power can intentionally determine who lives where, and

the most of residents do not have options. The displacement of indigenous populations, who are

often low-income and racial minorities are well documented (Hyra, 2008; Newman & Wyly, 2006;

Slater, 2009), while some point out that the redevelopment of the neighborhoods does not always

cause physical displacement (Freeman, 2006; Vigdor, 2002), but causes a loss of political power

(Hyra, 2015) or widening wealth gaps within the group , and, as a consequence, weakens their

attachment to their neighborhoods. The vigorous discussion about who economically and politically

are benefited and who suffers a loss is an issue of inequality of political and economic power. This

approach explains the changes in neighborhoods as a result of competition, market activities, and

power relations among different groups and within the groups. In the new destinations of

immigrants, the immigrants' influx is often seen as a competition for the limited resources by the

longtime residents. For example, Kandel & Parrado (2005) point out the burden on local

educational systems, since the increasing number of non-English speaking students requires more

Spanish-speaking teachers and special supports. The rapid influx may cause a shortage of housing,

especially affordable housing (Cravey, 1997). Consequently, as often is the case, it evokes

frustration and resentment by longtime residents, or feelings of exclusion by newcomers, which

then leads to confrontation.

While the Political Economy approach is useful to understand what kinds of economic and

political forces exist in the neighborhoods such as development pressure in former industrial sites

by private developers in Greektown, this approach sees the changes that occur by powerful and

intentional actions often from outside of the neighborhood such as real estate developers and city officials. In this approach, the actions are external and top-down, and the residents are influenced by those actions in a passive way. The residents do not have control over the economically and politically powerful actors who have intentions to change the neighborhoods.

This approach basically assumes that everyone is a purely economic actor focused on maximizing economic value. For example, the resident sells the house to maximize their benefit when its price gets higher. As in the demographic approach, the assumption leads to the idea that all people react in a same way and therefore the steps move to one direction.

2.1.3: Neighborhood Life-Cycle Model

While what kind of forces lead to certain changes are discussed, the "life-cycle" models are developed to explain the sequence of several steps as neighborhood changes. The discussion of what the patterns are found in the neighborhood leads to the certain conclusion of what people can expect next. The models have been a tool to predict where a neighborhood goes after the present conditions so that local governments can alter their direction.

Hoover & Vernon (1959) developed the idea into a five-stage cycle of neighborhood change (Figure 2); first, as the birth of the city, the neighborhood is developed with new single-

family houses. Its density is low and those who can afford the new houses move in; at the second stage, the growing city's industries' attract more population that result in more construction. Some of those are apartment buildings built in order to accommodate more people (higher density than stage 1). In the stage 3, as the influx of population continues, the aging original houses are divided to accommodate an increasing population; hence, the neighborhood becomes overcrowded. A change by influx of immigrants and racial minority happens at this point. The next step (stage 4) is an exodus of people who can afford to do so in order to escape from congested and often racially and ethnically mixed neighborhood. Those remaining who do not have means to move out from the deteriorated neighborhood are forced to stay there. The disinvestment by public (e.g., education and social services) and private (e.g., refusing bank loans) entities become clear at this stage. The final stage (stage 5) is the renewal of the neighborhood; as the neighborhood has deteriorated, the vacant and affordable houses are replaced by new ones, and the city starts to have redevelopment to turn the situation around. The public investment to replace the existing deteriorated and abandoned houses with—the new commercial, office and apartment buildings also induce the private investment. The cycle assumes that it goes back to the stage 1 or 2, which present good living environments for the groups with the higher socioeconomic status.

Hoover & Vernon's Neighborhood life-cycle model
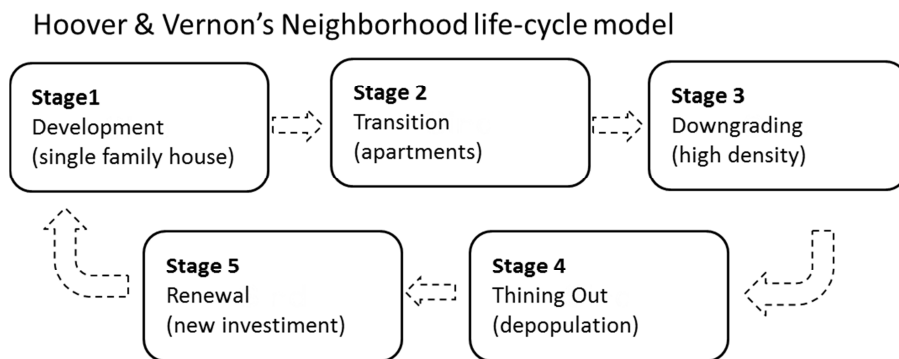
Figure 2. Neighborhood life-cycle model by Hoover and Vernon

The assumption of this model is that aging housing is a natural and inevitable process, and the deteriorating housing stocks cause the migration of lower income population due to the declining housing values. The different numbers and steps were discussed, for example, in Birch's more elaborated seven steps (Birch, 1971); however, fundamentally, those models try to explain from the beginning, prosperity, decline, to renewals of the cities as an *inevitable phenomenon*, where there is little consideration of an individual's preference and behaviors. In other words, it assumes that the individuals have no control over the changes caused by powerful external factors. Although it recognizes that every city and neighborhood is different, and not all of them go through the all steps(Gist & Fava, 1964; Hoover & Vernon, 1959; Schwirian, 1983).

However, despite the room for going back and forth on the different stages in this life-cycle model, Greektown doesn't correspond to the traditional path show in Figure 2, as the neighborhood has experienced several stages simultaneously as in Figure 3. It has lost population in

the last half a century and the housing stock has aged. However, those houses are suitable for newly

arrived immigrants as affordable housing, and the influx of Latino immigrants could be a sign of

more crowded and deteriorating neighborhoods (Stage 3). At the same time, the neighborhood

attracts new investments, such as construction of new residential development that targets the

middle class (Stage 5). Although the numbers become smaller, the active Greek community still

exists, and they keep the properties and showing resistance to change. This new sequence is shown

as Stage "X" in Figure 3 as this stage was not assumed in the traditional model (Figure 2).
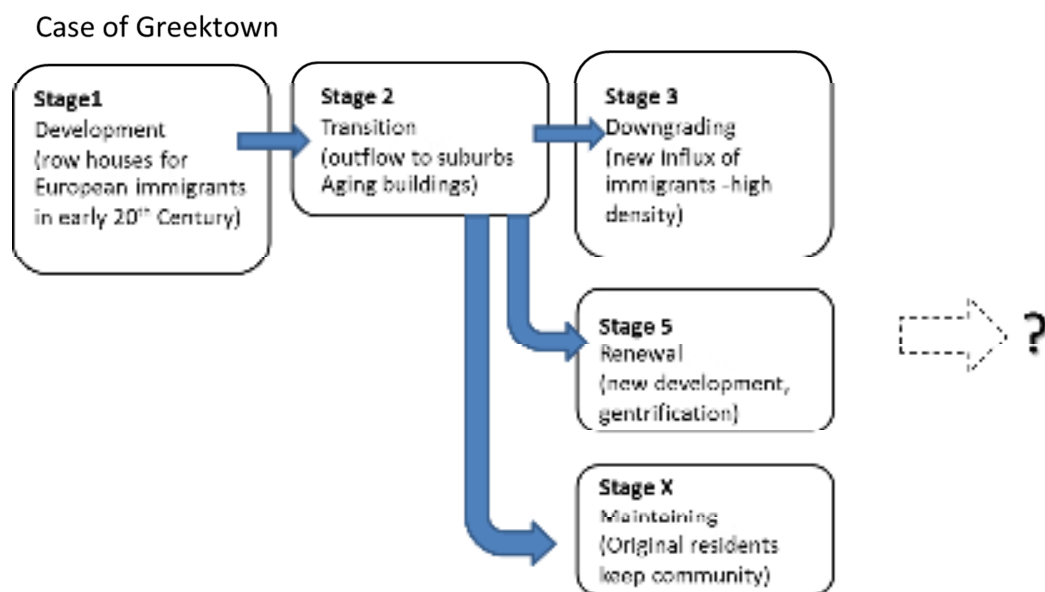
Figure 3. Life Cycle Model: Case of Greektown

In stage "X", the longtime residents may not sell their houses because of a sentimental

attachment and/or existence of ethnic networks. One reason to stay for some could be the existence

of a particular facility, such as a church that people feel attached to. Or, there may be a cultural

norm to consider that real estate is not for an item to make a deal, but an asset to pass on to the next

generations, as it is the case for many Greeks. Those statistically immeasurable factors could

overturn the obvious economic benefits and create many unpredictable paths (as the arrow in Figure

3 shows) in the neighborhood. Since the "invisible hand" cannot fully determine all the behaviors of

human beings, how the neighborhood changes requires different views to be incorporated,

especially the internal motivations and what people value for the neighborhood.

2.1.4: Socio-Cultural Approach

Firey (1945) states that because not only "economic ecology" explains urban spatial

structure and dynamics "culture" also needs to be considered. The Socio-cultural approach to

neighborhood change has been developed to explain how an individual's adaptive activities, which

are based on his or her group's culture, values, and beliefs, change neighborhoods. London (1980)

outlines this approach as follows:

The essence of the socio-cultural point of view is the suggestion that no ecological

phenomenon, including urban reinvasion, can be fully understood if the focus of

explanation is solely on structural phenomena to exclusion of those learned cultural values

that often motivate individual behavior. (p. 84)

This approach relies on an individual's motivation, decision-making, action, attitude, and a belief that those elements construct his/her social network, which then eventually influences the changes in neighborhoods (Borchert, 1981; Firey, 1946). Those individual actions are strongly influenced by the group's ethnicity, religion, or culture to which he or she belongs to. An anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973) defined culture as "a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life" (p89). The symbols provide the way people relate to others. For example, in his study, Gans (1962) focused on culture and social relationships within an Italian American neighborhood in the West End neighborhood of Boston, which had been considered as a "slum" by people who did not live there. He found that the area was not merely a low-income and deteriorating neighborhood, but it was a neighborhood with unique social relationships based on their culture, and that the relationships might hinder upward mobility. The study showed an example of how neighborhoods change (or are stigmatized) due to the residents' and their groups' cultural strains.

The Socio-cultural approach differs from the previous two approaches (Demographic Ecological and Political Economy) greatly in two ways. First, the Socio-cultural approach sees the individuals' decision-making in the context of, and guided by the cultural norms of groups with

which they identify, with whose members they interact. Demographic Ecology and Political

Economy approaches, on the other hand, focus on individuals acting autonomously and regard

neighborhoods as aggregations of individuals. Those approaches assume that all individuals in

certain groups act in the same way (Bailey & Mulcahy, 1972).

The Demographic Ecology and Political Economy approaches talk about the *external*

factors such as society's structural changes and investments by developers that influence the

residents. Within those approaches, the residents are passive and have no or at least less control over

the issues such as demographic changes, aging buildings, and powerful outsider's intentional

investment or disinvestment. Their decision is simply influenced by the external factors. In

contrast, the socio-cultural approach asks why people act as they do based on their values and

beliefs, which eventually influence the neighborhood. The Socio-cultural approach sees *internal*

motivations as a key factor to changing the neighborhood. The clear differences between the Socio-

cultural approach and the previous two approaches lie in how they see the residents' choices and

behaviors. The previous two approaches focus on the external factors that show the individuals do

not really have options while the Socio-cultural approach sees individual's actions have influence

over the changes.

With the focus on Demographic Ecology and Political Economy approaches, the path that

Greektown is taking cannot be explained well as the changes do not count the individual's activities that are based on culture and social relationships in the neighborhood. Applying the Socio-cultural approach is needed to understand what is happening in neighborhoods like Greektown, and can present the foreseeable future. The residents could reverse the decaying trend by maintaining houses or renovate them for themselves—not to sell them but to stay comfortably in or rent the places as in the case that Greektown is presenting. They may do so because they want to stay with friends in the neighborhood, or the location is good for particular individuals, for example, being close to their church is more important than gaining extra money. Or, they temporarily lease the house to the others because a person anticipates that someday their children or grandchildren could live there. How people decide where they live is a complex decision. Finances are a very important factor, but not a sole factor to determine the action. In short, their actions are influenced by their cultural value, preferences, sentiment, and social relationships they have. The group's culture shapes the individual's actions to the others, and in this sense, the culture is an internal factor to the other groups.

Of course, the residents' activities are not free from the external factors; therefore, those approaches cannot be discussed exclusively. It is not which one should be applied, but how the relations of those internal and external factors should be placed on a particular study based on the

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conditions in the neighborhood. In other words, it is an empirical question of what happens in a neighborhood and why. Bailey & Mulcahy (1972) point out that those external and internal factors are not contradictory, but rather, complementary. People are trying to make sense of what they do (internal) under the certain circumstances (external). Hyra (2008) further clarifies the relationships of those internal and external factors in his ethnographic study of Harlem in New York and Brownsville in Chicago: "To focus on either external or internal factor is shortsighted" (p. 20.) He applied "multi-layered analysis"—interaction of global/national, city, and local (community organizations)—to the study of the two gentrifying neighborhoods, and how the each level influences physical, economic and social conditions in those neighborhoods.

Those views are increasingly important in the neighborhood where many different ethnic groups that hold different values and cultures live together in a community like Greektown. This study clearly concerns those multi-leveled influences but places the focus on the Socio-cultural aspects that are the basis of social relationships in the neighborhood—whom they feel comfortable or uncomfortable to be close to is a personal decision. With the social relationships, the neighborhood conditions possibly go along several paths: Collaboration: residents build positive spatial and social relationships, and work together to make the neighborhood better for them; Non-Association: residents do not associate with each other, but stay as it is with no collaboration and

conflicts; or Conflicts: residents confront each other to make neighborhood what they want. The figure below explains the relationships of neighborhood change approaches for this study. The three forces interact each other, for example, how people deal with aging house and how they react to the new developments in the neighborhood need cultural input. However, the Socio-cultural factors eventually build social relationships, for example, having landlord and renter relationships or opposing the new developments with the other neighbors, and those lead to three plausible options. *How* those forces interact, and how it results for the neighborhood are the important questions to examine to see the future of the neighborhood.
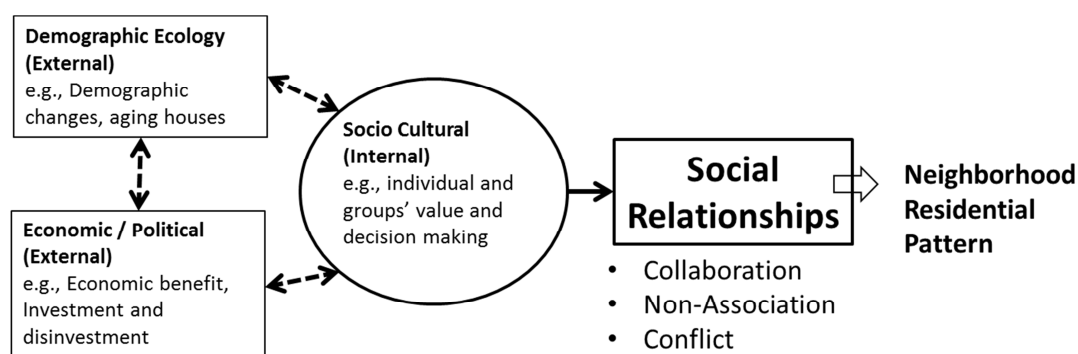
Figure 4. Relation of Neighborhood Change Approaches

For Greektown in Baltimore city, because it has been a place for Greek immigrants since late twentieth century and is now accepting (experiencing) a new wave of immigrants from mostly

Latin American countries, how the residents there build relationships also depend on how the immigrants assimilate into the society or not. They carry their own culture and values to make various decisions including whom they associate with. The socio-cultural approach needs to be elaborated with the immigrants' assimilation theories. The attention to culture, meanings, and values as influences on residential choices is the main concern in this study, and the immigrants' communities can present the importance of those.

2.2: Immigrant Assimilation and Residential Choice

The term "assimilation" can be construed in many ways and has been discussed over time. In the early twentieth century, Park & Burgess (1921) defined the assimilation as:

A process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experiences and history, is incorporated with them in a common cultural life. (p.735)

It is somehow vague about what "common cultural life" is and suggests that this is a natural process when people land in the new place. The classic picture of assimilation is, instead, those who come to the new land are eventually absorbed into new land's norms and culture. Its connotation is that those immigrants' ethnic culture brought with them is an obstacle to advance the society that was

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largely constructed by Whites and Protestants (Warner & Srole, 1945). Although many

acknowledge that this cannot describe the condition for the contemporary immigrants (Gans, 1992;

Massey, 1995; Perlmann & Waldinger, 1997; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997b; Zhou & Lee,

2007), Alba & Nee (1997) argue that the concept of "assimilation" still needs to be considered with

an amendment—assimilation as "the decline, and at its endpoint the disappearance, of an

ethnic/racial distinction and the cultural and social differences that express it" (p.865.) In this sense,

the assimilation is defined as how the ethnic groups are dissolved without arguing whether

"minority" and 'sub-stream" has to assimilate to "majority" and "mainstream" The dissolution

means that they speak the host country's language, have similar educations, and live with those who

are not from their ethnic groups. The inter-ethnic/racial marriage can be ultimate form of the

assimilation.

Although language, education, residential location and marriage are important indicators

of the immigrants' assimilation level, what often is missed is the role of their social daily lives.

Whom they associate with in various spheres of life, such as in the school or in the neighborhood,

and how they build social relationships are the basis of how they acquire the skills such as a

language, and learn the social systems such as where they should go if they need a particular

document. It is not just measured by the spatial proximately; rather, it is more of social networks

and inter and intra-group relationships. If the children of the immigrants attend local schools and associate with friends who are not in their ethnic group, they learn the language and are culturally influenced by those friends and vice versa. The social relationships can lead to close-friendships or inter-racial/ethnic marriages. A consequence of marriage and forming inter-ethnic families is the ultimate evidence that immigrants no longer belong to a particular ethnic group. The social relationships also influence their self-identification. Interaction with friends, colleagues, and people in the neighborhood greatly influence people to identify who they are in the new society. Eventually, those assimilation processes make the immigrants decide whether to live in either an ethnic enclave or a non-ethnic neighborhood. Many immigrants, especially those who come to the United States with few assets, initially live in ethnic enclaves to obtain the necessary assistance to survive in the new country. Then, once they learn the language, understand the social systems, and build social relationships with the other groups, they potentially have options to leave the enclaves. Therefore, immigrant assimilation based on social relationships affects how neighborhoods change. Immigrants' rapid influx in Greektown illuminates how the residents interact with the others who has the different culture, and build new social relationships that greatly influence how the neighborhood changes—whether it becomes confrontational and one group takes over the neighborhood, stays diverse but without much interaction, or becomes more collaborative to make

the neighborhood better for all. Therefore, paying attention to the social interactions and relationships on the assimilation process is essential to understanding this immigration-led diverse neighborhood.

The next section introduces two theories of assimilation that were developed in accordance with two waves of immigrants influx: the second wave of mostly European immigrants in the late 19th century and early Twentieth Century, and the third wave of mostly Latin and Asian immigrants that started after the immigration reform in 1968. Their different assimilation paths depend on the various relationships that they built in their new place that lead to different neighborhood conditions.

2.2.1: Straight-Line Assimilation

In the early twentieth century, the massive influx of immigrants from Europe raised a concern: Would these new immigrants eventually assimilate into the wider American society. Park (1929) and the Chicago School of Sociology argued that those inherited ethnic traits would eventually disappear with time and generations, and those immigrants would eventually look just the same as the mainstream. They see it as a natural process that all immigrants go through.

Gordon (1964) elaborates on the process in his classic book, *Assimilation in American*

Life, that the first generation immigrants, who were mostly low-skilled and with no assets, arrive in a new land and adopt the cultural pattern of the host society (acculturation), and are gradually assimilated to the whole society by joining the majority's organizations and institutions (structural assimilation[i]). Identification assimilation[ii] occurs in the end when immigrants' descendants identify themselves as a full-member of the host society, not their historical identification such as Jews, Italians, and Polish. This Straight-Line assimilation model assumes that as time passes, the immigrants and their descendants will eventually be assimilated into mainstream America, socioeconomically, culturally, and spatially It means that although the pace could be varied (Alba, 1995; Alba & Nee, 2003; Bean & Stevens, 2003), all the dimensions of assimilation should be eventually achieved by the time several generations pass, and immigrant generations abandon their old ethnic identity. The important assumption here is that those processes are only true insofar as the newcomers are allowed into the established organizations and are accepted by the host society. The model assumes that after almost a hundred years, and the descendants of those second wave immigrants are no longer distinguishable, they lose their ethnic characteristics. Because of the anti-immigration laws in the early twentieth century that stopped the influx, most European immigrants are in same cohort groups and have gone through similar social experiences in the United States, namely, industrialization, several wars, depression, post-industrialization, and rapid suburban

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development with prevailing use of the automobile. Therefore, it can be assumed that their choices

of residence may be similar in many ways. In addition, this model also assumes that all immigrants

wish to be 'Americans,' and the 'American culture' is the one to be absorbed. The inheriting culture

is not what they should keep as it may disturb the process of assimilation into genuine Americans.

With this assumption, the kinds of neighborhoods that immigrants live in can be

determined simply by time and on-going generations. The Chicago School presents the following

flow in relation to the immigrant's assimilation and the neighborhood: First immigrants settle in

ethnic enclaves in inner cities. Then, their children who obtained a higher socioeconomic status than

their parents moved out from the enclaves to the suburbs that are most likely ethnically diverse but

socioeconomically and often racially homogeneous, and the concentration of a particular ethnic

group decreases in inner cities over time. Figure 5 presents this straight line model of how the

immigrants' residential choice changes as time and generation pass.
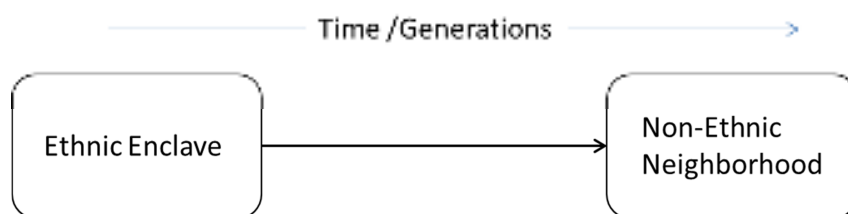
Figure 5. Neighborhood Choices with Straight Line model

Although some still support the straight-line model—for example, Alba (1995) insists the model is largely applicable but with uneven pace, and Gans (1992) describes the process as "bumpy-line" but still insists immigrants eventually reach to the complete assimilation level—, the new wave of immigrants from Latin and Asian countries presents different patterns that need alternative frameworks to examine how they assimilate or not assimilate into the society; hence how they choose the residential environment.

2.2.2: Segmented Assimilation

The contemporary immigrants' assimilation process is not as simple and straightforward as assimilation once was. Portes & Zhou (1993) point out three new phenomena that have not been seen in the past; first, persistent ethnic traits over the generations that are found among immigrants families, second, that the following generation may not do better than the first, but may even decline economically and socially; third, that some immigrant's groups, especially noticeable among some from Asian countries, skip the traditional order of assimilation and directly settle into middle class lifestyles with higher education and financial assets from the home countries.

As a result, scholars can no longer explain well those "anomalies" with the straight line model and need to seek an alternative framework to look at the immigrants' assimilation patterns.

Scholars now argue that the processes and degrees of assimilation can be widely varied (Alba,

Logan, Lutz, & Stults, 2002; Frey, 1996; Rumbaut & Portes, 2001), and that the processes depend

on economic and educational levels prior to their arrival to the United States, i.e., whether

immigrants bring financial assets and high educational attainment such as a college degree; the

economic conditions in the United States at the time of their arrival as to whether the United States

can provide ample economic opportunities for newcomers; the size of their ethnic group already

existing in the United States and whether there are established ethnic networks to help, or hinder

their upward mobility; and, often, skin color, as to whether they have a more similar appearance

with the majority population (Massey, 1995; Waters & Jiménez, 2005).

Under those conditions, scholars formulate an alternative way to explain the assimilation

process; the segmented assimilation theory suggests that the contemporary immigrants may

assimilate into a segment of this highly stratified society (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Rumbaut & Portes,

2001). Zhou (1997a) finds that the different structural conditions in the current society—widening

gap between rich and poor, persistent concentration of the poverty, and increasing one-parent

family—limit the advancement opportunities for those children of immigrants, especially for a

racial minority with low socioeconomic status. The immigrants' descendants are "ascending into the

ranks of a prosperous middle class or join in large numbers the ranks of a racialized, permanently

impoverished population at the bottom of society" (Portes, Fernández-Kelly, & Haller, 2005, p.1004).

They often live in segregated areas and their experiences at the deteriorating schools and the friends on the streets are their American life to be adapted, which could be different from those of the middle-class life that the straight-line Model assumed. Waters (1994) illustrates the varied self-identification claimed by the West Indian and Haitian second generation immigrants in New York City. Some identify themselves as just Black Americans and feel that they have limited upward mobility in the society due to discrimination to people with darker skin color. While another identification clearly draws the lines between Black Americans and themselves, stating that they are West Indians and maintain their ethnic identity from their parents' home country. For them, maintaining strong ethnic identity and not becoming simply "Americans" could prevent them from being stigmatized at the bottom of the social stratum. The patterns that contemporary immigrants follow to assimilate into the society can be categorized as follows: 1) abandoning the cultural traits and leaving the ethnic community, 2) being trapped in the ethnic communities spatially and economically and not being able to advance into the larger society, 3) keeping their identification as a part of immigrants' community while they try to advance in the society (Rumbaut & Portes, 2001).

Their assimilation patterns are closely tied to how they interact with the others and how the others in the society see them. In the case of the first pattern, they interact with the other groups and the others accept them as a part of their society. What has to be emphasized here is that this process needs the existing community to accept and allow them to be a part of them. In the second case, due to the denial from being a part of the main stream society in the form of persistent discrimination and poverty, the newcomers do not interact with the other groups and are often trapped in ethnic enclaves that result in the limited economic and social opportunities. Water's case that the West Indian Black youth are consistently exposed to the society that sees them as just "black youth" with negative connotation restrain them from interacting with the other groups in positive ways (Waters, 1994). For the last pattern, while they maintain the connection to their own ethnic groups, they also interact with the other groups to seek the opportunities. The Water's study present that maintaining ethnic identity as West Indians and the feeling of belonging prevent them from fitting in and they are stigmatized in the bottom of the society.

Through this identification process by social interactions, they make various unconscious and conscious decisions to place themselves in a certain segment of society. With this condition, time and generation do not automatically move the immigrants to non-ethnic neighborhoods, as was the assumption of the Straight-Line Model. Rather, what kind of neighborhood they live in depends

on the relationships with others. In Figure 6, as time and generations pass, people who originally

settled down into ethnic enclaves interact with the members and non-members of their groups (in

the grey shaded box labeled "Social Relations") and took several paths: being forced to stay there,

staying there voluntarily, or moving to a non-ethnic neighborhood. For those who directly settle

down in the non-ethnic neighborhood (due to their socioeconomic status brought from the home

countries) they also interact with the members and non-members of their group, and decide

voluntarily to live in the ethnic neighborhood as they see the economic and/or social merits of

staying with the members, or stay in those neutral neighborhoods.
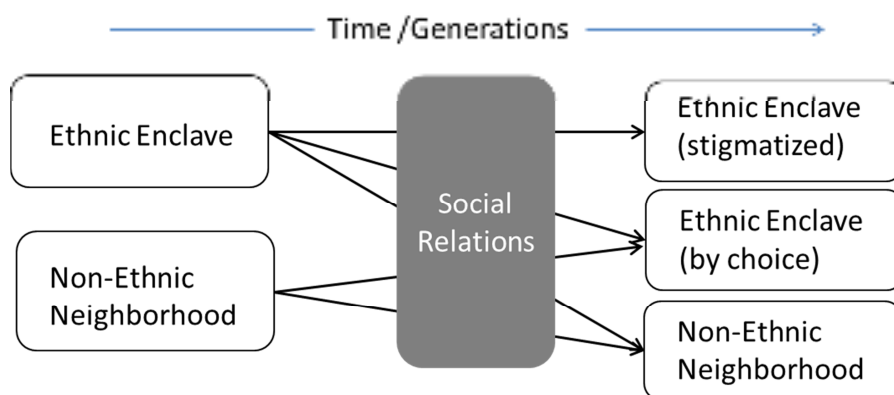
Figure 6. Neighborhood Choices—Contemporary Immigrants

To understand where they live and how they assimilate into the society, looking at what kind of

social relationships are built and maintained is essential.

2.3: Need of Hybrid Model

The segmented assimilation theory suggests that immigrants with various backgrounds – race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, education, religious, family value – come to the United States, encounter existing neighbors, and interact with them to find where they position themselves. Although their various decisions are influenced by external factors such as global economy, the socio-cultural factors are important for the immigrants who carry their own culture and try to adapt to or deny the new culture they are facing every day. Many of the old European immigrants settled in newly built houses that were conveniently located walking distance from factories and shipyards in the late 19th century/early twentieth century. As a result, they encountered other immigrants who were also new to the United States, while the contemporary immigrants move into already-built existing neighborhoods where there have been residents who are often ethnically and generationally different, just like Greektown in Baltimore. Therefore, it is increasingly important to examine their residential locations as it matters as how to determine whom they associate with and how and which parts of the society they assimilate to. And, which path that immigrants take also matters to how the neighborhood evolves. It is not one-way; rather the neighborhood changes and immigrants' assimilation influence each other.

One of few studies that examines the social relationships between the newly arrived

immigrants and longtime residents is the study by Hernandez-Leon & Zuniga (2000) about a small

city in the Southern part of the Unites States. They find that despite the fact that longtime residents

had no experience with immigrants, the neighborhood was relatively successful in receiving them

because this particular neighborhood always had low-skilled workers (although they were native-

born Americans) from the outside the city since the late 19th century, and this historic context of

having social relationships with the new and different groups of people as a familiar matter for the

local residents makes the longtime residents accept the recent immigrants relatively smoothly.

While the study gives us a great insight into what is happening between new and longtime residents

in non-traditional immigrants' gateways[iii], its focus is limited to how longtime residents accept the

new group. How the immigrants adapted and modified their way of life based on their experiences

in this small city was not discussed well.

Maly (2005) discusses the two types of the social integration in the neighborhood: one is

"one-way" where basically newcomers accept the receiving community's norms and values, and the

second is "two-way" where both the receiving community and the newcomers find the new

definition of the neighborhood. The first type assumes that the receiving community does not

change at all and the newcomers just accept everything there. In reality, even in the case that the

newcomers try to accept and accommodate the longtime residents' values and customs, the

existence of the newcomers certainly has some impact on the neighborhood. Whether it is an action like greeting, talking to, or contesting the newcomers, or it is something in their minds like fear, resentment, or favor, the longtime residents cannot ignore what is going on around them. In this sense, all the neighborhood changes should be considered as two-way, and therefore the research should pay attention to the interactions and relationships among residents and what the consequences of the relationships bring. With the influx of new immigrants, who carry clearly different cultures, longtime residents react, but also new residents react to their neighbors and their environment, and how they adjust, accept, reject each other's values and customs, these two-way negotiations occur. It is not just a reaction, but the negotiation that influences each other, creates the new social ties in the neighborhood that affects how the neighborhood changes over the time within the Socio-cultural approach of neighborhood changes.

The interactions can be hostile, harmonious, or "hunkering down" (Putnam, 2007), and influence the people's decision as to whether they contest (conflict), stay distant (non-association), or do something together (collaboration.) In order to look at the neighborhoods that are accepting new immigrants, the new hybrid model that pays attention to the social relationship by all groups of residents (Figure 7) is needed.
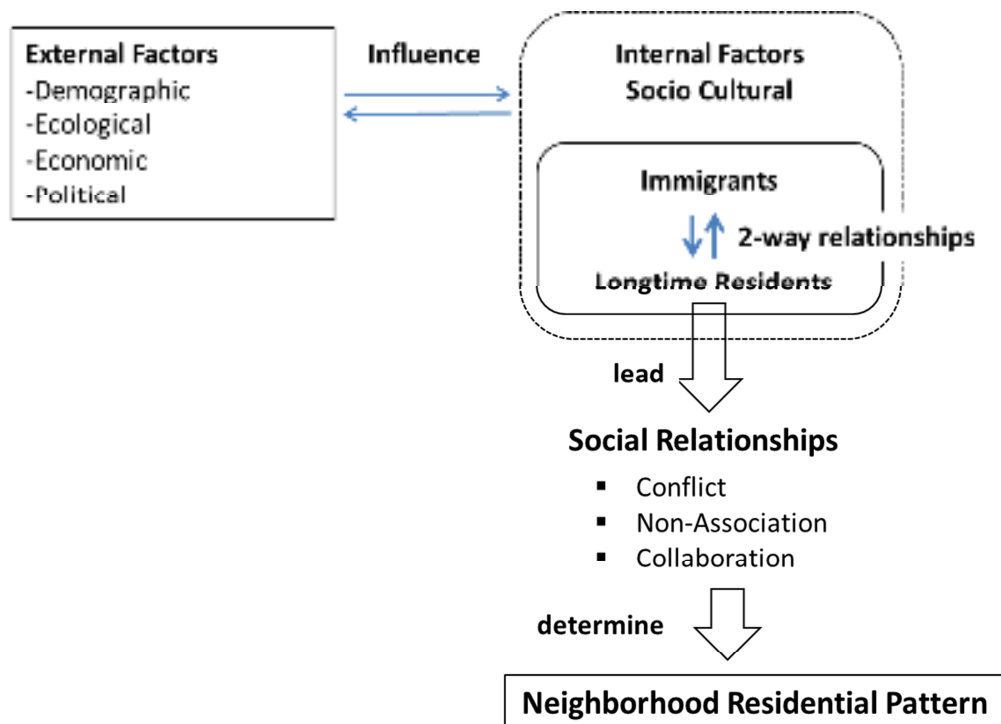
Figure 7. New Hybrid Model

2.3.1: Multidimensional Interaction

Assimilation theories also pay great attention to generational differences – how the second, third and the later generations react and adapt to the new culture in their birth-country, United States, while their parents and grandparents grow up in the home country. Going back to the time of massive European immigration, (Hansen, 1938) insisted in his essay, "The Problem of the Third Generation Immigrant" that the paths that European immigrants took are more culturally nuanced and varied in generations than the straight-line model that assumes the one-way assimilation. He observed that the second generation "wanted to forget everything" (p. 7) about

their parents' cultural heritage, including language and religion, and become "Americanized," while

the third generation "wish to remember" (p. 9) what their parents abandoned to find out who they

are. More recently, as discussed, the segmented assimilation theory is introduced to present that

those second and later generations take various paths—either completely assimilating into

American society and losing their ethnic characteristics, being trapped in their ethnic communities,

or maintaining their ethnic identity while advancing in the society (Perlmann & Waldinger, 1997;

Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Waters, 1994).

Because of the continuous influx of new immigrants, there are many different generations

of immigrants who possess different socio-cultural attitudes and human/social capital could exist in

a same neighborhood. The negotiation between different ethnic groups can be more complicated by

encompassing those generationally different members inside the group. As in the case of

Greektown, often, the second generation Latino immigrant has a different attitude toward native-

born non-Latino Americans, whom they often grow up with, that was not the case for their parents'

generation. Later generations of Greeks who still maintain the strong ethnic identity understand that

hardship of immigration, as they have heard the stories from parents and grandparents. Second

generations of Greeks and new residents who are young professionals may feel that it is easy to

communicate each other due to their high educational attainment.

Therefore, this study assumes the individual's particular attributes such as his/her generation, education, socio-economic status, family type, religion affiliation, and sexual orientation work to build social relationships among different groups within the socio-cultural framework. Close attention is paid to see which attributes are used to tie together the members of the different groups.

Primarily, the research is designed to understand the negotiation among different groups of people in the neighborhood through the multifaceted attributes including immigrants' assimilation patterns. The negotiations result in various kinds of social relationships, and eventually bring changes to the neighborhood. This study sheds light on this contemporary urban neighborhood—racially, ethnically, generationally, and socio-economically diverse and rapidly changing neighborhood—and illustrates the various social relationships that could tell us the future of the neighborhood. Understanding this neighborhood could lead important implication for the future of all transforming and diverse neighborhoods.

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[i] It means that the large portion of the newcomers is accepted to the organizations such as merchant associations and social clubs. It also suggests that they start to share the power in the society by taking those positions.

[ii] According to Gordon (1964), it means that the newcomers, often immigrants, develop the "sense of

peoplehood" that is the feeling of belonging exclusively to the dominant culture, rather than their ancestor's.

[iii] Unlike traditional gateways such as New York, Chicago and Los Angeles, some cities in the United States had had no experiences having immigrants in the past, but now they are receiving many new immigrants (Singer, 2004)

CHAPTER 3: CASE

Greektown in Baltimore City, Maryland, as the name shows, has been a home for Greek immigrants and their descendants since the early twentieth century. Saint Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church is situated in the middle of the neighborhood, and some well-known Greek restaurants and retail shops are there. During the day, Greek men sit down at tables inside and outside of the coffee shops, which are the social clubs for Greek men, while Greek women chat on the street. However, the scenery changes in the late afternoon when the local public school, John Ruhrah Elementary and Middle School, finishes up for the day. The street becomes full of Latino children and their mothers who are picking up their children. At the night, the Hispanic bar, Latino-owned, where Latino men gathered after the work, opens up and plays Latino music. Other young residents come back from their work or dinner with friends, and take their dogs for a walk to the beautifully-trimmed green space within their newly-built housing development. This is now a home for diverse groups of people, Greeks, Latinos, and young professionals, and they all share this small neighborhood.

Greektown is located in Baltimore City, one of the postindustrial cities that once enjoyed a thriving manufacturing economy and vibrant European immigrant's communities in the city center, but then experienced several years of a declining economy and loss of population. While the local

governments of those cities have been making efforts to regain population and tax base, some cities have started to see the re-bump by having an influx of immigrants from non-European countries (Singer, 2004). Greektown in Baltimore City is one example of those cases; while Greeks maintain their strong presence in the neighborhood by keeping the Greek Orthodox Church in the center along with Greek retail shops, Greektown is now rapidly accepting immigrants mainly from Latin American countries. . They are mostly young families living in rental houses in Greektown. This neighborhood contains both first and third waves of immigrants.

The neighborhood is also showing signs of gentrification; an influx of people with higher-income into the existing neighborhood through the rehabilitating of old houses (Glass, 1964) and/or investment for the newly built residential developments (Smith, 1979). Coincidentally, the reasons for this phenomenon and Latino immigrants' influx are, in some parts, similar; the location is convenient to the city center and affordable houses are available. Certainly what "convenient" and "affordable" mean is different for each group. For example, gentrifiers see that the location is very close to the highway to their offices and to the restaurants and bars in the city center because many of them have cars and can enjoy the entertainment that the city offers. On the other hand, Latinos see that the neighborhood is good because it is served by public transportation and close to the other Latino communities. Nevertheless, it is certain that what the neighborhood can offer attracts the

new residents who are different from longtime residents ethnically, socioeconomically, and generationally. It is not just a unique case in Baltimore City. We have seen many other urban areas that are seeing an influx of new populations into the old and otherwise-declining neighborhoods (Singer, 2004). Therefore, this case provides a ground to understand how those diverse groups interact, negotiate with each other and create a new identity within the urban neighborhoods.

