

**THE UNMELTABLES:
The Role of the Physical Environment
in
the Immigrant Experience**

by

Daphne Zaphira Politis

B.A., Boston University, Boston
(1982)

SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE DEGREES
MASTER OF SCIENCE IN ARCHITECTURE STUDIES

and
MASTER OF CITY PLANNING
at the
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

JUNE 1985

c Daphne Politis 1985

The Author hereby grants to M.I.T. permission
to reproduce and to distribute publicly copies
of this thesis document in whole or in part.

Signature of the Author



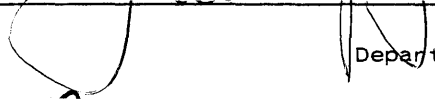
Daphne Politis
Department of Urban Studies
Department of Architecture
May 15, 1985

Certified by



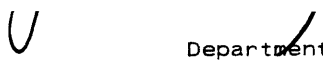
Dennis Frenchman, Lecturer
Department of Architecture
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by



Julian Beinart, Chairman
Departmental Committee for Graduate Students
Department of Architecture

Accepted by



Phillip Clay, Chairman
Departmental Committee for Graduate Students
Department of Urban Studies and Planning

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE
OF TECHNOLOGY

JUL 01 1985

LIBRARIES
Rotch



Room 14-0551
77 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, MA 02139
Ph: 617.253.2800
Email: docs@mit.edu
<http://libraries.mit.edu/docs>

DISCLAIMER OF QUALITY

Due to the condition of the original material, there are unavoidable flaws in this reproduction. We have made every effort possible to provide you with the best copy available. If you are dissatisfied with this product and find it unusable, please contact Document Services as soon as possible.

Thank you.

The images contained in this document are of the best quality available.

THE UNMELTABLES
The Role of the Physical Environment
in
the Immigrant Experience

by

Daphne Politis

Submitted to the Department of Architecture and the Department of Urban Studies and Planning, in May 1985, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Research in Architecture Studies and Master of City Planning.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the meaning of home by examining the experience of immigrant groups which are faced with the task of remaking of home. It examines collective attempts on the part of ethnic groups, to familiarize and personalize their adopted environment so that they may create a socio-physical bond between themselves and an initially alien setting.

Familiarizing the environment includes both social utilization and physical transformation. That is, adaptation includes an attempt to continue a previous lifestyle, without necessarily permanently altering the environment. In other cases where either the symbolism of a physical form is so strong, that it cannot be granted to a new one, (i.e. religious) or when nostalgia is great, pieces of the previous home are re-created and inserted into the existing fabric. The new setting is thus used to re-enact past behaviors.

As adjustment gradually supercedes homesickness, new settings are created which merely remind or symbolize the previous home. Eventually, especially for later generations whose attachment to the other country is only instinctual and symbolic, attempts are made to express a bicultural symbolism of this dual identity. As for the subsequent generations whose place-identity is the enclave as it embraces their "hyphenated"¹

¹ term used by President Ronald Reagan when referring to individuals having a bicultural background.

associations, not as much the land of origin of their parents and grandparents. They express claim and assert their identity in the enclave's environment, thus defining a symbolic home.

The enclave's development therefore, is characterized by a sequence of stages in a process, for which there is no definable start or finish. Instead, the process of the re-making of home for the immigrant group, is a constant and on-going series of events and actions which comprise their struggle to re-define themselves in a new environment.

Initially, there is a need for a specific spatial organization concentrated within the ethnic enclave, conducive to its function as a setting for initial adjustment. Gradually, as people move out of the neighborhood, and the influx of new immigrants decreases, as does their influence, the role of the enclave is transformed into one of a nostalgic refuge which holds collective memories, as well as creates them. This stage of the process is characterized by an increase in cultural display, expressed in terms of activity (i.e. ethnic celebration), and physically manifested in a variety of symbols and touchstones rendering the neighborhood's ethnic identity explicit.

A number of case studies are used to examine both cross-cultural and inter-cultural reactions. Emphasis is on collective efforts as opposed to individual coping mechanisms. The Greek enclave in Lowell, Massachusetts is the main case examined, and is used to demonstrate the historical evolution of the role of the physical environment in the process of re-making of home. Additional cases represent validation of concepts, and are not intended for the purpose of point-by-point comparison. These cases also examine slightly different aspects of the reciprocal relationship between the ethnic group and the enclave. Supporting case studies are: Astoria, Queens, New York (Greek); Tarpon Springs, Florida (Greek); Chinatown, Boston (Asian); Villa Victoria, Boston (Puerto Rican).

The thesis concludes that the needs of the ethnic group with regard to the physical environment can be understood through a series of changing categories. However, these needs are not merely dependant upon the culture of the group, but on the particular stage in the group's process of re-making of home. A set of principles guiding the incorporation of cultural values into the development of intervention strategies are discussed. Sensitivity to local conditions, the specific cultural group, and especially the needs of the particular stage of the enclave's maturation, are stressed.

Thesis Supervisor:
Dennis Frenchman,
Lecturer, Department of Architecture

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to extend my *gratitude to* my thesis advisor, Dennis Frenchman for his tremendous patience, support, and encouragement throughout my thesis process...To my readers, Gary Hack and Martin Rein, for their valuable insights and inputs.

Thank you to Anil for being my "on-line-consultant" twenty-four hours a day, plus much,much more...to Shelley for her much appreciated assistance...to Eileen for her moral and material support...to Imrana for being there to listen anyway... and to Alekos for the much needed use of his account.

Appreciation to all those individuals interviewed in each of the case study communities, but especially to the people of Lowell who received me and my inquiries with both patience and warmth...and to Sophia who took me on a trip of Tarpon from Boston.

Dedicated to my family...ta thetika tou unmeltable stin angalia sas ta ematha; ap'ta arnitika, pali i angalia sas me prostateuse.

And to Yianni...kseri yiati.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|------------|
| Abstract | ii |
| Acknowledgements | iv |
| Foreword | v |
| Table of Contents | ix |
| | |
| PART I THE TRANSITION BACKGROUND | |
| CHAPTER 1 : A NATION OF NATIONS | 2 |
| CHAPTER 2 : HOUSE VS. HOME | 17 |
| CHAPTER 3 : PUBLIC PLACE AND PUBLIC LIFE | 32 |
| CHAPTER 4 : THE USE OF CASE STUDIES | 39 |
| | |
| PART II THE GREEK EXPERIENCE ANALYSIS | |
| CHAPTER 5 : THE GREEK VILLAGE IN GREECE | 47 |
| CHAPTER 6 : THE GREEK VILLAGE IN THE U.S. | 55 |
| CHAPTER 7 : MAKING AND RE-MAKING OF HOME | 77 |
| | |
| PART III CENTER-PIECE INTERPRETATION | |
| CHAPTER 8 : THE PROCESS | 158 |
| CHAPTER 9 : THE STAGES | 167 |
| | |
| PART IV COMMON DENOMINATORS VALIDATION | |
| CHAPTER 10 : CHINATOWN | 179 |
| CHAPTER 11 : VILLA VICTORIA | 216 |
| | |
| PART V CONCLUSIONS APPLICATION | 237 |
| | |
| Bibliography | 253 |

FOREWORD

"...Bred as we, among the mountains,
can the sailor understand
...the first league out from land?

Emily Dickenson, from Exultation is the Going

This thesis is about the making and re-making of home. It is an attempt to understand the meaning of home, by investigating the process of its re-making, as undertaken by immigrant groups. The object of study is the ethnic enclave where a sense of home is made and re-made collectively. Home, then, for the purposes of this study, as well as a result of the research, is a concept which extends into a physical setting beyond that defined by the walls of a house; it is instead, a "home territory," which regardless of inside/outside differences, is an area in which inhabitants feel they belong, have a relative sense of control, and is a place they can identify with. For the immigrant group this home territory is roughly defined by the boundaries of the ethnic enclave.

"If a person finds himself in a different context, he must be able to establish his place within that system. This self-place will be determined largely by how the person sees himself with his old environment and how his culture is perceived by the new culture."

1

In the attempt to comprehend both the spatial and social processes involved in the formation of the ethnic enclave, an obvious key issue is the definition of an enclave. In general terms, it is an area inhabited by a particular cultural group which have superimposed their own social structure upon an existing urban fabric. It is hypothesized that the efforts to fit a new social field within a spatial boundary result in visible changes, both in the use and in the appearance of the physical environment.

Most characteristically, the enclave is described by a relatively high degree of introversion. "Boundedness is in practice, a question of diminished degree of openness."² The enclave has been repeatedly called an "urban village." This term,

¹ Kowalski, Lidia. MCP Thesis 1979, pp. 13

² Clark, B.D. and Gleave, M.B. Social Patterns in Cities. No. 5, March 1973.

though coined by Herbert Gans (1962), was not formally defined by him. R.L. Meir defines it as "a place with fixed boundaries, speaking one mother tongue and holding to the same general set of customs".¹ However describing the ethnic enclave as an urban village, poses the problem of defining a village. Subjectively, an agricultural village seems so easily recognizable that it complicates the creation of an "objective" definition. "Ultimately the village is a cluster concept describing entities with family resemblances."²

The life of the ethnic neighborhood can be described by a series of stages. The enclave emerges, often at the site of a neighborhood previously inhabited by another ethnic group, it matures, developing institutions and attachments to the specific place, reaches a peak, and then when the influx of new immigrants decreases, so does the daily intensity of the neighborhood's spaces. Ethnic neighborhoods do not, however, as is often believed, die when new arrivals cease coming. Even when in transition, the ethnic enclave continues to fulfill its traditional functions, including those of ameliorating the process of adaptation by proving a sense of continuity with a past lifestyle in a different environment. It provides a channel through which outside forces can be passed down to immigrants, and their children at a gradual pace, once having been briefed about the new culture. It provides a setting for the maintenance of tradition and the creation of a social network which is especially protective to children and the elderly.

The traditional functions of ethnic localization, that is the physical concentration of individuals of the same cultural background, is to provide a cushion to culture shock. For those unable or unwilling to assimilate, the enclave offers comfort, socio-economic support, and a psychological refuge.

In the enclave individuals create a setting where they can undergo a smoother transition into the new society as they can continue to some extent their previous lifestyle and find reinforcement for individual and group cultural expression.. "The

Institute of British Geographers. pp. 42.

¹ Ibid. pp. 43.

² Ibid. pp. 43.

newcomer lives in a tight-knit community, perhaps one that is more tight-knit than any he knew in his village.¹

As the ethnic neighborhood is a receiving place for new immigrants, it is in a constant state of flux, the rhythm of which is dictated by the amount of new immigrants it receives. This influx of immigrants functions as an "enlivening agent" which serves to regenerate interest in the homeland, preserve customs and language, and strengthens the immigrants identity with their former country. Also, by somehow updating and keeping the cultural spirit dynamic, each immigrant lessens the shock for himself while simulataneously preserving a receptive environment for those who arrive after him.

If the constant influx of new arrivals diminishes, the social organization of the ethnic island becomes introspective because it is no longer replenished and reinforced by a fresh outside source. A kind of static "urban involution" occurs as the second and third generation dilute the "pure" culture and create a conglomerate, hyphenated one.

Nevertheless, when the enclave undergoes transition, many of the original residents moving out and new ethnic groups begin moving in, there are others who desire to remain under the enclave's protection and immersed in its familiarity. Attachments to the community network, family and kinship ties, loyalties to local institutions, church involvement, business interests and the affordability of housing are some of the main reasons people desire to remain in the neighborhood, even after a period of initial adjustment has passed. Some remain unable to adjust and others are simply unwilling to accept the basic tenets and lifestyle of the dominant society.

After the initial adjustment has been made, the enclave functions as a symbolic home, a nostalgic refuge for both residents and visitor members of the ethnic group. The enclave is a place where collective cultural display, maintaining and asserting the separate identify, is sanctioned. It is also the place which marks the ethnic groups' roots in the adopted country; it is their home away from home.

¹ Kowalski, Lidia. Ibid.

"To deny a person of his history, is to deny him of his personality."¹ The history of immigrants should be interwoven into the environment, making Christopher Alexander's concept of the city as mosaic, concrete. In light of countless years of experience and experimentation, it has become obvious that melting pot theories fall to the ground when engaged in a battle with the prolonged survival of ethnic identification. Thus, though one may criticize an approach which suggests reinforcing "separatist" tendencies, on the grounds that it results in perpetuating socio-economic segregating and breeds inter-group competition, it is nonetheless a fact that people are struggling on their own to create and maintain ethnic communities.

"...Although the strong ethnic enclave tends to slow acculturation in the short run, it does not stop the process. On the other hand, it reduces the adjustment problems of migrants and facilitates greater economic success. Those with few marketable skills, and less adaptability, tend to remain or resettle in larger ethnic enclaves. As a consequence, these enclaves generally tend to be low-income environments, and any proposals for improving the living conditions of the inhabitants must take into account both cultural and economic factors."

If we assume that the psychological axiom of observe behavior in order to determine need hold true, then it is pointless to argue against the enclave, for its spontaneous creation and continued existence are its own proof of its legitimacy in terms of human need. As the ethnic neighborhoods serves a wide range of purposes for a variety of individuals, what remains to be determined is how urban planning and design can facilitate it in fulfilling its vital functions.

¹ Anon: but quoted by Greek immigrant in Lowell.

PART I
THE TRANSITION
BACKGROUND

CHAPTER 1

A NATION OF NATIONS

The cities of the United States have been built by, though not for, immigrants. Their labor has resulted in the construction of railways, highways, and shopping malls. The majority of these workers do not use nor do they have access to the environments which they construct..."They had come to find that the streets were not paved with gold- and if they were not careful, they were liable to step in horse turds"...¹ Instead they transform environments which were created for others. Frequently their daily settings are rejected, neglected, at times even destroyed by the same authorities who oversee the construction and preservation of the remaining areas of the city.

"Cities are created and nourished by immigrants, yet never welcome them. The labour of the peasant turned proletarian serves the needs of urban society, but to his needs that society turns a blind eye. In extreme cases it may deliberately bar him from social equality...(as in Johannesburg, Calcutta, or the ghettos of Eastern Europe); more often, the mere fact of his poverty, and the poor services that go with a poor environment, depress his ambitions and attainments almost as effectively as if he were untouchable."²

Though their living environments are relatively poor, the immigrant group has expended energy in creating a setting suitable to its specific needs and desires. Meanings and associations developed over time are attached to particular places, both built and unbuilt. Efforts at creating an environment with which the immigrant group can identify, result in symbolic cultural expressions manifested physically in the environment. This is an integral part of the re-making of a home.

However, these meaningful places are often misunderstood by the mainstream society . Entire ethnic neighborhoods, areas of the city which had been adapted by and for a specific cultural group, where an immigrant group had created a comfortable world of their own...have been demolished. Indirectly, this preserves the illusion of the melting pot as no stray remnants of the chunks of stew are left behind, all traces are destroyed. More directly, as the Christians defaced and destroyed pagan symbols in an

¹ Sampas, Charles. "Growing up Greek in Lowell's Acre. Lowell Sun. March 24, 1985. pp.18

² Jackson, Peter (ed). Social Interaction and Ethnic Segregation. Institute of British Geographers. Special Publ., No. 12. Academic Press. N.Y. : 1981. pp.1

attempt to convert non-believers, so has urban renewal attempted to impose assimilation on immigrant groups, that is convert them to "Americanism" by destroying their symbols. Authorities at the city hall in Lowell, Massachusetts continue to support the idea that urban renewal in the city's Greek neighborhood had positive results in that it "increased the rate of assimilation by at least one generation," as Greeks were forced into diaspora for the second time: once when leaving Greece, the second when relocated from their neighborhood... *"The house has a psyche, its not just a shell. For them houses are fake, as if made of paper...disposable houses, disposable people...they dehumanized the concept of home, destroyed its integrity, when they destroyed our neighborhood."*¹

Although lessons from the urban renewal bulldozer have resulted in slowing down its engine, and today it is rarely the case that entire neighborhoods are torn down, pressures in the form of commercial redevelopment, historic preservation, and/or gentrification, are equally threatening to ethnic enclaves as they too result in the diaspora of a community.

Efforts must be channeled towards preserving viable communities people have struggled so hard to create. Attempts at preservation must take into account the fact that outside perceptions regarding the value of pieces of the neighborhood, may share little in common with resident's needs and desires. Therefore, participation on the part of the community must be actively sought, both when preserving existing environments and creating new settings are concerned.

Nineteen eighty six marks the one-hundredth anniversary of the Statue of Liberty. President Reagan has announced the formation of a special commission established to save, restore, and preserve the statue. Restoration is to take two years and \$45 million. A century of exposure to the corrosive salt of the New York Harbor has severely damaged the internal structure of the statue and the torch has begun to decay. The iron bars that provide skeletal structure have rusted and must be replaced.

It seems only appropriate that simultaneous to the renovation of the statue, a review and renewal of attitudes and approaches regarding immigrants and immigration be pursued. A century of exposure to corrosive elements may have rendered the

¹ a Greek immigrant to Lowell

environments in which immigrants are received, in which they reside, and in which they are forced to relocate...deteriorated. A century of exposure should at the very least provide fertile ground for reflection...

Is conforming to the dominant culture what is most beneficial to the overall society (as opposed to "balkanization"), and what all immigrants desire? ...Melting pot, mixing pot, or mosaic? Should this not be an individual choice of assimilating, adapting, or preserving a distinct identity? Should not the pace of acculturation be individually defined?... "The fact is that the word "freedom" has no synonyms, it only has adjectives or extensions: individual freedom, collective freedom, personal, moral...freedom of expression...In the final analysis it is the only fanaticism that is acceptable: because without it a man is not a man and thought is not thought."¹

The Belgian surrealist Rene Magritte painted a series of pipes and entitled the series "Ceci n'est pas une pipe" (This is not a pipe). *The Statue of Liberty is not liberty.*

Brief Historical Context:

Though immigration is an international phenomenon, there is no other country in the world which has absorbed as many immigrants as the United States, which is essentially a nation of nations. It can be said that for a study regarding the effects of migration, it may be the ideal context from which other countries recently experiencing an increase in the influx of foreigners, who in many cases are confronted by a highly homogeneous population, can learn from its successes and failures..."I confess that in America I saw more than America; I saw there the image of democracy...with its inclinations, its character, its prejudices, and its passions...in order to learn what we have to fear or to hope from its progress."²

In a remarkably brief period of time, the U.S. has accommodated over 37 million immigrants. This inevitably results in difficulties defining, maintaining, and securing a

¹ Alexandros Panagoulis in Fallaci, Oriana. *A Man*. Simon and Schuster. Gulf and Western Corp.: 1980. pp.252.

² Alexis de Tocqueville upon visiting the United States in 1831 (*Democracy in America*). pp. 243.

national identity. Thus primarily because it is believed that a homogeneous population is easier to govern...and to control, the national goal has explicitly been that of assimilation into the melting pot.

"The roots of this concept (reach) far back into America's past. The colonists permitted every type of future settlers to build homes in the New World, regardless of heredity or origin. Men were free to come to the United States without any distinctions as to national characteristics or place of birth. The benefits of the immigrants to the country, the general assumption about the nature of nationality and the course of history supported this attitude. Regardless of their origins, Americans were a people because they lived under free institutions. Any person who came to settle under the influence of these free institutions would be Americanized. Willingness and capacity to live as citizens of the Republic were the desirable qualities of immigrants."

1

Many attempts have been made to "melt" various groups of new-comers. The public school system of the United States was established with the assimilation of immigrants as its main motivating force. Pressure has also been exerted throughout history by Protestant missionaries attempting to convert new-comers and thus guide them into the mainstream...few actually flowed. "The missionaries faced a dilemma similar to that of the disturbed prophets of the universally desirable American way of life. Rejection of the blessings of their Republic's institutions threatened to invalidate the concepts which had contributed to the image of the country as a refuge for suffering and oppressed humanity."²

The continued persistence and determination on the part of many immigrants, to preserve their separate identity and remain apart from the mainstream threatened the espoused American ideal of creating a melting pot society. Some began to worry that there wasn't a boiling point..."They had to explain the failure of their vision in terms of a cosmic struggle between the forces of light and darkness (or white and black, white and Chinese, white and Latin...). Rationalizations of the bewildering experience produced an avalanche of arguments. They stamped the outcome of the encounter as

¹ Barth, Gunther. Bitter Strength. Harvard University, Cambridge : 1964. pp.48.

² Barth, Gunther. op. cit. pp.168.

an inevitable process, stifled new attempts at acculturation, and obscured the actual effects."¹

As it became increasingly obvious that the melting pot goal was unattainable, some resistance to the concept of allowing unlimited flows of foreigners into the country, was expressed. However, "fears of papist plots and monarchist threats to the new republic were largely overridden by the large demand for unskilled cheap labor. In addition, espoused philosophies of freedom for all men of any race, color, and creed, made it difficult in the early stages of the mass migration to this country to present a legitimate argument for not letting in any specific groups or nationalities."² Later, perceived threats and fears generated by World Wars I and II, resulted in the establishing of quotas for various nationalities thus reducing the number of arrivals. Nevertheless, immigrants continued entering the country with varying frequency and force thereby replenishing ethnic communities, restoring home ties, and rekindling ethnic spirit, thus contributing to the passion and strength of the unmeltable momentum that was building.

Emerging Enclaves :

Those immigrants with a strong national awareness or from countries just forming their modern identity, attempted to "give expression to their feelings of pride by establishing 'little nations' which was hoped would become prototypes of the Mother country."³ The United States prohibited the legal recognition of these "little nations", and inhibited their development, but was unable to suppress the spirit behind them..."I think we have to recognize in this long-standing rejection of quick transfer of identity, a profoundly political act that is decidedly life-affirming and non-suicidal."⁴

"Ironically, the move that might have served to sever the links with the old culture, in many instances fostered, if not developed, an awareness

¹ Ibid. pp.168.

² Kowalski, Lidia. op. cit. pp.8.

³ Ibid. pp.11

⁴ a second generation Puerto Rican in Korrol, Virginia Sanchez. From Colonia to Community. Greenwood Press, Westport CT: 1983. pp. 134.

of one's previous national identity."¹
The determination to preserve and display the separate culture is evident in the degree of community support for ethnic organizations, celebrations, and other remnants or representations of the immigrants' home culture. These serve to provide a sense of continuity and comfort, but also they are often the result of an increased consciousness regarding ethnic identity..."For many an...emigre, the United States was not an ethnic melting pot, but rather, a school for his ethno-national development..."²
The first Lithuanian newspaper ever to be printed in Lithuanian was published in the United States.

"Ethnic groups continue...because they are a manifestation of man's deep-seated inclination to seek out those in whose veins he thinks flows the same blood as flows in his own."³ Once an ethnic group becomes physically located, it undergoes a process towards becoming an enclave, that is, self-enclosed and introverted. "As a basic unit of socialization, the family serves as the strongest tie to the old culture."⁴ The extended family preserves all that is personally familiar and passes down all that is culturally traditional. The family members are linked both socially and economically, providing the strength and security needed to cope and confront the alienation experience.

Language and all it embodies is perhaps the greatest single barrier between the immigrant and the dominant culture. It is probably also the greatest single link bonding the enclave together. As initially the immigrant is unable to communicate with anyone other than with those who understand the same tongue, he tends to associate exclusively with his fellow countrymen. As a community develops, certain language-related institutions emerge, both using and propagating the native tongue (i.e. church, school, businesses, social clubs).

¹ Kowalski, Lidia. pp.12.