3.1: Baltimore City

3.1.1: European Immigrants

Before talking about Greektown in detail, it is important to touch upon the history of Baltimore as Greektown's formation and transition are, obviously, closely linked to it. Baltimore's history began in the 17th Century as a small coastal village with fewer than a hundred houses, and the city actually had kept its size until global trade and manufacturing started to prosper in the late eighteenth century. Since then, the city had grown with an uneven pace, which historian Sherry H. Olson described as "Rhythms of Growth" in her book *"Baltimore"* (1997). Throughout its contemporary history, Baltimore has received various groups of people in different times and volume. The location and geography of Baltimore – a natural port for trading, falls and streams for

manufacturing, and location between the South and the North – has attracted people from other

parts of the United States and the world. Germans were the largest immigrant group since the

beginning of the city's development in the 19th century. In the 1830s and 1840s, Baltimore received

57 sailing vessels, 50% more than New York did, and the ships brought almost 6,000 passengers

from Bremen, Germany (Keith, 1982, 2005). The Irish followed them, and later Eastern European

Jews and Poles arrived. Baltimore was the third largest immigrants' gateway into the United States,

next to Ellis Island in New York and Boston, by accepting 1.5 million immigrants during the 1821-

1914[i] period. Many of them first arrived at Locust Point dock by steamships, and continued their

journeys to cities like Pittsburgh and Cincinnati by the B & O Railroad while the rest stayed in

Baltimore. For those who stayed in Baltimore, every ethnic group built their own churches,

established social organizations, and printed newspapers in their languages.

3.1.2: The City of Racially and Socioeconomically Divided Neighborhoods

In addition to the European immigrants, African Americans[ii] have been present in

Baltimore since the early history of the city, and it included a considerable number of free African

Americans even before the Civil War. The 1850 federal census counted 25,441 free Blacks, 15% of

Baltimore's total population[iii]. The state of Maryland had the largest number of free Blacks, more

than any state in 1830, and 30% of them were in Baltimore. As one of slave states whose economy

was closely tied to slavery, but at the same time due to the location of Baltimore that is adjacent to

the Northern States, the city had complicated attitudes toward the existence of the African American

community before, during and even after the Civil War. Baum (2010) illustrates it as:

The city's border position, mixing Northern tolerance with Southern customs, created

greater ambiguity about race relations than found farther South and made Whites

(particularly the working class) anxiously uncertain about their status, with the result that

Whites imposed stricter segregation than in many other places. (p24)

Baltimore was the first American city to establish racial zoning restrictions passed by the

council in 1911 to restrict where Blacks could live, and that remained active until 1948 when the

Shelly vs. Kramer case outlawed restrictive covenants in the United States. The housing market that

was backed by the discriminatory legislation and covenants created a clear demarcation by race,

ethnicity, religion and class in Baltimore city, and it often evoked conflicts when a group tried to

cross the line. The harsh competition and conflicts over housing and jobs between African

Americans and Whites were the basis of the modern history of Baltimore (Pietila, 2010).

Baltimoreans have, therefore, historically thought of geography as socially defined by a

combination of race, ethnicity, religion, and class. Although some of those lines started to be

blurred, Baltimore is still a racially, ethnically and socioeconomically divided city, and each neighborhood has a strong identity as it is often described as "The City of the Neighborhoods." Greektown is not an exception and has maintained its homogeneous population—mostly Greeks and their descendants who were the White working class –until recently.

The racial segregation is still prominent in Baltimore and the divide between African Americans and Whites remains wide. Creating diverse and vibrant neighborhoods has been advocated and tried, yet the reality still reflects many challenges. The diverse neighborhood is, therefore, still new to Baltimore. People are not used to living in vibrant diverse neighborhoods. The fact that some neighborhoods including Greektown, started to accept a large volume of "the other" who are neither Black nor White, is a test for this city.

3.1.3: Latino Immigrants in Baltimore

While the relationships between African Americans and Whites are always issues in Baltimore City, the Latino population had never been a large group until recently. In 1920, the number of the Spanish speaking population, not specified if they came from Spain or other countries, was only 322 of a total of more than a 700,000 population (Carpenter, 1927). In the 1980s, Cubans who fled from their country arrived alongside of Guatemalans and Salvadorians who

escaped from the civil wars (Olesker, 2001). However the Baltimore's Latino population stayed

relatively low, until recently. The 2000 census reported that there were approximately 10,000 Latin

American-born immigrants living in the city, that is 1.7% of the total population in Baltimore City,

and that jumped to 4.2% in the 2010 Census. The most recent American Community Survey (ACS)

2014 projects that a total of 27,751 Hispanics, 4.5% of total population, are in the city. It is still a

small number compared to those in large Latino destinations; however, the pace is rapid, and due to

the concentration of the population in certain places such as Southeast Baltimore, it is more visible

in some neighborhoods than in the rest of the city (Figure 8).

The reasons for the recent boost of Latino immigrants can be explained by a national

trend of an increasing Latino population. However, many could wonder why they chose to come to

Baltimore now. Unlike Los Angeles, Chicago or some cities in southern border states, Baltimore

had had no significant Latino community existing until recently, and the city's economy is still

stigmatized after the main industries such as shipbuilding and manufacturing disappeared—

Baltimore's unemployment rate stayed at 7.0% in 2014 while the national average dropped to 4.8%.

One of the reasons is Baltimore's pro-immigrant policy since 2012. The former mayor of

Baltimore, Stephanie Rawlings-Blake, repeatedly said that Baltimore City welcomes immigrants.

Although the number of Latino immigrants started to come earlier than her statement, the influx of

Latinos has accelerated since then. Some Latino leaders, however, believe that the city can do more—hiring more Latino city officers, assisting Latino businesses, and helping to obtain mortgages. The Mayor's policy encourages Latinos to move to Baltimore rather than other cities and states that impose stricter legislation for immigrants, especially those who came without proper documents. Another reason can be the lower living costs and availability of low-waged jobs. In 2015, 4.1% of the Latino population was domestic migrants from other states such as New York. Those cities usually have higher living costs than Baltimore does; for example, living in Baltimore costs only two thirds of that in New York City[iv]. A leader of a Latino organization pointed out that due to the relatively small number of Latinos in the city with the condition that low-waged job such as in construction and service sectors still available, the competition for jobs among Latinos is lower than those already-established and large Latino cities. Decisions of where people migrate is a complex process, and no single reason can explain it, but those economic reasons (affordable living cost and jobs with low competition) are strong while the city's policy on immigration gives them assurance. It is clear that Baltimore's Latino population is increasing every year, especially in Southeast Baltimore including Greektown. Although the Latino population in the city is still under 5% in 2010 Census, , their growth is more visible in Southeast Baltimore than in other areas due to the concentration of them in those neighborhoods (**Figure 8**).
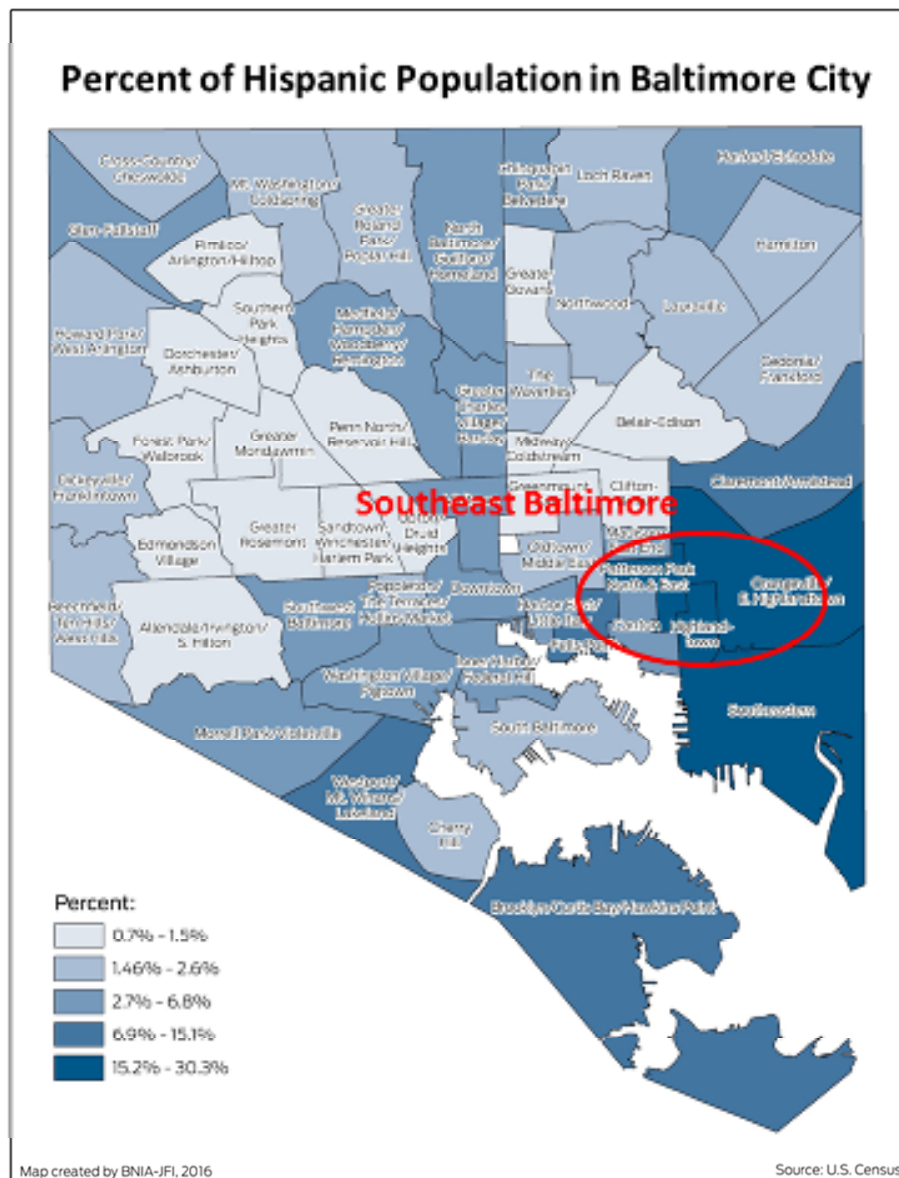
Figure 8. Map: Baltimore City, Latino Concentration

Created by Baltimore Neighborhood Indicators Alliance[v]

3.1.4: Baltimore City as a Divided City

In 2012, at the First Symposium on the Social Determinants of Health hosted by Johns Hopkins University, keynote speaker, Amartya Sen[vi], addressed the inequality in Baltimore and dramatic differences in neighborhoods that exist side by side.

> *Only six miles separate the Baltimore neighborhoods of Roland Park and Hollins Market, yet the residents of Roland Park can expect to live 20 years longer on average than their counterparts in Hollins Market.* [vii]

As the quote shows, and I have discussed in the previous section, Baltimore is still divided by race, ethnicity and class. In some areas, the lines have been blurred, but some have become even clearer. The influx of new populations to a neighborhood creates tension, as is always the case for anywhere, but in Baltimore, due to the distinct neighborhood characteristics that each neighborhood has, the tension often becomes crystallized. When a member of a particular group crosses a neighborhood boundary (the manifestation of race, ethnicity and class boundary) that they did not belong to, it is very visible in Baltimore. This study in Greektown tries to illustrate the new social relationships among old and new residents, who are different in ethnicity, class and generation, to examine whether the new dynamics in the small neighborhood has led to a diverse yet collaborative neighborhood or not.

3.2: Greektown

3.2.1: Geography

Greektown is located in Southeast Baltimore, a few miles from Inner Harbor and Downtown (Figure 9) where the major business activities happen. Right after passing the underpass from downtown onto Eastern Avenue to the Johns Hopkins Bayview Campus—the main business street that runs East and West (Figure 10), we see the blue and white Greek flags (Figure 11), Greek-themed mural (Figure 12), and the signage welcoming people to the neighborhood.

The neighborhood of Greektown is surrounded by former industrial sites that are under the discussion of redevelopment with various stages. Because of their large areas and the location—at the periphery t of the neighborhood—, it is not difficult to imagine the impact on the future of the neighborhood. For example, east of the neighborhood (shown as "Pemco Site" on Figure 10) is the former industrial site that was owned by Pemco International Group of Companies[viii] and was used to produce porcelain enamel and ceramic glaze coatings that could include harmful pigments remaining on the site. After the company moved the factory to Alabama, the site was fenced off due to the hazardous materials. This place has been under discussion for redevelopment as mixed-use

facilities by a private developer since 2013, but at this moment, no concrete plans have been

revealed. There are also several other former and current industrial sites on the South side of the

neighborhood. Those sites (shown as "new residential developments in the Figure 10) have been

redeveloped due to the proximity of the gentrified areas such as Canton and Fells Point. A new

shopping mall called Canton Crossing was built in Canton in 2012 with large anchor retail stores

such as Target (not shown in Figure 10). A wholesale store, BJ's, followed them at a nearby location

in 2015. On the East side, between Highlandtown and Greektown, there is a former Crown Cork

and Seal site (shown as "Cork and Seal Site" on Figure 10). The company left there in 1987 and

moved their manufacturing factory to the suburbs, yet several old buildings are still standing that

are now used for light manufacturing by small businesses and artists' studios. The site is also under

discussion of redevelopment by Baltimore's Southeast Community Development Corporation

(Southeast CDC) as affordable housing and retail property although the schedule has not been

revealed by the Southeast CDC at the time of this writing.

Figure 9. Map: Baltimore City, Surrounding Neighborhoods

Figure 10. Map: Greektown

Figure 11. Greektown –Existing Neighborhood

Figure 12. Greektown -Mural

The neighborhood of Greektown is surrounded by former industrial sites that are under the

discussion of redevelopment with various stages. Because of their large areas and the location—at

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The highway (I-895) runs under the bridges in the middle of the neighborhood (shown as "highway" on Figure 10), and another major highway is located southeast of the neighborhood. The location of the highways is a great sales point for the new development, as it connects the neighborhoods to Baltimore County, Washington, D.C., and other major cities in the Northeast. CSX operates the commercial railway (shown as "rail way" on Figure 10) and the railroad separates Greektown from other neighborhoods as well as causing noise issues for some parts of the neighborhood.

Those former industrial sites, railways, and highways make the neighborhood feel somehow isolated from the other parts of Baltimore City. From Highlandtown, which has a vibrant Latino community, a large Catholic church, public library, retail shops, and several social organizations such as Southeast CDC, people have to go through a dark underpass in order to reach to Greektown. Many people in the neighborhood expressed safety concerns, especially if they walk or bike. The State of Maryland had a plan to build light rail, Red Line, which could have improved the connection between Greektown to Highlandtown, and further West of the city and Baltimore County. A transit station was planned to be built near the Crown Cork and Seal site that was to include redesigning the underpass. However, State funding for the project was cancelled in 2015 after the new governor, Larry Hogan, took office, and no further plan is being discussed at this moment[x].

This small and rather isolated neighborhood in a post-industrial city has been witnessing various changes, especially in its demographics. The influx of the new population, Latino immigrants as well as the residents in those new developments certainly make this neighborhood ethnically, socioeconomically, generationally diverse. The following sections illustrate the background of those different groups of people.

3.2.2: Demography in Greektown

Greektown in Baltimore is a neighborhood with approximately 4,000 residents at the time

of the research. According to the Baltimore City's neighborhood data[xi] based on the 2010 Census,

the population has increased 11.7% from 2000 despite the fact that the White population, including

Greeks, has continued to decline by 12%. This is largely because of the increase of the Latino

population, which was only 5.6% in 2000, but 35.2% in 2010 in Greekltown. In other words, the

number of Latinos increased from 185 to 1,308 in only ten years. Figure 13 shows how the racial

composition has changed over fifty years in census tracts 2607 (Figure 14), that is the only census

tract can be traced back to the 1960s[xii]. Due to this rapid influx of Latino population, the

neighborhood has developed greater ethnic diversity than at any time in its history. In addition to

the racial and ethnic diversity, as most of Latinos are young, the age composition has changed

dramatically. For example, the population of 25-34 year olds was 429 in 2000, but it was 844 in

2010, almost double the earlier number.

The median household income is estimated at $35,703, which is 10% lower than that of

the whole of Baltimore City. It may be related to the increase of the population with lower

educational attainment, as only 8.2% of residents have a bachelor's or higher degrees, and almost

40% of them finish with less than a 9th-grade education in 2006-2010 American Community

Survey (ACS.) However, in 2009-2014 ACS, persons with a graduate or professional degree increased from 40 to 137, mainly in the area where the new developments are located. Accordingly, in the census tract 2607, where the new developments are included, the mean income increased from $46,739 to $56,673.

Those numbers present several facts; 1) Latinos (Hispanic), mostly younger generations, started moving into Greektown since 2000 and the pace is rapid, 2) Non-Hispanic White population (including) Greeks kept declining in 2010, 3) however, after 2010, the new residents (majority Whites) in the newly-built development started to move in as the incomes and educational attainment in the American Community Survey in 2015 indicates. Those facts tell us that since 2000, Greektown has become a place for many diverse groups—decreasing Greeks, growing Latinos immigrants and new residents with a higher socioeconomic status.
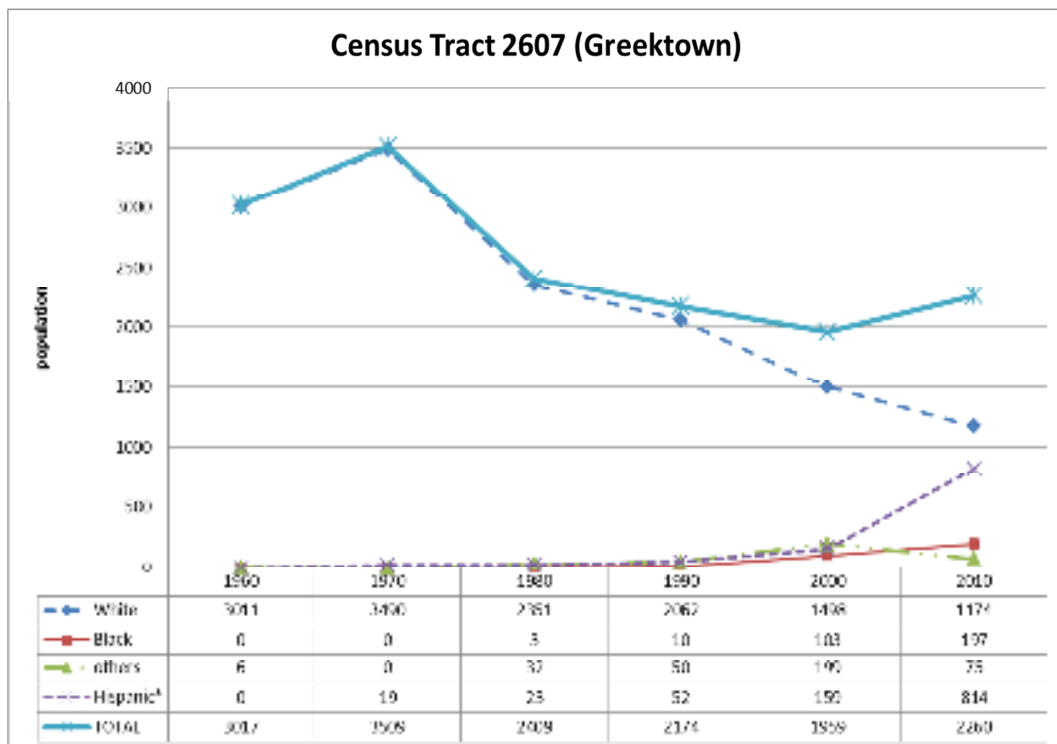
Figure 13. Total population from 1960 to 2010 - Census tract 2607
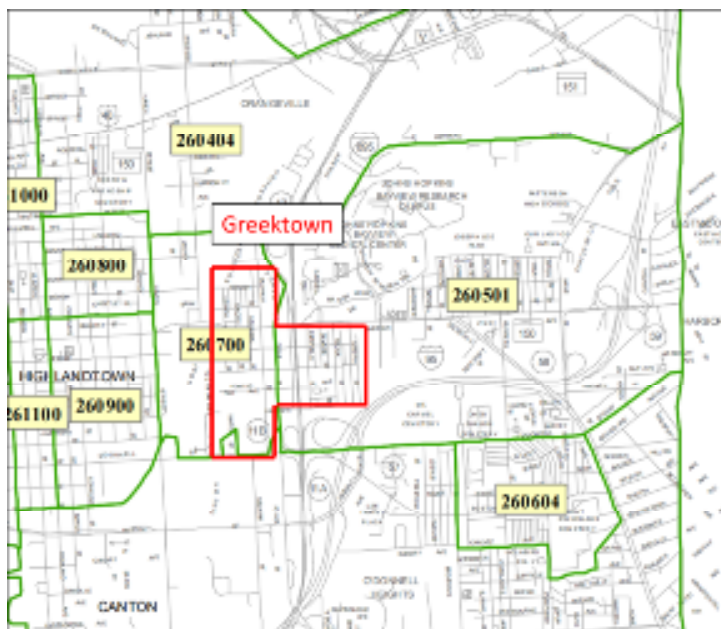
Figure 14. Map: Greektown, Census Tracts and Neighborhood Boundary

3.2.2.1: Greeks

The neighborhood has been a home for Greeks since the late 19th century, and it was one of the largest Greek neighborhoods in North America.[xiii] The 860 residents, estimated to be Greek descendants who are almost 25% of all Greeks in Baltimore City, are concentrated in this small neighborhood (2006-2010 ACS).

The first Greeks arrived in Baltimore in the mid-19th Century after the Greek War of Independence (1821-1829), but their numbers remained relatively small. In the 1890s, due to severe economic distress in Greece, Greeks who were mostly peasants left the country and started to arrive in Baltimore. In 1920, there were 699 Greek-speaking people in Baltimore, and in 1940, the number grew to 1,193. They initially worked in shipyards and factories, and started to settle down in Southeast Baltimore. Generally, similar to some earlier immigrants from other countries, many of the first Greek immigrants were men with plans to return to their home country once they had earned enough money. However, as time went by, they started to settle down. Greek men often went back to Greece and got married with Greek women there, and then brought them to the United States. In the 1950s the concentration of Greeks in Southeast Baltimore was prominent, and the need to build their own church and Greek school in the neighborhood arose. In 1952, after active fundraising, the St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church was built in its current location. The attached

Greek school provides after-school programs and Sunday school to the children of Greek immigrants to teach them language, history of Greece, dance and other subjects to maintain their cultural heritage, and now has more than 100 students. The church also hosts important fund raising events such as Greek Festivals that provide opportunities for Greeks in the region—many are from out of the city—to get together.

Unlike the other European immigrants whose immigration to the United States was curtailed after the 1929 Immigration law, the Greek community in Baltimore was slowly but steadily growing in the 1950s and 1960s due to the economic depression in Greece. From 1,193 in 1940, the population grew to 2,693 in 2000.[xiv] As a result, there has been a consistent presence of first generation Greeks in the neighborhood [xv] in contrast to the other European immigrant communities.

However, after the 1970s, the White population (which includes Greeks) started to decline. From 2000 to 2010, in census tract 2607, it decreased 13%. Most of the younger Greek generation moved out to the suburbs, as it is "perceived as 'making it' socially by buying a bigger single-family house in the suburbs."[xvi] When their parents passed away, Greek families often turned their houses into rentals. The remaining Greek population are seniors who want to stay in a familiar place and be close to Saint Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church where they go every week. Younger

Greeks sometimes come back to live in a house that would otherwise be rented, but once they have started a family, they tend to move back out to the suburbs due to the consideration of their children's education. Suburban Greeks occasionally visit Greektown when they come to events like Greek festivals and the Greek restaurants. A Greek resident who still lives in Greektown mentioned that he usually sees many more cars parked in the church's lot on the weekend, which means many Greeks from the suburbs drove into Greektown.

3.2.2.2: New Residents – Latinos

The increase of the Latino population, which contributes to maintain the overall population in the neighborhood, mirrors population changes seen in many American cities (Frey, 1996; Maly, 2005; Massey, 1995). One characteristic of the Latino population in Greektown is their diversity of original countries. In the 2010 Census for the tract 2607, among Latinos, around 37%, that is, 13.3% of the total population in the neighborhood are Mexicans, while a considerable number of Salvadorans and Ecuadorians are there, too. Groups of Hondurans and Guatemalans have followed the Puerto Ricans[xvii] and Dominicans (Table 1). In contrast with other Latinos, most of Puerto Ricans and Dominicans are domestic migrants who came to Baltimore from the New York and New Jersey regions. Because of those varieties of arrival time and origins, the Latinos in Greektown have different experiences and assimilation levels in this neighborhood.

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Table 1. Hispanic or Latino by origins in Census Tract 2607 (2010 Census)

Hispanic (2010 Census)	Estimate	Percentage to Total Population
Mexican	300	13.3%
Salvadorian	123	5.4%
Ecuadorian	99	4.4%
Other	87	3.8%
Honduran	66	2.9%
Puerto Rican	42	1.9%
Guatemalan	38	1.7%
Dominican	29	1.3%

Most of the Latino populations are younger and came as families, often with small children who go

to a local public school, John Ruhrah Elementary and Middle school. As Figure 15 shows, the

school has 46% Latino students. Many adult men work in construction, and women work in service

industries such as hotels and restaurants. Of the total population in Census Tract 2607, 45.1% of

residents work in construction, 21.4% work in service industries in 2010. As in Table 2, Latino or

Hispanic's median per capita income is lower than that of all other populations; however, the

household income of Latino / Hispanic exceeds the average in every block groups. This indicates

that although the wages are low, two breadwinners in a family make their lives sustainable. There

are also several support organizations that serve the growing Latino population in nearby

neighborhoods (Figure 20 in Chapter 5). The existence of those institutions and services assist their

settlement in Southeast Baltimore.

Table 2. Incomes in Greektown (Hispanic/Latino vs Whole)

ACS 2014 (5-year estimate)		
Incomes in Greektown (Hispanic/Latino vs Whol		
Census tract groups	260701	260702
Per Capita income (Hispanic/Latino)	$13,995	$18,630
Per Capita income (whole)	$15,116	$22,180
Median household income Hispanic/Latino)	$42,256	$47,500
Median household income (whole)	$34,412	$38,469

The Latino immigrants brought numerous changes to the neighborhood's fabric. Eastern Avenue, the main commercial street where mostly Greek businesses used to be located, Latino restaurants and the other businesses are side by side with remaining Greek retail stores (Figure 16.) This situation mirrors the residential section of the neighborhood in which Greeks and Latinos live side by side on the same blocks as the fieldwork later revealed (Figure 22 in Chapter 6). In addition, consistent appearances of young parents with small children or babies in buggies on the streets give a clear notion that this neighborhood is changing from a decade ago.
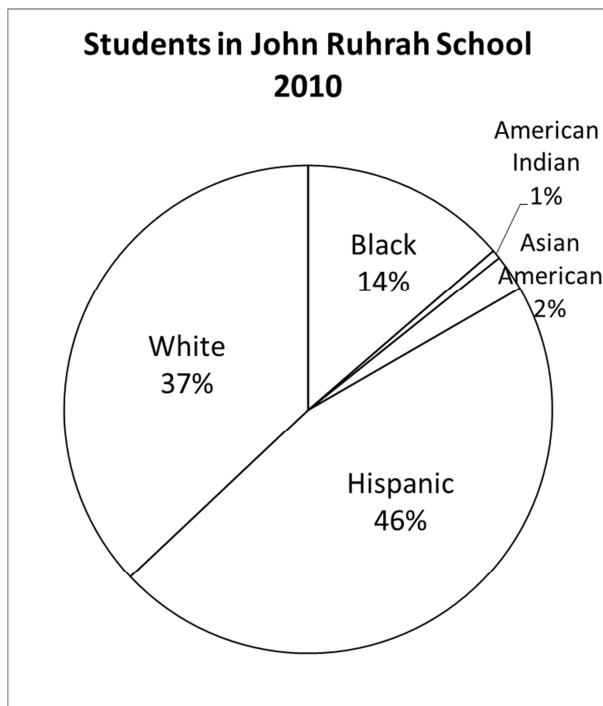
Figure 15. Student's Demographic Data in John Ruhrah School (2010)

Figure 16. Greektown - Eastern Avenue

3.2.2.3: New Residents-Young Professionals

Since 2012, the neighborhood started to see another group of new residents, young and professional, on the South edge of Greektown (shown as "new residential developments" in Figure 10). The private developers converted the former industrial lands to residential units—the houses are larger than existing row houses in the other parts of the neighborhood, and have designated garages. The developments have their own courtyard, and their street patterns do not match the existing layout (Figure 17). One of the developers named the project "Athena Square" to utilize the neighborhood's character as a marketing tool (Figure 18) despite the fact that there is no sign of any Greek features on their architectural design. The prices are often more than double that of the existing old houses. For example, as of April 2016, the real estate website Zillow[xviii] lists 22 houses for sale in Greektown, and the average price for those in the existing neighborhood is $151,000 while those in the newly developed area is $320,000.

A majority of the residents are young professionals who work as medical professionals, since Greektown is walking distance from the Johns Hopkins Bayview Campus Hospital. Johns Hopkins and Baltimore City offer various financial incentives for their employees for purchasing houses as a part of their efforts to revitalize the city center[xix], and this provides strong motivation for those young people to buy the houses in Greektown.

Figure 17. Map: Greektown, Street Patterns in New Developments
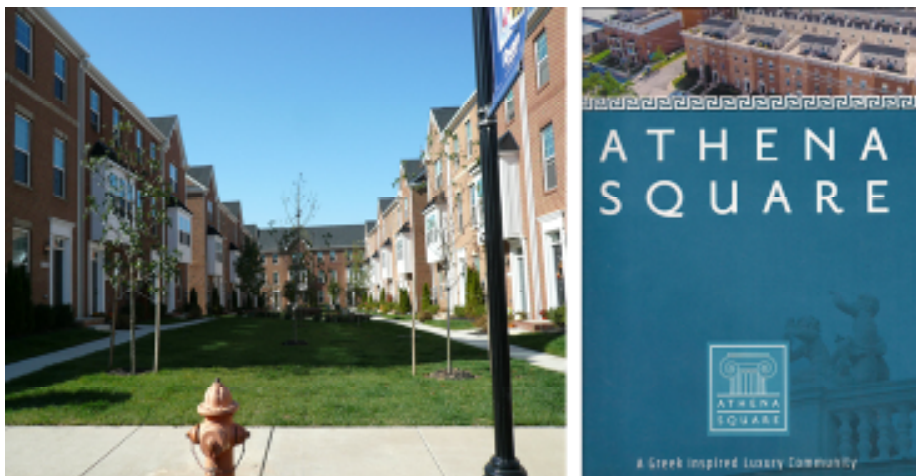
Figure 18. Greektown - New Developments

In addition to those who just moved in to the newly-built housings, there are some new residents in the existing neighborhood. Many of them have a similar status with those in the new developments—relatively young, with high educational attainment, professional jobs and without children. Those people often renovate older houses, or move into already-renovated houses.

Those new residents are obviously different from the Latino immigrants and the older Greek residents in terms of their socioeconomic status (higher than the rest of the population), family types (mostly young couples or singles without children), and generation (younger than old Greeks.) This new group of people has certainly added complexity to the demographic dynamics in Greektown.

3.2.2.4: Longtime Residents – non-Greek, non-Latinos

There are longtime residents who are neither Greek nor Latino in the neighborhood. The census data in 2010 shows that people of German and Irish ancestries are more than 13% of the total population. Germans and other Europeans came to Greektown in the early twentieth century as an extension of the adjunct neighborhoods such as Highlandtown. They built a church in the location that was later taken by Saint Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church as the Greek population continuously increased. The houses were built row by row from the late 19th century to the early twentieth century and these modest two-story row houses measure sixteen feet wide and have stone

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steps (Figure 11). There are no data of what the average age of this group is, yet the interviews and

fieldwork revealed that they are mostly seniors and have lived in Greektown for almost entire their

lives.

3.3: Summary: Greektown as a Diverse Neighborhood

Greektown in Baltimore became socioeconomically, ethnically and generationally diverse

with no strong intentions by the local government and community. The report that was released

under the former Mayor, Rowling-Blakes, "The Role of Immigrants in Growing Baltimore,"

admitted that the government did not know clearly why immigrants chose Baltimore,[xx] yet they

recommended that the city should welcome them in order to regain the population in the city. The

new developments were built for market-price and did not intend to add the diversity to Greektown.

With this unplanned influx of immigrant population, Greektown is a great example for a

"diverse-by-circumstances" neighborhood as Maly (2005) describes. Neither local government nor

community organizers made intentional efforts to create a racially, ethnically and socioeconomically

diverse neighborhood here; yet, various factors created this diverse neighborhood. This study aims

to reveal those factors and tries to understand the social dynamics in this neighborhood.

Another thing that makes this neighborhood interesting is that this diverse neighborhood

is created upon the old immigrants' ethnic enclave that is still home for many Greek immigrants and

their descendants. For many Greeks who left Greektown, it is the symbolic place to come back.

Receiving Latino immigrants who carry different ethnic characteristics certainly shakes up the

existing Greek community. The negotiations between the old and new immigrants' groups can give

a different dimension to understand the immigration-led diverse neighborhood. The neighborhood

stands on a turning point of whether to keep their neighborhood's character as an old ethnic

community, or change it into a new direction. This case gives us the opportunity to look at how the

different groups interact with each other and the results of that will lead the neighborhood in a

certain direction.

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[i] The Baltimore Immigration Museum (http://www.immigrationbaltimore.org/)

ii The tem "African American" and "Blacks" are used interchangeably

iii 1850 federal census shows that Baltimore had total 169,054 populations. Of that, the free African Americans are 25,441 and slaves were 2,946.

iv Calculated on CNN Money International website – "Cost of living: How far will my salary go in another city?" http://money.cnn.com/calculator/pf/cost-of-living/index.html

v BNIA-JFI uses the 55 Community Statistical Areas (CSAs) for the consistent data collection, instead of the actual neighborhood boundaries that are often moved over the time.
http://bniajfi.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Phisp10map.jpg

vi Economist and Philosopher, Professor of Economy and Philosophy at Harvard University,

vii Johns Hopkins Urban Health Institute web site
http://urbanhealth.jhu.edu/Social_Determinants_of_Health/SDH_2012.html

viii The company is now under the management of Prince Minerals Inc.

ix The company is now under the management of Prince Minerals Inc.

x Several groups sued Hogan's administration to contend that the cancelling the project discriminated against African American residents

xi Because many neighborhood boundaries are not correspondent to the Census Tract, the Baltimore City release the data based on the neighborhood in limited category such as basic population.

xii Due to the change of Census tract's boundaries, the only Census tract that can trace the population data since 1960 was the tract 2607(Block group 001 and 002.) The tract 2605 includes other neighborhoods.

xiii"Greeks in the U.S.A.," http://www.hellenicsocieties.org/Greeks-in-the-usa.html/

xiv Decimal Census 2000

xv St Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church web site http://stnicholasmd.org/about.php?page=history-future#top and also based on the interviews from church's pastor and longtime Greek residents' narratives.

xvi A third generation Greek stated "You know, moving into the suburbs was regarded as kind of a status kind of point of view"

xvii Puerto Ricans are not immigrants, but included in here as a Spanish speaking group.

xviii Zillow.com (http://www.zillow.com/homes/for_sale/Greektown-Baltimore-MD/269819_rid/any_days/featured_sort/39.293216,-76.536695,39.279498,-76.56459_rect/15_zm/0_mmm/) accessed April 6th, 2016

xix The "Live Near Work" program by Johns Hopkins University helps the employees financially to purchase the houses in Baltimore City (Chapter 5)

xx Baltimore City, Mayor's New American Task Force (2014) "The Role of Immigrants in Growing Baltimore" P6

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1: Answering the Research Questions

This study aims to answer the three questions addressed in Chapter 1, and the methodologies chosen to investigate those questions. First question is "How does the immigrants' settlement in Greektown affect the existing neighborhood and community? What kinds of relationships exist in Greektown across the different groups?" and this study investigates how the new and old residents feel, talk to, and act with the different groups in the neighborhood. Each group's cultural norms that influence an individual's actions are sought from the residents' every day's lives.

The second question, "What conditions encourage or hinder collaborative relationships in Greektown and other similarly diverse neighborhoods?", examines the roles of the various relationships among the different groups found in response to the first question; what kind of relationships support or hinder more collaborative actions need to be investigated through the webs of relationships to the other groups in order to draw implications for planners, policy makers and community organizers. The third question, "Is the Greektown neighborhood likely to remain diverse? What can planners and policy makers do to support diversity and collaboration in

Greektown and similar neighborhoods?", investigates how those existing relationships among the diverse groups, navigate the neighborhood to a certain direction: more confrontational, stay separated with little interactions, or collaborative. It examines whether there are any common themes of the cultural attitudes, or is there little to share with the other groups in order to foresee how positive relationships can be built.

4.2: Data Collection

This study employed ethnography as a method, e.g., participant observations and semi-structured interviews with residents and other people involved in this community. The method was used for the following reasons. First, because this study investigates different ethnic communities which carry different cultures, the methods are useful to record their cultural behavior that is often unconscious and cannot be found in official surveys. Second, spending considerable time with the residents in this community allowed me to observe and talk with them about the social interactions and relationships among groups in naturally occurring everyday lives, not in special or official occasions such as officially organized community meetings. Lastly, because the questions are sometimes personal and sensitive such as their ethnic identity and family history, it is the best to build trust first by consistent appearances in the neighborhood for a long time, then, conduct face-

to-face interviews.

The ethnographic method in urban studies has a long history in neighborhood studies. Starting from the Chicago School in the early Twentieth Century, it has revealed people's daily lives and has given us the opportunity to analyze how a community is built and maintained in a certain way (Gans, 1962; Whyte, 1943). In ethnographic research, the researcher usually immerses her/himself into the community for considerable periods trying to understand the residents' daily lives through the various techniques (Agar, 1996; Broadhead & Agar, 1981; Creswell, 2007). Van Maanen (1988) states that ethnography joins two cultures: researcher or readers and the studied community through the "interpretive act that occurs with writing of texts" (p4). The systematic scripts from interviews and field notes are the main products of this method. Creswell (2007) explains its procedures after the researcher's decision to use ethnography on his / her study as follows; first, identify targeted culture-sharing groups; second, set the framework such as social interactions; and lastly, conduct the fieldwork including interviews to gather the information. The researcher, then, analyzes the data for a "description of the culture-sharing group" (p72). The descriptions are compiled and analyzed to find the patterns or topics that signify "how the cultural group works and lives" (p72). Lastly, those findings are laid out as holistic cultural portraits – the incorporation of participants' views and researcher's interpretation. Therefore, the study is not just a

record of the facts; rather it is a story of people in the targeted groups through the lens of researcher's views within the chosen framework. In this study, I focus on the interactions among different ethnic and generational groups, especially noting how their culture, values, and history influence their relationships in order to answer the research questions.