² Myron B. Kuropas, 1974 in Holli, M. and Jones, P. Ethnic Chicago. William B. Eerdman's Publ. Co., Michigan: 1984. pp.169.

³ Greeley, Andrew cited in Kowalski, Lidia. op. cit. pp.15.

⁴ Kowalski, Lidia. op. cit. pp.14

Likewise, "Clothing and food differences brand the ethnic as one separate from other communities, but these are tastes that he has acquired as part of his self-image."¹ The immigrant cannot easily discard habits and preferences which have developed gradually over time, and which have up until the moment of immigration been basic to his personality and self-respect. As a result ethnic businesses catering to the needs and desires of the specific cultural group emerge, acting to increase the neighborhood's inward-looking tendencies.

Religious differences serve to further isolate the community as in addition to being alien to the Protestant faith, more tradition oriented societies place greater significance on religious belief and ritual. "Strong religious practices further strengthen the bond by enforcing strict discipline and close family involvement within the church."² Church holidays, religious traditions and celebrations play a major role in the family and "any deviation from this role often results in the exclusion from this basic social institution and isolation from the ethnic community itself."³

More subtle differences related to child-rearing practices, family relations, sex roles, adult roles in marriage, community interaction, and concepts related to the use and definitions of public and private spaces also serve to increase the sense of ethnic identification and attachments as these have been an integral part of the individual's entire life experience up until the point of his immigration. When these norms are compared with the norms of the dominant society through exposure, they become distinct; the mere act of comparison makes differences explicit. Because these differences are recognized by both the ethnic community and the dominant society, two separate social systems are created.

"These different systems in turn reinforce social barriers, make communities inaccessible to each other and make social integration more difficult. As other outlets of social interaction are closed off to the immigrant, he becomes dependent upon the ethnic community...The native community then perceives the ethnic community as a distinctive and unique social

¹ Ibid. pp.14

² Kowalski, Lidia. op. cit. pp.14.

³ Ibid. pp.14.

system, and assumes a patronizing attitude of curiosity and tolerance, but not one of understanding and communication- towards the ethnic sub-society."¹

Thus, all the barriers combined have a "self-sealing effect" on the ethnic enclave.

"It is a mistake to conceive the assimilation of immigrants in terms of two cultures: the dominant culture of America, represented by city life, and the culture of the rural society from which they came. The city contains subcultures as stable and viable as the conventional norms, and it is to one of these subcultures that the newcomer is first introduced."²

With the protection provided by the subcommunity, and the cohesion created by shared associations, a collective effort is undertaken to make a home in the adopted setting. This effort, however, cannot be described as an event with a ritualistic beginning and end, but rather as a constant process of re-making of home.

For a large portion of the dominant society, the telephone and automobile have made "selective socialization possible without spatial monopolization."³ Access to means of communication and transportation have transformed the nature of the subcommunity; it no longer is "necessarily a place on the map...it is rather a social construct."⁴

This does not hold true for the majority of the ethnic population. For those living in the enclave, all of their social life is centered and located here, and it is very much tied to the physical setting of the neighborhood its outdoor spaces and indoor places. Even those who leave the enclave in search of improved living conditions, return to the site of their subcommunity on a relatively frequent basis. The ethnic neighborhood is where many of their friends and relatives are localized, and where they may obtain specific goods and services unavailable to them elsewhere. For the ethnic then, the subcommunity is much more than a "social construct", it is grounded in a physical place which marks his history, connecting him both to his country of origin as well as

¹ Ibid. pp.15.

² Peter Marris, British town planner, upon inspection tour of U.S. cities. cited in 15 pp.65.

³ Milton, Gordon. Assimilation in American Life. Oxford University Press. N.Y. : 1964. pp.163.

⁴ Ibid. pp.163.

to the U.S. context. The ethnic enclave is a physical representation of his link to the past, both to his home country and to the adopted land.

The spatial boundary of the enclave thus embraces a variety of individuals with somewhat differing needs regarding the physical aspects of the neighborhood. The newly-arrived immigrant, when confronted with the new setting, must somehow resolve the inevitable contradictions between his concept of the appearance and function of the physical environment as derived from his experience with his previous setting. However, prior to emigrating, the immigrant's conception of the physical world was not explicit. It is when he is confronted with the differences that he inevitably becomes aware of them.

Simultaneously, he also becomes self-conscious regarding his cultural identity, something which he had only vague feelings about prior to his departure. Again faced with comparing himself with the dominant culture, he begins to express an explicit identity in order to assert himself and to feel a part of a defined and legitimate group. Thus, in the company of others of his ethnic group, a collective attempt is made to re-create, re-define, and symbolize the attachment to the previous environment and eventually to define and assert claim to the new setting. Efforts towards the latter are carried on by the immigrant's children as they feel more a part of the hyphenated culture, a concoction they have created by combining elements from both cultures.

Thus initially the immigrant group attempts to continue aspects of the previous lifestyle in the new environment by re-enacting behaviors of previous settings. The group superimposes a specific organization of uses and relationships on the existing setting. Gradually, as adaptation occurs, the group continues to use pieces of the adopted environment in ways reminiscent of their previous home while simultaneously inserting other pieces into the existing fabric which either re-create a past setting or merely remind the group of their home environment.

As ties to the country of origin are loosened over time, the ethnic group increasingly identifies with the enclave as "home," and makes more explicit expressions of this stage of the process with an increased desire for "cultural display". This is further exaggerated by the second and third generations' need to feel legitimized as well as to find refuge in nostalgia. In some neighborhoods the advent of ethnic tourism has also acted to influence the degree of cultural expression.

"Immigrants...set two contrasting tests to society. They test the readiness to open the path of opportunity to people whose background and way of seeing things are not those generally accepted as normal. And they test the extent to which allowances are made, and redress attempted, towards those large numbers of urban working class whose drive has been dissipated in the sheer struggle for survival...immigrants therefore make demands on the tolerance, adaptability, and efficiency of the community of which they become a part; this is their most valuable contribution to that community."

1

Biculturalism:

The ethnic enclave is sometimes treated as if it were merely a transitional and ephemeral stage set for immigrant groups to temporarily enact their traditions in preparation for the permanency of assimilation. This reasoning has been used as rationale to destroy or to allow for the gradual deterioration of enclaves that are considered "faded" of their ethnic color. It is claimed that when the influx of new immigrants comes to a standstill, there is no longer a need for the enclave to survive; the new generation is expected to leave and assimilate in one easy step.

It is a widely held belief that once the initial adjustment has been made, the immigrant, but especially his children, aspire to abandon the enclave, inculcate the dominant values and goals, and thus seek to improve their lot by assimilating. This attitude conceives of the enclave as a cocoon, in which the immigrant is hibernating until he acquires wings with which to fly. This also implies that flight is the natural outcome of seeking comfort in a womb-like setting.

The most concrete evidence disputing this contention is that of what has been coined, the "gilded ghetto." That is, the creation of neighborhoods by wealthier second and third generation members of the same ethnic group which settle in an area within relatively close proximity to the enclave. They subsequently visit the enclave on a regular basis, and occasionally they establish some independent institutions. Obviously, this is not the rule, but neither is it the exception.

¹ Burney, Elizabeth. Housing On Trial. Oxford University Press, London: 1967. pp.3

Nonetheless there is also a percentage of second and third generation individuals who attempt to reject their cultural background.

"The second generation is composed of children who have grown up with two cultures and who are intensely aware of the differences between these two cultures. They are frequently torn between the traditional (ethnic) culture, that of their parents and their parents' friends, and the mainstream culture, that of their (non-ethnic) schoolmates and peers. Given the lower economic and social position of their parents, the new culture may seem more desirable to the second generation."¹

However, "certain basic unconscious differences indigenous to each culture will remain, if not permanently, then for generations to come, and will provide a source of attachment and recognition by members of each group." Therefore, though some individuals attempt to reject their cultural background, they cannot ignore the existence of deep-rooted sentiments. Their desire to reject their origins stems from the contradictions of the two cultures, the pressures the dominant culture places on them, and the difficulties the bicultural has in identifying with conflicting lifestyles, beliefs and symbols.

The predicament of the second and third generation in the enclave is similar to that of the sailor's: inside the ship is too small, outside the sea is too big. However, as "the sea is the land's edge also..."² there is somehow at least the illusion of choice. There are individuals who struggle to achieve the external appearance of "Americanization." But if "Americanism is the result of utter forgetfulness..."³ then the inner conflicts this causes are obvious, something inside just won't let go. These then are the stresses of biculturalism:

"Everything about a creature that comes out of a shell is dialectical. And since it does not come out entirely, the part that comes out contradicts the part that remains inside. The creature's rear parts remain imprisoned in the solid geometric forms. But life is in such haste when it comes out that it does not always take on a designated form..."⁴

¹ Sgouros, Adam. "The Greek-American Community of Lowell, Ma." PhD Thesis. Florida State University: 1979. pp.3.

² Thomas Sterns Elliot

³ a Greek immigrant to Lowell

⁴ Bachelard, Gaston. op. cit. pp. 108.

Identity development is one of the few subjects about which most psychologists agree. The family, peer group, and the larger social group are responsible for providing the images and the reinforcement of those images necessary to the development of concept of self. Usually, this input is relatively consistent with regard to the definition of cultural patterns. That is, to say the language, customs, methods of social interaction and expectations of these groups have the same basic cultural norms."¹

Within the boundaries of the ethnic enclave, these messages are also consistent; the images of self the immigrant's child receives from his family, peers and community reinforce one another. Outside, however, the dominant society "presents a different image to the ethnic of his self through the eyes of an alien community...this community also exerts pressure upon the individual to alter or shape his identity within the context of a new dominant culture."² Certain characteristics, ways of expressing oneself, and general behaviors which are considered normal and praised in the enclave, are challenged by the dominant culture which demands that they be changed or shed completely in exchange for acceptance. Thus, for the immigrant's child, "there is an additional frame of reference from which he must view his own community, peers, and family. Cultural continuity is disturbed and old boundaries are challenged."³

The effect of the dominant culture is further influenced by the individual's perception of the dominant society's feelings towards his background. "His real or imagined interpretation of these feelings will color his self image and his subsequent feelings of acceptance."⁴ It will also influence the image he has of his ethnic culture and the extent to which he derives satisfaction in identifying with it.

This dichotomy of images creates immense internal conflicts and results in a confusion regarding social roles as often they are contradictory. The individual "feels pressure to

¹ Kowalski, Lidia. op. cit. pp.34.

² Ibid. pp.34.

³ Ibid. pp.34.

⁴ Ibid. pp.34.

adopt an 'American appearance', lifestyle, and standard of living. This is only a cosmetic approach, however, to solving the deeper feelings involved."¹

Family ties may be challenged and perceived as barriers to entry into the mainstream society. "Family traditions and bonds may be severed and a person's entire connection to the past broken."² During adolescence when the issue of self concept becomes more salient in an individual's identity formation, the immigrant's child may experience an amplified identity crisis. "If the person does not have a sufficiently positive image of his background to counteract the pressures of the native society, he may attempt to completely reject his background."³

In some cases the "pressures to be American are so strong and the feelings towards ethnicity are so negative, that the ethnic chooses to renounce any attachment to the old culture...In terms of identity development, this is the most difficult route to take...the whole of one's culture is denied, bringing estrangement from family, friends, and all of the most basic attachments to one's self image...this in turn evokes feelings of guilt which lead to intense inner suffering."⁴

For persons coming from a bicultural background it is necessary if they are to achieve a complete sense of self, for them to retain aspects of their original culture or at least to understand the influences it has had on them. They must cope with their position of marginality in both contexts and with conflicting perceptions of two cultures. "These changes put pressure on the ethnic to constantly redefine his sense of self beyond the normal change rate demanded of the person living within one culture."⁵

The lack of available role models to follow, the feelings of alienation and turmoil the bicultural individual experiences, as well as the humiliation felt when exhibited as an

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 35.

² *Ibid.* pp.35.

³ *Ibid.* pp.37.

⁴ Vita Sommers in Kowalski, Lidia. op. cit. pp.37.

⁵ Kowalski, Lidia. op. cit. pp.40

"object d'art" can only be diminished by the development of a positive attitude towards his background. This in turn can only be achieved through the attainment of a greater understanding of the history and achievements of his people. Thus the enclave serves as a setting for heritage learning.

The ethnic is one with an historical memory, real or imaginary. One belongs to an ethnic group in part involuntarily, in part by choice...Ethnic memory is not a set of events remembered, but rather a set of instincts, feelings, intimacies, expectations, patterns of emotions and behavior, a sense of reality; a set of stories for individuals - and for people as a whole - to live out."¹

In order for the bicultural individual to feel at home, he must then develop a sense of his place in the past as well as in the present, so that he feels securely rooted in order that a smoother transition may be made into the future. "One's past is vital to one's present and future. It is a source from which one obtains a greater understanding of self and of others. It is a foundation and a balance by which one can comprehend one's role and relationships with others."²

For the newly arrived immigrant then, the enclave is a "home away from home," that is a setting for initial adjustment. For the bicultural non-resident, visits to the enclave act as a sort of pilgrimage, undertaken whenever need of desire call. For them the enclave is a refuge, a familiar and comfortable environment which in some ways reproduces a common past, while in other ways creates it. In other words, certain aspects of the neighborhood represent a continuation of social and physical patterns carried over from the land of origin. The majority of physical "ethnic manifestations", however, are attempts at creating new symbols to express the new identity. Thus, both residents and visitors find reinforcement and support for appearance, beliefs, and behaviors, compensating for the lack of empathy they must confront in the dominant society. Both the social and physical patterns of the enclave provide legitimacy to their existence, that is, in addition to feeling connected to their land of origin, the enclave is a mark, a corner of the city which represents the history of their people in the adopted country.

¹ Novak, Michael in Kowalski, Lidia. op. cit. pp.40.

² Kowalski, Lidia. op. cit. pp.41

The enclave is the place with which the second and third generation identify. Instead of the land of their relatives' origin, the enclave is their symbolic home; it embraces the fragmented pieces of their dual identity in its bicultural symbols. These symbols many times are meaningless outside the bicultural context, and when the enclave is ultimately inherited by the subsequent generations, the symbols become increasingly characterized by a conscious display, a plea for cultural integrity, more than reminders of the previous home of their parents and grandparents.

Erik Erikson says of uprootedness "...sudden cultural shock will, in too many individuals and generations, upset the heirarchy of developmental crises, and their built-in correctives; and that man will lose those roots that must be planted firmly in meaningful life cycles. For man's true roots are nourished in the sequence of generations and he loses his roots in disrupted developmental time, not in abandoned locations."¹

Though "disrupted developmental time" may be a cause of rootlessness, developmental time is also associated with physical locations..."Memory...does not record concrete duration...we are unable to relive duration that has been destroyed...memories are motionless, and the more securely they are fixed in space, the sounder they are."²

As the bicultural individual's memory becomes increasingly symbolic as generatoins pass, the need to securely fix this symbolic history in space, is evidenced in the degree of cultural display observable in an enclave that has been transformed by subsequent generations.

F. Scott Fitzgerald once said of the test of intelligence that it is "the ability to hold two opposed ideas in mind at the same time and still retain the ability to function." This is the daily test of the bicultural individual as he is engaged in a constant effort to juggle the various fragments of his identity, some of which are contradictory to one another. The enclave is one of the only places where these contradictions can be resolved, at least symbolically, as it represents the unity of the two opposed ideas.

¹ from Ibid. pp. 39

² Bachelard, Gaston. The Poetics of Space. Presses Universitaires de France: 1958. pp. 9.

CHAPTER 2 HOUSE VS. HOME

Home is an abstraction with numerous possible interpretations. It is culturally defined and dependant upon social and economic conditions; it is influenced by personal perceptions. For the immigrant living in an enclave, home is rarely defined by the house in which he lives; his low-income precludes the possibility of him choosing the location and house type available to him.

Instead, for the immigrant, the concept of home extends into a physical setting which is defined by the enclave; home then is rather an area perceived as being a "home territory." This territory is one in which inhabitants feel a sense of belonging, a relative control over a defined turf, and is a place with which they can identify with. Identification with a home territory results from the fact that inhabitants use it in particular ways, because they have created associations with it over time, and because they have physically transformed it in specific ways marking both their claim over the area and their cultural connections to both their previous home, as well as to their adopted one.

Thus, the ethnic enclave is the site of constant transformation, both of use and of form. In fulfilling the needs of both immigrants and bicultural individuals it reflects the constant process of making, re-making, and symbolizing of home, its various stages and their respective use patterns and physical expressions.

Initially, the immigrant must come to terms with leaving his previous home and adjust to his new environment.

"...there is denial of food (and all that the food that people eat represents, an important and continuing device of memory, security, and association), *denial of physical environment*, there is denial of language...there is a loss of self in not having language...loss of family ...unequipped the immigrant is thrown into a new context in which he shares not the culture, not the history, nor the benign myths, perhaps illusionary myths of this society..."¹

¹ Dr. Vivian Rackoff, psychiatrist from tape of lecture given at the Aspen Design Conference.

It was once thought that a piece of earth from home carried by the migrating person could protect against homesickness "and thus it was thought that the wanderer was followed and surrounded by a piece of home."¹ Other than the cultural artifacts that the immigrant chooses and is able to bring with him, what does he find comforting in the physical environment, what can he do and what does he do to use it or change it to suit his basic needs and meet his nostalgic desires ?

"The immigrant is someone who is out of all the security giving structures which are necessary for one's psychological and physical security...one of the things that gives security in context is simply the physical environment...physical form...and all of its associations...is carried in the head of the migrant...the very shape of the surrounding world..."²

Inherent in the act of immigration is the search for a new home. But how does an immigrant transform a new house (the physical structure) into a new home (the psychological state) ? How is the immigrant's attempt at converting an unfamiliar environment into a familiar one different from a non-immigrant's ? (Is the difference a matter of degree or one of content ?).

"Somewhere, the films and songs tell us, one should be able to feel at home. In what could we otherwise believe or to where could we otherwise escape? The paradoxical situation arises that human beings, between their own four walls, can feel like strangers and yet be afforded consolation by the promise of being carried home."³

The house has historically carried symbolic meanings. It is the symbol of family, of womb, of hearth...it represents memory and emotions that mean home. There is a difference, however, between a house (the physical structure), and a home (the psychological state), as implied when between our "own four walls we can feel like strangers," while we constantly strive to feel "at home." Across cultures, people attempt to personalize their houses in the hope that they may feel at home.

¹ Boette (1930) in Malmberg, Torsten. Human Territoriality. Mouton Publ. The Hague: 1980. pp.45.

² Dr. Vivian Rackoff, op. cit.

³ Berghahn (Germany, 1965) in Malmberg, Torsten, op. cit. pp.115.

"The house is an institution, not just a structure, created for a complex set of purposes. Because...a house is a cultural phenomenon, its form and organization are greatly influenced by the cultural milieu to which it belongs...Religious ceremony has almost always preceded and accompanied its foundation, erection, and occupation. If provision of shelter is the passive function of the house then its positive purpose is the creation of an environment best suited to the way of life of a people- in other words, a social unit of space."¹

The house as a building alone cannot become home. Home implies a whole set of social and psychological associations all of which cannot be contained within the structure of the house. Home includes a variable radius of places, people and activities surrounding the house. The act of converting house into home is a very personal one, and it is inextricably linked to the larger context in which it is found. The ease with which an individual successfully makes the necessary transitions depends on their personality, on their previous experience in unfamiliar environments, and on the receptiveness and flexibility of the new environment.

Carl Jung² explains the search for self as understood by acts of self-expression. The first and most conscious form which represents the self is the body. The second form which expresses self-identity is the house, the "protector of internal environments," which encloses space and excludes space simultaneously. The intimate interior is where one expresses one's intimate self, "off stage," whereas the facade of the house is the "persona" or mask as seen by outsiders. Avowal of self occurs as psychic messages are moving from the self to the objective symbol. A revelation of the nature of self occurs as messages are perceived from the objective symbol of self back to self.

"In California people choose houses to boost their self-image."³ The low-income immigrant cannot choose a house to boost his self-image, nor to express himself. "For middle-income individuals the house is an expression of self; for low-income it is the defender of self."⁴ Thus it is the public spaces which remain as the only spaces in

¹ Amos Rapoport

² in Cooper, Claire. "The House as Symbol of Self." Proshansky, Ittleton, and Rivlin. Environmental Psychology. 2nd Edition. pp.435-448.

³ Ibid. pp.437.

⁴ Ibid. pp.437.

which the immigrant can express himself. The pregnant woman rearranges furniture and continually cleans her house as an unconscious expression of her changed self-image.¹ The immigrant creates new symbols, or grants new meanings to old ones, most of which he can only express in the public domain; this is also an expression of a changing self-image, for the dominant society has made him self-conscious. He is an "ethnic," and thus he must attempt to define something he was only vaguely aware of prior to emigrating. The physical environment, especially public places, provide the grounds for him to test this new definition collectively with the others undergoing the same process of re-definition and search for self through conscious self-expression.

"The spatial mobility often so advantageous for economic reasons, has serious human costs...helping people to abandon one living area and to accept a new one is an important task."² How to facilitate initial adjustment and later to provide a sense of continuity to individual's whose lives have been discontinuous and disrupted, can only be discovered by observing the methods which people themselves employ when faced with such a challenge.

"Many people have immigrated or escaped as refugees from one country to another, but also ...more or less dominant parts of the population in our towns and cities are strangers there, displaced persons from the countryside. Thus the consequences of homelove, migration, and homesickness are probably a serious problem in the urban realm for a significant section of society."³

What is the difference then, between the manner in which the immigrant copes with a new environment and the way in which a non-immigrant does? The immigrant attempts to identify with his adopted "home" are in a sense an amplification of the processes which the non-immigrant employs. However, in addition to being a difference in degree of reaction, it is also a difference of content. That is, the contrasts between the immigrant's previous lifestyle and physical setting and the new ones result in attempts at continuing aspects of the previous lifestyle in the new setting which at times are accompanied by actual changes made to the environment. Following a period of initial adjustment, the immigrant begins to symbolize his

¹ Ibid. pp.439.

² Lynch, Kevin. What Time Is This Place? M.I.T. Press, Cambridge: 1982. pp.216

³ Malmberg, Torsten. op. cit. pp.115

previous home in an attempt to further familiarize his adopted setting. Gradually, as the place most identified with as home increasingly becomes the enclave, especially for bicultural individuals, the ethnic neighborhood becomes a stage set for the display of bi-cultural symbols which in turn, further defines the place as home, as it represents their unique identity.

"But over and beyond our memories, the house we were born in is physically inscribed in us."¹ The Japanese literary critic Takeo Okuno describes the influence of early life environments on the work of writers. "Primal settings," the geographic and social settings where writers spent their most impressionable and formative years, "emerge unconsciously from the neighborhood, parents, the inside of the home, play places, family members, friends...(they become) deeply implanted in the subconscious and remembered with increasing nostalgia."² These places of one's childhood are then the "wombs of literature," the "birthplace of spirit," which cannot be erased and which will always influence the writer's expressions of himself.

"The word habit is too worn a word to express this passionate liaison of our bodies, which do not forget..."³ The immigrants' behavior with regard to the use and adaptation of the new environment, is in some ways an unconscious continuation of a previous lifestyle. Especially when contact with the outside community is minimal, many of the residents in an ethnic enclave are not aware of the differences between their neighborhood and the adjacent one. They do not think it "cultural" to hang their laundry outside, clean vegetables on the front steps, place chairs in the street, or even whitewash a section of the curb to indicate that it is an extension of their property. These are things they are simply used to doing, it is the way they learned to do them at home.