With keeping those in mind, I started to participate in the Greektown community meetings and activities in the summer of 2013. I first approached an organizer of a small and voluntary community group called Greater Greektown Neighborhood Association (thereafter GGNA), and attended their monthly meetings that the neighbors and the guest speaker talked about the issues in the neighborhood. I also volunteered for street clean-up events that GGNA hosted every month. Ten-twenty neighbors gathered at the corner of streets, swept and pick up the trash every last Saturday morning of the month. In addition, I was a frequent visitor at some Greek restaurants, delis, and other retail shops to chat with the people there. Through observation and conversations with the participants of those events, I learned who the residents were, and which group they belonged to, and their basic relationships and the issues they had.

4.2.1: Interview

After establishing enough rapport in the neighborhood by attending the meetings and the

events, in the early summer of 2014, I started to interview the residents of the different groups and social organizations working in the neighborhood. The interviewees were recruited with the help of GGNA and key informants such as Latino social worker and Greek business owners. From June 2014 to August 2015, 48 semi-structured interviews were conducted. Semi-structured interviews are open-ended yet follow the guidelines or topics that are pre-listed by the interviewer (Bernard, 2006). The questions were prepared before the interviews, and the interviewer controlled the conversations during the interview to make sure the all questions were answered. At the same time, the interviewer allowed the interviewee to talk more freely. Therefore, in the interview, I sometimes ended up talking with a specific topic longer than the other topics as they wanted to talk about it, but at the end of the interview I made sure all the questions I prepared were answered by the list of questions (Appendix A).

The interviews took between 45 minutes to two hours at the place of their choice—coffee shops, library and at their residences where they felt comfortable to talk. First, I started by introducing myself and explained the research. Often, they asked me about my country of origin, and it was always a good icebreaker. If they agreed, the interviews were digitally recorded. If they hesitated about the recording, I took detailed notes as much as I could, then wrote up the memo immediately after the interviews. Some, especially old Greeks said they did not want to be recorded.

A Greek said "you know, I just don't trust those machines, let's just chat". I had five interviews that were conducted in Spanish with the help of two interpreters. One was an alumnus of Urban Studies and Planning Program at University of Maryland, College Park, who is a non-Hispanic White male but fluent in Spanish with several years of working experiences in Central America. Another volunteer was a Latino student at Baltimore County Community College, who came to the United States when he was small and grew up in Baltimore City, but not in Greektown. I carefully chose those interpreters not just for their capability of interpretation, but made sure that they were not from Greektown or a nearby neighborhood in order to avoid the interviewees feeling hesitant to talk about their feelings and private matters with somebody they knew.

The interviews sought information about what experiences residents have had in this neighborhood, how they interact with the other neighbors, how they think about the new residents (for old timers) or the existing neighbors (for new residents) and the changes that were happening, what their cultural uniqueness is, and how they see the future of the neighborhood (Appendix A). I usually started to ask about their life stories such as where they were born, raised and worked to understand their backgrounds in order to understand their ethnic and generational identities, and then moved to ask about the neighborhood.

The Table 3 presents the distribution of the interviewees based on their ethnicity and the

organizations that are active in the neighborhood. Among non-Latino and non-Greek residents, nine

live in the new developments, while the rest live in existing row houses. The organizations include

ethnically targeted ones such as Latino business associations and ethnically natural ones such as

public schools and city offices. As it shows, fewer Latinos were interviewed and needed a different

approach, which I will explain in the next section.

Table 3. Interviewees' Profile

Groups	TOTAL	age			generation		
		-34	35-64	65-	first	second	later
Greek Residents	15	6	3	6	6	4	5
Latino Residents	9	4	5	0	4	5	
New residents	11	8	3		N/A		
old timer non-Greek/non-Latino	5	0	1	4	N/A		
Community organization staff	8	0	0	8	N/A		
TOTAL	**48**						

4.2.2: Surveys

In addition to the interviews and participant observations, a survey was conducted in this

research. After several months of interviewing, I realized that recruiting Latino immigrants was not

an easy task and I achieved fewer numbers of interviews compared to the Greeks and the other

residents as in Table 3. This is not just because of the language barrier, but Latinos were often not

used to being "interviewed" by "outsiders" like scholars in a university. Many of adults in the

household work during the day and sometimes at night, therefore, lack of free time also made them

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difficult to find a time as volunteers. Moreover, and most significantly, for some, their or their

family member's ambiguous legal status made them think not to engage in any sorts of "official"

activities even though I emphasized that the interview would be totally confidential and anonymous,

and I would not ask their legal status. Although those Latino interviewees whom I managed to meet

by the assistance of Latino social organizations understood those, and had several fruitful

interviews, the situation made me decide to conduct anonymous surveys in both English and

Spanish so that they could just fill out answers without much personal contact. By doing so, I also

aimed to add more information from the Greeks and the new residents.

Surveys are often not considered as a part of the ethnographic method. The large scale

surveys such as a Census generate a useful data set that can be quantitatively analyzed. However, as

Bernard (2006) found from various case studies, surveys could add information that interviews and

observations may overlook. They also provide advantages in that the researcher can reach out to

broader respondents; in my case, Latinos preferred this method over the interviews and also other

people who were willing to help my research but did not have time.

After several pre-tests, the survey was launched in April 2015 and distributed through

GGNA's mailing lists, social networking services such as Facebook and Nextdoor[i], community

events, and later by door-knocking. As shown in

Table **4**, the new residents (in "others") responded very well. Most of their responses were done online within a few days after I announced the survey's launch. There was no doubt that their familiarity with internet and higher education attainment made it easy for them to participate in the online-based academic research. On the other hand, Greeks, especially older generations, preferred talking in person, rather than the survey. The interviews with them often went beyond our planned time but they were not willing to fill out three page surveys. Often the case, I just talked to them and filled out the survey with them, or conducted the interviews instead of the surveys. As originally aimed, Latinos responded relatively well despite the fact that not many of them were on either community organizers' mailing list or social network services. They filled it out at community events such as a movie night, National-Night-Out events[ii] and a cookout hosted by GGNA.

As a result, the sample over represents the young, non-Greek and non-Latino population while it under represents old Greeks. However, within each group, the age distribution is what I had expected. The Latino responders are overwhelmingly young, while majority of Greeks are older with some younger generation who recently moved back to Greektown. Although the sample does not exactly reflect the demography in Greektown, the purpose of the survey was to supplement the interview data, and the data was only used to compare the ratio by groups. The results from the survey still illustrate how each group see themselves, their neighborhood, and their neighbors.

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Table 4. Survey Respondents' Profile

		Gender		Age				Moved-In Year			
		Female	Male	under 34	35-64	over 65	No Answer	After 2010	2009-2000	Before 1999	no answer
Greek	14	9	5	3	4	7		2		12	
Latino	23	14	9	12	10	1		13	6	3	1
Others	47	28	19	27	17	2	1	30	9	8	
TOTAL	**84**	51	33	42	31	10	1	45	15	23	1

Because of the idea that the survey is used to supplement the interview, the survey questions basically follow those of the semi-structured interview—how they feel about the neighborhood, neighbors and what they value—, but those in the survey are modified for quantification (Appendix B). For example, respondents were asked how many people in each group (Greek, Non-Greek Whites, Latinos, African Americans, Asians, and others) with the scale of 0, 1-5, 6-20 and 21 plus, in order to understand whether they have no, a little, some or very active interaction with a certain group of residents. The basic questions are carefully written not to ask any identifiable information such as address, jobs, or legal status, but asked essential information for the research such as the year they moved in, if they identify themselves as immigrants or not, and if so, which generation they are.

4.2.3: Participant Observation

Some scholars express concern that interviewing has limitations in capturing social relationships (Briggs, 1986; Quinn, 2005), as it is not a naturally occurring conversation, although it reveals the interesting narratives that only interviewees can tell when the questions are asked. However, the participant observation in local events provided opportunities for observing the natural interaction among different groups of people and seeing if there are any contradictions from what people say in the interview and survey setting. Bernard (2006) describes it as "stalking culture in the wild" (p344) meaning people in the field feel that your existence is not something special and they do their business as usual. Although I did not live in Greektown due to the lack of small apartment for a student[iii], my frequent appearance on the streets, at the meetings and events made my work look something not so unusual to the residents after a while.

I had attended the community meetings that GGNA held every month two years – 19 times[iv]. The meeting was held in various places at the evening – they did not have any resources to rent the designated space, thus relied on the free available spaces such as a local recreation center and a church's basement[v]. The discussions there were mostly about the issues that neighborhood were having such as troubles with corner bars, dumping and crime. They sometimes had guests from Baltimore City's various departments such as planning and sanitary, Baltimore City Police,

private developers and business owners to hear the information about the city's work, new developments and changes that may affect the residents such as a new liquor license being applied by businesses. The participants were mostly Whites and younger residents who moved in the existing neighborhood except a few younger Greeks who moved back to the neighborhood recently. Over the course of more than two years of my observation, more people from the new developments started to appear at the meetings. Meanwhile the chances to see Latinos were rare. The organizers were aware of it and wished to increase the Latino participation, but as a volunteer organization, they do not always have the resources to translate the information in Spanish to distribute nor have an interpreter in the meetings. In contrast the Latinos have a good turn-out when there are events like a movie night that whole family could enjoy. Latino residents dominated the school related events such as the year-end festival at John Ruhrah Elementary and Middle School. The Greek festivals in spring and fall are the famous events citywide, and many people including Greeks from outside of the neighborhood come. There were numerous events in Greektown and nearby neighborhoods (Appendix D) in which I tried to participate as much as I could and recorded who participated and how they interacted with the other neighbors in those occasions.

For the last three months of the fieldwork, from June to August in 2015, I knocked on the door of each house on certain streets—hoping to hear more stories with people who did not

participate in any of the events mentioned above. I chose two or three streets in each corner of the

neighborhood so that I could see if there were any differences depending on a particular side of the

neighborhood (Figure 19). The C block is mostly the new developments, and therefore, has almost

exclusively a young and professional population. In block C, I got the least number of responses

primarily because in the time I conducted this research (sometime between 10am to 7pm[vi]), many

residents in block C were not at home. On the other hand, blocks A, B, and D have quite similar

demography and responses (average 10 to 20% on a street opened the doors to me). Their ethnic

and racial distribution seems to correspond to those in the whole neighborhood as shown in Figure 1

in Chapter 1.

Figure 19. Map: Greektown, Blocks for Street Survey

Despite my expectation that I would get talked to them only one or two in two hours'

fieldwork, many of them opened the doors and talked to me. Some even invited me into their houses. After the talk, they often introduced me to their neighbors so that they thought I could have more stories. With this fieldwork, I also recorded what kind of residents resided in the house, even though some refused or did not have time to talk with me. Sometimes they briefly told me about their racial and ethnic backgrounds such as Greek, Mexican or just American. If they did not, I just used my best knowledge to record it such as "young and Whites" or "Old and Spanish speaking". The result of this survey presents how physically diverse the neighborhood is (Figure 22 in Chapter 6).

In all this fieldwork I jotted notes onsite; in a car, in nearby fast food shops, and at the Greek restaurant's bar. Based on that, I typed up the field notes as soon as I had a chance to sit down with my computer—often in the night. The field notes start with the time, location and other facts such as weather. It is a record of our conversations but also includes subjective impressions—especially when it relates to their social relationships to the others. When they talked about the other groups, their face and body expressions and tone of voice gave me a particular impression. Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw (1995) stated,

Writing fieldnote description, then, is not so much a matter of passively copying down "facts" about "what happened". Rather, such writing involves active process of

interpretation and sense-making (p8)

The "impression" was not just how I felt, guessed, or interpreted randomly. It is my judgement to sort "significant things" about the research questions—how the residents in particular groups interact with the others, and how the relationships among them are—and I needed to always be able to go back to the framework I had set in the previous chapter.

Finally, in addition to the all the fieldwork, various forms of information including newspaper articles, past meeting minutes, flyers, pamphlets on events, and websites were collected. The visual images that I took over the course of the fieldwork also informed social dynamics in the neighborhoods.

Applying multiple methods—semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and surveys—enabled me to collect the information about how they speak about the other groups in public and how they interact with each other in naturally occurring situations. Also, my frequent appearance in the neighborhood due to the various methods—as a volunteer, client at the retails, and just walking around the streets—increased my credentials, and made my other activities, interviews and surveys, relatively easy to conduct.

4.3: Analysis

Throughout the analyzing phase, the grounded-theory approach was applied to identify the themes that emerged from the transcribed data, and then the themes were linked to the existing theories and models. Strauss & Corbin (1994) illustrate this general method as:

Theory may be generated initially from the data, or, if existing (grounded) theories seem appropriate to the area of investigation, then these may be elaborated and modified as incoming data are meticulously played against them (p.273).

In my analysis, based on the framework of the socio-cultural approach to neighborhood changes and immigrants' adaptation process in the new place, I aimed to find the structure of the relationships of diverse groups and examined how those affect the future of the neighborhood to verify if the past theories and models can be applied in the case, or if a new scheme is emerging.

In the course of the analysis, I either transcribed entire interviews or examined the recordings and memos carefully several times and transcribed the selected quotes that illuminate the stories. I used a "smartpen[vii]" that allowed me to go back to the specific conversation easily from the hand-written notes, and transcribed them if those notes were needed to be included in the manuscripts. This helped me to extract the important quotes efficiently. Those quotes and other materials such as meeting minutes, newspaper articles, and flyers were then added to Atlas.ti[viii],

with the information of their groups—Greeks, Latinos, New residents, Old timers—and inductively

coded and categorized to find; 1) if there were any social or other kinds of relationships among the

groups, 2) if so, what kind of relationships were there, 3) if there were any common themes among

the residents that suggested potential mutual understandings among the groups, 4) if there were any

contradictory themes that could be obstacles for them to have social relationships with the member

of the other groups. For example, the code "Greek-Latino Relationship" gathered all the quotes

where Greeks mentioned Latinos to see what Greeks feel about Latinos and what relationships they

have. It is compared to the quotes with code "Latino-Greek Relationship" to see if there are any

common themes appearing. Another example is that the quotes with the code "Comment-future"

across the all groups are extracted, and compared to how similar or different their future views are.

Those results were consistently compared by three scenarios—conflict, non-association, or

collaboration—and explored the possibilities whether or if those fit to one of them or there are any

new scenarios emerging.

As stated, the survey result was used to supplement the data from interviews and

participant observations as well as to validate (or find the contradiction of) what people said in the

interviews and observations. What kind of relationships are there and how the cultural characters

influence them are tested by independent variables such as ethnicity (Greeks, Latinos, non-

Greeks/non-Latinos) and years in the neighborhood (new and old). The results are compared with

the answers or statements from the other sources—interviews and observations to verify and / or

supplement the information.

4.4: Summary

As described, collecting the data was a winding road and I consistently sought the better

way to reach out to the different groups. At the same time it informed me about the different

attitudes by different groups towards academic research that is conducted by outsiders. The new

young residents understand what academic research is. A person who filled in the survey told me

that he had done similar research about the neighborhood multiple times in the past. On the other

hand, many Latinos, especially those who just arrived, hesitated to participate in any official (or

looks like official) paper work that they did not understand well. It was very new to them and felt

scary to sign the Institutional Review Board's (IRB) documents with them. Those are clear

indications of how culturally different they are and how they interact with the other groups, and this

helped me to understand their cultural attitudes to the others. In summary, my trial-and-error in the

field itself turned out to be informative research.

As the analysis moved forward, I appreciated my decision to add the survey as well as

more proactive fieldwork e.g., knocking on doors. The data from these often supported what I felt in the interviews. For example, many Greeks said that their children's marriage is "up to their decision". But they often mumbled and sounded with no confidence about what they had said. In the survey, it was clear that more Greeks answered that they wanted their children to get married to Greeks, more than any other groups did. Those comparisons with all data simultaneously gave me comprehensive views of each group's cultural attitudes and the relationships they have with others as well as within their groups.

In the next chapter, the stories from the fieldwork are discussed with the aim of illustrating the social and spatial conditions of this diverse neighborhood, the relationships they have, and how those relationships work for the future of the neighborhood.

Note: I have used pseudonyms throughout this study to avoid identification of individuals. In addition, to protect the interviewees' privacy, for some cases, I changed their occupations and/or origin of countries.

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[i] Nextdoor is a social networking services that neighborhood can exclusively maintain. The new developments in Greektown have their own sites for their residents, but not for the other residents who live in existing Greektown.

[ii] The event was supported by National Association of Town Watch. It aimed to promote community's relationships to police enforcement.

[iii] Most of the rental housing are with two or three bedrooms and

[iv] During the summer months and December, they did not have meetings because many of the members were out of town.

[v] After several meetings at a catholic church on Oldham Street, the group decided to move to the meeting to more religiously neutral places in order to accommodate people who hesitate to come to the specific religious place.

[vi] I avoided the late night fieldwork as it was not recommended by GGNA

[vii] Livescribesmartpen@ was used to take notes and record the interview. The website explain it as "Livescribe smartpens convert handwritten notes and audio into digital format for access through the devices we use daily"

[viii] Atlas.ti@ is a software to organize and analyze the qualitative data

Chapter 5: STAGE

This chapter sets the stage for the story of how the social relationships in Greektown are built, maintained and transformed. The next sections introduce the four ethnically, socioeconomically, and generationally different groups in Greektown as determined through the fieldwork— Greeks, Latinos, old timers who are not Greeks and Latinos, and newer young professional residents. In order to understand how they live, how they interact with the others, and who they really are, the illustration of the each group focuses on four aspects: 1) their attitudes to Greektown as a neighborhood (i.e. how they chose to live there, what motivations they have, and how they think about the neighborhood); 2) the cultural characteristics that construct their identity; 3) the degree of diversity within each group; and 4) how their cultural norms influence their relationships with the other groups. From interviews, survey responses, and participant observations, it's clear that each group shows unique cultural characteristics that could influence how they see their neighbors and the neighborhood.

5.1: Greeks

5.1.1: Living in Greektown - Housing as Inheriting Culture

As the number of Greeks in the neighborhood is decreasing, the question is whether the Greeks will eventually sell their houses and Greektown will no longer be a Greek neighborhood. The numerous interviews with Greeks and the fieldwork suggest that this will not occur. Greeks believe that real estate is an important asset that they will leave for their children, therefore they do not sell the houses, and rather, they prefer to have renters. Spiros, a second generation Greek who owns several houses in Greektown, answered my question about how they view real estate as assets.

Interviewer: "I heard that Greeks don't sell houses easily".

Spiros: "That's right. We don't buy stocks and bonds. Real estate and gold are the important assets."

Another Greek, Jimmy, who works for a real estate business in the neighborhood, affirms this when I asked him if there are many Greek home sellers in Greektown.

Well, Greeks have a unique culture. They don't want to sell. They want to give it to their kids and then grandkids…

Several of the Greeks stated in the survey and interviews that economic success is not the most

important thing to them, rather they care first and foremost about the family's well-being. Fiona, who came to the United States from Greece for marriage in the 1960s answered when I asked her if earning more money is important for her.

> *Yes, it is important as we need money to live. But I don't live for money. I know some people do, but not me. I do not need fancy stuff; rather I want to spend it for children's education.*

For these residents, real estate is not primarily for investment; rather it is an important family asset to pass to the next generation. As discussed, if younger Greeks come back and live there, it would be nice in the view of the older Greek residents, but the alternate choice is renting the house to others. The houses also serve to help newcomers from Greece settle down in the United States. Of course, not all Greeks keep their houses in Greektown. Some need to sell and some may take advantage of rising housing prices. But those actions are perceived in the community as being less desirable. None of the interviewees told me that they were waiting to see if housing prices go up or that they wanted to sell, even though they may do so or are thinking about it. In principal, therefore, increasing property values is not the ultimate goal for the neighborhood among many of the Greeks. For them, selling the properties is typically seen as an option of last resort. What Greeks do with their houses in Greektown—converting to rentals, going back to the house by themselves, or

leaving it vacant—is greatly influenced by their cultural values.

5.1.2: Culture, Ethnic Identity and Family

5.1.2.1: Inheriting "Greekness"

The St. Nicholas Church has been not only a place for religious activities but also a center for Greek immigrants and their descendants, allowing them to maintain their ethnicity as Greeks and pass this onto their children. The Greek school, located within the church building, now has more than a hundred students in its after-school program which is held two times a week; it is now planning to expand the program, as the demands from Greek parents are high. According to the church, most of the students come from outside of Greektown, so the parents need to drive to the school to drop off and pick up the children. On the evening of a school day, I saw many cars, often luxurious and well-polished, parked around the church, and the parents were chatting outside while waiting for their children to come out. It is clear that the place is not just for the children to learn about Greece, but also for the Greek parents, who are mostly second and later generations and live in various locations, to meet other Greeks who might be their classmates in the Greek school from a long time ago.

But what do those children who have to go to the Greek school on top of their regular

schooling think about it? One possibility is that they may reject their parents' culture as it may prevent socialization with other Americans. Another possibility may be that the children accept their heritage and culture, which prevents them from assimilating in to an unwanted place (Zhou 1997-a, Waters & Jimenez 2005). A young Greek female who is a second generation, talked about her situation. It was a sunny Sunday and I was volunteering for the monthly street clean-up on the street in Greektown; her mother, Ellen, whom I had interviewed on another day, spoke to me and introduced one of her daughters, Maria, and showed me a picture of her dancing. I asked Maria if it was Greek dance and she laughed and denied it, "No, no, it is a salsa dance, not a Greek one." That said, she told me how grateful she felt that she had attended the Greek school to learn the Greek language and the culture including the Greek dance.

> *You know, it is not so fun while you are small. You had to go to another school after your*
> *regular school. But I am very appreciative of it now. I can speak Greek.*

Ellen was smiling next to her. Educating their children as proud Greeks in the Unites States is an important thing for Greek parents. Young Greeks also meet good friends in the school who are also second or third generation Greek immigrants. They often become best friends and maintain this network even after they become adults. Sometimes they even find a partner to get married with.

However, on another occasion, when Maria was not present, Ellen, a mother, told me that

she thought that Maria was a just American or, at the best, Greek American.

> *When I and my husband took them to our hometown [in Greece], a beautiful island, we enjoyed the good weather, food, family, and friends. We were seriously thinking of going back home [permanently.] But after a while, my daughters started to say, "mom, I want to eat McDonalds!" Ha! So we knew we were not going back to Greece. We decided to stay here [in the United States.]*

In her family's case, the children accepted their parents' culture and having identity as Greek Americans, despite that they absorb some American culture (such as eating fast food) that the parents were not excited about. As Ellen told me, it is common to hear from the first generation Greeks that they are hoping to go back to Greece one day; some showed me pictures of the houses they purchased or inherited in Greece for their possible return, but in reality, not all will go back. Those I interviewed have either given up on going back or are still waiting for a chance that may not happen, as they are now in their seventies. Because their American-born children have grown up and many have grandchildren, they have often decided to stay in the United States. They miss Greece—its beautiful weather, beaches, food, and remaining family and friends who they attended kindergarten with. Numerous stories of beautiful memories were told by them during the interviews and chatting on the street. But at the same time, they recognize that their real lives are rooted here in

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the United States after many years. The nostalgias and often idealized images of their beloved

home, Greece, strengthen their ethnic identity.

A young Greek female, Anastasia, who recently arrived in the United States due to her

marriage to a Greek American in Baltimore, observed this sentiment to her home country by the old

generation. She admits that she holds an interesting position in the Greek community; she is young

and educated just like second or third generation Greeks in Baltimore while she is also a newcomer.

She enthusiastically told me about her observation of Greeks living in Baltimore, which she wanted

to share with somebody, but could not find a good person until we met. She said only somebody not

from the Greek community could understand her views. First, she made a clear point that Greeks in

the United States and Greeks in Greece are totally different in many ways and that she, a young and

educated woman who grew up in a big city, Athens, believes that because the Greeks here came

from small islands and villages, they were different from her. She believes that the Greeks here

intentionally and unintentionally keep the old and conservative culture as a way to make them feel

like they are still genuine Greeks.

...because they live in a foreign country, the United States. They try to keep their traditions

very tight, because they want to be closer to home. So they go to a church every week, keep

all events and customs. When I was in Greece, I only went to the church for Easter, you

know. But here, I go every week with my husband's family now.

She continues to say that, as a new member of the family, she respects how her husband's family feels and what they do. Anastasia often uses the word "modern" versus "conservative" to describe herself and the other Greeks in the United States. For her, the ethnic identity here is different from that of Greeks in Greece, and the circumstances—being away from home and surrounded by other people – foster the unique yet strong identity of Greeks in the United States. Yet, this unique identity as Greeks in the United States is not something those newcomers contest. As a newcomer coming into an already-established community, they accept the old timers' customs and cultural norms, as Anastasia stated,

> *It is a good feeling that I am contributing a bit for people…to the community here. My Greek is you know, very fresh and I can help. You know, I respect their life and understand how hard it is to be away from home.*

The new and old immigrants from Greece, both are first generation and have reciprocal relationships—the old timers help the newcomers to settle down in the United States by providing information, networking, jobs and housing. The newcomers provide their "fresh" and "genuine" knowledge of home, which helps the old timers maintain their "Greekness" in Greektown. Although the number is not the same as those in the early twentieth century, this continuous influx refreshes

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their ethnic identity and keeps the support function working in the neighborhood. The consistent

arrival of a small number of new Greek immigrants, like Anastasia, certainly stimulates the Greek

community in the United States, and revives a new and unique ethnic identity.

On the other hand, young American-born Greeks in Greektown, who are second

generation or later, face a dilemma. Despite the family's and community's efforts to maintain their

ethnic identities, their daily lives are rooted in American society and they often have non-Greek

classmates in local schools and colleges. Thus, whether they keep their Greek names, strict

religious rituals, and continue living in Greektown are all decisions that the children of immigrants

constantly need to make.

Konstantinos, a second generation Greek, explained to me about the issue of names in an

interview. Later generations, who are second, third and fourth generations of Greeks, often have

English/American names such as Jimmy, John, and Mary despite the fact that they were given

Greek names when they were born. Konstantinos told me that most of the children of Greek

immigrants were uncomfortable with traditional Greek first names, as their friends at the school

could not pronounce them very well. Some of them "Americanize" or shorten their given Greek

names by themselves. Konstantinos feels that this is an inevitable adaptation as Greek children now

attend school with non-Greek peers since the Greek school at the church is not full-time.

Nevertheless, he has kept his typical Greek name and thought it represented his identity as a Greek American.

So as I grew up, I just wanted to do away with this Americanization of my name, and so I've gone back to just requesting to be called by my true Greek name, which is Konstantinos. But my cousin, for instance, and his name is Panagiotis, he goes by an Americanization of his name, just because he finds it easier for people to communicate with him.

Just like any other immigrant children, the indirect pressure of Americanization in schools poses challenges to young Greeks to decide how to treat their ethnic heritage. The strong ethnic education by their parents, the Greek school, and the networks of friends in the Greek school, gives them a generally positive view of Greek culture. Maria, the young Greek female mentioned above, thanks her family for instilling her Greek heritage in her. The children often try to keep the balance of American and Greek culture, and find their own way as young Greeks in the United States.

Greeks in Baltimore maintain strong affiliations to the Greek community and keep a strong identity although the meaning of "Greekness" varies by generations, length of stay, family and friends. The various negotiations within this group create and foster the unique "Greekness" in Greektown. In the next section, a more intimate form of cultural negotiation is explored — how

marriage and family influence Greek ethnic identity.

5.1.2.2: Marriage and Family

Among the Greeks in Greektown, there are strong family values and ties across the generations. It is very common that family pictures cover entire walls of the living room, especially in an old Greek's house. Not surprisingly, all of the Greeks in the survey said it is "very important/important" that family stay together (Table 5).

Table 5. Survey Result 1: Family

How important are these to you? Family staying together - Groups Crosstabulation

			Groups				Total
			Greek resident	Latino resident	New resident (non-Greek, non-Latino)	Old resident (non-Greek, non-Latino)	
How important are these to you? Family staying together	Very Important	% within Groups	61.50%	73.90%	44.70%	45.50%	55.30%
	Important	% within Groups	38.50%	17.40%	36.80%	36.40%	31.80%
	Not so Important	% within Groups	0.00%	4.30%	10.50%	18.20%	8.20%
	Not Important at all	% within Groups	0.00%	4.30%	7.90%	0.00%	4.70%
Total		% within Groups	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

In this sense, inter-racial and inter-ethnic marriage is a challenge for Greek parents. It is an ultimate form of acceptance of others, as they form a family and will possibly have children who no longer inherit the characteristics as Greeks. The parents have to accept their children's non-Greek spouses, who may have their own culture that is different from that of the Greeks; therefore, the attitude towards their children's marriage clearly shows how they want their children to live, hence how they want to pass on their cultural heritage to later generations.

In the survey, 38.5% of Greeks in Greektown agreed that it is "very important/important" for them to see their children marry Greeks, which is higher than the other groups—Latinos, new residents, and the old timers (Table 6). For example, a young third generation Greek American, Sofia, recognizes her parents' and the Greek community's pressure.

> *Sofia: Yes, I know, my parents (they are second and third generation) kind of prefer that. You know, they said it is okay (not to get married to Greeks). But they sent me and my brother to Greece several summers…*
>
> *Interviewer: Do you think you will do it?*
>
> *Sofia; (silent) …. I don't know, you know you never know…but could do...*

She sounded that if she found somebody who is Greek to marry, it would be great, and it would make her family happy. That said, she wanted to keep her options as open as possible just like her

other non-Greek friends. Three of the young Greeks I interviewed, second or third generation residents in their thirties, are married to Greeks. Indeed, I only met one person who got married to a non-Greek over the course of the fieldwork; she was married to a person with British heritage and her son married a non-Greek too. Still, her entire family comes to the Greek Festival in Greektown to make sure that her grandchildren experience some of the Greek culture. The others are either single or married to Greeks. The Greek community has tight control over their young members' marriages. Although they do not directly force their children to marry Greeks, it seems like family and education successfully influence them, as Kostas, a leader in Greek community here, illustrates.

I do not mind if my children want to get married to somebody non-Greek. (Silence) But, but, in my heart, you know… I was lucky as all my children, except one, got married to Greeks. Well my son's "American" wife was converted to Orthodox, so it is good. Three out of four is good, right?

Has this success in the children's marriages within the ethnic group kept Greeks in Greektown? Generally it has not. The younger generations have tended to leave the neighborhood for the surrounding suburbs when they get married or become parents. Once the younger Greeks can afford to live in the suburbs, they have left Greektown to seek a better living environment, especially for their children's education. This is not a disappointment for the parents in Greektown,

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as moving to a larger house in a better environment, especially with good schools for their

grandchildren, is evidence that their children have advanced in society, and the Greektown residents

sometimes proudly talk about their children in the suburbs. Ioannis, a first generation immigrant

still living in Greektown, talked about his son and family with a big smile. "You know, a big house,

yard, and parking… they made it." A young second generation Greek echoed the above old

generation's statement. "You know, moving into the suburbs was regarded as kind of a [make of]

status".

Table 6. Survey Result 2: Marriage

How important are these to you? Children getting married with somebody in your ethnic/racial group - Groups Crosstabulation

			Groups				Total
			Greek resident	Latino resident	New resident (non-Greek, non-Latino)	Old resident (non-Greek, non-Latino)	
How important are these to you? Children getting married with somebody in your ethnic/racial group	Very Important	% within Groups	15.40%	19.00%	5.40%	0.00%	9.80%
	Important	% within Groups	23.10%	0.00%	5.40%	27.30%	9.80%
	Not so Important	% within Groups	46.20%	47.60%	35.10%	18.20%	37.80%
	Not Important at all	% within Groups	15.40%	33.30%	54.10%	54.50%	42.70%
Total		% within Groups	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Interestingly, some of the younger generation of Greeks who grew up in the suburbs have started to come back to their parents' or grandparents' properties in Greektown. For young Greeks who are often working as professionals, the central location and affordability (they often pay nothing for housing as the houses are owned by their family members) is attractive to them just as it is for the newer young non-Greek residents who have similar socioeconomic status moving to the area. The difference between the young Greeks and the new young non-Greek residents is that the young Greeks are familiar with the neighborhood as they come to Greek schools, the church, events such as the Greek Folk festival, and the Greek restaurants that their parents often took them to. It is a relatively easy decision for them with the convenience, economic advantages and their familiarity with the neighborhood. At the same time, they often express that they may eventually move elsewhere, maybe a suburb, once they have children of school age—they would like to give them the same education that they received, and that means their departure from Greektown. The familiarity and sentimental attachments to the neighborhood do not always mean that young Greeks will continue to live there.

5.1.3: Diversity among Greeks—Younger Greeks and Outsiders

5.1.3.1: Younger Greeks

The younger generations of Greeks, second and later generations, still keep close ties to their ethnic group, and often chose to be part of it by themselves. With their high educational attainment and professional jobs, they certainly present socioeconomic assimilation while maintaining their ethnic identity as Greeks. Their "Greekness" may be, as discussed, the adapted version of the ethnic identity that has been constructed through their education by family and the members of the group. As a result of the interests and awareness to their roots, they keep their interests and stakes (as future owners of properties in Greektown) in the neighborhood. While there are still many first generation Greeks in the area—their parents, grandparents, uncle, aunts, and family friends—because of their high education and professional jobs, it is certain that the younger generations of Greeks play important roles in their community, especially in terms of building relationships with other groups.

5.1.3.2: Outsiders

While the younger generations of Greeks are an important part of the Greek community, the influence of powerful Greeks, mostly also younger generations, who do not live in Greektown

cannot be ignored. Baltimore has produced many prominent people especially in business, professional and the political field; several Senators and Councilmen, as well as some of the wealthiest business owners in Baltimore are the children of Greek immigrants who moved to the United States early in the twentieth century. Some first generation immigrants were also successful in the businesses they started. Many Greek interviewees mentioned the story of H&S Bakery that was established in the 1920s in Southeast Baltimore. The same Greek family still owns the company and now employs more than 2,000 people in seven states[i]. The way in which those powerful and wealthy Greeks treat Greektown could influence the fate of the neighborhood.

As the later and wealthier generations spread out to the suburbs of Baltimore, new Greek Orthodox Churches were built outside of Baltimore City, such as St. Demitrios Greek Orthodox Church in Parkville in Baltimore County. In addition to the first Greek Orthodox Church, Cathedral of the Annunciation, which is located in downtown and was founded in 1906, the Greek community in Baltimore now has several churches which act as pillars of the community. The Annunciation is the oldest and has the most well established body of members including those wealthier Greeks in Baltimore, according to several of the Greeks I spoke to. Their services are held in English only which means it attracts later generations, while St. Nicholas in Greektown still has both Greek and English services, which first generation Greek immigrants who only speak Greek can attend. One

person told me that St. Nicholas is more like a "village church" while the Annunciation and St. Demitrios are more "contemporary". This view does not just mean there is a difference in atmosphere, but also shows differences in finances. The support from wealthier later generations of Greek Americans clearly makes those "contemporary" churches economically better off than St. Nicholas, whose supporters are mostly older first generation immigrants as admitted by the staff of the church. Some Greeks in Greektown feel that they are left behind in some ways, especially by seeing the lack of the financial support from those wealthier Greeks. The wealthier Greeks are affiliated with the other churches and invest billions of dollars in the Harbor East area where new luxurious hotels, offices and commercial buildings have been built. Konstantinos a young Greek, stated,

> *And especially a lot of the prominent Greeks, like I said, they don't focus too much on Greektown….Greek business has been supported by people in Greektown for a long time, instead of kind of cycling money to Greektown, they're cycling money to Harbor East to help out with this (new fancy) business. So that's my thoughts.*

Does all this disinvestment and lack of support by outside Greeks mean they do not care about Greektown? John, third generation young Greek who lives in a suburban residential area and goes to Annunciation commented about their view towards Greektown;

We don't want to see Greektown disappear, it is nice to have it. Well, you know, it is not my place, but it is good to have the old Greektown here in Baltimore.

Her statement suggests Baltimore's Greeks living outside of Greektown clearly recognize the existence of Greektown, although it is not something they need in everyday life. However, it is not something they can easily ignore and abandon either. She continues,

I would love if they still have a Greek theme, like that's – in my heart, I want the Greek themes to be maintained. You know, even if it just means having a bunch of Greek restaurants.

Another young Greek male, second generation, is a bit more optimistic and said,

With the new homes going up, it may flop back and just say, you know, the immigrant kids want to come back. I think there's a lot of young Greek adults, myself included, that have a lot of interest in making sure that Greek Town succeeds.

This is a typical attitude that the third generation of any ethnicity shows. People may identify as Greek, but they don't live from day to day any differently from others (including those who may identify as Italian, Polish, and the like). This kind of attitudes becomes tools to keep their ethnic identity, rather than reflections of their daily lives. It is clear that most of Greeks are hoping to maintain Greektown as some kind of home to Greeks in the Baltimore region but wonder what the

neighborhood will look like in the future with the influx of many of non-Greeks, especially Latino

immigrants and new young non-Greek people, at a rapid pace.

Greektown is not only for the old, mostly first generation Greeks. The Greek community

is not limited to within Greektown, but includes those outsiders who have influence on the residents

in Greektown and younger generations who are children and grandchildren of those in Greektown.

Due to the strong affiliation, they also have stakes in Greektown in various forms. Some see it as a

home they grew up in and others see it as needed to maintain their sense of community. The actions

of the old Greeks in Greektown are important to examine as they build relationships with the other

groups moving in.

5.1.4: Negotiating with others in Greektown

Some of the Baltimoreans who are not Greeks, and those who like to try out something

new, have the same story about Greek coffee shops in Greektown. The coffee shops in Greektown

are not a place like Starbucks or Dunkin Donuts; instead they are social clubs exclusively for Greek

men from the same region or island. So if an outsider enters the shop and asks for a cup of coffee in

English, all the Greek men stare at him/her. He/she will be ignored and is forced to leave the shop

without a coffee. The coffee shops are the places Greek men socialize with people from the same

village, island or region; they are not in the business of providing a nice cup of Greek coffee.

Those initial unfriendly attitudes change when you know somebody in the group. When I attended a Sunday service at St. Nicholas Church, it was obvious that I was not a regular due to my Asian looks: many people in the church had a sense of wonder on their faces and came to ask me what I needed. I told them that I knew the Father here, and got permission to attend the service as part of my research. When they heard the name of the Father, they smiled and immediately offered me assistance during the service. A woman next to me translated the Father's words in Greek into English so that I could follow. After the service, they took me on a tour around the church and explained its history and their culture, offered food and drinks, and introduced me to other neighbors. The people were all friendly and asked me to come back any time. On another occasion, I was sitting at the bar counter at one of the Greek restaurants in the afternoon to have an iced-tea after a long hot day of fieldwork. The place was almost empty as it was too early for people to have dinner but one person was there to talk with the owner of the restaurant (who was one of my informants). Only after he found that I knew the restaurant's owner, did he start to talk to me. A second generation immigrant explained to me that those attitudes—very cautious to outsiders but helpful to insiders – comes from the fact that Greece is a nation of small islands and villages. Thus, they have always been careful about talking with the others in order to protect their isolated

communities from outsiders.