Je me surprends a definir le seuil
Comme etant le lieu geometrique
Des arrivees et des departs
Dans la Maison du Pere.

¹ Bachelard, Gaston. op. cit. pp. 14.

² Ashihara, Yoshinobu. The Aesthetic Townscape. M.I.T. Press, Cambridge: 1983. pp.118.

³ Bachelard, Gaston. op. cit. pp. 15.

(I find myself defining threshold / As being the geometrical place /
Of the comings and goings / In my Father's House.)¹

On the other hand, there are the conscious efforts at cultural display, both fulfilling nostalgic desires as well as legitimizing and acknowledging a sense of worth of one's background to oneself and to others. At times, cultural display is a reaction to the perceived overdose of the alien symbols of the dominant society. Other times, it is simply a manifestation of pride and an implicit plea for attention and recognition of what is perceived the dominant group is attempting to erase... *"They are trying to dilute our psyche, to dissolve our blood."* ²

"...Nostalgia is older and more fundamental than human nature itself...All people of the world, all ages, and all temperaments, weak and strong, are more or less susceptible to it..."³ The early Swedish immigrants to the U.S. searched for agricultural lands that were similar to those they had left behind. They sought out "Swedish landscapes."The British colonists built British towns...And thus a native of Calcutta, far from home but new to London, is struck by the nostalgic familiarity of the London scene. He sees the artifacts of home- the mailboxes, railings, details - that the British planners had in their time transplanted to ease their own nostalgia."⁴

After choosing a place which reminded them of home, the Swedish immigrants attempted to define it as home by physically expressing claim to it. As documented by Gustaf Unonius who settled at Pine Lake, Winsconsin around 1840:

"We needed to take no steps to insure our claim except to inform our neighbors that we were planning to make our home here, and as a sign of our intention, start some improvement to indicate that this part of the section had been occupied...As Columbus on first landing in the new world had raised the Castilian flag inscribed with F and I, the initials of his sovereigns, so we chopped down a few trees, and into the bark of a couple of others cut a big 'C', signifying "Claimed", a sign that we in our name had taken possession of the W1/2 of section 33, Township 8, Range 18. in hac altera mundi parte (in this other part of the world) with full and complete legal right of possession, to be

¹ Micheal Barrault, *Dominicale*, in Bachelard, Gaston. .op. cit. pp. 223.

² Greek immigrant to Lowell, Massachusetts

³ McCann (1941) in Malmberg, Torsten. op. cit. pp.114.

⁴ Lynch, Kevin. op. cit. pp. 65.

1 inhabited, settled, and held by us and our descendants forever."

One could hypothesize about the attraction immigrants have for dense, inner city neighborhoods and their similarity with their previous environment, or their ability to allow for a continuation of previous and preferred lifestyles. It must be emphasized that the location of immigrant neighborhoods is basically a function of economic forces. Nevertheless various individuals have expressed their preference to inner city areas as opposed to suburban living, because of the more intense and public life high densities afford.

The twentieth century immigrant cannot chop down trees nor can he carve a 'C' in the wooden door of the tenement building. He must make his home in an existing fabric which provides limited flexibility in terms of what he can do to alter it to suit his needs, or express his claim of a particular space. Thus, the immigrant must invent new ways of feeling at home.

"...And after we are in the new house, when memories of other places we have lived come back to us, we travel to the land of Motionless Childhood, motionless the way all Immemorial things are. We live fixations, fixations of happiness. *We comfort ourselves by reliving memories of protection.* Something closed must retain our memories, while leaving them their original value as images. Memories of the outside world will never have the same tonality as those of home, and *by recalling these memories, we add to our store of dreams; we are never really historians, but always near poets, and our emotion is perhaps nothing but an expression of a poetry that was lost.*"²

"We might almost call culture shock an occupational disease of many people who have been transplanted abroad."³ Homesickness is not experienced significantly before the age of six months. This is probably because the newborn has not had enough contact with the physical environment to react to change.⁴ After one and a half years of age, however, homesickness is a common phenomenon displaying symptoms such as anxiety

¹ Malmberg, Torsten. op. cit. pp.93.

² Bachelard, Gaston. op. cit. pp. 6 (italics added).

³ Oberg, Kalervo. Lecture : Culture Shock and the Problems of Adjusting to New Cultural Environments." New England Refugee Resettlement Agency.

⁴ Malmberg, Torsten. op. cit. pp.114.

and sorrow, which at later stages can manifest themselves as silence, immobility or withdrawal.¹ Childhood memories, the destination of those seeking comfort and security, retain both social and physical aspects of their previous world. Often because childhood memories are influenced by childhood perceptions, the immigrant idealizes his original home environment, both its social and physical settings..."Our memories are encumbered with facts. Beyond the recollections we continually hark back to, we should like to relive our suppressed impressions and the dreams that made us believe in happiness."² When overwhelmed by alien surroundings, we believe that the familiar is equivalent to our happiness.

These dreams are held still in space and repeated; they are seen over and over again. Often they are expressed in a static manner, that is represented in symbolic form. This is when a redefinition of the immigrant's background takes place. Because he searches for comfort in what is known and familiar, he clutches to all that may have represented his culture. Even if in his home country these symbols are now impotent, he breathes new life into them, collects them and displays them in a new combination.

"Objects that are cherished...really are born of an intimate light, and they attain to a higher degree of reality than indifferent objects, or those that are defined by geometric reality. For they produce a new reality of being, and they take their place not only in an order but in a community of order."³ Thus, one may encounter recreations of the home culture, in a restaurant for example, where the objects displayed have been designated the role of providing a sense of "being at home." though they are not literally reminiscent of home. The manner in which the objects are displayed, and sometimes the objects themselves, are often out of place in the home country. It is then the immigrant community which gives new meaning to old symbols and re-defines, rather than re-creates its past environmental settings. "Symbolic environment is used to create a sense of stability: Threatened institutions

¹ Ibid. pp.114.

² Bachelard, Gaston. op. cit. pp.57.

³ Ibid. pp. 123.

celebrate their antiquity; kings proclaim their legitimate roots (as well as their power). The English gypsies are avid collectors of china and family photographs."¹

For the most part, the immigrant group is able to re-create old social patterns in the new spatial context, though some adaptation is obviously necessary. The need for complete and explicit architectural re-creations of the home culture, need as translated from observable behavior, is rarely evident (though economic restrictions may have some bearing on the relative infrequency of such projects).

Generally speaking, there is a lack of connection between a radical change in the environment and its related social structure, except where "a feature of the environment is directly linked to an important social role, then the modification of one will cause the modification of the other...enclosure of the common fields in England made it impossible for peasants to act as peasants and forced them into new roles in industrial production."² Claude Levi-Strauss describes how missionaries were able to disorient the culture of the Bororos by forcing them to abandon the traditional circular lay-out of their settlement.³

For the immigrant, the new physical setting is not an absolute obstacle to the continuation of familiar social patterns, though it does act to transform them to some extent. Instead, it is more often the case that symbolism and associations are superimposed or granted to existing forms by way of use, embellishment with cultural artifacts or adornment with symbols of a "hyphenated identity", and symbolic representations are made of the immigrants' home culture. Climactic differences, the distinctly new physical setting, economic difficulties, as well as modifications to lifestyle which result from different demands in the U.S. context, render an absolute re-creation of the previous environment impractical. That is to say, that the difficulties in accurately reproducing the previous setting, the distortions of memory of that place which occur as time passes, and the creation of a new culture, a hybrid only in the sense that it borrows elements from both cultures, result in the creation of new symbols and forms.

¹ Lynch, Kevin. op. cit. pp. 40.

² Lynch, Kevin. op. cit. pp. 216.

³ Ibid. pp.216.

Another way in which environment can be symbolized is by re-creating the activities which occurred in a past setting, thus recalling to mind memories of that place. If these activities are well defined, for example through ritual, then their connection to another place is even greater. Thus the immigrant groups' passion for cultural celebrations.

Eliade¹ describes sacred time as time which occurred before the world started. Nomads wandering through the forest decided to settle and thus marked the beginning of civilization. "The time before that was for the gods". Festivals then bring back and symbolize sacred time which is reversible by the act of re-creating it.

Sacred time is related to sacred place, in that, the space in which sacred time is re-created becomes itself sacred. This space, however, was first claimed and defined by the ancient tribes. The claiming process included the marking of center symbolizing the axis connecting heaven to earth, and the subsequent marking of boundaries. Thus the creative act is that of creating a specific place defined as such in a context of undifferentiated space. The surrounding area beyond the specific claimed place is characterized by disorder and is perceived as being potentially dangerous.

In a sense the entire ethnic enclave is a sacred place related to a sacred time; it is within its boundaries that ethnicity is celebrated and a previous culture re-created. The world outside the neighborhood is perceived as chaotic as it is not understood, its messages and cues are alien. It is also considered dangerous as surveillance of other people's activities does not occur with the same intensity outside the enclave. Thus, the ethnic neighborhood takes on a particular significance as a defined place in a context of alien surroundings.

Furthermore, on specific occasions, the enclave, both its interior and exterior spaces are transformed to provide an appropriate setting for the more formal celebration of ethnicity. That is a more defined sacred past is re-enacted, connecting residents with centuries of tradition, reviving the "time for the gods". This celebration after annual repetition then becomes associated with the daily environment as defined memories are created in association with the setting. Thus in some communities certain sacred corners exist to be used only on special occasions.

¹ Eliade, Mircea. The Sacred and The Profane. Hartcourt, N.Y.: 1959.

Attachment to place is multidimensional and different types of people are attached to places for different reasons. Marc Fried asks of place-attachment: "Does the residential environment derive its functional significance from a commitment to places as physical resources for various activities and experiences, or because it serves as a context for social interaction and interpersonal intimacy, or by virtue of its aesthetic and/or symbolic properties ?"¹

For the immigrant group as a whole it would seem that attachment to the enclave is equally a function of all three. That is, though individual needs will obviously differ, as a whole the enclave serves as a physical setting for everyday life, for special events, and for re-living, re-thinking, and expressing cultural identity.

"It was protection, this street, this alley, this house, from the terrors of the world."² In the early stages, it is social utilization rather than physical transformation which differentiates the ethnic neighborhood from the adjacent ones. Initially, location, especially the concentration of particular uses and their relative proximity to each other i.e. walking distance, play the most significant spatial role in the enclave. In general, it is the spatial organization which is of importance, that is, the lay out, density, mix of uses, and of particular significance is the street.

Gradually, as social institutions increase in number and in sophistication, and as adaptation takes place, a greater sense of stability is secured and the actual physical organization of the neighborhood may lose some of its importance especially for those who no longer live in the enclave, but who only visit. For these individuals who attempted to improve their living conditions, it is no longer necessary that their residence be located within the neighborhood, however, the need for a socio-economic core remains, as does the desire for a symbolic home territory..."Home territories are areas where the regular participants have a relative freedom of behavior and a sense of intimacy and control over the area."³

¹ Fried, Marc "Residential Attachment: Sources of Residential and Community Satisfaction."

² Sampas, Charles, "Growing up Greek in Lowell's Acre. Lowell Sun. March 24, 1985.

³ Lyman and Scott in Malmberg, Torsten. op. cit. pp.110.

In addition to providing goods and services which allow the immigrant and his children to continue traditions they have learned at home, the enclave also represents a more complete, but symbolic sense of home. It is here that all the goods, services, fellow-immigrants, and the various symbols and use of spaces which represent the culture are concentrated. Thus, though the enclave as a whole within the greater context is characterized by an introverted nature, within itself it is extroverted. Both socially and physically it is interconnected, defined, and bounded. It represents home to those who identify with it.