Knowing a key person such as the church's Father or a business leader was critical to opening up the conversation. Interestingly, the key people do not often live in the neighborhood. They commute from the outside of Greektown, typically from the wealthier suburbs. This shows the interesting internal dynamics in this tightly knit group: the leaders who are trusted by the others do not live in Greektown but maintain a strong influence on the neighborhood.

One event shows how the Greek community reacts to the others in their neighborhood, city and the larger society. In spring 2015, Baltimore City became an epicenter for national conflict—the police misconduct towards African Americans. On April 27, 2015, there were protests against the police force. Although many protesters were peaceful, some turned violent and many downtown locations were looted. Two days after the event, while the city was still filled with an unsettling mood, I came out to see how Greektown was doing. On the way to Greektown from downtown, where I lived, it was clear that many small shops along Eastern Avenue in Highlandtown, (located just west of Greektown) were damaged and I saw some volunteers cleaning up the street. After I passed through the underpass that marks the western edge of Greektown, I saw familiar Greek flags and shops along the Eastern Avenue and it looked like nothing had happened there. It seemed like the looting activities did not spread there, perhaps because Greektown is

visually separated from Highlandtown by the underpass and an industrial site. I came to a Greek restaurant to talk with the owner; it was only 5pm and nobody was there but television was on showing the news about the unrest. In the downtown, only fifteen minutes' drive from Greektown, there were still protest rallies going on. The owner of the restaurant shook his head and said to me "terrible, very terrible", but he quickly turned to smile and welcomed a well-dressed old couple entering into the restaurant. They greeted each other in Greek, and went up to the upstairs that is used for a special occasion. The owner told me that there would be a fundraiser party upstairs. I was impressed how quickly they had set up the party to help fellow Baltimoreans who suffered through the unrest but I soon realized soon that the event was not for that purpose. They were there to help people on an island in Greece. The guests, who were mostly older, were all smiles and kept arriving at the restaurant. Many of them were speaking in Greek and I believe were likely to be first generation. They gave a quick glance at the television screen that was still showing all the awful things happening in their city, shook their heads, but quickly turned to their friends to ask how their families were doing. It doesn't mean that they do not care about other neighborhoods in Baltimore, but their primary interest that night was to help people in Greece. It was clear that their community is closely tied with Greece and the Greek people, and the community's members are not just those in Greektown, but in the suburbs, and in Greece. They recognize that Latinos and the new young

residents are in Greektown, but that physical proximity does not automatically make these other groups a part of their community.

As mentioned, Greeks in Greektown are mostly old people who have lived in the neighborhood for a long time, almost their entire lives. Their attachment to the St. Nicholas Church and the friends through the church are strong. The number of coffee shops – social clubs based on their original home location—is diminishing but some are still there to provide a social life for old Greek men. But their children and relatives are in the suburbs. Greektown in Baltimore is not a substitute for Greece, but is something that they need to keep as an anchor for the community and to remind them of the old country. For the second and later generations, they respect the old generations' sentiments and appreciate the cultural values and networks engendered through the Greek school thereby keeping their connections to Greektown strong. The newly arrived immigrants from Greece assist them in strengthening their cultural heritages and connection to their home.

Greeks in Baltimore know that Greektown is no longer a neighborhood where Greeks occupy most of the houses and have active social lives. They are not trying to revive the neighborhoods in that way. They know some are leaving because Greektown cannot offer what the suburbs—a large house and good schools—and if someone leaves Greektown, they are proud of them as it is proof of success. Yet, the place that they can see as a reminder of home is needed to

maintain their identity as Greeks. This identity is realized not only from the Greek-themed murals

and Greek flags, but also in more symbolic ways such as the place that can remind them of their

roots, history as immigrants and success in the neighborhood. Now that there are the other groups in

the neighborhood, surpassing the Greek population, they do not actively communicate with these

people. How they can maintain Greektown as a home for Greeks is tested under present conditions.

It is not a matter of simply preserving ethnic food and festivals in the area, but also how to keep the

sense of community sustainable.

5.2: Latinos

5.2.1: Living in Greektown

5.2.1.1: Motivation to come to Greektown

At the national level, the number of immigrants from Latin America started to increase in

the 1970s, after the Immigration and Nationality Act was enacted in 1965. However, in Baltimore

City, it only started in the 1990s. The reason for this late arrival is largely because Baltimore City

did not have the thriving economic opportunities that usually attract Latino immigrants. The

unemployment rate for Baltimore City is still 7.9%, which is more than 2% higher than the national

average in 2016[ii]. Thus, the influx of Latino immigrants who sought economic opportunities had not

been visible in Baltimore until recently. The Latino population has rapidly increased since 2000 in

Greektown (Figure 13 in Chapter 3).

There are several reasons for the intense increase in the influx of Latinos; the pro-

immigrant policy of Baltimore City, affordable housing, the existence of low-wage jobs, and the

lack of serious business competition. Ricardo, an educated Dominican American who runs an

insurance business, explained his motivation to come to Baltimore from New Jersey, where his

parents had settled after arriving from the Dominican Republic. According to him, the increasing

number of Latinos in Baltimore City means that there are business opportunities that can target new

immigrants. The new Latino community also means that there is less competition among Latino

business owners compared with well-established Latino cities such as Los Angeles or Chicago.

On top of the economic opportunities, many Latinos, both immigrants and domestic

migrants, found that the atmosphere for Latinos in the city was much better than some traditional

gateway cities, especially in the South, where the anti-immigrant atmosphere prevailed. As the

number of immigrants increased, indigenous residents in those traditional gateway cities started to

feel competition in the job and housing markets. Jenny, a White female who is a native-born

American from the Midwest and married to a Salvadorian, stated that her husband feels comfortable

as nobody looks at him antagonistically just because he is a Latino. This is largely because of the presence of many Latinos around the area, which makes Jenny's husband blend into the scenery well, but also the historic context in Baltimore. As discussed in Chapter 3, Baltimore had been a "Black and White city" for a long time. The Latino population, on the other hand, is new and invisible to most Baltimoreans, as it is concentrated in only a few neighborhoods. It seems like many Baltimoreans have not decided what to do with the Latino population.

Many also pointed out Baltimore city's pro-immigrant policy. As discussed in Chapter 3, to increase the number of families in the city, former Mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake[iii] actively supported the immigrants' settlement in Baltimore City in a speech[iv]. It included implementing policies that police officers cannot ask their legal status when they are involved in crimes. A Latino community organizer argued that it was just a political gesture and has no real benefits—unlike hiring more Latino city workers or offering more programs for Latinos and assistance to purchase houses, which has not happened yet. However, compared with the other cities with anti-immigrant policies in the Southern States, such as New Mexico and Arizona, it is clear that Baltimore City still has a pro-immigrant atmosphere.

For those new immigrants, the existence of friends and relatives who came to Baltimore earlier is extremely important as it gives information for survival—e.g., where to stay, how to get

jobs, and how to use public transportation. As the Latino population rapidly increases, it draws more and more new immigrants. In Baltimore, the family connection seems the strongest magnet. Many of them had never heard of Baltimore before they came. It was just the city their family members already were in and would help the new arrivals to find a job and a room. For many immigrants, it did not matter if it is Baltimore or other cities but mattered who was there already and could help them in the beginning so that they could move forward.

The motivation of immigrants to come to Baltimore varies by generations, length in the United States, educational level, and financial assets that they bring from their home country. For newly arrived, first generation immigrants without higher education and language skills, immediate assistance from family members and friends is important. Those who experienced competition for jobs and discrimination in other locations seek a place that has less of those. Second and later generations, who often have a socioeconomic status similar to that of native-born Americans, find the opportunities to start and run a business in the rapidly expanding Latino community.

5.2.2: Overarching Latino Community

5.2.2.1: The Local Network

Once the new Latino immigrants settle into Baltimore, they try to make their lives work—

finding accommodation, jobs, a place for worship, and friends. Maria, a Peruvian in her 40s, took

the path that many of the immigrants did. First, she started a job from whatever was available

through her family's and friends' networks. Then, through the organizations that help Latino

immigrants, she learned the language, social systems (such as where she can find a job), and

received specific training (such as obtaining a certificate in childbearing), and eventually she started

to work at a kindergarten and found an apartment to live with her friends. For her, and many like

her, the assistance from those organizations is a key to having a stable life.

The organization most frequently mentioned in the interviews was Sacred Heart of Jesus

Church (hereafter Sacred Heart) in Highlandtown ("A" in Figure 20). It is a large Catholic church

that provides Spanish services for the growing Hispanic-speaking population in Southeast

Baltimore. As most Latinos in Greektown are Catholics, Sacred Heart is their place to meet other

Latinos every Sunday. The churches in Southeast Baltimore were originally built for European

immigrants, such as Germans and Italians, in the late 19th century. When first those European

immigrants arrived in Baltimore, they built a church that reflected their language, such as German,

Italian, Polish, and Lithuanian. These churches lost large parts of their members as the children of

those European immigrants have moved out from the city center. Sometimes, buildings were sold to

other institutions. However, the rapid influx of Latinos revived those churches in Baltimore City.

The churches suddenly started to see a new demand after decades of being dormant. For Latinos, the nearby existence of Catholic churches with Spanish services is one of the best qualities Southeast Baltimore can offer.

In addition to the religious facilities, other organizations that assist the Latino population are located in nearby neighborhoods. Esperanza Center in Fells Point ("B" in Figure 20) is a Catholic-based organization that supports immigrants by providing English classes, legal assistance, and healthcare services. Casa de Maryland ("C" in Figure 20) advocates immigrants' human rights and actively supports undocumented immigrants. Because of the large number of Spanish-speaking immigrants, as their Spanish name shows, Casa's focus is Latino's well-being. Other groups, such as Education Based Latino Outreach (EBLO) ("D" in Figure 20), which advocates for education for Latino children and provides assistance to parents, and Latino Provider Network, which promotes Latino-owned businesses ("E" in Figure 20), are also active in the area. Johns Hopkins University Bayview campus, which is a medical institution, is located across Greektown and they have an outreach team ("F" in Figure 20) to provide health care to Latinos, including those who do not have insurance coverage. A staff member in Johns Hopkins Bayview hospital said, as a medical institution, that their primary concern is for all residents in surrounding neighborhoods, but because of the growing Latino population in this area, and the fact that they are often without insurance and

unable to receive the necessary care, they focus on the Latino population. The hospital has a program called "Caravan", which is a small van with doctors and basic medical equipment that goes around adjacent neighborhoods, including Greektown, and treats the patients for free. Many of their patients are immigrants without proper documents, or have documents but are without insurance. The staff stated that the hospital's aim is not only improving the health conditions for Latinos but also presenting themselves as a good community member.

Interestingly, all those organizations are not located directly in Greektown, but they are close enough for residents to either walk or take a bus to reach them. The only exception is the local school, John Ruhrah Elementary and Middle school, which is located in the East side of Greektown (Figure 10 in Chapter 3) that many Latino children attend, and their parents, mostly mothers, are involved in. The limitation here is that if you are Latino without children, most of the social activities are happening outside of the neighborhood. Overall, the condition makes Greektown mostly a place to sleep for Latinos as their daytime activities such as working, meeting friends, and getting assistance are done outside Greektown.

Location of Organizations (Latino Oriented)

A: Sacred Heart of Jesus
B: Esperanza Center
C: Casa De Maryland
D: Education Based Latino Outreach

E: Latino Network Providers
F: Centro Sol

Figure 20. Map: Baltimore City, Location of Latino-Assisting Organizations

5.2.2.2: Dream Homes

With the ample support networks spreading throughout Southeast Baltimore, Greektown is

one of the neighborhoods that Latinos consider a good place to have their room and house to stay.

However, without the core facilities and organizations for them directly in Greektown, how they see

the neighborhood is a question.

When Latino first generation members were asked where they want to live if the cost did

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not matter, they talked about all over the place, such as Towson, Dundalk[v], and other suburban neighborhoods. They hope to have a large house where the family can stay all together. Most of them think that the downtown location is a starting point due to its low cost of living, public transportation, and networks within the Latino community. Anna from Mexico told me that she would move to somewhere if her landlord raises the rent in the future. For her, it is not a huge problem. What matters to her is affordability, proximity to family and friends, safety, and convenience to the church, workplace, and Latino retails. Greektown happened to be her place now, but if she moves to another neighborhood, it is another start for her, just like she did in Greektown, she just needs to adjust, she said.

This transient nature can be reflected in how they live in the neighborhood. During the fieldwork, a Latino man invited me to come into the room. In the house, the ground floor was almost empty, and there were white plastic garden chairs that were stacked in the corner. He quickly moved the chairs and asked me to sit down. Even though he has been living in Greektown more than three years, the room has no other furniture. For him, the place is a temporary place, and the plastic chairs are enough for now. The other Latinos' houses I entered were also mostly bare-looking. Of course, furniture is an expensive item, and for the new immigrants, buying furniture may not be a high priority. However, observation of their houses tells us that their lives here have

just started and they are in transition—whether they will settle down and build a more socially and economically stable life in the neighborhood, or not. The fact that the facilities and organizations they rely on are all located outside Greektown, they tend to think they may move out to somewhere if the rent in Greektown becomes unaffordable, or if they decide to buy a house somewhere else.

Second generation Latino immigrants and the leaders of Latino organizations, who are economically better off than newly arrived immigrants, see the neighborhood as a place for businesses. On the other hand, first generation immigrants see the inner-city neighborhood is a starting point for life in a new country. Both generations view Greektown as one option as a residential place in the city and have no intention to build a "Latinotown" there. Diego, a leader of a Latino organization, said he would move to anywhere if there are businesses and jobs with Latino networks. This spatially transient attitude of Latinos contrasts with the attitude of Greeks, who have a strong attachment to the neighborhood as stakeholders.

5.2.3: Diversity among Latinos

Latino immigrants in Greektown come from various countries. Although Mexicans are the largest group, there are many from other Latin American countries, such as El Salvador, Honduras, and Peru (Table 1. **Hispanic or Latino by origins in Census Tract 2607 (2010 Census)** in Chapter 3). As each

country has a unique history and culture as well as economic conditions, the differences among the

nationalities should not be ignored and put all in a box as Latino or Hispanic. However, they share

the Spanish language, and obviously, that makes communication and information flows within the

Latino community easier, although slight differences in language exist. Getting useful information

is a key to surviving in the new country, and the process connects people beyond the differences of

original countries. The majority of them are also Catholics who attend the churches that have

Spanish services, where people meet other Latinos. Worshipping in the same religion with the same

rituals that they used to do in the home country can greatly help the Latino immigrants' spiritual and

emotional health. A leader in a Latino organization stated that because none of their nationalities are

an overwhelming majority, and most of them are newly arrived immigrants, he believes that Latino

immigrants in Southeast Baltimore belong to one overarching Latino community once they are in

Baltimore City.

5.2.3.1: Differences in Generation

More than nationalities, the generational variations present more significant differences

among Latinos in Greektown. The growing number of 1.5 generation (those who came to the United

States in early childhood) and second generation (those who were born and raised in the United

States) have different experiences from their parents. Their views toward their own ethnic group

and the other groups could be different from those of their parents.

Christina, who came to the United States with her parents when she was only two years old from Venezuela without documents, is a young female who is working hard to get a college degree. While attending a local community college, she also works as a bilingual staff member in a legal office. She has always been aware of her Venezuelan heritage, a place she has never visited due to a legal issue, and hoping to visit someday. Being a Venezuelan and Hispanic is important for her and even makes her learn proper Spanish language in school.

My friends wondered because I can already speak Spanish, which I always speak in my house. But I wanted to learn proper Spanish, not something I heard from my family. Because I know it would give me more opportunities in my future.

Christina believes that being bilingual is not only for employment. She is active in advocating Latino's human rights, especially for those who do not have legal documents. Her parents—who are first generation and without proper documents—worried that she and her family may get into trouble when she participated in those activities, including protests in Washington D.C. However, through learning Spanish and about Latino's situation in the United States, Christina strongly thought she needed to help Latino immigrants who are like her parents. She is certainly one of the educated persons (and will be more educated in the future) who can clearly recognize her role as a

second generation Latino. In the neighborhood, there are many of those young Latinos whom I met at the events that Casa de Maryland and other organizations hosted.

The first and second generations of Latinos have different experiences in the neighborhood, especially in how they communicate with neighbors. For the first generation, which currently constitutes the overwhelming majority in the neighborhood, communicating with non-Latinos is difficult due to differences in language, but also because there is little to share and discuss. The first generation relies on family, friends, and Latino organizations for their daily lives. Unlike their parents, second generation Latinos, whose numbers are increasing, speak English fluently, attend local schools, and have non-Latino friends as native-born (or at least fluent English-speaking) Americans. They know the social system, how to find jobs in the broader market, and how to communicate with non-Latino employers, customers, city officials, and other people. More importantly, they tend to feel that they have stakes in the neighborhood, city, and nation as the place where they grew up and will stay.

The numbers of those Latino children who are either born in or came to the United States at a very young age dominate in John Ruhrah School, and now many of them have started to move to the middle school. The John Ruhrah School accepts those children and now has more than 60% Spanish-speaking students (Figure 15 in Chapter 3), and has several Spanish-speaking teachers and

staff. As is often the case, the children I observed on the streets or at various events speak English to non-Latino friends and teachers, but Spanish to their parents. They usually speak better English than their parents and sometimes support them when needed in various situations. Those younger generations are gradually moving into the adult stage, which could influence the relationships with others in the neighborhood.

5.2.3.2: Differences in Socioeconomic Status

There are also differences in socioeconomic status among Latinos in Greektown. Not all of them are low-skilled immigrants who speak little English. There are also small numbers of Latinos who came to the United States after they completed higher education. Silvia is an Ecuadorian who has a master's degree from a University in Spain, speaks English fluently, and has worked for international organizations. She married a second generation Ecuadorian in Baltimore City. First, Silvia felt isolated in the neighborhood because her educational level was much higher than her Latino neighbors. However, after she got a job in a large philanthropy organization as a bilingual coordinator, she found that she had a role in this Latino community; assisting the Latinos who struggle in the new place by utilizing her education. Although the socioeconomic differences between Silvia and the other Latino neighbors exist, she still feels she belongs to her ethnic group.

Although the numbers are small, Greektown has second generation immigrants, including

highly educated immigrants, domestic migrants, and longtime residents. They tend to have higher

socioeconomic status and often use their bilingual skills to obtain jobs, frequently working for other

Latino immigrants. The diversity among Latinos needs to be recognized when determining what

kinds of relationships they have with the other groups in the neighborhood.

5.2.4: Negotiating with others in Greektown

The fact that their daily networks exist outside Greektown and their transient nature

suggests that Latinos do not feel an urgent necessity to communicate with other groups in the

neighborhood. Language is certainly a barrier, but moreover, communication is not necessary. They

have jobs, friends, and assistance from their organizations that are located outside Greektown.

Many of them think that the neighborhood conditions are just fine—safe, clean for their standard,

and livable. So why do they need to do something with other groups?

In addition, the fragile legal status for some of them possibly makes them not want to be

active in the neighborhood. It is not rare to have unauthorized immigrants in a family, and as

described in Chapter 4, they tend to stay away from the activities outside their safety zone. They are

likely to communicate with the people whom they know it is safe to do so. A leader of a Latino

organization once suggested to me for my fieldwork when I asked him to connect me to the newly

arrived immigrants,

You may not get a good interview with them [= newly arrived Latino immigrants]. They don't talk. Why don't you just interview the organizations like us? We know everything that they will tell you.

His statement presents his confidence that those Latino organizations are representative of them and he believes he knows everything. At the end, however, I found that each newly arrived Latino still has a different story that the organization can tell. The Latino immigrants talked well if I was with somebody speaking Spanish and/or introduced by somebody they knew. The nervousness to outsiders is not particularly unique to Latino immigrants, as many newcomers may feel so, yet the tendency can be stronger if they need to be careful about legal status.

The only place in Greektown that many Latinos must be involved in is the school. Interviews and the survey responses show all Latinos with children strongly emphasized the importance of the children's education. One of the Latino mothers smiled at her three young children but said, "That (going to the school) is their job! Go to school and study hard. They need to go to the school and listen to the teacher!" Many Latino parents emphasize the importance of school work in the interviews.

As Latino children are mostly young and attend a public local school, John Ruhrah

School's Parents and Teacher Association has many Latino parents who are mostly first generation

immigrants. Margaret, an experienced teacher, stated that in the beginning, Latino parents (mostly

mothers) came to the meeting but they kept silent. Although the school had Spanish-speaking staff,

they did not speak out. They just followed and worked hard for what was decided by the others.

Margaret's speculation was that they were not used to working proactively in this kind of setting in

their home countries. But the situation changed when the school organized an event committee with

only Latino parents. They started to organize the events successfully by themselves. This example

shows that if the Latino parents can work with people from their culture, heritage, and language,

then they feel comfortable working more proactively.

Another way to look at what attitudes they have to other groups is that intergroup

marriage can be said to be an ultimate form of acceptance. The survey shows that Latinos in

Greektown are more open for their children's marriage to another nationality, race, or ethnicity than

Greeks are. Most of them answered in interviews too, that they think it is not important for their

children to marry another Latino. At the national level, 25.7% of newlywed Latinos were married to

non-Hispanics in 2010 (Singer & Suro, 2000) and it is assumed that the pressure on their children to

marry Latinos (or those from the same country) is much lower than for Greeks. Interethnic

marriage, especially with native-born Americans, can also be seen as an advanced form of

assimilation. Latinos in Greektown have, therefore, an open attitude to others to assimilate and

advance in society, yet there is a hesitation to communicate with others due to cultural unfamiliarity,

language barriers, and their unstable legal status.

Although most of them are newly arrived immigrants, there is some diversity—countries

of origin, generations, and socioeconomic status. As time passes, more children will grow up with

education, get married to somebody who is not Latino and can become longtime residents. When

examining their relationships with others, this increasing diversity among Latinos should be noted.

5.3: New Residents

This chapter discusses a group of people who moved in Greektown within the last 10

years, none of them being either Greeks or Latinos. The influx accelerated when two new

residential developments opened in 2012. Two different developers built the new residential, one

called Athena Square and the other called O'Donnell Square (Figure 17 in Chapter 3). Each

development site has almost 300 units. In this study, I interviewed sixteen new residents. Ten of

them live in those new developments and the rest live in existing old row houses that are often

renovated. The majority of these new residents are homeowners while a few are renters. Those

newcomers' ages range from 20s to 40s, most of them did not have children at the time of the

interview or the survey, but many had pets such as dogs and cats. All graduated at least college, some went to graduate schools including medical and law schools, and have professional jobs. If they are homeowners, most likely this was the first time to buy houses for them.

This section illustrates reasons why they decided to move into Greektown, what they think about their neighborhood, and how they interact with the others. Their education and generation have great impacts on how they interact with the other groups of people.

5.3.1: Living in Greektown

5.3.1.1: Motivation to come to Greektown

Obviously the reasons why they moved into Greektown vary by individuals, but many have similar ones about the neighborhood such as affordability, convenience, safety and the atmosphere. The new residents often conducted a lot of research before they moved into Greektown—evaluated their finances and future career plans, asked their friends, checked the crime data, and visited the place hoping that they would find a perfect place to settle down. In reality, it was a comparison process and what their priorities were determined their decision.

The financial aspect was certainly the most important factor for the new residents in Greektown. Many mentioned that some financial assistance from the city and organizations made

them begin to look for the property. Some took advantage of a tax deduction program by Baltimore City for first time homebuyers, which aims to increase the population in the city. For those who work in Johns Hopkins, the organization's financial assistance was also attractive. Johns Hopkins has implemented "Live Near Your Work" program (LYNW) to assist its employees to purchase houses around their location. As of 2016, if an employee purchases a house in Greektown, the person can receive instant $5,000 incentives[vi]. One couple, the wife Laura works at Johns Hopkins Bayview Campus as medical staff and her husband who is a medical intern told me that those incentives were attractive and helped them to make the decision to purchase their firs house.

As Greektown is not at the waterfront and does not have trendy bars and restaurants, many stated that, for the location, it was not the first choice for them. They originally looked for places near Fells Point or Canton, where gentrification has been almost completed. Shortly after, they found those places already had become unaffordable or overpriced. When they started to widen their research, they saw that Greektown was close to those gentrified places yet was still reasonably priced. Ashley, a graduate student with her fiancée, initially told a realtor that they were not interested in Greektown. But later, they found that the neighborhood was close enough to Canton, where they often meet with friends, by car or a shuttle bus that the developments provide for their residents if they want to have drinks at bars in those neighborhoods. In addition, proximity to the

major highways, I-95 and I-895, are big advantages as they can bypass congestions in downtown to go to work. Often they work in suburban offices and or in Washington D.C. Ashley was convinced that this place was not so bad.

The relative safety of Greektown also helped to convince the new residents. Emily, a female in her 30s, living in a renovated old row house, said when they started to look for property, they found one in Highlandtown, west of Greektown. They have a small dog to walk every night, so the safety around the neighborhood was crucial. Emily recognized that some crimes in the central city were inevitable, but they wanted to find a place where they didn't have to worry about serious crimes every day. As the 2014 crime map by Baltimore City Police Department shows (Figure 21), Greektown has a relatively low crime rate compared to the other downtown neighborhoods, and most of those are concentrated on along Eastern Avenue, a major commercial corridor in Greektown. In a Baltimore Sun's article in 2008, an officer from Baltimore City Police Department stated that "Greektown is one of the safer neighborhoods in the Southeastern District." The crimes there are mostly property-based such as larceny from autos, although occasional burglary happens[vii]. In the survey, when the residents of Greektown were asked what the most recent problem in the neighborhood was, only 3.2% said the crimes (homicide, rape, robbery and assault), while 55.7% said garbage is the issue. In Greektown, general perception among residents including Greek,

Latinos and the new residents is that this neighborhood is relatively safe. It is certainly a positive

aspect of the neighborhood for all, but for the new residents who have more options to choose from

compared to Latinos, the safety here is a good selling point.
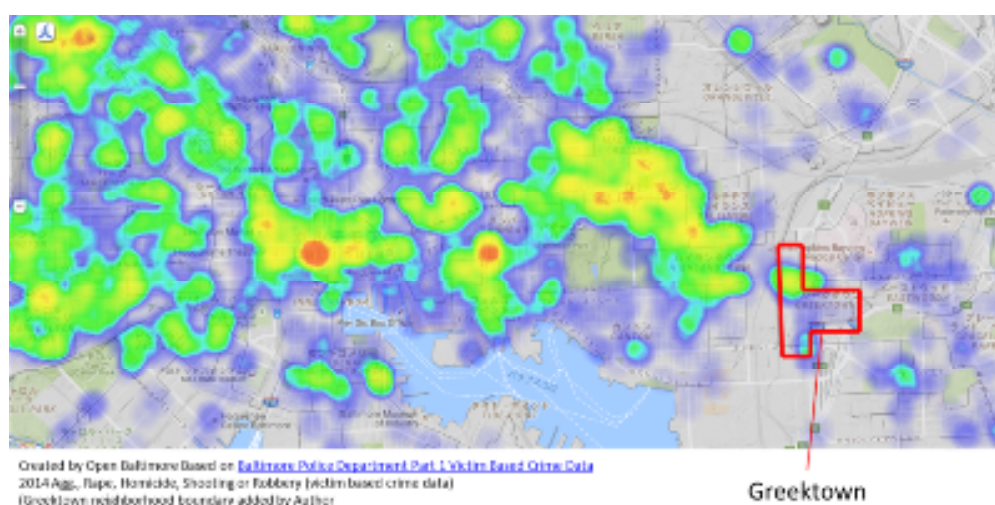
Figure 21. Map: Baltimore City, Crime Map

By Baltimore Police Department 2014 (Rape, Homicide, Shooting or Robbery-victim based crime data)

*the brighter color (from blue, yellow to orange) shows more concentration of crimes

The affordability, convenience and safety helped the new residents to make a decision to

purchase the property in Greektown, while they compromised the "brand-name" of the

neighborhood. They often tell their friends they live in "North Canton" or "next to Canton" as they

think the other people do not recognize Greektown. Or, some people simply use those names

because they believe it sounds better. One person told me that he wants to avoid people asking like

"What? You are living in Greektown? Are you Greek?" Certainly Greektown is not as major a

neighborhood as Canton and Fells Point, especially among the young generation. Emily told me

how their friends reacted when they moved in Greektown

I have a couple of friends in Mount Vernon [downtown- 10-15 minutes from Greektown]

still and they never want to come here. I always end up going to Mount Vernon to meet

them. I think they don't know… they don't really know Greektown.

In contrast some tried to explain about Greektown. The images of Greece—blue sky and ocean,

good food, and history—do not sound so bad, according to Jimmy who embraces foreign culture.

With limited budget and living in a downtown location, finding the perfect place is not so

easy, yet most of new residents made decisions after careful research and examination, weighing

good and bad aspects, then rationally deciding that living in Greektown is not a bad choice.

5.3.2: Socially-Minded New Residents

5.3.2.1: Gentrifiers or Socially-Minded Improvers?

These new residents' influx into Greektown can be seen as a sign of gentrification. They

are obviously highly educated professionals and have all qualifications as "gentrifiers" such as high

education and professional job. At the same time, they are the generation that are often called

"Millennials", "Echo boomers" or "Generation-Y" who can have different impact on the

neighborhood from the previous generation such as many of Baby Boomer generation who accelerated the suburbanization in the United States.

Some notable examples of those Millennials' behavior have appeared in the last couple of years; the young and educated urban dwellers are the core members of some social movements such as Occupy Wall Street in 2015 and supporting Senator Bernie Sanders as a Democratic presidential candidate in 2016. They are concerned about social equality and justice, and expressed their will through protests, rallies and votes. Echoing those tendencies, many of the young new residents in Greektown expressed their interest at community activities and discussed creating "good" neighborhoods embracing diversity and advocating social equality. Greektown's new residents clearly present some of those attitudes that are clearly different from the conventional images of gentrifiers who are often described as a group not paying much attention to local context and indigenous residents.

Although there is no single definition for the Millennials, most seem to agree that they are the generation born between the early 1980s and 2000 (Carlson, 2005; Howe & Strauss, 2000; Pew Research Center, 2015). Now many of them are in their 20s, and 30s—the age directly influencing neighborhoods through their choices on where and how to live. They have grown up with new technology such as the Internet, cell phones, and Social Network Services (SNS), which are not

mere electronic gadgets, but have become a fundamental digital infrastructure in their everyday

lives. This generation also has encountered economic recession, rising college tuition costs, and

scarce job opportunities in the early twenty first century. Growing concerns for the environment and

climate change are hot topics among them (Furlow & Knott, 2009). Millennials are also often

described as "civic-minded" and "team players" (Howe & Strauss, 2000). They also "value the

community" and "make a positive social impact on their own children and communities, as well as

on society as a whole" (The Council of Economic Advisers-White House, 2014). Twenge (2006) a

psychologist, counter-argues that they are more individualistic and narcissistic, rather than caring

for others, based on a national survey[viii]. Bonner, Marbley, & Howard-Hamilton (2011) also point

out that the image of Millennials is that of a narrow demographic of affluent Whites who grew up in

suburbs and only reflects part of the generation. These contradictory images of Millennials show the

complex nature of generalizing such a large cohort group. I acknowledge that throwing such a large

and racially diverse group into one category can be challenging. Nevertheless, in Greektown, it was

undeniable that there are the common themes that synchronize with the Millennials' traits discussed

above.

In addition, Baltimore has a potential to attract the Millennials who are more idealistic and

civic-minded to there than the other cities do. The largest employers in Baltimore are medical

institutions and universities such as Johns Hopkins University. According to the 2010 American

Community Survey, almost one third of the city's population over 16 years old is employed in the

education and health care sectors, compared with only one-fifth in Washington, D.C., and in the

Manhattan borough of New York City (Table 7). New York has more jobs in finance and Information

while DC is the place for Public officials and Professionals such as lawyers. The fact is that those

organizations, in principal, attract those professionals who want to help people who need assistance.

During the interviews with the young new generations, many expressed their support for social justice

that is embedded in their jobs such as nurses, doctors and social workers.

Table 7. Jobs in Washington DC, New York, and Baltimore

2010 ACS	Washington DC		NY Manhattan Borough		Baltimore City	
Civilian employed population over 16 years old	297189		848016		274033	
Agri	447	0.2%	880	0.1%	335	0.1%
Const	8727	2.9%	14369	1.7%	15848	5.8%
Manuf	3670	1.2%	32117	3.8%	14921	5.4%
Whole sale	2170	0.7%	20699	2.4%	5441	2.0%
Retail	15098	5.1%	63666	7.5%	24455	8.9%
Transportation	9527	3.2%	21246	2.5%	15903	5.8%
Information	12724	4.3%	57220	6.7%	5991	2.2%
Finance	18267	6.1%	139990	16.5%	17573	6.4%
Professional, scientific,	66600	22.4%	159662	18.8%	29957	10.9%
Educational, Healthcare	58476	19.7%	186442	22.0%	81167	29.6%
Arts	27007	9.1%	90201	10.6%	24210	8.8%
Other	25467	8.6%	36728	4.3%	13102	4.8%
Public	49009	16.5%	24796	2.9%	25130	9.2%

In summary, the new residents in Greektown, who are Millennials, clearly present the characteristics that are unique for the generation – socially minded and concerned about the minority population. How those characteristics work in the neighborhood is discussed in a later section.

5.3.2.2: Authenticity

In addition to the socially minded attitude that the new residents present, the Greektown's Millennials often express the interests and understandings of different cultures. Because they grew up in the Information Age, with the ubiquitous Internet, they are more familiar with what is happening in other parts of the world than any other generations. Some attended schools that had international students, while others spent a year or two in foreign countries as part of their educational curricula. Traveling abroad is not an once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for them, but instead happens more regularly.

Therefore, it is not surprising that, in the interview, many new residents of Greektown expressed an interest in and understanding of foreign cultures and people. Jimmy, a White male in his 20s, had a lot of international friends when he was in the college. The experiences left him believing that learning from other cultures is a good and exciting thing. For him, interacting with "authentic" people gives him more satisfying understandings of the foreign culture. Therefore, the

more authentic it looks, better he thinks. In Greektown, Jimmy sometimes eats at local Latino restaurants that usually only cater to Latinos. They do not have English menus and English-speaking servers, but those do not prevent him exploring the places as he describes below.

> *It's really interesting, so I have gone in to them (Latino restaurants in Greektown) too. I speak a little bit of Spanish, so I try. To me, it's a cool way to experience the culture.*

Emily, a White female with a teaching job, has another reason to believe that keeping one's local heritage and having a diverse local community are good. She thinks that those neighborhoods are safer than places without any roots.

> *If there is something maybe more local and available that is in your community, it's a place you would walk to with friends or your dog or late at night or whatever it might be, I do like that.*

Justin in his late 20s, moved to an old row house with his partner and just set up his own business in the neighborhood, echoed Emily's statement and said "Ethnicity is wonderful in terms of the flavors that it brings to the neighborhood".

Brown-Saracino (2004) discusses "social preservationists" that reflect the Millennials' desire to live in an "authentic social space." This desire motivates them to try and preserve the urban neighborhoods' "original" conditions, including existing small businesses and indigenous

residents. Many of the new residents in Greektown agree with the idea.

Their desires to keep something "authentic" also can relate ethnic identity. Except a few who are second generation immigrants with higher education, when I asked them about their ethnic heritages, they mumbled and the typical answers were "Well, I think my mom's side has British and Irish roots, then my dad has mixture of all kinds" or "well, I am just an American." In the survey, more than 95% or the new residents answered that they don't see themselves as immigrants or from an immigrant's family. At the same time, some feel that it is nice to know about their heritage even though they are Americans and their ancestors came to the United States several generations ago. Emily, one of whose great grand parents came to the United States from the Czechoslovakia, said

> *My heritage is a lot Slovak, so from originally Czechoslovakia, but what is now Slovakia*
> *on my mother's side. So Slovak and Irish, and then my father is Irish and German. Actually*
> *I have a particular interest in Czech and Slovak repertoire as far as like opera and Art*
> *forms are concern.*

Despite the mixture of the ethnic roots, she particularly liked her Czech / Slovakia side of them, due to the fact that she loves music. Megan told me that she had one eighth or sixteenth of Asian blood. She was not sure if the person was Pilipino or Chinese, yet she thought it was good to tell it to me as I am an Asian too. Still, the majority of the new residents say they are just Americans but those

selective uses of the ethnic identity by some could help them to underline their uniqueness, create

the stories to tell to the others and present their respect to the other cultures (Waters, 1990).

In parallel, such behaviors can be criticized as merely superficial expressions of curiosity

toward exotic cultures, and isn't embedded in their daily lives. Although they think the small local

shops give authentic flavors to the neighborhood, they still drive to big-box shops for daily

shopping. They still like to have a Starbucks-type coffee shop instead of a Greek coffee shop. Their

ideas and actions could be seen as inconsistent, and it clearly influences their attitudes to the other

groups of people.

5.3.2.3: Gap between Idea and Action

Despite the ideas that the new residents have—social and economic equality, social

justice, curiosity to the ethnic culture and preservation of authenticity—, their participation, e.g.,

taking responsible roles in community organizations and joining the neighborhood's events, are

often sporadic. For example, when there was a clean-up event that was usually held at 9am on

Saturday morning, one time there were almost twenty of the new residents cleaning up the streets

nearby the developments, but in the winter time, only five people participated in cleaning near the

John Ruhrah school. At the monthly community meeting, a new resident came and talked about the

issues in Greektown based on the city's statistics, and then she or he disappeared after a couple of

meetings before any real solutions were found. The contradiction between idea and real action is their typical attitudes in this case. Emily answered when I asked her if she was interested in participating in the community meetings and events.

> *Yes, and I am too for sure. I can just never — I can never attend the meetings because I am always on that — night when I am teaching and rehearsing.*

In these days, it is hard to find the date and location that everybody can attend although the organizations try to accommodate it as much as they can. However, as their priority is for work and the private life – meeting with friends and family, the neighborhood activities has less priority.

Due to the prevailing Internet and SNSs, their daily connections are beyond the physical neighborhood. Some expressed that they see that the neighborhood can be an important unit for the social lives and they respect the people rely on the community there, yet they could survive without the network. Most of them pointed out that their "best friends" are not in the neighborhood, but in other cities and states, in some cases, abroad. In addition, a majority of them were not born and raised in Baltimore or Maryland, and their family members are not in the city. They came to Baltimore for jobs and schools and their important networks are outside of their physical location, and those new technologies—internet, cell phones and SNSs—help them to maintain the connection easier than the previous era. When the survey asked whom they talked to when problem in the

neighborhood happened, 16.7% of them said they would talk to the neighbors, which is much lower than Greeks and Latinos said. 35% of them rely on the established third party organizations such as police or community organizations as well as local politicians to solve the issues while many of Latinos and Greek talk to their family and friends first. The new residents let the third parties deal with the issues while communicating closely to the friends and families outside of the neighborhood. Their concept of "creating a good neighborhood" does not always mean "working together with the neighbors".

In addition, most of them think that Greektown is not their final destination regardless they are renters or homeowners. It is largely because they are still young. Some just got married or got a first job. For them, it is hard to predict where they are going to live in next ten years. The couples without children often told me that the situation may change once they have them. Amanda hoped that eventually she wanted to live in the place with warmer climate just like her childhood home in Florida. Ashley in the new development is still a graduate student in her late 20s and just purchased her first home with her fiancée, yet already thinking about the future.

Yes, also we figured while we still young, we are both in our 20s, so before we have kids we want to go in city… and then once we have kids we will – if the taxes are more reasonable, then we will stay here otherwise we may go to county.

It is also true that their professional jobs allow them (or motivate them) to move to other places if there are good opportunities. As Julie successfully got a fellowship to work in abroad for several years and rent out her house, the moving out from Greektown can be a part of their life course. Their transient nature also keeps the real action in the neighborhood unfocused and inconsistent.

5.3.3: Diversity among New Residents—The Pioneers

While the gap between their idea and action exists, how wide the gaps are depends on where they live – in the newly built developments or in the existing neighborhood. Although both groups expressed similar ideas to the neighborhood – diverse, social justice and equality, due to the different circumstances, how they interact with the other group is varied.

According to Clay's Stage Model of Gentrification (Clay, 1979), firstly, the middle-class who are often artists, designers, same-sex couples and later, school teachers and journalists who find the place affordable and interesting with its eclectic and inspiring atmosphere start to move in as "pioneers". Lees, Slater, & Wyly (2008) describe their characteristics as:

This pioneer gentrifiers works in the cultural professions, is risk oblivious, wants to pursue a nonconformist lifestyle, wants a socially mixed environment, and rehabilitate his or her property using sweat equity. (p.34)

As a result of the earlier stages of the gentrification, those places are recognized as "cool" and "emerging" places, the second wave of gentrifiers such as middle class professionals, corporate managers and lawyers started to move in to the area with the development by powerful investors, and eventually cause displacement of longtime residents and small businesses. Clay's theory is based on the classical gentrification phenomenon in the 1950s and 1960s, and later the scholars further discuss the "super gentrification" that the area become exclusively for the wealthy elites and the real estate becomes unreachable for the middle class (Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Lees, 2003).

In Greektown, the stages do not strictly follow the timeline; the pioneers keep coming while the middle class gentrifiers concentrated on the new developments, and unlike other neighborhood, the super-gentrification has not happened yet. This is largely due to the abandoned postindustrial sites that have been developed within the Greektown boundary. The sites used to be work places for many Greeks in the early to mid-twentieth century, but now it is a place for those middle class gentrifiers while the rest of the neighborhood has spotted the pioneer gentrifiers renovating the old houses.

The largest difference between the pioneers and the middle class gentrifiers in Greektown is who their neighbors are. The pioneers live in row houses in the existing neighborhood – it means that they may share the walls with somebody not like them. It could be a Greek or a Latino family.

As shown in the map (Figure 22 in Chapter 6), diverse people live side by side in the existing neighborhood. Once they step out from the doors, they encounter those non-gentrifiers on the streets every day. If there are issues—whether it is dumping at the corner of the street, noise from the nearby bar, or parking problem, the pioneers need to negotiate with the other residents who may be there for longer than them, or newly arrived but with different lifestyle. The interaction with the other groups is needed in the existing neighborhood, whether they like it or not, while the new residents in the developments can let home associations or other third party organizations deal with it. The residents in the new developments often find their neighbors share a lot in common—age, socioeconomic status, education and lifestyles—, and easy to communicate with. Therefore, even though those two types of gentrifiers have a lot in common, how much they interact with the non-gentrifiers has major differences.

Consequently, it is not surprising that the main actors in Greektown's neighborhood organizations are often the pioneers. Julie is a social worker who moved into the existing neighborhood 8 years ago as the house was affordable and located conveniently for her work. She took a role as board member of a community organization and spends a lot of time coordinating the events and negotiating with city offices. She told me that she wanted to make the neighborhood better because she needed to keep property value good for her investment. Megan, who is not

exactly a new resident as she has been back and forth in the neighborhood but is a young educated

woman, works with Julie. Megan has a small child in the local school, therefore she is greatly

concerned for the safety and wellness of children and often works with the school. Julie and Megan

often talked about those new residents in the developments with mixed attitudes.

Interviewer: What do you think about the new people in the development?

Julie: They are just staying within their development. They live like they are in suburbs. They only communicate within the development.

Justin, the young small business owner, echoes to her and told me that some people call the

developments "Canton County" suggesting that the newcomers live like suburbanites near Canton.

However, as both Julie and Justin agreed that having "like-minded" people—in their age with

professional jobs – in the neighborhood has an advantage. Julie said it is still nice to have more

people who can work with them—like attending a liquor board in the city office, negotiating

vendors to have an event, and the young and educated people can do those things easily. Julie

answered when I asked that if she wanted to see more new people care about the old section of the

neighborhood,

Julie: Yes. Come on! You live in Greektown! I wish they care more [about the

neighborhood they live in.] But… well, it [=having them] is still not bad. Not bad at all.

In addition, the new developments gave the pioneers assurance that the neighborhood is not going down at least for now. Although the people in the new development tend to be segregated, they are sensitive for the property value as homeowners, thus they do not want to see the neighborhood going down and damage their property values.

The pioneer gentrifiers welcome new residents with similar age and education, but at the same time are frustrated that they do not consistently join the activities to make neighborhood better. The new residents stay back in their developments and do not have to see the other people if they do not want, while Julie and Megan must negotiate with the others on the same street. The new residents have their own parking spots (so that they don't need to fight for a spot on the street in the evening), their neighbors all know how they manage trash garbage (so that they do not have to worry that somebody use the trash bin without the lid) and most of them work same schedule (so that they are quiet at night).

The pioneer gentrifiers' anticipation and frustration to the new developments' people present the complex dynamics within the new residents. It is mainly because the two types of new residents exist in the neighborhood at the same time. The similarities are still significant—their age, education and socioeconomic status as well as their Millennials' characteristics—and those make

them work together easily for sure. Yet, how much they need to negotiate with the other residents

who are different in many ways is varied depending on where they live.

Through the interview and the survey, I found that Greektown's Millennials have an idea

that "diversity is good" and feel that they do not want to be the ones who displace the indigenous

and low-income residents. As they attended colleges that often have diverse classmates, had

experiences abroad through educational programs, and are now working in offices with diverse

colleagues, many expressed their interests, understanding, and tolerance towards racially, ethnically,

and generationally different groups of people. Although the number is small, some of the new

residents are themselves racial and sexual minorities, and that also makes them feel that "we" are

not just typical "gentrifiers" who displace minorities and low income population. Amanda, an

African-American female in her early 30s, is a professor at a nearby college and just moved into a new

house in Greektown. In the interview, she expressed her concern about gentrification despite that she

herself has many qualifications of it.

> *I'm a little concerned that the Latino population might be pushed out that's in the*
> *neighborhood, and I don't think that that's OK. So some cities work to try to be more*
> *inclusive and try to, like, create mixed neighborhoods.*

As a former public housing resident, she criticized the process of gentrification and supports her

inclusive and diverse neighborhood. Amanda firmly stated that she doesn't want to live in either an all-Whites or all-black neighborhood. She explained that in a Whites' neighborhood, she would probably feel isolated, while an all-black neighborhood would make her feel disconnected from other groups. Therefore, the racial diversity in the neighborhood is important for her.

There are also various kinds of diversities in the neighborhood. Some of the new residents are openly gay and live with their same-sex partners. The interviews with them found that the diversity in sexual orientation among new residents also makes them support varying diversity, especially a racial minority, in the neighborhood.

5.3.4: Negotiating with others in Greektown

Although the differences between pioneers and residents in new developments exist, with their socially minded attitudes, they usually have no problems to interact with people in the different groups when it is needed. As stated in the Chapter 4, they are the easiest group to approach for the interview for me as a researcher. Many have done this kind of survey before, and understood what the "academic research" meant. Some were sympathetic to me as they went through same kinds of academic experiences in the college. They are interested in the topic, and often express their standing point on the issues such as immigration and community development vocally. They

also often express their interests in Japan, once they know I come from there. The positive attitudes

to the others culture also helps them to communicate with the other groups easily in the beginning.

However it is clear that a lot of people have other priorities and meeting with the other groups of

people are rare due to their focus on their communities—colleges, work, family, home city and

hobbies that are not bounded by geographical location. Especially those who are in the new

developments are self-sustainable and do not need to talk with and rely on the others. The third

party organizations—residential association, developers, police, city officers, and so on—can

handle the issues. It is time consuming and often becomes messy if they negotiate with the people

face to face, and the peace of daily lives is more important. Therefore, their typical attitudes to the

other groups of people are "if you don't bother me, any people are ok." As the educated Millennials,

they avoid stereotyping the minority or low income population and consistently told me that they do

not care where the person came from, what language they speak, what education they got and what

they do for living; however, if something bothers them, such as causing noise in the night or leave

trash on the day they should not, they report to the third parties. Emily was clear about this saying

that "Nobody bothers me as long as they follow the law and are considerate." This sounds

reasonable and I heard similar phrases over and over from the new residents. However, the issue

here is that what "considerate" means can be varied by different groups and/or some people don't

know the customs, rules and laws well as it can be complicated or unwritten. How the new residents work with the other groups in Greektown, Greeks and Latinos, depends on how they make their educated Millennials mind-set real in action and interact with the others within the physical boundary.

5.4: Old Timers

There are small numbers of old-time residents who are neither Greeks nor Latinos, and have been living in Greektown for a long time. They are mostly descendants of immigrants who arrived from Poland, German, France, Italy and other European countries in the early twentieth Century. I interviewed three of them and talked with some on the street, at the entrance pouch, and the at the community meetings. For many, their parents purchased newly-built houses in this neighborhood (it was not called Greektown at that time) more than eighty years ago and they were born and raised there. Then those children of immigrants often left Baltimore to attend colleges or get married, but later came back to their houses after they inherited them. One woman with Italian heritage in her 70s, told me she left the house when she got married, stayed in Florida, but when her parents had health conditions, she and her husband came back to Greektown. There are a few old-timers who have stayed in Greektown for their entire lives. In either case, the old-timers have seen

or heard it from their families that the neighborhood became extensively Greek from being a mixed European neighborhood through the mid-Twentieth Century, and now they are witnessing that it is turning to a diverse neighborhood. All of the old-timers I talked with were clearly aware of the changes.

5.4.1: Witnessing the Changes

Mary, a daughter of immigrants from United Kingdom, moved to the neighborhood almost sixty years ago when she and her husband bought a house there, and has stayed in Greektown since then. Mary and her husband decided to buy the house because there was a bus stop nearby, and were two small but nice grocery stores they could walk to. The local school, John Ruhrah, was considered as a good school at that time was located only a few blocks away. However, the neighborhood has changed over time. The stores are gone now, so her husband has to drive to another store. The school's reputation becomes mixed and a lot of people send their children to private schools now, if they can afford the tuition. Mary's husband overheard those things from the other neighbors. I asked how she felt about the time that Greeks gradually took over the neighborhood in the mid Twentieth Century. Mary answered "It was ok, and we have been liking the Greek neighbors, and have no complains. They were decent people."

Mary also mentioned about the newest residents, Latino, and said having them in the neighborhood is ok, too, and feels that seeing families with small children is a good thing. Mary recalled the time there were many children on the streets, and many parents she knew were in the neighborhood. The only difference is that now she does not talk to Latinos because of the language barrier. When I asked Mary whom she talked to regularly in the neighborhood, or who were good friends, she paused a bit and said "no, nobody is there… they are all gone now." Her husband saw her face and said "Oh, we are friends, aren't we?" Mary smiled and "Oh, yes, yes. I have a friend, good, good friend!"

Mary is lucky to have the best friend, her husband, at her side, but this case is not very common as many of the old residents stay at home alone. When I knocked at doors during the street event that a community organization hosted a cookout on the street, an old woman with medical tubes around her face came out to the door. She was not in a good mood. I explained about my research and asked her if she liked the neighborhood, she immediately said

No, no. Not at all now. I will get out as soon as possible! Indeed I am moving to a nursery home soon. This place is getting so bad… no people I know. I don't like the neighborhood anymore.

When I asked further about the neighborhood, she just shut down the door. Her neighbor told me

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that they seldom talked to her. One time the neighbor tried to give her a flyer for the event, but she did not respond.

Another day, when I was also walking on a narrow street, I saw an old woman hanging laundry in her backyard. I spoke to her and found that she was a descendant of Italian immigrants. She told me that the neighborhood has changed a lot in many ways with the influx of new people. The woman said it has happened everywhere in the United States, so she felt it is unavoidable change. The only inconvenience now is that she can no longer go to a church every Sunday because the church she used to go around the corner was sold to Luther Memorial Lutheran Church on the South side of Eastern Avenue. Another Catholic church was also replaced by East Baltimore Church of God on Ponca Street. Both churches mainly attract the members from outside of the neighborhoods; therefore the streets are often occupied by their cars on Sunday morning. But the parking is not the biggest issues for the old timers. Many of them now have to go to the churches outside of Greektown. Even though those are located in a few miles away, because many of the old timers do not drive, the distance is enough to discourage them to go there. Moreover, at their age, it is not easy to join another church which is new to them. As a result, many I talked to said they stopped going to the church every week, and it means that the old timers lost the places where they would have met the other people and had their community.

5.4.2: Negotiating with others in Greektown

Due to their age and the loss of nearby churches, old timers who are neither Greeks nor Latinos are probably the most isolated. Their closest contacts are often direct family members in other cities who they talk with on the phone occasionally, but some do not even have close ones. The Greeks of their age belong to the Greek community; therefore, even though the old-timers have positive images of the Greeks, their interaction is not vital. Latinos are mostly young, and the linguistic difference makes them difficult to communicate with. More importantly, for old residents, it is not so easy to associate with the "new" people and accept "new" things as they age. The old timers' attitudes are basically "set back and stay inside", and hope that those new things do not bother them.

I also talked to a few of those old timers on the street, who expressed their strong frustration with immigrants and minorities in general. An older Whites man with a walker approached me on the street when I was doing door knocking and told me that he hated all Latinos and African Americans[ix] in this neighborhood because they "invaded" the country. He was almost shouting at me. There was a Latino young man on the street, whom I had spoken with earlier. He refused to participate in the survey, but cautiously looking at me talking with the person, and later, he approached me and said;

Don't talk to him… you know, he is always like that… just crazy. And nobody listen him. He is lonely, I guess. Oh, you can talk to the other house, there was a nice American lady over there…

The young Latino tried to introduce somebody more reasonable, probably because he worried that I took the person's words seriously about Latinos. When I looked back at the street after knocking on almost all the doors on the street, the old White man with a walker still stood up on the street alone.

Some residents in their late 40s or 50s, who moved to Greektown more than twenty years ago, when the place was still mostly Greek, also do not have good neighborhood contacts. Donald, a White male in his late 40s, who works for various day-to-day jobs around ten dollars per hour, strongly criticized Latino immigrants in the neighborhood as he saw their influx was a threat and caused competition for jobs. Donald said,

Don't get me wrong, they work hard, but they don't go back to their countries because they come here, they take our jobs, they work, they take our money, and they send it to their countries.

When I asked Donald, if he had ever talked to those people he was frustrated, and said,

(Yes) they either ignore you or they don't understand you, and a lot of them just don't give a crap. Most of the people, they smoke here. They come over here. They look funny. They

smell funny. Their foods are nasty. They act like we owe them. We don't owe them. They come to this country. They need to earn their right. They don't need to be given their rights.

Irony was that Donald had been introduced by a Latino social worker in the neighborhood to interview.

Interviewer: [you said you don't like Hispanic people] But you know Jose, he is a Hispanic.

Donald: Oh, yes… He don't act like most of those – the ones that are coming over here. He acts like a decent person. He acts like an American.

These statements shows, he does not blame individuals if he knows them, but he does so for the group of people with whom he doesn't have any interaction.

The non-Greek / Latino old timers sometimes come to the community meetings, show their frustration and resist to changes. One time, an old woman was opposed to planting new trees on the street. It was a project lead by several community groups and completely funded by them. She looked upset and said "I don't want trees! Who is going to clean up (the leaves)? And it will cast the shadows. Nothing is good." Many of younger attendees didn't listen, and one of them even whispered to me with shaking her head, "Who does not want trees on the street? Having trees are all good and they are free." The project was overwhelmingly approved. The old woman left the

meeting frustrated, and the others just shrugged.

The old timers' stories suggest that their isolation and frustration, especially if they do not

have families with them. With loss of the churches their community is disappearing. Most of them

feel that they are no longer able to adjust their lives in the new social environment in Greektown.

5.5: Summary

The illustration of major groups of people in Greektown tells us that each group has

various reasons to move and stay there. Their different motivations lead to different attitudes about

Greektown and its neighbors. For Greeks, this is the place they have built and maintained—St.

Nicholas Church, Greek schools, and Greek businesses—and they have grown up there. Their

sentimental attachment is clearly different from the other groups. Latinos chose Greektown for

more practical reasons—affordability and proximity to Latino organizations. This leads to their

transient view of Greektown as a first stop in the new country. The new and young professional

residents chose Greektown from many other options after careful evaluation. Their primary reasons

to move to Greektown were affordability, safety, and convenience. At the same time, these young

millennials' idealistic concepts of diversity and social justice influence their attitudes toward other

neighbors. The old timers who moved to Greektown a long time ago tend to be isolated and

frustrated because they lost their affiliation to a certain community and feel their voice is not heard.

When talking about their identities, which are influenced by their culture and life experiences, similarities are found among Greeks and Latinos: strong affiliation to their ethnic group across generations, support of children's education, and considering religion as important in their daily lives. New residents share little with them for those, but they seem to understand and support the unique cultural attitudes of other groups through their own idealistic views. In addition, all groups except the old timers exhibit diversity within their group: immigrant generations, age, family types, minority status, sexual orientation and socioeconomic status. The next chapter will examine how they interact with other groups and what kinds of relationships they have based on those characteristics.

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[i] From H&S Bakery's website - http://www.hsbakery.com/index.cfm?page=about_history

[ii] U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Local Area Unemployment Statistics

http://www.bls.gov/regions/mid-atlantic/summary/blssummary_baltimore.pdf

[iii] Stephanie Rawlings-Blake was the Mayor of Baltimore City from 2010 to 2016

[iv] For example, in The 7th Baltimore Immigration Summit (October 24, 2014)

[v] Both Towson and Dundalk are located in Baltimore County

[vi] See http://hopkinsworklife.org/housing_relocation/LNYW/incentives_neighborhoods/

[vii] See (Brad Schleicher, 2008)http://articles.baltimoresun.com/2008-05-11/business/0805080040_1_greektown-proficiency-levels-southeast-middle

[viii] The "Monitoring the Future" survey of high school students (http://www.monitoringthefuture.org/) and the

"American Freshman survey" of entering college students

(https://www.heri.ucla.edu/monographs/TheAmericanFreshman2015.pdf)

[ix] The person mixed up with the immigrants and African Americans, and talked about them as invaders.

CHAPTER 6: NEGOTIATIONS

Only a few decades ago, Greektown was mostly occupied by working class Whites, many

of them Greek descendants. They lived in modest row houses and shopped at nearby stores. Most of

the neighbors knew each other well, talked on the streets, and drank coffee together. The

neighborhood was considered homogeneous in terms of race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status,

family type, age, culture, and religion. The conditions have changed quickly and dramatically,

however: Greektown has become highly *demographically* diverse. First, the younger generations of

Greeks moved out to suburbs. Then, an influx of Latino immigrants who are different from the

Greeks in many ways started to fill the vacant houses as renters. Census data from 2010 shows the

neighborhood is now more than 30% Hispanic, while in 1980 it was homogeneously White (Figure

1 in Chapter 1). Most recently, the latest trend of new residents has been young professionals, who

are socioeconomically different from the remaining old Greek residents and the Latino immigrants

and who have added another dimension to the neighborhood's diversity. All recent statistical

analysis has shown that Greektown is now diverse in many ways. Figure 22 displays the *spatial*

diversity among Greeks, Latinos, and the newest residents at the block level, revealing that the

majority of the new residents live in the newly-built residential developments on a former industrial

site that is still a part of this small neighborhood.

Figure 22. Example of Residential Pattern in Greektown

In addition to the residential patterns, the main commercial street presents Greek and Latino business side by side (Figure 16 in Chapter 3). In the neighborhood, except for the new residential developments, diverse groups of people also live and work side by side.

This dissertation explores the conditions of this recently diversified neighborhood, focusing on the relationships between residents. The questions explored within are what kinds of relationships have emerged there and how have the relationships contributed to the changes in the

neighborhood. Throughout my fieldwork, the different groups of residents directly and indirectly expressed their thoughts about the other groups. In this chapter, I illustrate and examine various negotiations among them and how their relationships reflect the current conditions in Greektown. How those groups negotiate, interact, and build various relationships—whether spatial, social, or symbolic—are discussed. The dynamics here are complex, as the formerly homogenous neighborhood has become diverse in terms of residents' age, origin of birth, education, race, and class. Each actor in the various groups acts differently, yet the actions of all influence how the different communities make decisions for the future of Greektown.

6.1: Spatial Relationship

The term "spatial relationship" indicates where people live in the neighborhood—who lives next door to whom. In Greektown, as Figure 1 shows, Greeks, Latinos, and others live side by side, and the census data confirms the condition. This phenomenon has neither occurred as a natural process nor by a particular person or group's direct intervention; rather, the diversification has been influenced by continuous negotiations between the different groups. The Greeks, Latinos, and new residents have interacted through their economic and cultural activities, and this has resulted in a spatially diverse neighborhood.

6.1.1: Greek/Latino

6.1.1.1: Supply, Demand, and Cultural Influence

For new immigrants, finding housing that they can afford and quickly settle into is the

first priority, as it is fundamental for their physical and mental wellbeing. Without proper shelter,

finding a job is extremely difficult. In order to find housing, new immigrants, as is often the case

even in the digital era, seek help from fellow pioneers who are already in the neighborhood and can

provide information. A good location for them needs to be affordable; have proximity to friends,

work, churches, Latino retailers, and reliable public transportation; and exhibit a pro-immigrant

atmosphere.

In Baltimore, many Latinos started to settle in the southeast area, which had consisted

traditionally of White, working-class neighborhoods in the 1990s; the area had been an enclave of

European immigrants in the early twentieth century. As a result of the exodus of second and later

generations of those European immigrants to suburbs, there were vacant houses that could

accommodate new residents. The timing coincided with the influx of new immigrants into the city,

and it was natural that Latinos quickly started to settle in the southeast Baltimore neighborhoods.

The reasons that the Latinos found these neighborhoods attractive were similar to those of the

European immigrants: the neighborhood was close to downtown, served by public transportation,

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and had modestly-sized houses. Greektown is a neighborhood in which the first-generation European immigrants who came to the United States in the mid-twentieth century still live there. The other nearby neighborhoods such as Little Italy, Fells Point, and Federal Hill, where mainly Italian, German, Polish, and other European immigrants used to live, have lost their original populations and ethnic characteristics, except for a few ethnic businesses, and have become gentrified neighborhoods with an influx of higher-income residents.

The fact that this condition—Greektown still having a Greek population and not yet being gentrified—has been maintained can be explained by a unique cultural characteristic of the real estate assets owned by the Greeks as illustrated in the Chapter 5; real estate was an important asset that they will leave for their children; therefore, they do not sell the houses, preferring instead to have renters. For Greeks, real estate is not so much for short-term investment; it serves as family asset to pass to the next generation. If younger Greeks do not come back and live in Greektown, the alternate choice is renting the house to others but not selling. Of course, not all Greeks follow this cultural practice. Some need to sell, and some may take advantage of rising housing prices. But those actions are, within the Greek community, not something they proudly tell the other members. Therefore, at least on the surface and for many first-generation residents, "making the property value high" is not their ultimate and only goal for the neighborhood.

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This cultural attitude on the part of the Greeks attracted Latino immigrant renters and keeps them in the neighborhood by providing affordable housing. Consequently, it created a spatially diverse neighborhood. Due to the fact that vacant houses were scattered around, not concentrated in one section of the neighborhood, Latinos and Greeks have ended up living side by side. According to the Greek homeowners interviewed, the Latinos are good renters because they work hard and pay on time, as they do not want to have any trouble that may result in reporting to the authorities. For those who are undocumented, whether they are on a working visa or not, involvement with legal authorities is something to avoid. As a result, the houses that would have been vacant otherwise now generate income for many Greek seniors while they wait until they can pass the houses to their children.

6.1.2: New Resident /Greek

6.1.2.1: Practical and Fantasized Motivations

The spatial relationships that the new residents have with the older Greeks are divided into two categories: those in the new developments who have limited physical proximity to the Greeks but enjoy the ethnic atmosphere/restaurants there, and the "pioneer" residents in the existing neighborhood who have more real interaction with Greeks and evaluate the neighborhood in more

practical ways.

The reason both types of new residents started to live in Greektown is mostly its affordability and proximity to other gentrified areas such as Canton. They often mentioned in the interviews that they had not known about Greektown when they started to look for houses to purchase. However, as the prices in nearby gentrified areas were already too expensive, many realized that Greektown could be a good alternative. For those who purchased houses in the new developments, the images and symbols of Greece also contributed to the promotion of the new developments: one development was named "Athena Square" by the developer, though its architectural design has nothing to do with traditional Greek design. However, as the new developments ignore the existing street patterns (Figure 17 in Chapter 3) there is a clear demarcation between the existing and new parts of the neighborhood. In this condition, it is easy for the new residents to be self-segregated while they consume a positive image of Greece based on their interests in exotic culture and the idea that cultural diversity is desirable. For example, many new residents made positive comments about Greece, rather than Greektown, such as "Oh, I want to visit Greece one day," "Blue sky and ocean, and white houses, right?" and "Mediterranean food is so great and healthy," in the interviews. Those fantasized images that are attached to the developments as marketing elements are consumed by the young professionals.

On the other hand, the pioneer new residents who moved into the renovated houses in the existing neighborhood, rather than those in the new developments, had more realistic images of Greektown. When Emily and her husband, who works for a company in downtown Baltimore, were searching for a house to buy, they looked at multiple data points, including crime maps in Baltimore City, and found that Greektown had a good balance with price, safety, and convenience. She continued, "It just happened to be Greektown. It could be Little Italy or somewhere else, but it was Greektown, and we had no problem with that." Chris, an engineer, and his partner moved from a different state and did not have a good sense of location in Baltimore City, but the safety and convenience in relation to the highway were the major reasons they chose Greektown. For the pioneer new residents, the images of Greece were not the criteria; rather, the relatively safe environment Greektown had maintained and its convenience were an attraction. The new residents in the old neighborhood have more frequent communication with "real" Greek people on the streets than the new residents in the developments; therefore, the pioneers have few illusions about Greece and Greeks, instead possessing more realistic ideas about Greektown. They value the "authenticity" of Greektown from the local contexts—how their neighbors, who are Greeks, came to be here, built the neighborhood, and have lived there.

The two different types of the new residents who live in Greektown certainly make this

neighborhood residentially diverse, as they brought their higher socioeconomic status into the neighborhood. However, it needs to be noted that those two sub-groups have different views on diversity. The pioneers are in the existing neighborhood living with Greeks and Latinos side by side, truly embracing and experiencing diversity firsthand, while the residents in the new developments "feel" the diversity by living close to the others though not by interacting with them. Although both types contribute to the spatial diversity in the neighborhood, the differences generate varied social relationships with the other groups, something that will be explained later in this chapter.

6.1.2.2: Fate of Ethnic Businesses

Through the influx of new higher-income residents and decline of the Greek population, the primary concern on the part of the Greeks is displacement of local Greek businesses. In Greektown, except for the Greek restaurants that attract more outsiders, the retail shops such as a Greek bakery, souvenir shop, and travel agent have been losing business within the neighborhood as their main customer base—the Greek population—declines. However, on Eastern Avenue, the main commercial corridor in Greektown, some Greek shops still remain, while several Latino restaurants have taken over the vacant stores. The businesses that are usually the sign of gentrification such as coffee shops, wine bars, organic delis, pet shops, and similar places, are not there yet. One clear reason is because most of the Greek retail owners own their stores, or Greek landlords own the

property and rent to others, they do not have to worry about rising rents and feel pressured to sell to outsiders. Another reason is that the young professionals' demands for such retail establishments are satisfied in the other already gentrified areas nearby, such as Canton and Fells Point, and therefore they do not need those shops in the neighborhood. The reason for the decline of Greek businesses in the neighborhood is not because of the influx of new population, it is because of the changing Greek population dynamics.

One possible lifeline for the surviving Greek ethnic businesses is expanding their reach outside the neighborhood. When I was in a small shop that sells a variety of Greek goods, the shop owner was busy answering a phone call from Virginia. She told me that someone was getting married and needed special decorations for the wedding. She also explained those calls were not rare, and she has had customers from all over the East Coast. Because of the decreasing number of similar Greek retail shops throughout the country, but a continuing need for Greek goods for special occasions such as weddings, she is now taking orders from customers in other states. The business is not thriving, according to her, but it is at least surviving because of the geographic expansion of her customer base.

The Greek business owners know that their businesses won't be there forever, particularly since their children who went to college and have white-collar jobs will probably not take over the

businesses. One Greek shop owner proudly told me that his daughter was an accountant, and she always told him that he should retire, sell the store to somebody, and relax the rest of his life. There was no resentment that his daughter is not taking over the shop; rather, he talked about his daughter's success proudly. He said when the time comes he will just close up the shop. Despite the fact that almost all the retail owners are old, and none of their children want to take over their parents' jobs, they still do not seem not be threatened by the influx of both new young residents and Latino immigrants. They also do not worry that the young people do not patronize them, as they do not compete with the big-box shops in Canton. Rather, they do business for their own groups, and when the demand decreases to an even greater extent, they will retire. In Greektown, the timing of thinning business and aging coincided with the influx of the other groups, and this condition has mitigated resentment to the changes occurring in the neighborhood.

For younger Greeks, losing those businesses in Greektown is a sad thing, yet they know it is inevitable as they do not patronize them either. However, with Greek restaurants and St. Nicholas Church in the neighborhood, Konstantinos believes that Greektown continues to have some real "Greekness".

I think the actual demographics of the city may not be Greek, but I think Greek culture will still have an influence. I still think there will be Greek restaurants, and the Greek Church

will be there, we'll do Greek things. I think the name Greektown will still continue. But

whether it's run by actual Greeks living in Greektown, that is hard to say.

The small businesses and population may be disappearing for the aforementioned reasons, but the

younger Greeks believe that the "Greekness" will still be there even though majority of businesses

may be gone.

6.1.3: New Residents/Latinos

6.1.3.1: Dual Real Estate Market, Gentrification, and Displacement

In general, the influx of new young and professional residents could affect neighborhood

conditions by possibly raising property values and creating more investment in housing and retail

businesses. Sometimes the displacement of indigenous, lower-income, and working-class

population happens under such conditions (Clay, 1979; Glass, 1964; Hackworth & Smith, 2001;

Lees, 2003; Smith, 1979). In addition, the new residents may demand different services to replace

those existing retail businesses as well. This phenomenon can eventually lead to neighborhoods

homogeneous in class, race, and ethnicity.

In Greektown, the effects on housing and retail businesses of the influx of the new higher-

income residents have not been salient due to the existence of the separated dual real estate

market—the existing neighborhood (the old part) and new developments (built on former industrial sites). Except for a small number of pioneers, the majority of the new residents live in the new developments, which Latino immigrants usually cannot afford. Therefore, the majorities of the new residents is spatially separated from the Latinos and Greeks in the existing neighborhood and have only limited interactions with them. This condition—new higher-income residents in the newly built areas and Latinos in the existing neighborhood in houses leased to them by Greeks—has created the dual real estate market within this small neighborhood. The existing neighborhood is mostly for the longtime homeowners and renters, while the new developments are for new homeowners with higher incomes. The prices of the units are significantly different—often the new houses are priced more than double the old row houses. This separated dual market works to prevent the rapid spread of the new residents to the old part of Greektown, as those with higher incomes are looking to purchase newly-built homes in the new developments and do not seek property in the existing neighborhood.

The nearby new development has not raised the property values significantly on the existing side of the neighborhood. Although there has been a steady increase of the prices, they have not caught up with the other gentrified areas such as Fells Point and Canton. Justin, the new entrepreneur with a small business in the existing neighborhood (in Chapter 5,) illustrated how he

compromised on his choice of residence but has been able to keep to his original goal—enjoying

life in those gentrified areas—by walking the long distance. His comments echoed those of many of

the young new residents:

> *We were looking at different areas on this side of town. We were just looking at Canton like*
>
> *Fells Point. I mean definitely we got a lot more house for our money here than we would*
>
> *have at Canton…. Canton has much more walkability when it comes to doing things, but*
>
> *this is not that much further away. And we have walked to Canton. We have walked to Fells*
>
> *Point. It is a long walk but you can do it.*

As described by Justin, new residents usually do not patronize the local small shops; instead, they

go shopping outside of Greektown. They have no intention to take over the commercial activities

within Greektown, as their demands are satisfied in the adjacent neighborhoods.

At the same time, the new residents are aware of the fact that they may theoretically

displace the lower-income residents based on their knowledge about gentrification through media

and stories from others. Laura, a young medical doctor, hesitantly told me her observation of her

neighbors:

> *You know, Latinos [are on the] poor side, so it is sad that if they cannot afford living here*
>
> *[if the property value is going up].*

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She acknowledged that displacement of the lower-income population may happen because of the new residents like her. Her tone was objective, and she spoke like a third party/observer because of her understanding of what she and her fellow new residents may cause, despite their will to be socially-minded neighbors. They acknowledge that it is not their intention to displace the Latinos and their businesses in Greektown, but it may happen because of their status as higher-income residents who may induce further development.

In contrast, when I asked the Latinos if they worry about rising rents and displacement, their answers were mixed. Some worried, but one person mentioned if it happened, they would just move to other places. Anna from Mexico has witnessed some of her Latino friends moving out from Greektown due to the rising rent. However, because of the Latino network that exists beyond this small neighborhood, she thinks they would be fine in a new place, and she can still maintain her friendships in Greektown through the church and text messaging on the phone. Although there is no systematic evidence whether the displaced Latinos will have a fully developed support system elsewhere, the ubiquitous, informal Latino network will likely be able to assist them in the new places. Diego, a leader of a Latino organization, confirmed this belief as follows:

We are coming and going to spread in Southeast Baltimore, so it will be a lot of Latinos. If
the rent gets higher, then we move to another place.

When asked if Greektown should be called Latino Town, as the population of Latinos may surpass that of Greeks soon, he said:

No, no. That's fine. They keep the name [=Greektown]. We don't have to take that. It is already Latino Town, but we don't need the name, you know.

The statements by the Latino community organizer show that the Latinos do not have to publicly claim their existence or ownership in the neighborhood. Their presence has already been established, and the name of the neighborhood does not matter for them due to their mobile and transient nature.

Part of this reasoning comes from the fact that Baltimore City has neighborhoods that show great variation in rent and housing prices. While there are upscale neighborhoods, many places still remain affordable or are even economically depressed. Of course, those areas may not be a good location, having fewer amenities and more safety concerns, but there are choices for Latinos, and their informal organizations will help if they need to move.

Though some may not *need* to move, they may *want* to, and several Latino immigrants expressed the dream of moving to the suburbs. Anna told me about her ideal home—a large single family house with parking space and a large backyard, where all her family can live together. She knows Greektown—an old urban neighborhood with small row houses—cannot give her this

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option. Therefore, she is looking to move out from the inner city neighborhood someday, as she sees

this as a temporary place for her. For her, the influx of those young professionals and possible

gentrification is another fate she will accept. But she believes the helpful Latino organizations and

network of will assist people like her anywhere they go. Contrary to conventional wisdom—new

residents do not care about the locals while existing residents fear displacement—in Greektown, the

new residents worry that they may be the cause of displacement, while the Latinos see Greektown

as a temporary place and are willing to move to another place if the rent becomes unaffordable, or

ideally, they climb the socioeconomic ladder successfully and can afford to move to a larger house

in the suburbs.

As a result, the spatial relationships between the new residents and Latinos are, at this

moment, non-threatening. The socially minded new residents understand the existence of Latino

residents enhances ethnic diversity in the neighborhood. Although it does not mean the active social

interactions, diversity of any kind is welcomed especially by those racial and sexual minorities

among the new residents, such as Amanda, who stated she does not want to be the only "minority"

in the neighborhood as an African American woman. If the real estate market continues to be

separated, and the number of pioneers does not dramatically increase in the existing neighborhood,

Latinos will not see the new higher-income population as an economic threat, and the two larger

groups can socially coexist without much interaction.

There is no clear evidence that the developments currently in the planning stage on the other former industrial sites adjacent to Greektown are induced by the influx of those new residents. Rather, the planned developments are more like a part of the whole city's larger redevelopment plan to utilize the former industrial sites. It could be said that the waves of gentrification in Baltimore City have not quite reached Greektown yet. As there are ample other former industrial sites in Baltimore City waiting for new developments to accommodate more of those young professionals without resulting in an invasion of the existing neighborhood, the gentrification pressure in Greektown remains relatively low at this moment, and that consequently keeps the coexistent residence of the Greeks and Latinos possible. At the same time, the new residents enjoy the exotic culture in the old part of the neighborhood and consume its images. This neighborhood maintains its spatial diversity based on those reasons: Greek cultural ideas on real estate and the dual real estate market.

6.2: Social Relationships

As a result of their relationships via housing as landlords and renters, Greeks and Latinos spatially live side by side. Although the new developments are not well-blended to the existing part

of the neighborhood, they are still in a small neighborhood only a street away from the old part. How, then, are the social relationships in this small yet spatially diverse neighborhood built is the topic of this section.

The social relationships in Greektown are complex and nuanced to varying degrees. The various interactions have resulted in two main kinds of social relationships: one is more formal and often developed through institutions such as community meetings, the work place, schools, or official events (secondary), and the other is more personal and developed through mutual understanding and trust such as friendships (primary). These concepts can be related to the categories that Ferdinand Tönnies (1887) described as Gemeinschaft (family/community) and Gesellschaft (society). The former is based on trust and friendships that members foster. In this relationship, people collaborate each other without seeking benefits from their actions. The latter is mostly constructed through exchanges of materials that, at the neighborhood level, could include rent payments and restaurant visits as well as attending meetings to express what they want based on their interests (such as keeping property values). In a rapidly diversifying neighborhood like Greektown, the two relationships, primary and secondary, exist in a complex way. Each group may keep primary relationships within the group in different degrees and motivations, while some build primary and secondary relationships across the groups. By paying attention to both intra-group and

inter-group relationships, in the following sections, those relationships found in Greektown are discussed.

The spatial diversity in Greektown only requires the residents to interact with the other groups on limited occasions (e.g., renters and landlords), and the relationships remain mostly formal and impersonal. The residents' daily lives in Greektown play out in their own groups. Nevertheless, in the interviews, many residents talked about how they felt about the other groups without direct interactions but through their imaginary ideas that were constructed from their cultural lives. As discussed in Chapter 2, culture provides symbols that shape the people's ideas towards other people. People interpret the ideas to the relationships without necessarily interacting with them directly. Those relationships can be called *symbolic relationships* in contrast to social relationships based on direct interactions. The symbolic relationships are not based on direct interactions but are constructed within the minds of the residents. Those views are the perceptions and images in their minds that derive from their previous experiences (i.e., having diverse friends in colleges, having children), their cultural heritage (i.e., growing up with certain cultural values), and their self-identification (i.e., identifying as immigrants). These similar concepts are discussed in studies of "fear of crime" that investigate how a perception of increasing crime that derived from various sources (e.g., changes in neighborhood racial composition) affect the neighborhood conditions

(Hartnagel, 1979; Skogan, 1986)[i]. In contrast to the fear that is a negative perception of others, the symbolic relationships in this study suggest how the positive aspects of those non-direct relationships affect the neighborhood conditions.