"What does one see when plunged immediately into the U.S.A. ? Everything is overscaled, and there is a surplus of all things. Too big and too much. Too big by what standards ? Too big by human standards. Too large in relation to the human beings who use the objects and live with them—large in a way that makes their use and ownership a costly and annoying experience...Even primary function...objects necessary to the maintenance of life rather than enjoyment, are overscaled and complicated in U.S. culture."¹

The desire to return to the womb can manifest itself in many ways. Most of us recognize behaviors in ourselves which may represent this urge..."In the world of the child's imagination it is possible to enter the mouths of whales or to shrink down to a size small enough to get into the stomach of a frog, showing that in the imaginary world, the small is compatible with the big."²

The comfort and satisfaction the child derives from imagining himself in a small space is a reaction to the big and overwhelming world. In a similar way, the daily threats of the dominant society can be soothed by stepping into the small world of the enclave.

Prejudice, at times torment, by the dominant group, more than often results in a decrease in self-esteem, a doubting of one's self-worth. Changes in lifestyle and economic pressures have repercussions on familial and societal roles, causing many individuals to suffer a loss of confidence and crisis in identity. The children of immigrants many times lead schizophrenic lives, developing schisms in their souls. They

¹ Holland, Lawrence (ed). Who Designs America. Doubleday and Co. Inc. Princeton: 1966. pp.259

² Bachelard, Gaston in Ashihara, Yoshinobu. op. cit. pp. 111.

know not what to identify with, are confused about who they are, about how they fit into a general pattern, and what tradition they are continuing (which legacy they are carrying). They and their children compose a new culture, that of a combined, "hyphenated" identity which borrows elements from both cultures.

It is for these reasons that the symbols of an immigrant groups' history in a particular place can aid in providing the much longed for link to experiences and a way of perceiving and living in the environment that is shared only by the ethnic group. It cannot be understood either by the dominant culture or by the immigrants' home culture, for it is an experience unique to those who undergo it.

Though it may be difficult for a third generation Chinese child to relate to symbols of a Chinese village, he can more readily relate to expressions of the trials and tribulations of a Chinese-American hero, and he can identify with his accomplishments. These "bicultural symbols" whatever physical form they may take, are more authentic than an architect/planner's impression of what is Chinese, for they emerge from within their context; they have roots and are not merely superimposed on an alien fabric.

The Pilgrims, the first immigrants to the United States, have numerous memorials. Their descendants can feel legitimized when at Sturbridge Village, Plymouth Rock, or visiting the Mayflower. Their past stories are being told, preserved, and revered. People are proud to announce their connection to publicly honored deeds and individuals.

The immigrant of today, however, is confronted with stories of his countrymen's, quirks, unacceptable or humorous behavior, at times even unsociable acts (i.e. Italian Mafioso). His people are ridiculed for their differences or at the most enjoyed from an observer's distance as if circus performers. Uprooted from his home, though in most cases his people have a history of re-making their home in the U.S., he has few signs of that and is often made to feel shame or belittled.

Moreover, the immigrant must live in a sterile environment, sterile because it has no connection to his sense of self. His sense of worth in terms of group association is visible only in cases when he himself is able to alter the environment and create a setting or symbol of his identity. A place need not look like his home culture, it may only be associated with his group, in order to fulfill the sense of belonging in the

environment most of us are seeking in our search for home. The meaning a place takes on when accompanied by a story can entirely alter one's perception of that place. Thus, even if a place does not look familiar, if it is linked to someone or something familiar, then suddenly the place itself takes on feelings of familiar. Over time, these associations can become so strong that they may evoke very strong emotions which connect the place to a personal sense of being.

The awe a Greek feels when standing on the Acropolis Rock is not the same as the awe he feels while on the rock of MaccuPichu. It cannot be. Man is tribal and perceives real or imaginary commonalities with those formally defined as being similar to himself. That is, included in man's natural tendencies to group, is his desire to simplify the world through categories...he categorizes restaurants by price or atmosphere...and people by color, religion, race, ethnicity, political ideals. Because the external expressions i.e.dress, food, gesture, language, custom, are more readily perceived as points of similarity or difference, it is then assumed that intra-group individuals share more in common than inter-group persons.

"Our strongest emotions concern our own lives and the lives of our family or friends because we have known them personally. *The crucial reminders of the past are therefore those connected with our own childhood, or with our parents' or perhaps our grandparents' lives.*

Remarkable things are directly associated with memorable events in those lives: births, deaths, marriages, partings...To live in the same surroundings that one recalls from earliest memories is a satisfaction denied to most...today... *we are interested in the street on which our father may have lived as a boy; it helps to explain him to us and strengthens our own sense of identity."*¹

Thus, when a Greek stands a top MaccuPichu he may feel awe at the complexity of mankind and possibly a general pride of belonging to humanity, a species of intelligence and skill. He does not however, feel as he did on the Acropolis. He does not both consciously and unconsciously feel somehow responsible for the glory and accomplishments of his ancestors.

In the very same way, a Greek immigrant cannot feel the same at Plymouth Rock as he does in front of the monument to Greek immigrants in Lowell. The struggles were not the same, neither were the experiences and meanings placed on those experiences

¹ Lynch, Kevin. op. cit. pp. 212. (italics added).

the same; similar, but not the same. As for the contemporary symbols of the dominant culture, they are totally alien to him.

"In a strange city lying alone
...(their) shrines and
palaces and towers
Resemble nothing that is ours."

The above excerpt is from the poem *The City in the Sea* (1831) by Edgar Allan Poe who, born to traveling actors, an orphan at three, "could never take for granted his comfort and security." Neither can the immigrant. Alienated from surroundings, both social and physical, no symbols to relate to, no myths to find consolation in, no reminders of one's past, no links to one's father's history, or even to his existence, the immigrant is truly an alien, an environmental orphan.

CHAPTER 3

PUBLIC PLACES AND PUBLIC LIFE

"Migrations...mean serious disruptions of social ties and accustomed settings for place-bound people."¹ The experience of immigrating is a very personal one as it relates to the very personality of each individual undergoing this change. It is related to the reasons which led to the decision to emigrate, to the individual's past experience with change, with consistency, with relationships to people and to places.

The personal reactions of individual immigrants are most probably expressed in the interior of their homes, by the manner in which they choose to decorate or not to decorate, by the objects they chose to bring with them, by those they chose to discard or leave behind.

"Foremost in the array of things that men have ordered are the objects with which they surround themselves in their own homes...Though not everyone is fortunate enough to live in a structure built to meet the demands of his own taste...every building indicates in some way whether or not it is representative of those who live in it. This is particularly true about interiors, where the nature and arrangement of possessions say a great deal about their owners' views of existence."²

The ease with which adaptation occurs is very relative. Giving up familiar patterns of behavior, familiar places, familiar people...familiar foods...is less traumatic for some than it is for others. The purpose of this inquiry is not to dwell on the range of possible reactions, though this issue will inevitably be touched upon, but instead to attempt to discover shared reactions, if there is such a thing, but of course, there must be, for the range of human emotion is all but infinite. It is in those endeavors which are collective where at least a common, if not generic, reaction is to be found.

Therefore this thesis will focus primarily on those spaces which are public or semi-public and their relationships to the activities which take place in these spaces.

¹ Lynch, Kevin. op. cit. pp. 202.

² Ruesch and Kees in Collier, John. Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, N.Y., 1967. pp. 77.

In addition to the fact that public spaces are obviously more accessible for the purpose of observation, sufficient evidence exists which suggests that public space may be more important to immigrant groups living in an enclave in terms of indicating socio-spatial preferences than private spaces, for a variety of reasons.

First, the low-income immigrant's economic status excludes him from choosing both the location and type of dwelling unit. Historically, ethnic enclaves have been located near ports of entry, at major transportation crossings, and in abandoned sections of the city center. The immigrant's low-income also results in his more often being a renter rather than a home-owner. Therefore, transformations if, and when undertaken are usually in the form of decoration (using cultural artifacts brought from their home country, gifts, and/or acquired items bought in ethnic stores in the U.S.).

Second, housing units are normally too small for their use to indicate much about preferences in social utilization patterns, as families more than often extended families, struggle to accommodate themselves in crowded conditions. With the exception of the kitchen which both out of choice and necessity, is significant, the house is home in that it gathers the family under one roof, and shelters it from outside elements, climactic and cultural. It does not however, afford immigrants with enough flexibility in order for them to express a difference in desired physical setting by altering it, or using it in a different manner.

Nonetheless, often, especially for those of rural roots, housing in the U.S. offers greater opportunities in the form of amenities (i.e. hot running water) as compared to the individual's previous fate. Kevin Lynch says of low-income immigrants to Ciudad Guayana, Venezuela: "They were practical in their orientation, willing to move and to learn, and...they expected and desired change."¹ Higher income immigrants however, were "highly critical of Ciudad Guayana...few looked on residence here as more than a brief interlude in their lives."² Therefore, the low-income immigrant is more ready to accept initial difficulties, as it is from conditions of hardship that he has fled.

Thus both because of the housing conditions the majority of immigrants must contend with, as well as because of their more traditional lifestyles guiding conceptions

¹ Lynch, Kevin, op. cit. pp. 17.

² Ibid pp.18.

regarding public and private life, "ultimately the home is a kind of ceremonial center used only at those rare moments when visitors are permitted to look into family life."¹

Those immigrants coming from warmer climates than that of, for example New England, have grown accustomed to living out of doors much more of the time than is habit here: "In my country peoples cook out of doors, maka the wash out of doors, eat out of doors, tailor out of doors, maka macaroni out of doors. And my people laugh, laugh all the time. And we use the house only in the nighttime to maka the sleep. America- it is sopra, sopra (up, up with a gesture of going upstairs). Many people one house, worka, worka, all a time. Good money, but no good air."²

In addition to desiring to continue a tradition of outdoor living, immigrants in the enclave seek to secure a social support network which they can depend on, as in their village, in time of crisis. In order to develop a social cohesiveness, frequent casual contact is sought. *"Noone else understands or cares about what we go through...what psychological traumas we experience, what economic difficulties we face...only our fellow countrymen..."*³

The concept of privacy, as culturally determined has been discussed by various professionals of various disciplines from psychology, to anthropology, to architecture. Privacy, is also related to socio-economic conditions and the stage of development of the society at large. The 17th century English house provides an interesting example of the evolution of privacy on a micro-level.

In the late 17th century, spaces of the English house began taking on specific purposes, that is, specializing, room by room. Following the pattern of the wealthiest houses, the kitchen was broken off from the scullery, where the dirty work was done, and the various social functions of the kitchen were taking over by the living room and the parlor. The dining room was separated from the bedroom. Although in the

¹ Suttles, G. *The Social Order of the Slum*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago: 1968. pp.76.

² Gabaccia, Donna. *From Sicily to Elizabeth Street*. State University of New York Press, Albany: 1984, pp.99

³ a Greek immigrant to Lowell MA.

17th century, a lady's bedroom still served as a reception room for her guests, whether or not the bed was located in the alcove, in the 18th century, a special room for meeting and conversation, the drawing room, the salon, came into existence. The rooms, now specialized, gradually stopped opening onto each other. Instead "they were grouped along the corridor, like houses on a street. The need for privacy produced this special organ for public circulation."¹

The analogy of the "privatization" of the English house implies a number of things. It can be said that the societal transformations accompanying England's industrial revolution enhanced the economic position of a certain sector of the population, granting them increased economic and social independence. This is expressed in the increasing specialization and privatization of spaces within the house. Thus relative wealth and the economic stage of development of the society at large (as well as the relationships formed as a result of the economic system) are somehow casually linked to the degree of privacy in spatial arrangements.

In contrast to this, the agricultural society is characterized by much less of a degree of individual independence and a greater social cohesion which is expressed in its more fluid spatial definitions. In societies of a semi-fuedal order where the relative poverty usually associated with agriculture-based economies describe the general conditions, there is, by definition, a greater interdependence among members of that society. This interdependence is both economic as well as social, and is manifested in a high degree of social cohesiveness, accompanied by a well developed "public life."