6.2.1: Secondary Social Relationships

How people interact through institutional activities such as participating in community events and meetings builds the secondary social relationships. Those are often characterized by economic relationships that allow people to see how the others in the neighborhood benefit from each other. The relationships such as those between landlords and renters, employers and employees, and business owners and customers are included in this category. The relationships are based on the participants' needs and therefore can be terminated when the benefits disappear. Conversely, they can also develop into the more personal, friendship-like relationships (primary).

6.2.1.1: Greeks/Latinos

The choices of residences—how Greeks and Latinos live and with whom—have been affected by the Greeks' cultural behaviors and Latinos' need for shelter, as previously discussed. As a result, Greeks and Latinos need to interact and negotiate on various occasions. Through the interactions they find mutual economic benefits. The relationships are not friendships but have in

fact created a social connection between the individuals.

For Greeks, renting out their houses is the solution by which they can keep property and generate some income without major investment. Leaving houses vacant is not only costly, but also reduces property values and neighborhood safety. For Greeks and Latinos, this is the solution that meets their supply-and-demand needs and economically benefits each other.

In addition to this relationship built on housing, there are also relationships built on business, those between employers and employees. This relationship is often on display at the Greek festivals, which are popular cultural events in Baltimore City, a place to showcase the great Greek food of many Greek restaurants. The restaurants' owners and servers, often Greeks, are in front serving the food to customers, while in the temporary kitchens many Latinos are working busily. One of the owners told me that he hires more than ten Latinos to work in his restaurant and houses them in one of his properties. Jobs in the restaurant industry are a typical starting position for newly arrived immigrants. In addition to the restaurant business, many Latinos are hired by Greek construction companies. During an interview, Dimitri, a longtime Greek resident who owned several properties in Greektown, asked me if I knew what Greeks did for a living when they first came to the United States earlier in the twentieth century and even now.

Interviewer: Well, is it [the first job for Greek immigrants] restaurant business?

Dimitri: Yes, they started to work in the back kitchen—dish washing, cleaning floors, and cooking. Then once they saved enough money, they opened their own restaurants. See, now they are hiring Latinos…Traditionally, Greeks [1st generation immigrant] were engaged in construction and restaurant business. As time goes by, they started to own the business and hire people. You know, they [Latinos] work hard, family oriented, and pay rent on time.

Due to language barriers, legal status, education, and possibly discrimination, many white-collar jobs are often not available to newly arrived Latino immigrants. Consequently, many of them start working within their own ethnic networks. Each ethnic group in the region has unique business categories in which newcomers from that group often seek employment—for example, the laundry business for Chinese, grocery and corner deli for Koreans, and restaurants for Latinos (Waldinger, Aldrich, & Ward, 1990). Dimitri explained in the interview that Greeks especially preferred to open up their own businesses rather than be employed by somebody else, as they had been independent farmers or fishermen in Greece before they arrived and are not used to working in an organizational setting. This context can be mirrored by that of Latinos —the restaurant and construction industries are the jobs that newly arrived Latinos typically engage in. In Greektown, despite their different ethnicity, successful business relationships have been established with Greeks as the forerunner business owners providing entry-level jobs to Latino immigrants.

It is also the case that older Greeks depend on the labor provided by Latinos, as in the case

of Dimitri. He recently lost his mother, who immigrated to the US in the 1950s. When the mother,

who only spoke Greek, needed intensive care, he hired a Latino woman. The person spoke little

English and no Greek, yet somehow, the two got along well, and the Latina took care of the mother

very well until the end of her life. The family, including Dimitri, was very appreciative and allowed

her to stay in one of the apartments they own in Greektown with extremely low rent as long as she

wished to stay. This story provides an example of a mutually supporting business relationship

between the Latino immigrants, who can provide the services that Greek seniors need in the

neighborhood, and the Greeks, who can provide those entry-level jobs and housing to Latinos, that

turned into a more personal relationship.

6.2.1.2: New Residents/Greeks

6.2.1.2.1: Stakes in the Neighborhood

While most of the older Greeks do not have direct interaction with the new young

residents and Latinos due to many differences—age, family types, lifestyles, economic status, and

sometimes language—the young Greeks who grew up in the United States share many qualities

with the other young generations, including those new young professionals and especially with

those pioneer new residents in the existing neighborhood. The young Greeks usually live in their

family's properties in the existing neighborhood just like the pioneers do, and both of them are exposed to the other groups in their daily lives. The difference between the young Greeks and non-Greek young residents lies in their sentimental attachment to the neighborhood where the young Greeks spent their childhood. Greektown is where they lived or, if they lived in a suburb, where they came to church and school with all their childhood friends and visited their grandparents. For them, unlike the first-generation Greeks who still have strong attachment to their home country, Greektown is the place to which they feel their sentimental attachment, while the pioneer new residents, who value the authenticity, understand the young Greeks' sentiment.

One casual exchange at a recent community meeting presents an example of this. When a young business owner who is not a Greek, presented the idea about converting a vacant lot near the new developments to a specialty coffee shop, the attendees were basically in favor of the plan. The well-dressed young business owner talked and behaved in a professional manner that many new residents are familiar with. Then, one second-generation Greek humorously suggested, "Of course, you serve Greek coffee, don't you?" The pioneer new residents who are not Greeks laughed and echoed his statement, saying, "Remember it is Greektown here. So you need that!" The owner smiled and replied "For sure." This spontaneous exchange shows the easy understandings among those young Greeks and the new residents in the community meeting.

In addition, Greektown is the place where the young Greeks are going to inherit property from their parents in the future. Therefore, they have a great stake in the neighborhood, and it is not surprising that some of them are active in neighborhood organizations. They know older Greeks, business owners, and board members of St. Nicholas Church. When the neighborhood association has an event, those Greeks asked the Greek restaurants to donate free snacks. When they have a summer outdoor movie event, they negotiated with St. Nicholas to open the courtyard owned by the church. Although the number of those young Greeks in the neighborhood is small, they can be a bridge between the older Greeks and new residents, especially the pioneers who also have a stake in the neighborhood.

6.2.1.2.2: Patronage of Local Businesses

Another secondary relationship between the new residents and Greeks is through the retail and restaurant businesses in the neighborhood. With their greater economic power, the new residents can afford to regularly patronize the Greek businesses near them. Many of the new residents stated in the interviews that they like the Greek restaurants and have taken friends and family members there. However, unlike many decades ago when the local businesses were only supported by neighborhood residents, those businesses do not rely on only local clients anymore. Some of the Greek restaurants there are well known in Baltimore City and attract many outsiders.

One of the clients in a restaurant said he came from Washington, DC, as he had heard good things about the restaurant. The presence of Greek businesses is not a necessity, but it is a beneficial thing and enhances the image of the neighborhood in proximity to those good restaurants. As discussed, Greek businesses have their own market and do not expect or depend on the new residents' patronage to a large extent. For the new residents, the presence of Greek businesses is not so practically helpful for their daily lives, but it does help to support their idea of living in an "exotic" and "authentic" neighborhood. The secondary relationships between the new residents and Greeks through the local retail shops and restaurants are, therefore, limited to the occasional and brief interactions as customers and business owners only.

6.2.1.3: New Residents/Latinos

6.2.1.3.1: Exotic Experiences

As the new residents try to go to the local restaurants for an "authentic" experience, they can also be customers of the Latino restaurants in Greektown. Mexican and other Latin American cuisines are some of the most popular foods among the younger generation. However, unlike the Greek restaurants, most of the Latino restaurants in Greektown have only opened recently, and their target is still limited to the growing Latino population in southeast Baltimore. The small restaurants that have carried out only minimum renovations from previous tenants with simple plastic chairs

and vinyl tablecloths have only Spanish menus and Spanish-speaking servers. Many new residents go to more sophisticated (or fast food) versions of those Latino restaurants in the other neighborhoods, but sometimes their interest in those "exotic" places overcomes the language barrier. Justin described his experiences in a Mexican restaurant in Greektown in the following way:

> *Yes, I mean there are places in the neighborhood that I will go twice. There is XXX [name of the Mexican restaurant], I bet I have been there a few times. So the first time I went in there it was interesting because I walked in, and everybody turned and looked at me. And I am just like yes, I had had a few beers at that point, and I did not care. So I sat down, and I still felt people were still looking at me. And then finally the owner came over and started talking to me a little bit because no one could speak English in there. Even the bartenders could not speak English. They knew enough that I wanted the Coors Light, so that was good. So the owner came over, "hey, do you live in the neighborhood?" He was very friendly.*

Although it started out as curiosity and an interest in the exotic, for Justin the interaction has generated relationships that present some possibility of progressing to something more personal.

This patronage of the Latino restaurants presents both similarity to and contrast with patronage of the Greek local businesses. While the more-established Greek restaurants already have a wider client base, both Greeks and non-Greeks outside of the neighborhood, the newly opened

Latino restaurants' clients are mostly limited to Latinos in southeast Baltimore. Although the Latino

restaurants do not proactively seek the new residents' patronage at this time, the Latino restaurants'

owners believe the new residents' support may present more opportunities in the near future.

Having non-Latino and more affluent new residents patronizing their business can be a good

opportunity for Latino businesses, something that is already the norm in Greek restaurants. The

secondary social relationships that build upon the local ethnic business between the new residents

and Latinos may, therefore, have more possibilities to grow into longstanding relationships

depending on how the Latino businesses grow and open up to the outsiders.

6.2.1.3.2: Reliance on a Third Party

However, these two groups still have significant differences as groups—socioeconomic

status, housing tenures, family types, and ethnic identity—and that makes having meaningful social

relationships on a daily basis difficult. In addition, the spatial distance in the neighborhood

physically separates them, as the majority of the new residents live in the new developments. The

difference in family types—most of the younger residents have no children while the Latinos have

children who go to the local school—also makes their interaction rare, as the Latinos spend a

significant amount of time there, while the new residents do not go there at all. John Ruhrah School

is one of a few public places where the Latinos' appearance is prominent, yet the new residents are

often not even aware of the existence of the school.

If there are any interactions outside of the restaurants, they come from the pioneer new residents who live close to the Latinos, and unfortunately, not all of the interactions are positive. In the interviews, some (though not all) pioneers complained that the new Latino immigrants do not know how to dispose of their garbage. Some were sympathetic as they speculated those immigrants came from countries that had no trash collection services or other public services. Some were frustrated, but they would only express their frustration in community meetings where Latinos are usually absent, or when it gets very bad, they report it to the police or city offices. In interviews, they mentioned that they do not confront the people who throw their garbage on the streets. The new pioneer residents are equipped with smartphones and apps that enable them to connect with the relevant municipal agencies about such undesirable actions. They use "311 apps" on their phones to report the incidents to the city or contact a council representative's office in the district. It is true that there is a language barrier, but they prefer to avoid direct confrontation regardless, instead relying on third parties such as the police and city officials to solve the issues. The survey data shows when they encounter a problem in the neighborhood, 70% of new residents said they talk to police, community organizations, or other officials. In contrast, Greeks and Latinos consult with neighbors and families in the neighborhood the most (Table 8). This shows that even though they

live in the same neighborhood and the necessity to negotiate with the other groups is greater than

for those in the new development, their social relationships are replaced by interactions with third

parties. Overall, the secondary social relationships between the Latinos and new residents are

limited to the occasional encounters at the Latino restaurants at this moment, which have the

potential to lead to more significant relationships but are usually replaced by the third-party

interactions due to undesirable behaviors outside of the restaurants.

Table 8. Survey Result 3: Problem Reporting

			Groups				Total
			Greek resident	Latino resident	New resident (non-Greek, non-Latino)	Old resident (non-Greek, non-Latino)	
When the problem happened, whom did you talk to?	Famly/Friend in the neighborhood	% within Groups	37.5%	37.5%	16.7%	20.0%	22.8%
	Family/Friend not in the neighborhood	% within Groups	0.0%	0.0%	2.8%	20.0%	3.5%
	Neigbors in your racial / ethnic group	% within Groups	0.0%	0.0%	2.8%	20.0%	3.5%
	Neighbors NOT in your racial / ethnic group	% within Groups	0.0%	12.5%	5.6%	0.0%	5.3%
	Social / Community Organizations	% within Groups	12.5%	0.0%	16.7%	0.0%	12.3%
	Police	% within Groups	12.5%	25.0%	16.7%	0.0%	15.8%
	Other Officials	% within Groups	37.5%	25.0%	38.9%	40.0%	36.8%
Total		% within Groups	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Title row: **When the problem happened, whom did you talk to? - Groups Crosstabulation**

6.2.2: Primary Social Relationships

The primary social relationship is defined as one that is more personal than the secondary,

often described as friendships through personal understandings and trust. The ability to borrow a

cup of sugar from a neighbor is a classic example of a neighborhood relationship that people usually envision in a closely connected community. In this kind of neighborhood, most people help each other and act collectively based on mutual trust, for example, taking care of a neighbor's house while the resident is traveling. The secondary social relationships, however, are based on needs and benefits expected and exemplified, for example, by the landlord/renter relationship, wherein the Greek landlord receives an economic benefit and fulfills the housing needs of a Latino renter. At the same time, sometimes those secondary social relationships can turn into primary ones and vice versa.

In Greektown, those primary social relationships across the different groups are limited, having only just started to emerge as the neighborhood has become more diverse recently and institutionalized activities, such as community organization events, have started to attract newcomers gradually. By having their own self-sustainable communities within each group, at this moment, the primary relationships across the groups are very limited. The following stories present mostly potential near-future primary relationships. The social dynamics in this diverse neighborhood are complex and have transformed its shape consistently.

6.2.2.1: Second-Generation Latinos and the New Residents/Young Greeks

As most of the Latinos in Greektown are still young families, many second-generation

Latinos are still in the local school and too young yet to influence the neighborhood conditions significantly. However, due to the fact that their English-speaking ability is much better than their parents,' often those young children help connect their parents' generation to the others.

One example happened when I attended one of the GGNA's monthly community meetings in the evening. This was a typical occasion during which social relationship can be built through the formal and more institutional setting. At the meeting, the transfer of a new liquor license that one of the Latino restaurants on Eastern Avenue applied for was discussed. An owner and a young boy, maybe 10 years old or so, were nervously standing in the corner of the hall. When the owner was introduced, the boy started to talk. "Since my father's English is not so good, I will translate it." The community members who were all adults looked a bit perplexed to see such a young person in the meeting. As the participants' basic agreement was against any additional liquor license in the neighborhood, the questions sometimes became tough, such as, "do you realize that people in your restaurant get drunk and cause problems in the neighborhood?" The boy looked very serious and tried to help his father. Sometimes, the boy even defended his father's business without asking his father.

Participants: [Looking at the owner, the boy's father] Are you sure you only serve beer and wine, not hard liquor? How about if your client wants to have hard liquor?

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Owner's son: [Without looking at his father] Yes, the restaurant will not serve hard liquor.

No, we won't give it to clients. [His father was nodding.]

One of the community members whispered to me,

Oh boy, I feel bad that the father totally relies on his little boy ... I felt bad for both.

The appearance of the Latino boy certainly gave mixed feelings to the community members who were mostly Whites, non-Latino adults. In principle, they admired a good child who supports his/her parents. The appearance of the young Latino boy made them suddenly realize that there were young children helping out behind the scenes in Latino restaurants and bars. The participants, mostly new residents, had been eager to limit the number of liquor licenses coming into the neighborhood, yet they had not linked them to the Latino families' lives until they witnessed the young boy's efforts. In that moment, the secondary social relationships in the community meetings became more personal. In other words, others started to see the Latino father and son in more personal and sympathetic way, as a hard-working family in their neighborhood, not viewing them through the institutionalized and formal lens that tells them to have strict rules on liquor licenses. Despite the pre-meeting intention that the group would overwhelmingly deny the application, the vote for the liquor license was split and resulted in vote of "conditional in favor."[ii] This case

demonstrates how the young Latino generation that can communicate with other groups can transform secondary relationships to more personal ones.

This is neither a special case nor only the case of Latino children of immigrant parents assisting their parents. The growing number of the second generation of Latino immigrants in the neighborhood has started to be an important part of the community due to their ability to communicate with the other groups. Latino second-generation residents who moved to Baltimore as domestic migrants, like Jose and James, have the same ability as the younger Latinos. Their American-born status and education in the United States allow them to communicate with other individuals in different groups as well. At the community events hosted by GGNA and the other local organizations, the presence of those second-generation Latinos seemed to increase the turn-out of Latinos. When Jose was outside working at a cook-out event on one street, he spoke in Spanish to Latinos who just came out to see what was happening outside. Later in the day many Latino residents returned with their families and friends to participate in the event. While I was standing on the street to observe the situation, a Latino boy approached me and suggested that I could have a hotdog from Jose if I wanted. He clearly thought I, an Asian woman, was standing on the street without knowing what to do and needed assistance. I thanked him and got a hotdog. This was a sign that the Latinos believe they belong at the neighborhood events and are trying to build social

relationships with the others groups such as the Greeks and the new residents through the assistance of those second-generation residents.

6.3: Symbolic Relationships

The spatial diversity in Greektown only requires the residents to interact with the other groups on limited occasions (i.e., renters and landlords), and the relationships remain mostly formal and impersonal. The residents' daily lives in Greektown play out in their own groups. Nevertheless, in the interviews, many residents talked about how they felt about the other groups without direct interactions but through their imaginary ideas that constructed from their cultural lives. As in Chapter 2, culture is described by Geertz as "a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms". In another word, culture provides symbols that shape the people's idea towards the others. People interpret the ideas to the relationships without necessarily interacting with them directly. Those relationships based can be called *symbolic relationships* in contrast to social relationships based on direct interactions. The symbolic relationships that are not based on direct interactions but are constructed within the minds of the residents. Those views are the perceptions and images in their minds that derive from their previous experiences (i.e., having diverse friends in colleges, having children), their cultural heritage (i.e., growing up with certain cultural values), and

their self-identification (i.e., identifying as immigrants).

6.3.1: Greeks/Latinos

6.3.1.1: Identity as Immigrants

Self-identification—recognizing who you are and where you belong in society—is the

basis of how you interact with others both in-group and out-group (Tajfel, 1982). It is also a

consequence of how people see and treat and interact with others. As illustrated in the previous

chapter, both Greeks and Latinos present strong self-identification as immigrants or members of

immigrant families. It is not surprising for the Latinos, as most of them are newly arrived

immigrants. The Greeks, on the other hand, despite the fact that they are mostly American citizens,

have been here for most of their lives, or were born in the United States as second or later

generations, clearly acknowledge their roots and maintain strong relationships with their home

country, Greece. This strong ethnic Greek identity among the group reminds them that they, their

parents, and their grandparents have had hard times adjusting to their lives in the United States. The

younger Greeks have heard it over and over from their parents how hard they worked to make life

better and give a good education to their children. This strong immigrant mindset leads some

Greeks to feel sympathy towards the Latino immigrants. Nicolas, a second-generation Greek, wrote

about how he felt about Latinos in an email when I asked him about the Latinos in Greektown:

Although the Latino community is very diverse itself, comprised of immigrants from many

different countries, they almost mirror the Greeks in the sense that the men come here to

work long hours in manual labor to provide better educational opportunities for their

children. It makes sense for this new emerging immigrant community to feel comfortable

in Greektown, being that it provided a similar environment for so many years to Greek

immigrants.

The strong ethnic identity among the Greeks makes this neighborhood more tolerant to other new

immigrants, despite the fact that they do not interact regularly. They understand, or at least try to,

the immigrants' hardships—adjusting their lives in a new country in order to make their lives there

(and often for their families in their home countries) better.

Of course, not all Greeks unconditionally accept the influx of Latinos. Because of their

immigrant identity, some Greeks compared themselves to the Latino immigrants and sometimes get

frustrated. John, a second-generation Greek who lives in a suburb but often comes to Greektown for

meals at restaurants that he used to visit with parents told me his mixed feelings towards Latinos.

They should learn English, they are sticking with only Hispanics…. They should learn

English… I know it is hard, but that's the way. The language barrier is also similar, many

Greek immigrants and Spanish immigrants did not learn the English language because the

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community was so strong and supported each other, they didn't need to assimilate.

His frustration against Latinos is a reflection of how he sees the first-generation Greeks. As a second-generation resident who volunteered to coach a Greek youth soccer team, John is a proud Greek descendant, but at the same time he is a native-born American who sees that the first generation's life is limited. As a successful second-generation member of an immigrant family, John feels differently from his first-generation parents, who tend to have more sympathy for Latino immigrants. The observation John made was evidence that he conflated Greeks and Latinos' lives in the United States. This mixed feeling—sympathy and frustration—could still build psychological connections between them. At the same time, his attitude also presents different perceptions of new immigrants between the first generation and later generations among Greeks.

While Greeks feel connections to Latinos based on their identity as immigrants, in the interview, first-generation Latino immigrants perceive Greeks as mostly just landlords and employers. Their comments about Greek neighbors were general, such as, "They are good people, I guess. I say hi to them." As most of the Latinos interviewed were newly arrived immigrants, the differences between them and the Greek residents in terms of immigration stage, as well as age and possible socioeconomic differences,[iii] largely hinder their building of social interactions with the Greeks. They have just settled into their new environment, and their first priority for social

interactions has been building bonds those with fellow Latinos in southeast Baltimore for immediate assistance. For the first-generation Latino immigrants, it is still too early to form symbolic relationships with the Greeks, as their focus is on their daily lives. At the same time, the second-generation Latinos, especially the domestic migrants who came to Baltimore for economic opportunities within the expanding Latino community, can share their experiences with the later generation of Greeks through community events and meetings, as they are at a similar immigration stage (having immigrant parents, but being born and raised in the United States), with class and educational commonalities. The observation in Greektown presents the importance of parity in immigration stages for forming symbolic relationships.

Strong affiliation to their ethnic groups presented by Greeks and Latinos can generate positive symbolic relationships through sympathy and understandings of the situation. At the same time, different immigration stages—how long the person has been in the United States and which generation they are as immigrants—affects the degree of those relationships.

6.3.1.2: Cultural Commonalities

In addition to a shared ethnic identity, cultural commonalities between Greeks and Latinos are found in Greektown. Although their family types are clearly different—the Greeks are mostly older individuals or younger, second-generation residents without children, while the Latino

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immigrants in Greektown are mostly young families with small children— their family values are somehow similar. Residents from both groups agreed that the family is the most important unit and that parents work hard, often not minding sacrificing their own needs or wants for their children's education, as expressed in the survey. Many told me that in turn children need to listen to and follow the parents and seniors in the community. Many children are explicitly or implicitly expected to take care of their parents when they become older. The residents' ties with their extended family are also tight, and they believe they are supposed to help each other. Many Greeks and Latinos talked about their cousins, aunts and uncles, and extended family members with whom they maintain close communication. The close-knit, family-based connections are strong in both groups and create room for mutual understandings that lead to symbolic relationships.

When I entered some of the Greeks' houses, most of the living rooms had family pictures all over the walls. Fiona, who lost her son in his 20s several years ago by car accident, was teary when she talked about how smart her son was. With his memory in her mind, she mentioned the increasing number of Latino children in the neighborhood:

No mother, parents, should suffer like me. Children are treasure, and you know, community has to take care of them. Well, I don't do much here in the neighborhood, but I like that there are more [Latino] children now. I am hoping they will be good.

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For her and many Greeks, it is a reminder that there used to be days when many Greek children were on the streets. Now Latino children are running around, and mothers are pushing baby carriages on the streets and chatting with the other mothers. It is an alternate vision of the "good old days" that many Greeks remember. In the survey all the Greek participants answered that family staying together is very important or important (Table 5). Many of the old Greeks told me that it is nice to see children on the streets, a sight they had lost until the Latinos started to come. Nicholas, a second-generation Greek, pointed out the similarity:

> *The family is a strong unit, consisting of a hardworking father, a mother who raises the children fulltime with close relationships with cousins, grandparents, etc. This is still prevalent in the Greek community today. And now you see that Latinos are similar.*

Greeks see those important values in the Latinos' families, and therefore they tend to have a favorable impression of the Latino families.

As the Greeks do, Latino parents believe it is important to advance their children's education in society. "It is their job," a young Latino mother told me in the interviews to emphasize that the children go to school and study hard. Many Latino children participate in the study programs offered by the Educational Based Latino Outreach (EBLO) during weekday and Saturday morning at the John Ruhrah School. Johns Hopkins Bayview Campus (Centro Sol) also provides

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the summer youth project for local Latino students. In addition to family values, both ethnic groups also have something in common in being religious. In the survey, 69.3% of Greeks and 86.4% of Latinos think it is very important / important to be religious, while only 39.5% of new, non-immigrant residents think so (Table 9). Of course, the Greeks and Latinos attend different churches—the Greeks go to St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church, and the majority of the Latinos to Sacred Heart of Jesus in Highlandtown. However, both have a similar foundation in Christianity and share many rituals and customs, as Nicholas observed:

> *There is also a strong sense of tradition in the Latino community that seemingly stems from the church (theirs being the Catholic Church vs. ours being the Greek Orthodox). For instance, the quinceanera or 15-year celebration for Latino women is a huge celebrated family tradition, similar to events in the Greek community.*

For both groups, religious values are imbedded in their daily lives and have important roles that tie them as communities. Despite the differences—countries of origin, language, customs, and the time they started life in the United States—Greeks and Latinos in Greektown form a symbolic relationship that shares similar values and foundations in their daily lives.

Table 9. Survey Result 4: Religion

How important are these to you? Being religious - Groups Crosstabulation

			Groups				Total
			Greek resident	Latino resident	New resident (non-Greek, non-Latino)	Old resident (non-Greek, non-Latino)	
How important are these to you? Being religious	Very Important	% within Groups	38.5%	40.9%	23.7%	45.5%	33.3%
	Important	% within Groups	30.8%	45.5%	15.8%	9.1%	25.0%
	Not so Important	% within Groups	23.1%	9.1%	34.2%	27.3%	25.0%
	Not Important at all	% within Groups	7.7%	4.5%	26.3%	18.2%	16.7%
Total		% within Groups	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

6.3.2: Greeks/New Residents

6.3.2.1: Expectations as Homeowners

As illustrated in the previous chapter, the new residents are mostly young and professional. The differences between them and most of the Greek residents in Greektown—old and

often retired—are significant in many ways: not just age, but socioeconomic status, family type, how they spend their day, and so on. Unlike the Greeks and Latinos, the new residents do not share the immigrant or immigrant family member identity. Without the commonalities and necessity to interact, they mostly keep their distance in their social lives.

At the same time, the Greeks and new residents have positive perceptions of each other. Older Greek residents often stated in the interviews that they welcomed those new young professionals in the new development. Ellen, a first-generation Greek, thinks this is a positive sign in the neighborhood:

> *There are new* houses*. That is a hope. They buy houses. I see some potential that those developments have a good influence. I like young people living here, and they are homeowners.*

For many, the term "homeowners" suggests they are responsible residents, and many organizations and local governments promote ownership in order to stabilize the neighborhood. The assumption is that these young homeowners have a stake in the community, trying to keep up property values; hence, they care about the appearance and safety of the neighborhood. Greeks see these qualities in the young residents despite the fact that they do not have many occasions to interact with them. Being homeowners in the new developments does not threaten the ownership in existing

Greektown, as the new residents do not buy the row houses in the old part of the neighborhood. Rather, Greeks see their similar status as homeowners in the new young residents and feel positive symbolic relationships through their presence.

6.3.2.2: Young Professionals as Ideal Children

The educated young people are also a reflection of Greek parents' wishes of what they want their children and grandchildren to be or achieve. In many of the interviews, the old Greeks talked about how proud they are of their children being accountants, lawyers, doctors, and other professional jobs, or being married to people who hold those jobs. Fiona, who had sympathy towards Latino as immigrants, also talked about the positive images she had of the young professionals. She stated in the interview that those young new residents reminded her of her late son who had earned a Ph.D. degree in engineering and worked for a large organization as a promising young professional. For Greek parents, the new residents look like ideal children who are highly educated and have respectable jobs. Due to Greektown's proximity to Johns Hopkins Bayview Medical Center and its program to encourage employees to purchase the houses around its facilities, there are many medical professionals in the new developments. Young people in scrubs, a clear indication of their occupation, are often seen on the streets, since they walk through the old part of Greektown to get to the hospital on foot or bike. Even though the old Greeks do not interact

with the young professionals, they are consistently aware of those young people and compare them

to their children and grandchildren.

6.3.2.3: "Authentic" Neighborhood

The new residents in the new developments, most of them young and of the millennial

generation, moved here with some kind of positive images of Greece in mind, even though that was

not the only or even the primary reason to buy the houses in the new development. Greece is,

obviously, not the same as Greektown in Baltimore City, but without many direct interactions, those

fantasized images attached to commercial promotions by developers help the residents to have a

positive symbolic relationship with the Greeks. Consequently, the new residents in the

developments often talk about how great the Greek restaurants are, as those are almost the only

places they actually can relate to the Greek residents. Some mentioned the Greek coffee shops,

where they were often ignored as outsiders, and found it very exclusive. The new residents did not

complain about the exclusiveness; rather, they respect how Greeks keep their traditions alive. The

rejection does not hurt them; rather, they believe it gives the neighborhood a more "authentic"

atmosphere. The image of the blue ocean and sky in Greece that is often displayed in Greek

restaurants and murals also evokes the exotic but positive images of Greece as a Mediterranean

country that the new residents find adds extra character to the neighborhood.

Between the Greeks and new residents, the symbolic relationships are based on their positive perception of each other as a group. Having other residents who have good qualifications—higher-income homeowners—is a positive circumstance for the Greeks. Many Greek parents hope that their children will be like them. In the meantime, the new residents enjoy the exotic images of Greece in the neighborhood.

6.3.3: New Residents/Latinos

6.3.3.1: Socially Minded Gentrifiers

As described, the social relationships between the new residents and Latinos are limited, and if there are any, they are secondary. Nevertheless, as a socially-minded generation, the millennial residents think of diversity as a good quality in the neighborhood and that preserving an authentic atmosphere is a good thing, despite their limited participation in neighborhood activities. This idea came from their personal experiences in the colleges they attended and/or in work places that are increasingly becoming more diverse in this globalized era. Many new residents stated they currently have or at one point had friends who were not in their racial and ethnic groups. As one comment, such as, "Ethnicity is wonderful in terms of the flavors that it brings to the neighborhood," by a new resident shows, they feel that Latino immigrants give an interesting

character to the neighborhood, just like the Greeks do. The language difference is less problematic

for the new residents: 86% of them stated in the survey it does not prevent them from talking to the

other groups. Some learned Spanish in high school or college, and a participant in the community

meeting stated that he could use a translation tool on his phone. However, even though their

willingness to speak with the others indicates their interest in what they view as an exotic

experience, except for talking with the servers in the restaurants, the new residents' actual

communication with the other groups is very limited: 34% of the new residents did not have any

conversation with Latinos in a month. Only 8% had conversation with more than six Latinos (Table

10). The lack of direct communication does not diminish their idea of social justice and diversity.

Rather, because of the distance, their fantasized images are maintained and can help their symbolic

relationship stay positive. The pioneer residents who potentially have more opportunities to interact

with Latino residents may not have such illusions. However, they also tend to avoid direct

encounters and rely on third-party organizations to solve the issues in the neighborhood. This

distance also maintains the symbolic relationships among them.

Table 10. Survey Result 5: Conversation with Latinos

How many neighbors do you have a conversation with in a month? Latino /Hispanic - Groups Crosstabulation

			Groups				Total
			Greek resident	Latino resident	New resident (non-Greek, non-Latino)	Old resident (non-Greek, non-Latino)	
How many neighbors do you have a conversation with Latino /Hispanic in a month?	0	% within Groups	16.7%	9.1%	34.2%	9.1%	21.7%
	1-5	% within Groups	58.3%	36.4%	57.9%	54.5%	51.8%
	6-20	% within Groups	8.3%	18.2%	5.3%	27.3%	12.0%
	20+	% within Groups	16.7%	36.4%	2.6%	9.1%	14.5%
Total		% within Groups	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The symbolic relationship is not a weaker version of other types of social relationships.

Perceptions towards and ideas about the other groups have a powerful impact on more tangible

relationships. Fear of others is often a source of antagonistic attitudes towards others in the

neighborhood, while positive images of another group can lead to personal friendships.

Understanding this symbolic relationship is essential to comprehending the conditions in those

diverse neighborhoods. The remaining question is how this symbolic relationship affects the real social relationships.

Positive symbolic relationships have two roles: one is to be a foundation for favorable social relationships among different groups. For example, old Greeks see the newly arrived Latino immigrants and their struggles as a reflection of their early days and try to help them settle in by providing jobs and housing. The new residents are also willing to include them in the community organizations, as they think that is socially right. The other role is that the symbolic relationships have the potential to facilitate greater spatial and social mixing in the future through those activities.

6.4: Summary: Negotiations in a Diverse Neighborhood

The spatial and demographic diversity among Greeks, Latinos, and some new residents (the pioneers) in Greektown is obvious. While most of the new residents live in the newly-built row houses in one corner of the neighborhood, it is still a part of the small neighborhood. Therefore, when people look at the census data, Greektown is a place of many different groups—ethnic, racial, socioeconomic, age, immigrant status and so on—living side by side. However, my fieldwork reflects that physical proximity does not automatically generate active and frequent interactions that lead to meaningful social relationships among those different groups. Most of their social lives

remain within their own group. Many of the Greeks, especially the first generation, have a

community through the Greek Orthodox Church, St. Nicholas, in the center of Greektown. Their

community includes not only fellow Greeks in Greektown but also family members in the suburbs

and other cities. They also maintain close connections to their home country by accepting a small

number of new Greek immigrants who come for jobs and marriages. The Latinos also have strong

family/friend networks that helped them to settle in and start their lives in the new country. There

are social organizations located in nearby neighborhoods assisting them to be connected with other

Latinos and empower their connections throughout southeast Baltimore. The new residents, all

young and professional, similarly have social lives outside of the neighborhood. As young

professionals who grew up with new technology such as social networking services, their

community is not bound by the physical neighborhood. They live in Greektown, but it does not

mean as much for their social lives. The house is an important asset as well as a shelter, but the

location and neighbors basically do not influence the new residents' daily activities. They go to

nearby gentrified areas to satisfy their needs of entertainment and shopping. The new residents also

tend to avoid direct negotiation with the others and rely on third-party organizations to settle

disputes or deal with problem behaviors on the part of their neighbors. It is clear that this

neighborhood has achieved the spatial diversity that many planners and policymakers aim for:

racially, ethnically, socioeconomically, and generationally different people living in one small section of the city. At the same time the residents' social lives—who they meet and talk to around the house, who they rely on when something happens, and who they work with to make the neighborhood a better place—mostly remain separated without much direct negotiation with the others.

Nevertheless, in Greektown, there are no major conflicts, only some minimal disputes over issues such as trash disposal and minor noise complaints. The different groups of people even greet each other on the street, sometimes with smiles. What supports this condition is the existence of various symbolic relationships—the perceptions and ideas the groups or individuals have towards the others. Despite the many differences—ethnicity, language, religion, age, and family type—the Greeks and Latinos at least have in common their strong self-identification as immigrants and cultural heritage. The new millennial residents welcome the diversity and authenticity that Greeks and Latinos contribute to the community.

In this way, the symbolic relationships exist only in the minds of the residents, not through active interactions. However, this does not mean they are a weaker version of the secondary and primary social relationships, as how they reflect on their relations with the others and feel sympathy and how they positively view the other groups can be a powerful force that enables the different

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groups to coexist without major conflicts. Moreover, although friendship-like relationships across

the groups do not happen frequently in Greektown, the symbolic relationships based on their

cultural actives and personal experiences can be a foundation for more inclusive relationships in the

future.

At the same time, because those symbolic relationships are built as there are distances

between groups, having more close relationships may alter the symbolic relationships at the same

time. For example, the new residents may realize that their images of Greece are not exactly fit to

the real Greeks in Greektown. Once the Greeks come to know the Latinos better, they may find

their cultural values may be different in some aspects. When the symbolic relationships diminish,

and real social relationships have more weight in the neighborhood, that is when the different

groups will truly have to work together.

In addition, we need to note that each group is not monolithic; there are diversities within

the groups. There are educated, second-generation Latinos; young Greeks coming back from

suburbs; and varying minority groups and people of different sexual orientations among the new

residents, among many other variations within all the groups. Aside from the symbolic relationships

that tend to be based on broad generalizations, interactions among the other groups can happen

occasionally through individuals' shared interests and attributes. Residents' unique positions within

their group allow them to have relationships with people in the other groups with whom they share something in common. The people's lives have multiple dimensions. While race, ethnicity, and class are important dimensions, cultural values, sexual orientations, family type, and many other variables often also hold a great weight, and people who don't relate in certain ways may relate in others. The Figure 23 is an illustrative manifestation of multidimensional ties. Each wheel represents a person from one of the primary groups who can be described by several attributes such as generation, education, religiosity, family status, political interest, hobbies, and so forth. When they find they share common attributes with another person in a different group, they start communications. The illustration presents that once the many gears start to work, then the whole systems will become a motor to move the neighborhood in a collaborative way.
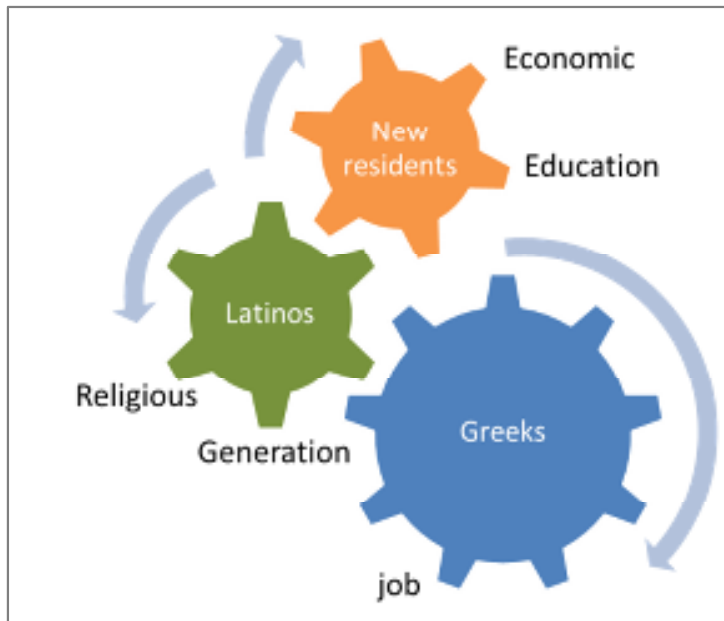
Figure 23. Interaction with the Different Groups

Through those multidimensional relationships, the neighborhood can stay peacefully coexisting and

be collaborative to a certain extent, which may not be the fullest extent possible, but when it is

needed, it works. In diverse neighborhoods, cities, regions, and beyond, these multidimensional

relationships need to be realized by planners and policymakers.

Greektown appears to be far from the image of a perfect neighborhood, where everybody

understands each other well, works together, and trusts each other. It is a neighborhood where ethnic

and class-based groups stay separated yet hold subtle understandings built on various symbolic

relationships. It is difficult to envision that those groups of people will ever totally blend in and

unite together, particularly when the immigrants and their families continue to retain some or even a

large part of their ethnic characteristics while trying to advance in society. Yet as society becomes more and more diverse in many ways, people look for such a foundation like ethnic heritage to understand who they are. Those ethnic behaviors are precisely what foster the symbolic relationships in the neighborhood.

In Greektown, the Greeks and Latinos who have strong affiliation to their ethnic groups and the socioeconomically homogeneous new residents seem to have few things to share besides physical space. Yet the stories from residents in Greektown bring to light a new dynamic of this diverse neighborhood: the existence of various symbolic relationships that help the diverse groups coexist, that those symbolic relationships create the foundation for more tangible social relationships, and that the diversity within the groups creates multidimensional relationships among individuals in different groups that can influence their group's actions.

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[i] While the scholars concern the fear of crimes may result withdrawing from social lives by residents, disinvestment by public and private, tit could increase the solidarity among members of communities as Durkheim (1893) pointed out.

[ii] Later, they found out that the conditions the community group hoped to add could not be guaranteed through the license process. Therefore, they eventually didn't support the transfer of the license.

[iii] Although many of the Greek seniors are retired from work and may be on a fixed income, they own their properties, and some have their children's support, while the majority of Latino immigrants do not have those assets and supports.

Chapter 7: CONCLUSION

7.1: Social Relationships in Diverse Neighborhoods

In Greektown, the diverse groups of people have limited social interactions despite their physical proximity. Diverse neighborhoods have emerged in many post-industrial cities like Baltimore City through several factors such as the rise of a new immigration wave, depopulation in inner cities and increasing vacant houses, redevelopment forces, and pro-immigration policies. Greeks, Latinos and the new residents chose their residences for complex reasons. As for many, the residential choice has important meaning; it is certainly a large financial investment, yet it is also influenced by their families' and group's values, history, culture and well-being. They chose Greektown because their criteria matched the conditions. Greeks accepted Latinos because they could identify with them. Latinos moved in because it was affordable and convenient. The new residents chose Greektown after careful information gathering and weighing the pros and cons. However, this does not mean they chose to live in a diverse neighborhood and be collaborative. It is natural that they prioritized their social lives within each group that share important attributes such as ethnicity and class. With advanced technologies such as internet and cell phone, people are more selectively connected to those who are similar to them beyond their physical presence.

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Does this mean that residents in diverse Greektown totally withdraw from building social

relationships across the groups? Putnam (1995) insists that civic lives in the United States—civic

engagement with trust at the neighborhood level—declines due to prevailing privatized lives. In this

Greektown study, however, different populations do build relationships. It is just not the form that

many planners and scholars have been looking for—e.g., everybody knows each other, having

coffee at a neighbor's house, assisting each other when something happens, and working together

for community events. Instead, in Greektown, a series of indirect symbolic relationships that foster

subtle understandings, and subsequently, acceptance of the other exist, as the previous chapter

illustrated. Some ties are generated through the overarching cultural values, identity as immigrants

and/or minority, and idealistic minds. It shows that people are not trapped in a neighborhood, but

have loosely knitted and sparse networks within and beyond the physical boundaries.

The importance of having a diverse neighborhood is only true if there are meaningful and

positive relationships among neighbors. Otherwise, the people in those neighborhoods—more and

more common in this globalized era— stay separated, or experience conflicts. In order to have more

options when they face strong structural, economic and political forces to change their living

environments—such as un-wanted large public/private investments, aging population and

suburbanization—residents need to find ways to work together to protect what they value even

though those values have many variations and tones. This is especially important for immigrants'

communities as their identity is built upon their complex adaptation process in the new country.

Through the concept of symbolic relationships—that is the relationships based on their perceptions

and ideas constructed through their and their group's cultural heritages and life experiences—what

makes diverse groups of people in the neighborhood more collaborative and inclusive needs to be

discussed.

7.1.1: Symbolic Relationships and Social Capital

While many planners advocate diversity in neighborhoods with various reasons such as

economic development and jobs, social justice, good public service, crime prevention, the belief of

a "good neighborhood" as a tightly knitted community stays in their mind simultaneously. They

want both diverse neighborhoods (spatial) and the "good" community (social).The ideal

neighborhood would be, therefore, that racially, ethnically, and socioeconomically different groups

live in one neighborhood, that everybody likes each other, and expresses, acts and collaborates with

each other in their everyday lives. In those socially well-knitted diverse neighborhoods, people

would learn from each other and the disadvantaged population would advance as they see the "role

models" around them. This argument is based on the contact theory that suggests that encountering

different people enhances the understanding of other groups (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). Despite the fact that many empirical studies have found contradictory results (Bobo, 1999; Taylor, 1998)— that more proximity among the different groups generate more distrust—, this positive theory gives policy makers peace of mind as they can focus on spatial diversity because it would make all people friends. Those physical planners/designers think that external environments strongly influence human behavior. As a result, the planners have made great efforts to mix people physically through implementing housing policies and building public places with hopes that diverse groups of people meet and start interaction.

The history of those efforts, while it has played an important role to desegregate some neighborhoods, has also made evident that social interactions are not developed just by living next to each other. Then, what kinds of social conditions can be realistically expected in those diverse neighborhoods? The discussions of various social relationships—closely or loosely knitted, and how those work for the neighborhood conditions—have been vigorous in not only planning, but also in other fields especially in the context of social capital to try to answer the question (Coleman, 1988; Lin, 1999; Putnam, 1995; Warren, 1999). The concept of bonding and bridging social capital presents that different types of social networks result in different effects on the neighborhood's communities. Bonding social capital means having "ties to people who are *like* you in some

important way" that is strong and intimate relationships through sharing identity and culture with

potentially limited groups of people. On the other hand bridging social capital initially is weak but

spreads to the other groups as "ties to people who are *unlike* you in some important way" (Putnam,

2007, p.143.) In the past, Granovetter made an observation in his article, "The Strength of Weak

Ties" (Granovetter, 1973), that the weak ties—the relations with casual acquaintances—can

generate more valuable ties than strong and more intimate relationships such as family members can

when it comes to job search. Both discussions make the case that sparsely constructed weak or

casual ties that connect different groups may be more efficient and valuable in relation to

accomplishing certain tasks.

This study in Greektown basically agrees with the power of the bridging and weak

relationships /ties; for example, the relationship as landlords and renters generate the cross-group

relationship, casual conversations at a Latino restaurant by the new residents also make some form

of relationships. Those are the bridging relationships that exist in Greektown (can be secondary or

primary) and can be useful for people staying in the neighborhood without conflicts, and then,

potentially generating more primary relationships. However, the problem is that those bridging

relationships need direct interactions that are scarce in Greektown. How can people cultivate more

bridging social capital or strengthen weak ties, if there are little direct interactions?

This study reveals that there are series of *symbolic relationships*—that are perceptions and cultural and ideological ideas towards others through their experiences, knowledge, and imbedded culture—that psychologically connect the individuals and groups in Greektown. These may even look weaker than the "bridging" or "weak ties" as it is not based on direct interactions or casual acquaintances: yet it has great influence and potential as it can become foundations of social relationships. In other words, it can provide potential energy for actual social relationships. In Greektown, the symbolic relationships help the neighborhood to stay without conflicts by subtle understandings of each other, and potentially generate more bridging relationships among the different groups.

7.1.2: Multidimensional Social Relationships

Although symbolic relationships could be foundations of social relationships, it is not realistic to assume that those symbolic relationships automatically improve the whole groups' social relationships as those are just in people's minds and not based on direct interaction. Although each ethnic and class-based group—Greeks, Latinos and the new residents—has close connections within its group through sharing many characteristics such as religion, language, and education among the members, they are not monolithic. As the status and stages of the immigrants greatly

varied—generation, economic status, and educational attainment—the immigrants' groups contain the diversity *within* themselves by encompassing second and later generations. The new young and professional residents are also diverse in to an extent—maybe not only in race and ethnicity, but also political views, international experiences, family types, sexual orientations, and where they come from; somebody from Baltimore City and those from Midwest may have different views towards the other groups and living conditions. The diversity within themselves generates a variety of symbolic relationships. As their attributes are different from other members in the same group, they can be connected to those who have similar attributes in other groups. For example, as a group, Greeks understand the hardships of immigration. The first generation Greeks reflect this idea to understand the Latino immigrants while the younger generations understand it, but also they see Latino second generations as peers who have similar socioeconomic status. A new resident has an idea that diversity is good, and he or she also may have common experience with Latinos if they are both sexual minorities. The multidimensional ties rely on the unique individuals within the well-connected groups. This also means that the members of the group allow individual uniqueness. The racial minority in the new residential developments need to feel that they belong to the class-based (and generationally similar) group, although the majority of the members are racially different from them, so that their sympathy and understandings to the other minorities can be reflected to the

whole group's symbolic relationships.

Those myriad combinations of the symbolic relationships can exist in a diverse neighborhood, and if each group has diversity within themselves, it generates more multidimensional relationships. Even if many parts of their lives are different, at some point, people can share something with each other. The more they have diversity within the group, the more they have channels to be connected to people in the other groups.

7.1.3: Importance of the Primary Groups and Diversity within Them

The multidimensional ties can stay, however, as just isolated and sporadic by individuals if there is no primary group. Primary group refers to the one that people feel they most belong to, and that this group sees them as a member. It is the group with whom someone primarily, or first, identifies with, or the group with whom someone primarily, or mainly, interacts, and this is often based on ethnicity, race and class. Borchert (1981) states although an individual's network is ego-centered, it is possible for a number of individuals to develop an effective or close-knit network when they become a "cluster of person fairly closely knitted together" (p.612). If the individuals have a connection to the members of other groups, those relationships can influence the whole group due to their closely-knit primary group.

In Greektown, the old timers who identify themselves as "just Americans" in Chapter 5

illustrate what the meaning of belonging to a primary group is. In the interviews and the surveys,

they stated that they were neither a member of an immigrant's family nor saw themselves in any

ethnic group. In contrast to Greeks of similar ages, they do not have a strong affiliation to any

organizations or groups after their original neighbors left. The feeling of isolation can evoke

vulnerability as they do not have a good psychological support system where they feel the group

understands and supports them. This feeling can lead them to be less tolerant to the others as they

fear their status, conditions, and assets may be threatened. As a result, many of them expressed

negative views in the recent diversification of the neighborhood, and missed the "good old days"—

the time they were with families and they went to nearby churches. They used to enjoy having many

commonalities with Greek neighbors. Now, while the older Greek generations find commonalities

with the Latinos, the old timers struggle to do so. By identifying as "just American", she or he

cannot feel sympathy to Latino immigrants; rather they feel threatened by them and see them as a

source of these changes.

The contrast between the old Greeks, and the old timers present the importance of primary

and immediate groups and supporting organizations. Without those, it is difficult to locate

themselves within society and find attributes that they can share with the other groups. The old

timers are also the most homogeneous group—racially, ethnically, generationally, and socioeconomically—contrary to the other major groups that contain diversity within their groups. This homogeneity works well to maintain strong connections within the group with the bonding social capital (Putnam, 1995). However it is vulnerable when the neighborhood is becoming diverse and they are no longer the majority—as they do not have channels—multidimensional ties—to the others groups. The weak ties and bridging social capital can connect them to the other groups. In another words, this study suggests that the issue is not whether people should have strong or weak ties; both are important and are mutually dependent.

In the end, this study raises the fundamental question to all. What kind of social relationships in diverse neighborhoods are we looking for? And if we know them how do we achieve those?

7.2: Diversity in the New Era

7.2.1: Diversity in Reality

First, we have to change the way we look at diverse neighborhoods in the contemporary era, as the narratives in this study tell us that the spatial diversity, the typical criteria of diversity, is

not the goal for planning if the purpose is to build a socially coherent yet diverse neighborhood.

Depending on how we look at the neighborhood, the substance of the diversity clearly differs. The

stories from Greektown's diverse residents illustrate the need of several viewpoints or lens to

understand the diversity at the neighborhood level; one is spatial, but more importantly, the other is

the social lens.

The Figure 24 is an image of the diverse neighborhood through different lens: one is the

spatial lens and the other is the social lens. For the spatial condition, the different groups of people

(Greeks, Latinos, new residents, old timers) live within a neighborhood boundary (shown in the

Figure 24 at left). When looking at the neighborhood through the *social lens*—including symbolic

relationships—it is clear that Greektown consists of different groups that exist beyond the

neighborhood boundary. There are multidimensional social relationships among specific individuals

across the groups, and symbolic relationships that overlap two or multiple groups (shown in the

Figure 24 at right.) If what planners are looking for is the diverse neighborhood that has positive

and meaningful relationships, understanding the social condition is essential.
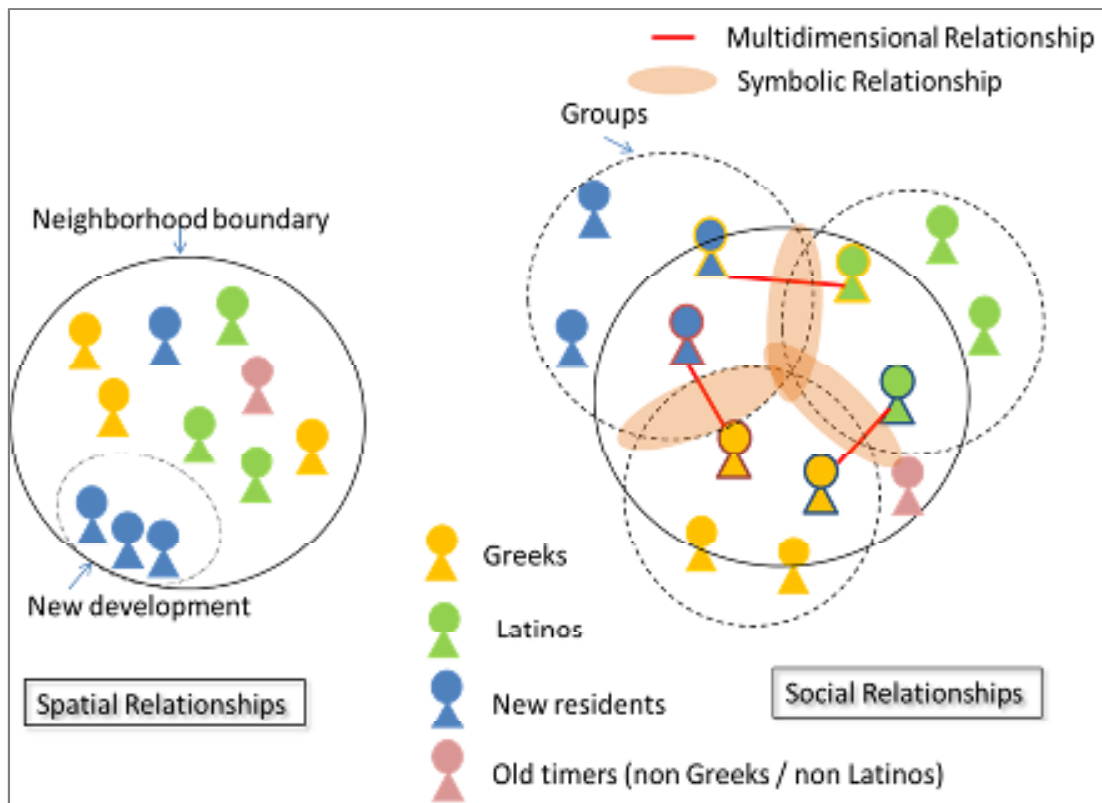
Figure 24. Diverse Neighborhood

It is not simply to describe diverse neighborhoods when the members of the groups have more complex life courses. Each group has individuals with different attributes while sharing the fundamental and important aspects of their lives with the other members in their primary groups. As the segmented assimilation theory suggests, contemporary immigrants have taken various paths to adjust their lives in the United States. With abundant information, young professionals have many different experiences and ideas than their grandparents had. The more variety that individuals have

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in the group, the more attributes to be connected to the members of the other groups become

possible. With the social lens, what we can realistically expect for the diverse neighborhood—

complex layers of different relationships—can be projected.

7.2.2: Desirable Diversity

The conditions in Greektown, then, lead many to wonder what the desirable social

relationships in diverse neighborhoods are. The diversity and the community's social coherence

have been an important and central yet most debated topic in planning. The advocates for diverse

neighborhoods come from several arguments. One is the effort to replace the racially segregated

neighborhoods that perpetuate the poverty in many urban cities (Massey & Denton, 1993; Wilson,

1996) due to the lack of opportunities and isolation. The social networks in these neighborhoods

have very limited access outside of their homogeneous community. The mixed-income housing

policies in national policies such as HOPE VI have been implemented to diversify class, and race in

the neighborhoods with the expectation that the lower-income residents find more opportunities; the

successful higher-income residents provide role models for lower-income residents in their daily

lives, and provide useful information through their networks to lower-income neighbors where they

can get better jobs. Those are condescending ideas and empirical studies have shown the limitation

of spatial mix in residential settings to solve the issues of poverty and crime. Another group who advocates for diversity expects that diverse streetscapes can catalyze civic lives and keep neighborhoods safe and economically healthy to live in (Jacobs, 1961). The mixed-use and human-scaled developments are induced by this concept, and ironically, often attract many higher-income homogeneous populations. More recently, people talk about the incentives of diverse neighborhoods for business and innovation. Encountering people with diverse backgrounds generate new ideas for business and culture (Florida, 2002). This, however, can be only successful if there are populations that have the ability to create those innovations—with higher education, spatial and social mobility, and assets.

While those positive aspects of desegregation and diversification have limited success, economic diversity can result in displacing the lower-income residents (Atkinson, 2004; Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Smith, 1982) by raising the property values and invoking more public and private investments. Aiming for economic diversity in order to bring economic advancement for the lower-income population is a paradox as it most likely results in more economically homogeneous neighborhoods.

The influx of higher income residents not only physically displaces the lower-income residents, who are often racial minorities, but also diminishes the existing networks and cultural

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aspects of their daily lives. Hyra (2015) finds that, in the gentrifying neighborhood, even though some residents are able to stay in the neighborhood with assistance from local non-profit organizations, the longtime residents lose their familiar retail stores and places to express their cultural values. As a result of those demographic and cultural displacements, the neighborhood is taken by the most economically and socially powerful group and consequently loses its diversity.

Another group of studies finds that the diverse neighborhood provokes less feeling of cohesion among the residents (Bakker & Dekker, 2012). Putnam (2007) insists that people in the ethnically diverse neighborhood tend to "hunker down" in all aspects of the social lives—less trust to all groups of people including theirs. The arguments based on the contact theory; living with the different groups of people next to each other crystalize the differences more clearly and make residents feel frustrated, threatened, and fearful. In this sense, how much diversity people can allow or accept in the neighborhood—what kind of diversity (race, ethnicity, class, etc.), and what extent of it (a few, some, half of, or majority of different groups of people are influenced)—is the discussion.

With all the above arguments, the current conditions of a diverse neighborhood presents limited success of creating and maintaining spatially diverse, economically thriving, socially inclusive and stable neighborhoods. It calls for reframing the diverse neighborhood we should seek.

First, we need to admit that spatial diversity is not the goal but the starting point and the basis of a desirable diverse neighborhood. We also need to admit that people like to interact with those who share the similar values and interests, and all the technologies enhance the ability to do so. In other words, communities often become increasingly and voluntarily segmented, and the preference to interact with similar people could make the community more homogeneous without ties across groups. With those, it is essential for the diverse neighborhood to have two different kinds of social relationships: one within the primary group, and another outside of the primary group. Strong affiliation to the primary group helps construct one's identity that is valuable in this fluid society; many people move across borders and new technologies quickly change who they communicate with. Nevertheless, the support from the primary group is a practical and emotional safety net. At the same time, the primary group allows its members to have different attributes such as generations and occupations within the group. Those different attributes create the multidimensional relationships to others. Those ties do not threaten the cohesion of the primary group that people feel is important.

The primary group's relationship does not necessarily consist of bonding relationships only. Allowing diversity within them means that bridging ties also exist inside the group; for example, old Greeks and young Greeks do not have to share all their values and ideas, but allow

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each other to have differences. Rather than having a hard boundary that prevents the members from

being connected to the others (Figure 25, left), having a loose boundary can allow them to generate

more access to the other groups (Figure 25, right) can make groups more resilient and sustainable.
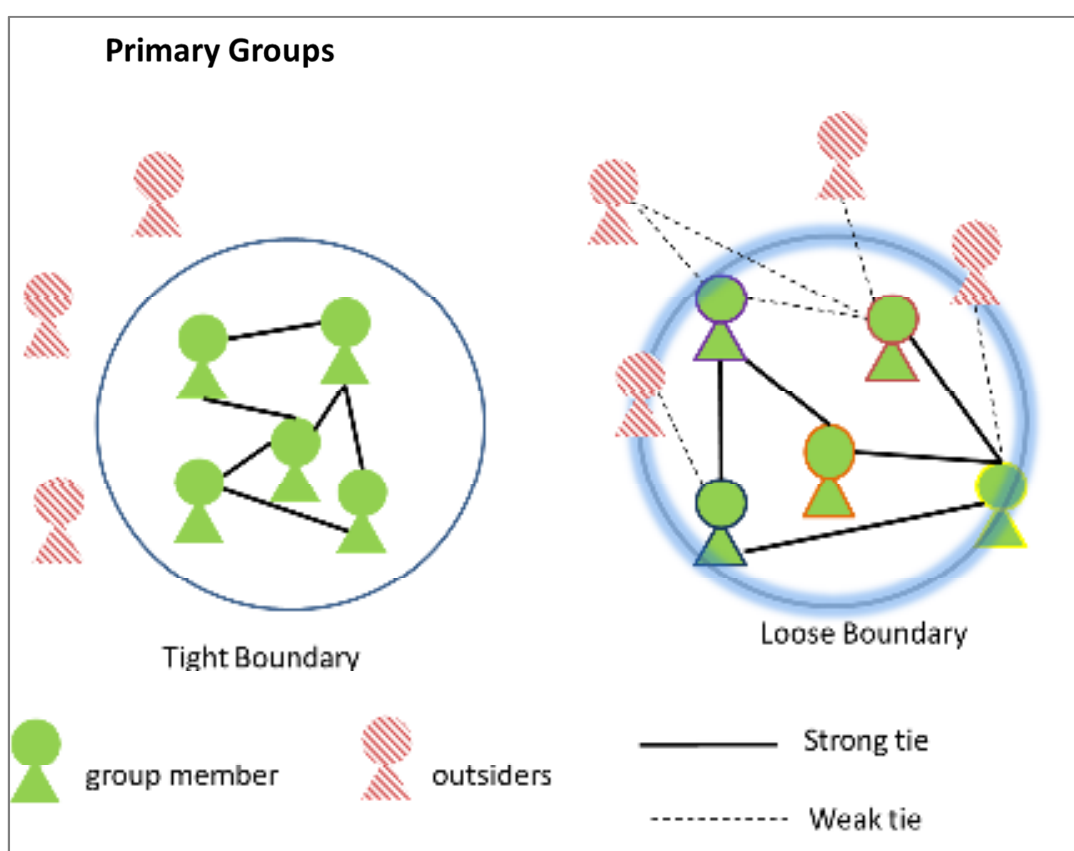
Figure 25. Primary Groups: Stronag and Loose Boundaries

Those multidimensional ties can be mobilized when the neighborhood is transforming and receives

external forces; for example a large scale economic redevelopment plan by private and public

investment. Living in a diverse neighborhood causes both enjoyment and stress—having two

different sets of ties enables people to enjoy and satisfy the conditions while coping with differences.

The efforts to create spatially diverse neighborhoods need to be continued especially for those have been segregated by institutionalized disinvestments and discriminations. At the same time, the increasing immigrants' influx makes many neighborhoods unexpectedly diverse. With this spatial diversity, the planners, policy makers, and community organizers need to meet further challenges, i.e., facilitating positive symbolic relationships, finding where the multidimensional ties exist and cultivating those. Rather than trying to bring whole groups together, the planners need to utilize those ties to bring the issues and solutions back to the primary groups through those multidimensional ties. By doing so, the neighborhood can be the place that people—majority, minority, old timer, new comer and so on—can construct their identity, express their cultural values, and respect those of the others.

7.3: Revisiting Neighborhood Change Theories

As Chapter 2 lays out, scholars have discussed what makes neighborhood changes—structurally, politically & economically, and socio-culturally at local, regional, national and global levels. The structural changes in industries at local, regional, national, and international level;

depopulation in inner city neighborhoods and suburbanization; globalized economy; and immigration policies are the among strong forces explaining neighborhood changes. However, throughout the narratives in this study, socio-cultural forces—the bases of symbolic relationships—works to mitigate, slow down, and alter the direction of those neighborhood changes under the pressure of those forces.

In this case study, the current spatial conditions in Greektown have emerged due to the combination of the aging Greek population, the new Latino immigrants' influx, and redevelopment of the former industrial sites. But the reasons why new populations have moved to Greektown are also supported by their cultural behaviors; Greek's tendency to keep the properties but not to selling them makes room to accept the Latinos; New residents find exotic flavor in the neighborhood. Most importantly what keeps the neighborhood standing on a fine balance to keep the diversity is their symbolic and social relationships. For example, the Greek's cultural heritage and behavior mitigate the rapid turnover of property ownership, the socially-minded young professional's ideas slow down the gentrification, and Latino's broader network reduce the fear of the displacement. The role of those social and symbolic relationships may not look powerful, but their resistance and mitigation sometimes bring outcomes that visible and strong forces are not expected.

7.3.1: Symbolic Relationships and Socio-Cultural Influence

It is undeniable that structural, political, and economic forces in the neighborhood are strong vehicles for change. However, what *resists* or *accelerates* those changes are the symbolic relationships. The symbolic relationships are based on their socio-cultural behaviors that are constructed through individuals and their groups values and experiences. The Greek's tendency to rent houses rather than selling them keeps the Greeks' presence in the neighborhood. Their identity as immigrants generates the subtle understandings among Greeks and Latinos. The new young residents' interests of foreign culture and social justice hesitate to displace the lower-income residents and local businesses. Those culturally and ideologically directed behaviors can create their relationships and counteract the other powerful forces. The various forces change the neighborhood's outlook and the demography, but the influence on the culture also matters and needs to be seriously considered.

However, the symbolic relationship can be a double-edged sword. As the symbolic relationships are not based on direct interactions, it can be either fragile or enduring. One incident, for example, a clash in a bar between two groups alters the symbolic relationships instantly on the negative side. At the same time the absence of contact with real people makes it possible to continue to believe things about others without challenge. The new residents' often illusory impressions

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towards their exotic neighbors and the feeling that they need to assist them can be only maintained

at a distance. This nature of symbolic relationships that needs to be recognized as just making

people directly interacting—often the agenda planners have—is not always the better solution.

Maintaining and cultivating good symbolic relationships in the neighborhood requires careful

actions.

7.4: Revisiting Immigrant Assimilation Theories

When symbolic relationships play an important role on the neighborhood condition, how

the different generations of immigrants adapt to the prevailing culture in the host countries is an

important factor to determine those neighborhood interactions. Do the second and later generations

stay connected to their ethnic groups? Do their decisions to stay or not to do so influence the

symbolic relationships towards the other groups? Are there any differences between Greeks and

Latinos immigrant experiences? It is not just whether the later generations physically stay in the

ethnic enclaves with parents and grandparents or not. How they are connected to their primary

group and generate the multidimensional ties with the others in the different groups is the key to

applying assimilation theories in regard to where this neighborhood goes.

The classic assimilation theory suggests that once the younger generation of immigrants

becomes more assimilated, they depart from their ethnic groups, and blend into the other "Americans". In this case, the original ethnic group in the neighborhood is gone; the later generations are dispersed and eventually lose their ethnic characteristics and connections to the other members. In the recent years, many acknowledge that it is not that simple (Alba et al., 2002; Frey, 1996; Rumbaut & Portes, 2001; Zhou, 1997a). In addition to the persistent racial and ethnic discrimination, and widening wealth disparity, those who come to the United States with little or no assets do not have the same opportunities that old European immigrants had. Diminishing of reasonably well-paying jobs for skilled labor results, and even though the unskilled immigrants become skilled, they do not have opportunities to move up to the next step. Besides the discussion of what the "American" or "main-stream Americans" mean, for many, simply getting economically better lives than their parents are not something they can take for granted.

If those two theories simply reflect the differences in time of arrivals—before early twentieth century or after the late twentieth century—the later generations of Greeks, often third and fourth generations of the immigrants in the former period, were well advanced as parents had expected—the later generation attained higher education, had professional jobs, lived in the suburbs and subsequently lose the ties with the other Greeks. On the other hand, Latinos would forcibly be trapped in their ethnic group regardless of successive generations without many options. In reality,

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the fieldwork revealed that Greektown's immigrants, both Greeks and Latinos have kept their cultural heritages and strong ties within their ethnic groups. Considering that many of young Greeks are third and fourth generations, it is notable that they still carry over the ethnic identities at the same time that they have advanced in the society; those who were interviewed in this study were a medical doctor, a graduate student, an entrepreneur, and a business consultant; they expressed their affiliation to their ethnic communities without hesitation, and proudly talked about their heritage. A young Greek female who is third generation and a graduate student, still thinks that it would be great to get married with a Greek or Greek American to please her family (Chapter 5) shows that those ethnic ties are important for younger generations too. As Anastasia, who just moved into Baltimore as an immigrant, observed in chapter 5, the later generations of Greeks are even more "Greek*ish*" compared to the young Greeks in Greece now, and preserve the old-fashioned ways that their parents and grandparents brought with them decades ago. When they are educated by Greek schools, churches and family members, they learn about the greatness of Greece and instill it into their identity as Greek Americans—the reflection of older generations. What they carry may not be same as what the Greeks in Greece do. But the preserved and nostalgic identity as Greeks survives generation by generation. This identity can maintain their status as a member of the immigrants' family even though they are in later generations.

Latinos obviously maintain their ethnic characteristics and networks as many Latinos rely on each other. The later generations of Latinos talk about their attachments to their own ethnic group. As a result of a continuous influx of Latinos in Baltimore, ethnic businesses are desperately needed, and make many younger generation work for the Latino newcomers as social workers, bi-lingual teachers, insurance business owners, restaurant owners , and all else that are needed for their everyday survival. It is not just economic opportunities for the second generation, which are important, but also assisting their fellow Latinos who are like their parents. Since their parents' arrivals were relatively recent (although some domestic migrants' families have been here for 40-50 years), many of them have been directly witnessing the hardships of their parents' experiences as immigrants, and often feel obligated to help fellow Latinos. The solidarity of the Latino groups is built upon the hardships and battles for the economic advancement. At the same time, they talk vividly about dreams of economic success, large suburban house with families, and visiting home countries to see their grandparents. Some talk about going back home with their wealth. Most of the interviews were full of these hopes. It looks like, by being in Greektown, they see the ideal path as immigrants; well-educated successful children, accumulated assets, and keeping close connections to home. Greektown enables them to keep their dreams alive, even though the road may be rocky for many of them.

In summary, both Greeks and Latinos maintain strong affiliation to their ethnic groups despite their different ethnicities, history, and the societal conditions. The differences between there is what makes their connection tight psychologically. For overcoming the distances to home, Greeks maintain fantasized and nostalgic heritages among them. The Greeks pass it to the later generation in a form of the fantasy. As contemporary immigrants, Latinos also maintain the close relationships within the group in order to survive in the society that becomes more difficult to advance in it compared to the early twentieth century. The new technologies can connect the members more easily. Their "glue" is still for survival, and how it will be transformed to –superglue and exclusive, be dissolved, or fantasy like Greeks maintain—is the key to understand the ethnic solidarity. The transformation of the "glue" to keep their in-group connection tight is another way to see the immigrant's assimilation process.

This argument also provides new insights on how assimilation can be measured. Conventionally, how immigrants are assimilated is measured by socioeconomic status, language use, residential segregation and intermarriage (Waters & Jiménez, 2005), and those are often correlated with the years they spend time in the new country. However the case in Greektown shows that, although the later generations of Greeks fully acquired the language and social status, they are slower to depart from the ethnic neighborhood, or at least keep some stake in it, and are hesitant to

have complete intermarriages. The segmented assimilation of those criteria requires additional explanation—their social relationships within and outside of their groups based on their cultural value matters.

This study also adds a new angle to look at ethnic enclaves; how the immigrant's community transforms is not just whether they live in a same neighborhood together or not. It is how the "glue", what connects them, transforms. And it is true that because younger Greek generations do not need the ethnic connection for survival; instead, the nostalgia and fantasy bind them to their ethnic group. Whether Latinos or any new immigrants follow this path or not depends on how they advance in the society, and feel independent but still maintain their ethnic ties. If they are forced to stay in the survival mode for a long time, their members' diversity may be lost—as they have to think and act together— and hence, their multidimensional ties may be weakened.

7.5: Summary: Transformation of Immigration-led Diverse Neighborhoods

In the era of the globalization, more and more people cross borders with various motivations. The immigrants bring a different culture, values, and networks to make a neighborhood diverse. Yet, the spatial diversity often does not create social diversity within the

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neighborhood, as the each group has their own social lives. This study sheds lights on not only the lives of immigrants, but also the receiving community who also have their own culture there since their ancestors' settlements as immigrants. What makes Greektown more complex is that it is a part of the inner city's revitalization efforts in the post industrial cities that brings strong political and economic pressures. However, the neighborhood shows resistance to the powerful forces to change the neighborhood to become more exclusive and homogeneous due to the socio-cultural forces—this study found it as symbolic relationships—and the multidimensional ties that connect them. The two immigrants groups represent the old and new era of immigrants. Their opportunities in the new country are not same because their societal conditions differ. Yet, their culture makes room to understand others.

Chapter 8: FUTURE PROSPECT

8.1: Neighborhood Change and Symbolic Relationships

This study suggests that the existence of symbolic relationships, based on socio-cultural behaviors, has played roles to resist / alter the direction of change for the neighborhoods that are in the face of structural, political and economic pressures. To examine how Greektown, the rapidly diversifying Baltimore neighborhood, will be transformed under those pressures in the foreseeable future, how these symbolic relationships work among the residents need to be discussed. This dynamic of the local forces are examined in this chapter, and finally, how planners, policy-makers, and community organizers use those forces to make positive change—to build a diverse, collaborative and inclusive neighborhood—is discussed.

8.1.1: Structural Changes: Aging Greek Population

As many of the remaining Greeks in Greektown—the first or second generations—are senior citizens, and their children and grandchildren often live in the suburbs, it looks inevitable that more of the Greek population are aging, living alone and will be passing away in the near future. Possible outcomes of these structural changes will be 1) more vacant houses and more renters, hence the increase of Latino immigrants, 2) younger Greeks coming back to the city.

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In the first case, if the Greek population declines, one question is how this will affect Greeks spatially and psychologically. Will the declining population make Greeks feel threatened? Will it lead remaining Greeks to leave the neighborhood? The important factor is the existence of St. Nicholas church that will stay even though significant changes happen in the neighborhood. Moving the church to another location, or closing it, is extremely difficult in the current system in Greek Orthodox Churches, according to the St. Nicholas' administrator. Even though a number of its main members, the first generation Greeks, will decrease in the church, St. Nicholas's unique role—serving for Greek speaking members—is needed for a small number of newcomers as well as for those who think St. Nicholas is more authentic than those with only English services. The "authenticity" that the church possesses is valuable for Greek families who want to preserve and pass the authentic Greek culture and heritage to their children through the attached school. As far as the church staying there, many will keep the properties in the neighborhood and keep the stakes despite the lack of physical presence there. The popular Greek restaurants will also remain as they are not relying on the customers in the neighborhood. As most other ethnic neighborhoods such as Chinatown and Little Italy, Greektown may become a tourist place with Greek restaurants, Greek themed decorations, and the signage at the entrance that says "Welcome to Greektown." More Latinos may move to the neighborhood as renters. However, in contrast to the other ethnic

neighborhoods, the existence of St. Nicholas and Greek's property ownerships that are supported by their cultural belief and behaviors will resist or slow the pace of this process if it happens.

For the latter case, the younger Greek's coming back to the city, is also a possibility, as it occasionally happens even now. The houses are often their families' assets, hence living there costs very little or nothing, and they are located near the gentrified areas for those younger Greeks enjoying entertainment. The houses are also close to the Greek school for their children. However, most of the Greeks expressed their concerns for the quality of the local public schools, especially middle /high schools in Baltimore City. In some schools including John Ruhrah in Greektown, many of the students are not native English speakers and need assistance at many levels, which often make the test scores low. But there is also an inherited distrust of the public school systems in Baltimore City among the young Greeks. In the interviews, it was not only a few, but many who stated that they would move out from the neighborhood when their children become school age. For Greeks, children's education is high priority; as described in Chapter 3, they admitted that they did not mind sacrificing their own lives if they can provide a good education to their children. The education and the environment around children often determine their residential option, not the entertainment and convenience to the work for adults. In this circumstance, the rapid increase of young Greeks may not be the realistic direction, or may be a temporary event unless the perception

of the local school system improves dramatically.

The aging Greek population certainly has an impact in the neighborhood. More Latinos or the pioneer-type new residents may be moving into Greektown. However, the cultural characteristics by Greeks—keeping homeownerships, preserving the authentic church and caring about the children's educations—are the factors that resist change.

8.1.2: Political and Economic Pressure

8.1.2.1: Changes on Immigration

Both political and economic situations at city, regional, national and even global levels largely determine how many and what kind of immigrants (race, ethnicity, nationalities, socioeconomic status, religious, and so on) are moving into American neighborhoods. In Greektown, or Baltimore City, the increase of the Latino immigrants has started only within a decade or so as a result of immigrants' new settlement patterns (Marrow, 2005; Singer, 2004). The city's policy of welcoming the family and immigrants, as well as many vacant or potentially-vacant affordable housing stock accelerates the immigrants' settlement. If the tendency continues, and the city accepts more immigrants (that was the prediction by many residents at the time of the interviews), and if immigrants dominate the neighborhood, then, will Greektown become

"Latinotown" or not. Will Greeks feel resentment that too many Latinos come and overtake the neighborhood? Will the new residents think that the neighborhood has too many lower-income residents that devalue their property values?

One of the factors that needs to be considered here is the Latino's transient nature (chapter 5). Because of the ubiquitous Latino organizations to assist the Latino population in Southeast Baltimore, Greektown is not the only the place they choose to live. They do not have to occupy and claim the small neighborhood as theirs. What the organizations want for the Latino community in Baltimore City, according to several leaders, is prosperity and advancement in the whole society: where they live does not really matter. If the housing stocks are not enough in Greektown, they spread to other neighborhoods. Under this circumstance, the resentment by Greeks could be less as they are the ones who control the housing supply as landlords. Another aspect to mitigate the quick population turnover relies on social relationships as employers and employee that are sometimes interconnected to the relationships as landlords and renters. The reciprocal relationships and sympathy to immigrants by Greeks could be the factor to keep Latinos in the neighborhood, and stands on the fine balance for the neighborhood population.