Thus, in the United States context, concepts related to the public and private nature and use of spaces are carried over by immigrant groups. However, their behavior and use of spaces are also adaptations to the new conditions, the line between the continuation of an old lifestyle and adjusting to a new environment is ambiguous indeed.

Generally speaking, there is not enough space in the low-income immigrants' house for specialization, thus rooms become multi-functional (i.e. converted into sleeping quarters at night). The kitchen must double as a cooking place and as a gathering place. In some especially poor households, it also acts as a sleeping place in the evening.

¹ Mumford, Lewis. *The Culture of Cities*. Hartcourt, Brace, and Co. N.Y.: 1938 pp.115

Therefore, expansion into outdoor spaces is inevitable. The use of public and semi-public spaces where frequent and casual contact can occur is a necessity for the immigrant because it is a continuation of a familiar lifestyle, because he seeks the support of those confronted with similar experiences as himself, and because his social and economic life is not independent from that of his neighbors.

The contrast between the immigrant's village, his neighborhood in the U.S., and the typical U.S. neighborhood, can be described along the lines of differences in definition of public and private. The "dominant ideal," the American dream, is an introverted one, that is, one in which a high degree of privacy is sought. A room of one's own, whether in one's office or in one's house is a symbol of power and control. Building a wall around one's house or moving to a neighborhood with large lawns, are ways of attaining, or rather of demonstrating privacy, and thus power. Even the porch, a common North American transitional space, is on the decline according to a recent article in *Landscapes* (Jan. 1985). The threat of crime, air conditioning, and the increase in the heterogeneous nature of the population, have rendered the porch less than elegant.

With the advent of the young urban professional, the traditional U.S. symbols of the good life, evoking the English pastoral imagery of a single family home in the suburbs, is also on the decline. Instead, as demonstrated by an urban geography study,¹ young professionals and Portuguese are transforming Victorian townhouses in adjacent neighborhoods in Toronto. The difference is however, in how the house is conceived as a public/private entity, that is, in the degree of introversion or extroversion expressed by the physical transformations made to it and the use of the house and its adjacent spaces.

The Portuguese decorate the front lawn with madonas, paint the railings bright colors, transform the exterior's masonry construction, and make use of the front steps by sitting on them. The interiors, however, they leave virtually untouched, as their traditional lifestyle shares in similarities to that of the house's Victorian dwellers.

The urban professionals, on the other hand, strive to restore the historic facade to match its Victorian face. Any paint jobs undertaken are consistent with the building's

¹ as related to me by urban geographer Patrick McGreevy, Boston University

historical appearance, and the front steps - they are merely a time-consuming transition between the front door and the street. The interior, however, is converted to suit the contemporary lifestyles of urban professionals.

Thus we see that the Portuguese, having come from a warm climate, an agricultural society with interdependence among its members and the associated public life needed to sustain contact, continue to live out their more extroverted lifestyle. Their use of spaces and exterior expressions is a combination of "push factors" stemming from crowded residential conditions, and from "pull factors", including the continuation of a previous lifestyle, as well as the need for contact with fellow-immigrants.

Social science research has demonstrated that even when a move is accompanied by an improvement in comfort, the previous house is still missed. (Fried, 1963; Fried and Gleicher, 1961). However, the house is missed more in terms of how it relates to its surrounding environment than for its physical characteristics as a building; "it is the district as a whole which creates a type of spatial identity."¹ This is especially true for low-income groups.

Thus, as said of the West Enders of Boston, whose enclave was demolished for urban renewal purposes : "People never idealized the house itself. What they valued was the combination of types of buiding and siting of buildings relative to eachother, the streets, and the commercial land uses. This combination brought people into frequent, spontaneous, and intense contact with their friends and relatives."²

Though economic factors contaminate the use of unobtrusive measures to judge the preferences of the West Enders in terms of their re-location choices, it is nonetheless interesting to note that the majority of them moved to inner city neighborhoods of high densities. This may be the result of economic restrictions forcing them to move to such areas, but nevertheless, a Greek immigrant woman on commenting on her impressions of the United States said: *"We like to know that our neighbors exist, we like to know who they are...we need to have people around us, not like Americans who close their doors and double lock them. That's why you see that*

¹ Milton, Gordon. Assimilation in American Life. pp.163.

² Tricaro, D. The Italians of Greenwich Village. Center for Migration Studies , N.Y.: 1984. pp.68

most of us are living in city centers where the buildings are close together, many people are living nearby, the shops are near, and you can walk on the street...the street in America is made for cars, not for people."

"Outside and inside form a dialectic of division, the obvious geometry of which blinds us as soon as we bring it into play in metaphor remains...it has the sharpness of the dialectics of yes and no, and decides everything."¹

The immigrants' "...real economic and political resources do not allow them to meet their social and functional needs through the usual method- i.e. purchase of the desired social definition..."² As a result those institutions, spaces, and symbols which signify community take on an added importance in their adopted home. These spaces and places then are those of a public and semi-public nature, where cultural expression is collective and reinforced.

It is for these reasons that the following discussions will concern themselves with physical expression and social use of public and semi-public environments; those places which provide the needed support from others, a sense of continuity in socio-physical traditions, as well as displays of ethnicity which are basic to a sense of cultural integrity. Where tourist interests overlap these, will also be explored.

¹ Bachelard, Gaston. The Poetics of Space. pp.211.

² Poodry, Deborah pp.4

CHAPTER 4 THE USE OF CASE STUDIES

¹ "When you have something simple that agrees with all the rest...and really seems to explain what's going on, a few experimental data against it are no objection whatsoever.

Nothing that attempts to understand and describe human endeavors can ever hope to apply a pure scientific method. It is for this reason that the reader will note the absence of statistical analyses and other quantifying techniques. Instead, what follows is a qualitative description of a series of case studies.

The case studies are chosen to demonstrate similarities within and across cultures in terms of an ethnic group's relationship to the physical environment and to simultaneously explore slightly different aspects of the immigrant experience.

Individuals, and therefore cities, conglomerates of individuals, are not strictly comparable. Therefore the case studies are not approached on the basis of a point-by-point comparison, but instead are used for validation purposes.

² "The differences do not negate the existence or "validity" of cities or actions, and are in fact the basis for negotiation of meaning, control, resource utilization, and other parts of the urban equation."

Part II uses the three Greek cases of Lowell, Massachusetts, Astoria, New York, and Tarpon Springs, Florida, to demonstrate, by holding one variable constant, that of a Greek population, that though variations exist, the "Greek Experience" shares a set of common characteristics evident across place. These characteristics are assumed to be the result of Greek adaptation to the new setting, as well as more generally a consequence of the immigrant experience.

Findings are presented in a set of categories developed through the observation and analysis of the "Greek Experience". Following the description, Part II, the "Center-Piece,"

¹ Murray Gell-Mann, Nobel Laureate

² Poodry, Deborah. Neighborhood Self-Definition...MIT MCP/SMarchS Thesis. 1979. pp.29.

is intended to summarize and interpret the conclusions drawn from analysis of the Greek Experience. Part IV is an attempt to understand two other ethnic groups, the Chinese and the Puerto Rican, by using the same categories, thus implicitly testing their validity and generalizability.

John Zeisel describes how information about the functional requirements of urban subcultures "can be provided by analyzing the latent social structure and living patterns as they relate to the architectural environment."¹ In order to understand the degree to which a setting accomodates a group's lifestyle and how they have adapted the environment so that it better affords and supports certain behaviors and expressions, two things must be established:² 1. Is the existing physical form compatible with the prevalent social patterns? and 2. What patterns does the physical form make difficult or easy?

Indicators of incompatibility between the existing physical form and social needs are : changes made in the original form, aspects of the environment totally unused, and aspects falsely used. Indicators of compatibility include the absence of these changes in form or use, as well as little destruction, much use, relatively low turnover, and conscious efforts at beautification by the inhabitants.

Thus, in order to determine how the immigrant groups adapt and adapt to their adopted setting, in their attempt at the re-making of a home, both social utilization and physical transformation are considered. That is, how people use an environment, at times in ways different from those for which it was intended (or different from the dominant culture's use) is an indicator of adaptation as much as is the temporary or permanent physical alteration of a space.

Criteria for the choice of case studies are basically two: the potential issues embedded in a particular neighborhood and its accessibility to the author. Thus the Greek Experience represents spontaneous adaptation, that is, the immigrant group has adjusted to, and altered its environment, without outside intervention. It also represents an ethnic group with a long history in the U.S., thus demonstrating the evolution and

¹ Zeisel, John and Brolin, Brent, Social Design in Mass Housing. Architectural Forum. Jan. 1968. pp.68.

² Ibid. pp.70

various stages of the adaptation process. Finally, it represents high accessibility as the author herself is Greek.

Excluding Chicago's Greektown, most would agree that the three Greek case studies chosen are of the most significant Greek communities in the U.S., evidenced by their nicknames: Lowell and Tarpon both have been called "The Athens of America," while Astoria is named "Little Athens."

Chinatown represents an adaptation which is approximately half spontaneous and half planned, that is federal and local intervention. It is of specific interest because of the relative institution it has become in U.S. cities, following similar development patterns and partly as a result of the central economic role tourism plays in the Chinese immigrants' survival, Chinatowns across the country share certain physical characteristics. It is also of interest because of the paradox it represents as it grows simultaneously in two opposing directions: towards an increasing tourist-orientation while at the same time, because of a continual influx of new immigrants and refugees, it is the setting for newcomers that it must somehow accomodate. Chinatown in Boston was chosen for accessibility.

Villa Victoria represents an environment planned and designed with cultural sensitivity to a specific cultural group, a Puerto Rican migrant community, who participated both in the planning and design processes. Thus, it provides the opportunity to explore what people ask for when given the chance, with regard to the physical environment as it relates to their cultural background. It also demonstrates how this setting is ultimately used. Accessibility in terms of location and language supported the choice of this case study.

Finally, the three cases represent the three main geographic locations from which the majority of immigrants come to the U.S. : Southern Europe, Asia, and Latin America.

METHOD

OBSERVATION TECHNIQUES

"The selection of objects and the nature of their grouping constitute nonverbal expressions of thought, need, conditions, or emotions. Thus when people shape their surroundings, they introduce man-made order."¹

1. The first step was an *open-ended appraisal* of all the non-verbal elements, that is, the evident use patterns and physical transformations which were without doubt traceable to the residents' cultural background.

2. *Photographic Survey:* photographs were taken with as much variation in terms of day, time of day, and season, as was possible, considering the time frame of the research. The interpretation of photographs was facilitated by insights derived from interviews and further observation.

3. *Limited Participatory Observation:* This was intended to connect interview statements with observable behaviors revealing attitude/behavior discrepancies, reinforcing attitude/behavior consistencies. Constraints of the research restricted participatory observation to one week's residence in Lowell, Mass., the main case study, followed by numerous subsequent visits.

Site visits to Astoria were numerous, while Tarpon Springs was visited only vicariously through various descriptions made by residents and others.

Approximately eight months were spent "in association" with Chinatown, as the author conducted a four month open space study in the neighborhood prior to conducting this research.

Villa Victoria was visited on a frequent basis, throughout the duration of the study.

¹ Jurgen Ruesch

INTERVIEW TECHNIQUES

Interviews of both residents and non-residents, were informally conducted. Interviews facilitated analysis by lending an interpretative hand to observation.

1. Initially, various *professionals*, ranging from architects, and planners, to urban geographers and sociologists, to social and community psychologists, were interviewed. Each of them had academic and/or practical interests in the general topic, and some, in the particular case studies. A significant portion of these professionals were immigrants themselves, and had professional and/or personal relationships to a specific ethnic enclave.