Another scenario is, contradictory to what most of residents predict, decreasing the number of immigrants in Baltimore. As the anti-immigrants acts in the early twentieth Century

ceased the immigrants from European countries, immigration policies can greatly influence the number of them coming to the neighborhood. Immigration is a highly debated political topic that may change the scenery of the neighborhood dramatically when a new administration takes over at either the local or national government. Moreover, immigration is firmly connected to the global economy—affecting both the sending and receiving countries' economic conditions. Those often unpredictable political and economic circumstances would alter the economic and social dynamics in Greektown. This may undermine the symbolic relationships among immigrants groups and result in drastic changes such as deterioration of the neighborhood both physically and socially.

8.1.2.2: Pressures on Development

Another possible force changing Greektown is that redevelopment pressure through private and public investments. The possibility of Greektown becoming totally gentrified and unaffordable for renters including Latinos as well as the pioneers is a plausible scenario as Hoover's stage model in neighborhood change theories suggests (Figure 2 in Chapter 2.) A real estate agent in the area expected this story happening in Greektown in an interview. Due to the proximity to already-gentrified areas and to Johns Hopkins Bayview Campus that hires many medical professionals, Greektown seems a good next target for development. At the same time, a resident who has been in Greektown for more than seven years told me that "Those rumors, Greektown

become fancy, has been there for a long time. It is still not happening after so many years. Maybe it is just illusions." The reason for this resistance to the gentrification can be explained with several reasons.

One is a structural; Baltimore City's growth is not enough to generate more demands in the real estate market. Unlike the cities like New York City and San Francisco, Baltimore's major employers are hospitals and higher-educational institutions. Those industries usually do not grow the number of well-paid jobs rapidly. As their unemployment rate stays higher than the national average, Baltimoreans' demands for those gentrified areas are limited. Another factor that needs to be considered is a cultural aspect; Greeks tendency not to sell their houses, instead passing them over to the next generations help resist against the economic pressure. Here, their cultural preferences often surpass the economic benefits. Moreover, the new millennial residents' desire to preserve an "authentic" neighborhood may find that adding more new developments (although many of them live in those places) are not so tasteful.

The economic and political pressures certainly have great impacts on neighborhood changes. However, what the residents in Greektown present in this study are the cultural and social resistances against those powerful forces. The symbolic relationships prevent Greektown from changing the neighborhood rapidly. Especially in immigrants' communities that carry their unique

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culture, values, and social lives, those effects should not be overlooked.

8.1.2.3: Forces and Trends in Nation and the World

It is impossible to separate the neighborhood, regardless of its size and location, from the national and global context in this highly connected time in many aspects. Not only the highly-interwoven economy influence people's daily lives, but also more people crossing the borders, and information that goes around the world in seconds has its impact. What happens somewhere in Africa, Middle East or Asia may influence a neighborhood in the United States. In this highly globalized era, the neighborhood's conditions are built upon complex layers of local, national and global movements. As discussed, immigration is, needless to say, the result of many those forces. How many and what kind of immigrants the country accepts is a matter of complex factors. Not only the policies and economic conditions in the accepting country, but those in the sending country also matters. Throughout history, the events like wars and conflicts in the world also influence the numbers of immigrants.

At the same time, as economy and policies solely cannot control where and how people live and work, sometimes unexpected movements in immigrations happen. As discussed, contemporary immigrants are more dispersed and settle in the new destinations, making some neighborhoods and cities unexpectedly diverse. The sudden and rapid transformation of places often

evokes the feeling of fear and resentment by communities accepting those changes—especially the places that do not have positive symbolic relationships. Consequently, some states and cities have implemented or are implementing anti-immigrant policies such as allowing police to ask anybody they think suspicious to present their documents without any reason. The tendency of those fear-driven (often without concrete evidence about immigrants taking jobs from native born Americans or committing crimes) counteractions to the rapid influx of people with different outlooks, language and culture can only make the neighborhood spatially and socially more segmented. On the other hand, a growing number of cities that have been suffering depopulation have turned immigration as a tool to rebuild local development and adopt the policies welcoming the immigrants. At this moment, it is only speculation but under the new administration by President Trump in 2017, there may be drastic changes coming; mostly restrictive policies may be proposed and implemented. The federal funds for immigrants and refugees such as the educational funds to support the Latino children in public schools may be cut. The louder voice from the administration focusing on negative aspects of immigration and neglecting their contributions in the country could undermine the local relationships among the diverse groups of people. The demographic effect on the neighborhood is not clear yet—whether the number of immigrants dramatically declined; however, if this continues, the symbolic relationships are likely to be severely damaged.

Not only the supports for immigrants, but the other federal supports for the city, especially in housing, may be negatively affected. If the housing policies focus on for-profit development and diminish the funding for affordable and public housing, the effort for creating and maintaining diverse neighborhoods will take a step backward.

Another trend in the world that could influence the neighborhood is the prevailing use of social network services and cellphones. SNS is a convenient tool to be connected to other people even though they are at a distance. It helps immigrants to be connected to their homes and families that had not been possible for old European immigrants in the early twentieth century. The useful information can be distributed in seconds to an individual's cell phone. The busy new residents have ubiquitous access to friends that enable to them to have casual conversations all the time. We should, however, notice that it is very *selective*. It is not like street life where people encounter a stranger. It is not like a public school that you have to study with various classmates, some of whom may not be your favorite. With the digital tools, people select with whom they will be friends and communicate with; that is very comfortable for many. The information flowing within their circle are intentionally and unintentionally selected based on what they want to see (or sometimes what the media selected for them). The uses of technologies can make life more convenient, but at the same time it accelerates the segmentation of society. This tendency seems to be growing and

spreading everywhere and to everybody, and the selective and segmented relationships could accelerate the separation among groups.

8.2: Implication for Planning Practice and Policy Making

With consideration of the possible changes and pressures discussed the above, how Greektown, an immigration-led diverse neighborhoods can generate positive symbolic relationships and multidimensional ties require interventions. This study in Greektown has various implications—both how planners should approach communities and how they should structure organizing and planning processes, and what policies to help this kind of diverse neighborhood be more collaborative. As discussed, those diverse neighborhoods are facing many pressures from inside and outside of the neighborhood. This study shows how to mitigate those structural, political, and economic pressures, and navigate the neighborhoods to a more collaborative direction— through building good symbolic and social relationships.

8.2.1: Understanding and Working for Diversity, Culture, and the Symbolic Relationships

8.2.1.1: Story Sharing

Realizing the symbolic relationships, creating them or changing them from a negative to a

positive side is not an easy task—these are based on people's experiences and cultural values that connect them to other people, while "perception" is just the idea they have in their mind. When people use their ideas to relate themselves to others, it becomes a symbolic relationship. It requires listening to the narratives/stories by residents and understanding the histories behind the cultural values they possess. The conventional methods of including people with various backgrounds and language abilities such as providing interpreters and bilingual materials at community meetings and events are still needed, but prior to that, the cultural differences of what they value, how they express their opinion, and how they approach the different groups need to be addressed. During the fieldwork, often the case with Latinos, especially females, they expressed their unfamiliarity to attend "community meetings" to express their opinions. This experience was new to them, and often something they didn't do culturally. It does not mean that they are neither unwilling to do that nor accepting norms in the new country. It is a difference that is imbedded in their culture and experiences. To understand it, planners and local community organizers need to be sensitive to those cultural norms. For this, collecting the narratives from the residents by interviewing and videotaping, and then sharing it with the other groups can be effective. It could be various forms such as community papers, story books and movie products about any occasions. It doesn't have to be somebody's life story; rather, it can be stories about cooking, their customs, fashions, child

bearing and many small daily topics. Sharing various "stories" with the others is essential to generate the symbolic and multidimensional relationships with the other groups.

8.2.1.2: Specifically-Targeted Small Events

Having cultural events are often considered as great ways to improve ethnic relations. While those are also important for keeping primary groups stay together, to utilize multidimensional ties, having small events that involve specific members of various groups can be more effective to cultivate multidimensional ties rather than trying to bring a broader population all together in one event. As the Greektown's stories tell us, making everybody in the neighborhood become closely-tied, trusting, and being friendly neighbors is not realistic. Instead, finding small and particular attributes that people can share and do something together in a limited time can facilitate the multidimensional and weak ties. For example, the community organizer was once talking about having a knitting class for Latinos—to make warm hats and mittens for children who came from warmer climates and need the winter gear. It did not happen but if senior Greeks or new residents can teach the class to Latinos' parents, it creates the weak ties, and may facilitate symbolic relationships. A Latino support group held a weekly exercise class in nearby Highland Park. If it opens up to the other groups of people such as senior Greeks and old timers, they start to know each other. Greektown is fortunate to have positive symbolic relationships among the different groups,

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making multiple yet small opportunities that a variety of people can casually participate in and can

build and improve the social relationships.

8.2.2: Building and Strengthening the Symbolic Relationship in Society

8.2.2.1: Diverse Class Room and Work Environments

As the new residents' mind-set views diversity as a good quality, this is often reinforced

by their experiences in the schools and workplaces. Through legislative efforts since mid-twentieth

century, many colleges and offices have adopted affirmative action. Recent research shows that it is

finally closing the gap in racial demographics of college enrollments between white and African

American students after many decades of struggle. The report from National Center on Education

Statistics (NCES) in 2016 finds that 69% of white high school graduates enrolled in the college

while 65% of African American and 63% of Hispanic graduate did so as of 2014. 85% of Asian

graduates enrolled in colleges and that is higher than any other race/ethnicity since they started to

separate Asians from Pacific Islanders. This means that schools—the place young people spend

time and build critical social relationships with classmates—are becoming racially diverse more

than ever. Highly likely, the students in college encounter racially and ethnically different peers.

The experiences are significant, as many new residents in Greektown express the familiarity of

those who are different from them—this is the basis of symbolic relationships towards the others in the neighborhood. Having peers, negotiating each other, and being friends in schools are not only educationally stimulating and help minorities to advance in society, but also are the foundation of positive symbolic relationships. Although the various effects on education in diverse class settings have been talked and advocated, the diverse class rooms and offices are important for the neighborhood's future to build a more collaborative and inclusive neighborhood when the students grow up and play the roles there.

8.2.2.2 Cross-Organizational Cooperation

The coordination among the local community organizations is urgently needed. The typical grass-roots type neighborhood associations as well as Community Development Corporations often try to work within the physical boundary of the neighborhoods (place-based), while the ethnic-oriented organizations work for the group beyond those boundaries (people-based.) The neighborhood associations and organizations, therefore, need to reach out to the broader organizations beyond the small neighborhood—to city and region-wide and even international organizations if necessary. The role for those ethnic-oriented organizations such as Spanish speaking churches and Greek Orthodox Church, Latino business associations regardless of where the organizations' offices are located, is significant in Greektown as those can be the voice of the

people who are not active in expressing their needs and demands in public. What we can do is strengthen the relationships among neighborhood-based organizations and those social-based organizations.

8.2.2.3: Public Spaces in Diverse Neighborhoods

With all those foundations, the need of physical proximity arises. Having a place that diverse groups of people can share works for the purpose only when they have positive symbolic and social relationships. In this way, sharing space leads to sharing interests in the space. One time, GGNA hosted an outdoor movie event in the courtyard of St. Nicholas' facility. The place is usually closed and only opened for special occasions such as weddings and parties for the church members. The young Greeks negotiated the church to use the space. The second generation Latinos asked Latino residents to come out. For them, public places to enjoy with the friends and family are important and they usually go to the nearby shopping mall or Patterson Park, neither of which are in Greektown. Therefore, this was a rare opportunity for Latinos to mingle in the neighborhood. The new residents have applied for a grant to rent equipment and set up the stage. The each group had a role to make this event happen. The turnout was remarkable and I saw many—Greeks, Latinos, New residents, young including many Latino children and old—sitting in the yard to watch the movie, or just chatting with friends. Although it did not make the people talk cross the groups so

much, it worked well to build a foundation for the symbolic and social relationships. The places they can share strengthen the existing relationships and potentially move forward to more collaborative relationships if there are good foundations.

In this sense, the role of the local school is extremely important. John Ruhrah School has already been making great efforts to accommodate the Spanish speaking students and their parents. The school is making efforts to become not just a school to educate the students but a place for community[i]. However, as many new residents who do not have children (92% of them do not have children at the time of the survey), they are not even aware of the existence of the school and recreation center attached despite that it occupies a large space in the neighborhood. Considering the fact that the school is almost the only public and open space in Greektown, the effective use of the space and resources to enhance the relationships in the neighborhood is an agenda the planners, school board, and teachers to work with. When they do so, those who are without children, elderlies living alone, and other organizations must be involved in. The close coordination with various organizations, not just the neighborhood associations, but also other stakeholders such as the school is certainly needed.

8.2.3: Policy Implications

8.2.3.1: Housing

Those efforts by planners need to be supported by particular policies. Although it was not

the policy makers' intention that Greektown became diverse, and the diversification has been

largely attributed by the Greek's cultural behaviors such as renting rather than selling the houses,

there is much to learn from this case. Greektown provided affordable housing for the low-income

population while the old Greeks benefited from the income from rent. This condition is not

guaranteed institutionally as it largely relies on cultural activities. The housing voucher programs

have been implemented, but the policy could support those landlords who provide the housings to

the low-income families. Those landlords who wanted to keep the houses as their family assets even

though they and their family currently do not use them, can be converted to affordable housing.

Providing financial benefits by local governments as well as technical supports by local community

organizations to connect renters and landlords can be considered. It not only helps providing

affordable housing and gives old Greeks financial benefits, but also indirectly supports maintaining

the Greeks' cultural heritage. It also requires that the policy makers should assure this process is

safe for the immigrants with any legal status to apply.

At the same time, supporting immigrants and lower income populations to acquire the

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properties need more improvement. It may contradict the stories that Latinos tend to be transient and not all of them hope to buy a house, especially in a downtown location. However, accumulating assets is important for financial stability for all in the United States, and this knowledge needs to be shared by the immigrants while the planners pay attention to the different motivation and cultural attitudes towards housing. Moreover, obtaining a mortgage with lack of good credit and proper legal status is the biggest obstacle for them when they decide to acquire housing. Both public and private entities need to work together to help those immigrants to buy a house, accumulate assets, become stable members of the society. The local community organizations such as Southeast CDC have been already working hard for this in Baltimore City, but legislative supports and cooperation by financial institutions are highly needed.

8.2.3.2: Transportation and Local Businesses

In order to stabilize the population in the neighborhood, and increase the longtime residents there, the role of public transportation is also important. In Greektown, as the light rail plan has been suspended by the State of Maryland (Chapter 3), alternative public transportation for not just workers, but also the older generations in Greektown who no longer drive is urgently needed in the neighborhood in addition to existing bus services. The diverse population supports public transportation with a variety of reasons, for example, Latinos for commuting to work and

schools; seniors for daily shopping and meeting with friends that strengthen the primary group's

cohesion; and the younger generation for environmental friendliness. It not only provides

convenience to all, but also helps them to be connected to their own communities outside of the

neighborhood, and to stay in their residential neighborhood for the long term.

Keeping the existing local ethnic businesses and encouraging a variety of small and

locally owned businesses helps those ethnically diverse neighborhood strengthen their primary

group's cohesion and hence, maintain the symbolic relationships to others. It requires some kind of

protection and coordination. The various local community groups including the ethnic-focused ones

need to discuss and make plans for a new commercial street. For example, increasing the number of

liquor licenses in Greektown has been an issue, not only because it causes noise and misbehavior by

customers but also bars and liquor shops can take over the main and only commercial corridor in

the neighborhood. It is possible to restrict the liquor licenses in the neighborhood by voting against

the transferring as a community, but the selling of liquor in restaurants is an important and

profitable source of income for both Greek and Latino restaurants. To avoid having the main street

of Greektown become just "a drinking place", the number of liquor licenses and who have the

licenses need to be discussed in cross-organizational meetings. Community input should be highly

regarded and the city should make the process easier to reflect the amendments on the license as

required. In this way, the discussion of liquor licenses can generate more interaction among the groups to think about the future of the neighborhood.

8.2.3.3: Education and Employment

As already stated, diversity in education is important. The personal experiences in school and work place with diverse friends / colleagues are the foundation of the symbolic relationships with the other groups. Affirmative action and consistent evaluation of various diversities such as race, ethnicity, immigrants' generations, and socioeconomic status in the classrooms and workplaces need to be done. In addition to this, having more diverse employees at various public organizations such as city offices, public schools, police offices and hospitals are needed to have deeper understandings of cultural differences. They are not just helpful to connect the ethnic and racial minorities to the public offices but also are representatives for the diverse groups. Having the members of their groups in the public offices is one way to affirm that they belong to the city and neighborhood.

8.2.3.4: Welcoming Immigrants

Considering the current conditions in the United States regarding immigrants, it is hard to predict where the federal policies are heading; who and how many get in. There is no room to

comprehensively discuss and speculate the immigration policies in the United Sates in this study. Nevertheless, as this study illustrated, the United States is built on the layers of immigrants. Besides whatever the authenticity of their ethnic identities is, many native-born Americans talk about their ethnicity after many generations just like Greeks' third and fourth generations do. Through the lens of the symbolic relationships, having pro-immigrant policies greatly enhances the relationships among newly-arrived immigrants and longtime residents who are also children and grandchildren of immigrants. If planners and policy makers wish to have socially and economically diverse and vibrant neighborhoods with immigrants, the policies for cities to protect the basic rights of immigrants and refugees must be implemented. It not only encourages immigrants to come, live, work and contribute to the society, but also gives to them the message that they are part of the communities in the globalizing era. Recently, some states and cities self-identified as "Sanctuary Cities" that limits cooperation with federal authorities regarding the immigrants' legal status. More proactively, around fifty cities participate in Welcoming America Cities' network that is a platform created by Welcoming America[ii], a national organization, to share the resources and learn good practices (Hung & Yang Li 2016). The policy makers need to say it loudly in order to generate good symbolic relationships at the neighborhood level.

In order to strengthen symbolic relationships, generating "we" identity rather than "them"

and "us" in the immigration-led diverse neighborhood is something planners need to work on (Putnam, 2007). It does not mean that each group diminishes their ethnic characteristics and creates something new. As the case of the Greeks demonstrates, although the ethnic identity is a strong boundary to tie Greeks and Latinos together, the boundary itself can be modified by new generations or individuals that can bring new ideas. What planners and policy makers can do is to look at the neighborhood as not just ethnic, immigrants, or gentrifying neighborhood, but creating a new identity that every group can share and participate in as a part of their daily lives. Unlike bridging social capital that Putnam advocates, the symbolic relationships and multidimensional ties can psychologically relate the various groups and individuals, and create loose and transmutable boundaries that people can identify as part of their lives. The shared identity supports collective actions to the transformation of neighborhoods that are under the pressure of external forces. Through the narratives from residents and connections through the organizations' networks, the planners and policy makers need to seek common ground to start with. The following story is an example of these ideas.

8.3: An Example of New "US" in the Diverse Neighborhood

In Greektown, several agreements can be found through their symbolic relationships.

First, none of the groups support a drastic turnover of the neighborhood; they like to have Greek

features in many ways. Obviously Greeks want to keep it, but the new residents also support the

preservations of it. It is not their priority, but Latinos may want to see the long lasting Greek culture

and businesses as a symbol of immigrants' success in the United States to keep their dream high.

Second, people seem agree that they would like to support immigrants in various ways. The new

residents who value social justice can support them as far as their daily lives are not threatened.

Lastly, in relation to the previous conditions, all can somehow support the local and ethnic

businesses in Greektown. Those give exotic flavor to the new residents; satisfy the daily needs for

Latinos, and enhance solidarity among Greeks. Those fundamental agreements, also their

motivations and the outcomes they want, though different, are the essential for the different groups

to feel that the neighborhood is inclusive. Konstantinos, a second generation, presented his view of

the future of Greektown in our conversation as follows:

> *Konstantinos: I would love that they see Greektown as a place for – to kind of settle down,*
> *get your feet grounded, and kind of begin your American life.*

> *Interviewer: Yeah. It's like a gateway city like for the immigrants who want to – you know,*
> *to come to the US, and work hard, and to kind of make their life here, so –*

> *Konstantinos: Correct. That. Ideally, that's what I would love. They come and their first*

taste of American culture is Greektown.

When the local newspaper interviewed another young Greek realtor, he also echoed the statement by Konstantinos[iii] saying that "This neighborhood still has an immigrant feel to it" and make sure that those who came to Greektown with the hope can continue to live here under any circumstances.

It is, of course, extremely difficult to predict if this idea can be realized or not. The idea as an immigrant's gateway may not work when some strong external forces or incidents happen. One clear thing is that if the positive symbolic relationships are maintained or further fostered, the neighborhood will resist those forces. Greektown will change demographically and spatially in a long run, but as long as there are the church and property ownerships, Greek's symbolic relationships to the new comers may last as the owners of the neighborhood. Even though there will be fewer Greeks living in the neighborhood, "Greekness" can remain with those relationships, keeps Latinos there and have their symbolic relationships to Greeks and others. The educated and socially minded new young generation can coexist with Greeks and Latinos while they maintain their personal lives within their comfort zone.

Socio-cultural influences on the symbolic/social relationships are essential to understand neighborhood changes in the places where the diverse groups of people—racially, ethnically, socioeconomically, generationally and other factors—live. The fact that those places are

increasingly emerging throughout the world by either voluntarily or involuntarily makes people

encounter the different groups of people in their everyday lives. Rather than one group, often less

powerful and minority, assimilate to the other, often more powerful and dominant, creating the new

identity as inclusive and corporative neighborhood need to be facilitated by planners, policy

makers, community organizers, and those who wish to find "good" neighborhoods for all.

8.4: Concluding thoughts

One of the issues this study did not discuss is the effect on racial relationships in

Baltimore City. In 2015, the death of Freddie Gray, a young African American in police custody,

evoked serious unrest in the city. In the areas affected, such as where I live, the damages were not

just on the buildings and streets, but in our minds. As in Chapter 5, Greektown was not affected by

it as much, except some restaurants' owners complained about the city-wide curfew that almost

totally cut the customers in the evening. Indeed, even without the curfew, many people refrained

from dinning out. Baltimore has been a city with a clear racial divide and has struggled to build

inclusive and cooperative atmosphere. Some may argue, because Latinos are not Blacks, their

tension between existing between white populations, the Greeks, have not been serious. The Latinos

started to arrive at the city very recently after a long period of hiatus of immigration, and it means

Greeks and the new residents have no tools to evaluate them at first glance. They sought a way to understand those new people, and found a symbolic relationship with Latinos. But the question is what would it have been like if the new comers were Black. Could they have built the same symbolic relationship? It is not easy to answer and needs another study to do so; yet, I believe that the idea of symbolic relations, negative or positive, can also apply to the racial relationships.

There are some limitations and concerns regarding the site selection, single case study, and identity of myself as a researcher. This study deals with a case in Baltimore, Maryland. Greektown is a small field study, and single case studies are always prone to a question regarding generalizability. However, as discussed, this case was carefully selected to present the current phenomenon—immigration-led diversification—with changing social relationships of diverse groups that affect changes in neighborhoods. There are no neighborhoods and cities that are exactly similar to Greektown in Baltimore City, but conceptualizing the symbolic relationships and multidimensional ties in diverse neighborhood can be applied in many places.

I also believe that the size of the neighborhood—approximately only 4,000 residents—is not a disadvantage, rather is an advantage. It is a small neighborhood, but because of the size, the residents have a clearer picture of the physical neighborhood and the diverse residents in it. This small neighborhood, used-to-be old village type neighborhood where everybody knows each other

on every street, is under transformation, and people are aware of the changes in their neighborhood. In this manner, I believe that researching this case can produce rich narratives that will give insights to one of the important planning agendas—what diversity means and how the planners manage the transforming diversity in a neighborhood.

There could be limitations for myself in this study as a Japanese woman who does not speak Spanish. It was challenging to communicate with newly arrived Latino immigrants, and I needed to rely on the interpreters and English-speaking Latinos for interviews and participant observations. However, as a member of a minority group coming from a foreign country, I probably understand how immigrants feel about surviving and building social relationships in this country fairly well. It is also true that my status – neither White American nor Latino –put me in a neutral position when interviewing various groups of people. In addition, as there is very little number of Asians, clearly no Japanese, when I was on the street or door-knocking, they often recognized me as a student due to my Asian appearance. Many responses from people who I first spoke to were "Oh I know, you are the Asian student doing some sort of research around here, right?" Although they did not know my name, they knew me as a student who walked around and appeared at events all the time. Finally, over the course of the research, I had a lot of discussions with the new residents in Greektown about social, political, economic and environmental issues. Both of us are fortunate to

have higher education and they recognized me as a person who had a similar educational background. Their understandings of "academic" research greatly helped my field work. In this sense, the people in Greektown and I fostered the various symbolic relationships.

Although I acknowledge that some limitations exist regarding language and deep cultural understanding, I believe that this neutrality and uniqueness, education, and understanding of how a foreign-born person feels in the new place makes my research in Greektown unique and valuable.

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[i] http://www.southeastcdc.org/2016/10/26/john-ruhrah-elementarymiddle-school-eyes-stronger-community-ties/

[ii] https://www.welcomingamerica.org/

[iii] http://www.baltimoresun.com/features/retro-baltimore/bs-ae-retro-baltimore-greektown-20161028-story.html

Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Questionnaire

➤   : Key questions

·   : Secondary questions to ask if it is needed (may not be asked)

"I would like to start by asking you about your backgrounds and the neighborhood you live now"

    ➤ Can you tell me how you settled down in this neighborhood?

        · Where you are born and grown up?

        · (If you were born here) Where your parents and grandparents were born and grew up? Do you know reasons why they came to here? Which generations are you in as an immigrant?

        · (If you were not born here)Where were you before you moved to this neighborhood in Baltimore? And why you move to this neighborhood? (i.e., you were child and your parents came here, or for jobs) How long you've lived in this neighborhood? Which generations are you in as an immigrant?

        Why you moved to here? (i.e., affordable house, jobs, schools, relatives)

    ➤ What do you call this neighborhood? (e.g., Greektown, Latino town, Southeast Baltimore) – *For Latino, New residents*

    ➤ Can you tell me good things and bad things about living in the neighborhood?

        · How satisfied are you living here? For what reasons? Do you feel you are welcomed?

        · What are the best things in this neighborhood?

        · Are there any inconveniences or problems about living here? (i.e., lack of friends, retails, too expensive)

"OK, now I would like to talk about <u>culture</u> you have and <u>the community</u> you belong to."

    ➤ How do you identify your race / ethnicity? Such as Just Americans, Greek, Greek American, Hispanic, Latino, Hispanic American, or Mexican, Guatemalan, Salvadorian? White? Black? *(depends on interviewees)*

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- ➢ Do you think there is a strong sense of Latino* community here? What makes you think so? *(*or Greek or New developments)*
  - ・ (If so) what are the most important to keep the Latino* community together?
  - ・ (If not) what are lacking to keep the Latino* community together?
  - ・ Are you member of the community?
  - ・ Has the strength of the community changed over the time? *For Greeks and Oldtimers*
- ➢ What culture and customs from your home country (or home town) are the most important? (e.g., food, language, religion, work ethics)
- ➢ Do you want your children to keep the traditions of your home country? Or do you want them to be "American"? *For Greeks, Latinos*
  - ・ What do you think about the Greek Americans who moved out from here to suburbs? What do you think about the reasons? Do you want them to be back? *For Greeks*
  - ・ Do you want your children speak Spanish (or any language parents speak)? *For Latinos*
  - ・ Do you want your children get married with somebody in your ethnic / racial group?
  - ・ How important for you to have families stay in the same neighborhood?

"Now I want to ask you about how you meet, talk and do something together with your <u>neighbors who have similar backgrounds</u>"
- ➢ Do you know who live in your block?
- ➢ Do you have many Latino* friends in the neighborhood? Or do you have many non-Latino friends in the neighborhood? Or no friends in the neighborhood? *(*depends on their ethnicity)*
  - ・ How often do you spend time with the other Latinos*? (i.e., every day, once a week, several times in a year, not at all) *(*depends on their ethnicity)*
  - ・ How do you know them (neighbor, church friends, etc.) and who are they - generations, gender, where they live?
- ➢ Where you meet with them? or phone calls or emails?
  - ・ Do you go to a church? (If so- which one? how often? / if not what are the reasons?)
  - ・ Do you participant in any events that many Latinos* go? (If so- Which events you participate in? /if not, why you don't go? Do you wish to go?) *(*depends on their ethnicity)*
  - ・ Do you work with the other Latinos*? Who are they? *(*depends on their ethnicity)*
  - ・ Do you read Latino* newspaper? (If so, is it local or national? If not, what are the sources you get the information about Greek community?) *(*depends on their ethnicity)*

"Now I want to ask about the other group of people in the neighborhood"

- ➤ What do you think about the residents who are not Latinos*?*(*depends on their ethnicity)*
    - · Can you tell me what other groups live in this neighborhood? (i.e., Greek Americans)
    - · What character do you think they have?
    - · Are there any problems with having the other groups in the neighborhood? What kind of problem? Who do you talk to when the problems happen?
    - · Do you think there are similarities / differences between you and the other groups? What are these? Any issues for differences?
- ➤ How do you interact with the other groups?
    - · (If you don't have any interactions with them) what are the reasons?
    - · (If you interact with them (always-rarely) where do you meet them? (i.e., at work, at business, in the school)
    - · Have those relationships changed over the time?

"Lastly, I would like to ask you is your future plan and how you think about the future of this neighborhood."

- ➤ What do you think this neighborhood will be? (more like prediction)
- ➤ How would you like to this neighborhood to become in near future? (more like personal preference, hope)
- ➤ Please describe your ideal neighborhood (need more explanation). (What kind of place you want to live?)
- ➤ Are you likely staying in this neighborhood? If so, (or not so), what are the reasons you say that?
    - · Do you want to move to another place if you have options? If so where or what kind of place do you want to move? If you don't want, what are the reasons you would like to live here? (i.e., own house, affordable rent, family, church?)

"Thank you very much for talking with me."

Appendix B: Survey Questionnaire

Survey for Neighborhood Changes in Greektown, Baltimore

This is a survey to understand how residents in Greektown feel about where they live, their neighbors and their culture. It is conducted by Naka Matsumoto, a Ph.D. student at University of Maryland, College Park, as a part of her doctoral dissertation research.

Please note that all the information collected is **anonymous** and kept strictly **confidential**.

1. Backgrounds

1   How old are you?_____years old

2   What is your gender?
_____Male_____Female

1-4   What is your racial / ethnic group? Check the <u>ONE</u> that BEST applies to you.
_____White _____Black _____Asian _____Latino / Hispanic
_____Other (Please specify :_____)

1-5   Do you see yourself as an immigrant or a family member of immigrant?
_____Yes (Please go to 1-6) _____No (Please go to 1-7)

6   For those who answered Yes to 1-5, which statement best describes you? Please check <u>ONE</u>
_____I was born in another country   name of the country _____
_____I was born in another country and came with my parents when I was a child
            name of the country_____
_____I was born in the US, and my parents were born in other country (ies) -> names of the countries
            name of the country(ies) _____
_____I was born in the US, and my grandparents or ancestors were born in other country (ies)
            name of the country (ies) _____

7   Do you have children who live with you?
_____Yes _____No

2. Neighborhood

2-1   Which year did you move into this neighborhood? (If you were born in this neighborhood, skip to 2-3)
_____

2-3   How well does this neighborhood meet or provide the following benefits and services?

	Very well	Well	Not so well	Not Well at all
Convenience to work				
Close to family / Friends				
Good public school				
Many Community / Social organizations				
Safety				
Restaurants and entertainment				
Affordable housing				
Friendly neighbors				
Neighbors similar to you				
Many different types of neighbors				

2-4   When you imagine your IDEAL neighborhood to live in, how Important are the following factors?

	Very important	Important	Not so important	Not important at all
Convenience to work				
Close to family				

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Good public school				
Many Community / Social organizations				
Safety				
Restaurants and entertainment				
Affordable housing				
Friendly neighbors				
Neighbors similar to you				
Many different types of neighbors				

2-5   How important is it to have neighbors who are like you in the following way?

	Very important	Important	Not so important	Not important at all
Same race / ethnicity				
Similar age				
Same religion				
Similar education				
Similar family type				

3. Friends and Neighbors

3-1   How many neighbors do you have a conversation with in a month? (you don't have to know the names of the neighbors)

Greek / Greek American	_____	0	_____	1-5	_____	6-20	_____	20+
Latino / Hispanic	_____	0	_____	1-5	_____	6-20	_____	20+
Latino American /Hispanic American								
White (non-Greek / non-Latino)	_____	0	_____	1-5	_____	6-20	_____	20+
Black	_____	0	_____	1-5	_____	6-20	_____	20+
Asian	_____	0	_____	1-5	_____	6-20	_____	20+
Mixed race or unknown	_____	0	_____	1-5	_____	6-20	_____	20+

2   What was the most recent problem you encountered in the neighborhood? (check one that apply)
_____ Noise _____Garbage _____Parking   _____Robbery   _____Fire _____Assault
_____ other (please specify)   _____

3   When that (answer of 3-2) happened, whom did you talk to?
_____ Family / Friends   →   Are they in your neighborhood?   _____ Yes _____No
_____ Neighbors   →   Are they in your racial / ethnic group?   _____ Yes _____No
_____ Social / community organizations (name of the organizations:_____)
_____ Police department
_____ Other (please specify: _____)

3-4   What prevents you from talking with your neighbors?

I don't know their language	_____Yes	_____No	
We are all busy	_____Yes	_____No	
They are different	_____Yes	_____No	
I am not interested in talking with them	_____Yes	_____No	
There are conflicts among us	_____Yes	_____No	
Any other reasons	_____		

4. Culture

4-1   How important are these to you?

	Very important	Important	Not so important	Not important at all
Having a good job				
Working hard				
Earning more money				
Children getting good education				
Being religious				
Family staying together				
Having a good time with friends				
Children getting married with somebody in your ethnic / racial group				
Carrying on the customs of your parents / ancestors				
Eating food from your home country / hometown				
Speaking home country's language (if applicable)				

Thank you so much for your cooperation. This is the end of the survey.
Please write down anything you want to say about your neighborhood in the back of this paper

Appendix C: List of Organizations

Name	Classification	In Greektown
Greater Greektown Neighborhood Alliance	Community	Yes
Greektown CDC	Community	Yes
Southeast CDC	Community	No
St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church	Religious	Yes
John Ruhrah Elementary and Middle School	Education	Yes
Johns Hopkins University, Bayview Campus	Healthcare	No
Centro Sol (Johns Hopkins)	Community (Latino)	No
Sacred Heart of Jesus Church	Religious	No
Esperanza Center	Community	No
Casa De Maryland	Community (Latino)	No
Education Based Latino Outreach	Community (Latino)	No
Latino Network Providers	Community (Latino)	No

Appendix D: List of Events

Date	Event name	Hosted by
2013/10/26	Monthly Community Clean-up	GGNA
2013/10/28	GGNA Monthly Meeting	GGNA
2013/11/19	GGNA Monthly Meeting	GGNA
2013/11/20	GGNA Monthly Meeting (special)	GGNA
2013/12/07	Anti-Bullying event	John Ruhrah School
2014/01/23	GGNA Monthly Meeting	GGNA
2014/04/10	Health Week	Johns Hopkins Bayview
2014/05/03	Healthy Neighborhood Event	Johns Hopkins Bayview
2014/05/27	GGNA Monthly Meeting	GGNA
2014/06/25	GGNA Monthly Meeting	GGNA
2014/07/08	GGNA Monthly Meeting	GGNA
2014/08/27	GGNA Monthly Meeting	GGNA
2014/09/18	Red Line Project Open House	Baltimore City
2014/09/20	Community Health Day event	Johns Hopkins Bayview
2014/09/22	Latino Provider Network Meeting	LPN
2014/09/22	Community Running Event	Johns Hopkins Bayview
2014/09/24	GGNA Monthly Meeting	GGNA
2014/09/27	Monthly Community Clean-up	GGNA
2014/10/17	Hispanic Heritage Art and Cultural Day	Johns Hopkins Bayview
2014/10/24	Immigration Summit (conference)	Towson University
2014/10/25	Monthly Community Clean-up	GGNA
2014/10/29	GGNA Monthly Meeting	GGNA
2014/11/09	Monthly Community Clean-up	GGNA
2014/11/19	GGNA Monthly Meeting	GGNA
2014/12/10	GGNA Year-End Party	GGNA
2014/12/11	GGNA Monthly Meeting	GGNA
2015/01/28	GGNA Monthly Meeting	GGNA
2015/01/31	Monthly Community Clean-up	GGNA
2015/02/19	Greektown Happy Hour Event	GGNA
2015/02/25	GGNA Monthly Meeting	GGNA
2015/03/25	GGNA Monthly Meeting	GGNA
2015/04/19	Maryland Greek Independence Day Parade	Greek Independence Day Parade
2015/04/25	Monthly Community Clean-up	GGNA

2015/05/27	GGNA Monthly Meeting	GGNA
2015/05/29	Greektown Movie Night	GGNA
2015/05/30	Monthly Community Clean-up	GGNA
2015/06/13	Greek Folk Festival	St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church
2015/06/20	Southeastern District Police/Community Partnership Family Day	Baltimore City Police Dept.
2015/07/09	GGNA Monthly Meeting	GGNA
2015/07/11	Monthly Community Clean-up	GGNA
2015/07/26	St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church Sunday Service	St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church
2015/07/29	GGNA Monthly Meeting	GGNA
2015/08/04	National Night Out day	GGNA
2015/08/26	GGNA Monthly Meeting	GGNA
2015/08/29	Monthly Community Clean-up	GGNA

Appendix E: List of Codes

Neighborhood Condition	Culture/Identity
Amenity	Greek culture
Comments - Changes	Greek Identity
Comments - Diversity	Greek group
Comments - Future	Latino culture
Comments - Negative	Latino Identity
Comments - Positive	Latino group
Greek - Org	Immigrant mind
Latino - Org	Other ethnic Identity
NR - Org	Second generation
Transient nature	NR culture
Motivation to move / live	NR Identity
About new development	NR group
Event	Oldtimers culture
About gentrification	Oldtimers identity
As Renter	Oldtimers group
As Landlord	Family
Attachment to neighborhood	Marriage
Demands	Religion
Suburban life-negative	High Education
Suburban life-positive	Sentiment/old time
Urban Living-negative	International travel /Foreign experiences
Urban Living-positive	Social responsibility / justice
Relationships	Economic senstiveness
Communication - Barrier	
Communication - Encouragement	
Communication - Other	
Greek-Latino Relationship	
Greek-Latino Relationship observed by NR	
Greek-NR Relationship	
Latino-NR Relationship	
Oldtimer-GR	
Oldtimer-Latino	
Their communities-In group	
NR -participation	
Self-segregated	
Indirect - feelings	
Direct interactions	

*NR=New residents, Org=organization, GR=Greeks,

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