2. Next, a series of *open-ended questions* were posed to various *residents*¹ and visitors to the case study neighborhoods. The objective of these questions was to isolate the reciprocal relationships between the ethnic experience, the ethnic enclave, and the process of re-making of home.

Individuals were chosen on a referral basis, that is recommended by others as willing to discuss the issues, and by a "random" choice, that is, simply approached in a variety of settings. Some informal quota sampling was conducted, for example, a number of elderly residents were sought to reconstruct past conditions.

3. *Directed Questions*: The objective of these inquiries, which were directed at the same individuals as the open-ended, was to determine the significance of particular observations.

4. *"Walking Tours"*: These were taken by asking a number of individuals to "show" their neighborhood with the objective of determining areas of overlap between the residents' and the author's perceptions.

5. *Use of Photographs*: Some residents were shown photographs in interview sessions in order to focus the discussions on specific physical elements, and to determine their meaning and significance.

¹ Lowell: 25 residents, 5 professionals, and 5 visitors were interviewed.
Astoria: 15 residents, 3 professionals, and 10 visitors were interviewed.
Tarpon Springs: 2 full-time residents, 5 part-time residents, 1 professional, and 5 visitors were interviewed.
Chinatown: 7 residents, 10 professionals, and 10 visitors were interviewed.
Villa Victoria: 5 residents, 5 professionals, and 2 visitors were interviewed.

KEY TO TEXT

Notation indicates that a passage has been quoted from an interview with:

| | |
|--------------|----------------------------|
| (r, L) | resident of Lowell |
| (r, A) | resident of Astoria |
| (r, TS) | resident of Tarpon Springs |
| (nr, G) 1 | non-resident Greek |
| (r, CT) | resident of Chinatown |
| (nr, C) 2 | non-resident Chinese |
| (r, VV) | resident of Villa Victoria |
| (nr, P) 3 | non-resident Puerto Rican |

CATEGORIES

Following the initial observation and analysis, a series of five categories were developed with which to describe and understand the role of the physical environment in the development of the Greek enclave. These categories will later be used to understand the Chinese and the Puerto Rican case studies, thus testing their generalizability and usefulness as a means of understanding ethnic neighborhoods at various stages of their development.

The categories are descriptive of an activity or issue, rather than of a place, so that they can uncover the spatial significance in a variety of physical contexts. Through

¹ that is, a Greek who is not a resident of any of the case study communities

² that is, a Chinese who is not a resident of Chinatown, Boston

³ that is, a Puerto Rican, who is not a resident of Villa Victoria

some overlap will inevitably emerge as human activity is not comprised of mutually exclusive categories, an attempt has been made to make the separations as real as possible. Also, though most activities are of 'equal' importance to both the emerging and settled enclave, an attempt has been made to explain the sequential significance of activities, in terms of the neighborhood's chronological pattern of development.

The categories, in sequential order of developmental importance to the Greek enclave are as follows:

RELIGION, the impact of which can be observed in the church and its adjacent spaces as well as in the display of personal icons and the existence of specialized shops with the purpose of providing religious paraphanelia.

LANGUAGE, the impact of which is found in the existence of a school, observed in the signage which communicates the environment, and in various mediums of media.

FOOD, the impact of which has physical implications for the kitchen, food markets, restaurants and on sidewalk spaces adjacent to food establishments.

PUBLIC LIFE, that is daily life settings of a public or semi-public nature, which in the Greek community may be subdivided into the Man's World, the Woman's world and the meeting places of the Community. And finally

CULTURAL DISPLAY, that is, conscious expressions of cultural identity whose physical manifestations occur in the form of cultural celebration, place-naming, the use of color, and the display of Touchstones, and Symbols. It is here where the physical expressions of tourism are most evident.

PART II
THE GREEK EXPERIENCE
ANALYSIS

CHAPTER 5 THE GREEK VILLAGE IN GREECE

As a significant majority of Greeks in the U.S. come from rural background, it may be useful to discuss the Greek agricultural village in Greece. This is meant to provide at least some idea about the immigrants' previous lifestyle and physical setting, and thus an implicit contrast with the new urban setting they confront in the U.S. It is a point of reference intended to facilitate in the interpretation of reactions as a continuation of previous lifestyle, and as coping mechanisms that is, adaptations to the new conditions. In addition to providing insight into the "Greek experience", certain characteristics of the Greek rural community can be considered as relatively similar to those of rural villages in other societies. Thus they may also aid in the understanding of the Chinese and Puerto Rican cases.

Though regional variations exist depending on local economy, geographic location, and historical development, there are certain characteristics which can be said to describe the traditional Greek village, whether in the islands or in the mainland's mountains. These similarities are the result of conditions which have prevailed throughout the country's development. The history of Greece is marked by two salient constants : a scarcity of resources and extreme adversity- piracy, foreign occupation, neo-colonialism, wars, revolts, droughts, and earthquakes. "In the last century-and-a-half, Greece has faced and survived one major catastrophe every twenty-five years."¹

Considering these conditions, it is only natural that people develop a supportive family structure and strong social ties. Over time these social relationships become increasingly organized and informally institutionalized. "The basic property of the Greek rural community is the composition of the village unit...The individual belongs to the extended family system, the family is an integral part of the in-group system and the in-group is one of the subsystems of the village unit. The survival of every system depends on the good functioning of its sub- and supra- systems, as well as its interaction between them."²

¹ Doumanis, O.B. and Doumanis, M.O. "Fit and Form in the Greek Village." Architektonika Themata Jan. 1978. pp.43.

² Ibid, pp. 43.

These interrelationships are supported by the physical environment. A village wall is formed by building houses in an unbroken line (island vernacular). "The off-white houses are joined together like a chain in the same way ... the hands of the peasants are joined when they dance...Despite a general assymetry, all neighboring houses share a common wall which effectively interlocks them at one or more points."¹

Once inside the village wall, a labyrinth of narrow, winding streets lead to the village square located in the center of the settlement; most roads lead to the community's center like most veins lead to the heart. "But if the square is the place in which the villagers are concentrated, the house is the place which concentrates the family. The streets link the square (the community) with the house (the family)..."²

Island houses are for the most part of masonry construction and built directly onto the street. The left over ground space is paved and becomes part of the street, thus the street's configuration is determined by the composition of buildings, becoming narrow or wide, depending on the shapes of buildings.

Where the street widens people stop and talk, place chairs and sit, converting small "left over" spaces into miniature squares. Doors and windows facilitate the continuity between inside and outside, "permitting the scene of human activity to overflow into the street."³ As the whitewashing of houses is common, often the space in front of individual houses is whitewashed in a continuous sweep of the brush, indicating the continuity between the private and the public domain. "The street is partly included in the internal order" as both social and physical patterns promote "the internal order to flow out into the external one."⁴

"...and between these houses, in the most unexpected places, one finds small, enclosed exterior spaces with chairs and potted plants set here and there...sitting in a secluded spot such as this...one can re-live the sense of attachment of these Greek people to the small spaces they have defended throughout the centuries in the face of countless

¹ Politis, Eugenia. "Decorated Houses of Pyrgi, Chios." in Rapaport, Amos. House, Form, and Culture. pp.135.

² Politis, Eugenia. op. cit. pp. 138.

³ Ashihara, Yoshinobu. op. cit. pp. 116.

⁴ Ibid. pp.41

1 invasions."

In a relatively unstable political and economic context where bank deposits, organized social security and public welfare have been undependable systems of security, and at times non-existent, "where further, the margin of profit, from farming or fishing is so limited as to forbid hired help,"² only a closely bonded support system secures a daily living. The "smallest viable unit" needed for survival is the extended family whose members are linked to one another by intimate psychological bonds and economic necessity for "they share in feelings, effort, and property."³ The extended family functions to support and secure survival on a daily basis, but in the face of greater adversity, it does not have the necessary strength and resources to protect its members. Therefore the family forms relationships with a number of other families, resulting in an "in-group" social system. "The relation among the in-group members is sustained through daily contacts. Women drop into each other's homes and ask or offer small services and the men meet in the kafenio (coffeehouse)."⁴

The basic household unit is composed of at most, one sleeping quarter per family member, spaces for the in-group (living area and courtyard), and a space for the village community (the official sitting room: sala) used only on special occasions. Thus in-group members are allowed to penetrate the boundaries of the house on a regular basis, while the community at large only enters the home on special occasions (holidays, weddings, and funerals). "Each house is an individual fortress, part of the common fortification which is the village itself."⁵

Contact with the village community as a whole occurs in spaces which are extensions of the house, such as the doorstep and the street, as well as in the village square.

¹ Ibid. pp.41.

² Doumanis and Doumanis. op.cit. pp.116.

³ Ibid. pp. 44.

⁴ Ibid. p.44.

⁵ Politis, Eugenia. op.cit. pp. 138.

"Today, as in the past, a large part of the people's lives takes place in the streets. During the day children run up and down playing games, the old women sit outside their doors cleaning mastic in flat straw baskets...occasionally singing some slow, familiar old song. At night the scene changes and love songs replace the lullabies of the day."

1

The degree of intimacy between individuals which is largely dependent on the relationship between families, guides the use of particular spaces. Sitting in the yard facilitates daily contacts and minimizes isolation. The street, in addition to functioning as a unit of movement, "at certain times of the day becomes an extension of the house, when for example, the women pull out a chair by the threshold to clean their vegetables, talk to the neighbors, and supervise their children playing."² The street's uses include commercial exchanges as well as acting as a stage for social activities.

"Thus the main street unites the settlement instead of dividing it and becomes a space that facilitates the contacts between its inhabitants."³ The importance given to the street can also be seen in some of the vernacular houses where the larger windows have seats set into the walls "from where it is custom to sit and watch the activity in the street below."⁴ The street's high level of maintenance is another indicator of its significance. Often individuals whitewash and sweep the section(s) of the street adjacent to their houses.

Protecting and connecting the various in-groups is the umbrella group, the village "supra-system" which functions as a unit in times of general crisis. Besides moments of crisis, "local identity is sustained through social activities in which the entire village community participates."⁵

"The square ...(is) the center of village life. In it are gathered the church, the principal shops and...the coffeehouses. It is in the coffeehouses that the men congregate, there to play table games while

¹ description of village on island of Chios from Politis, Eugenia. op. cit. pp. 138.

² Doumanis and Doumanis. op. cit. pp. 45.

³ Ibid. pp. 45.

⁴ Politis, Eugenia. op. cit. pp.140.

⁵ Doumanis and Doumanis. op, cit. pp. 44.

discussing local events and problems...quietly chatting women sitting in doorways fringe the edges of the square which is filled with the gay voices of children darting like birds across its open expanse. On feast days the square is in its glory, echoing the songs of the season, and in February, with the traditional music of the weeks of Carnival."¹

During fiesta time, panigiri, or more frequent community entertainment, glenti, the orchestra is placed in the middle of the square and the villagers dance, eat, drink, and sing around it. Tradition and celebration facilitate the meeting of new members of the community and coming into contact with old ones. Therefore celebration, in addition to providing entertainment, functions as a mechanism necessary to village survival. In order to preserve social cohesion and identity so that unity is ensured in case of crisis, frequent gatherings under the guise of celebration bring the community into contact and define its identity as a whole.

The square, its central location and adjacent uses, facilitates in preserving village identity, in that it provides an easily accessible setting for community interaction. The concept of the village square has deep roots in the development of Greek settlement patterns. In ancient Greece, the agora served the plaza's functions: religious, commercial, and social activities were centered around the agora. The square's modern form in the country's northern villages, can be traced to the time of Turkish occupation.²

Thus we have seen that though some exceptions exist due to local differences, the Greek village is generally characterized by strong kinship bonds, and tightly interwoven community ties based on social and economic interdependence. The fate of a rural people is more than often dependant on forces external to their control, thus both successes and failures must be shared. This is not to imply that competition and

¹ Politis, Eugenia. op. cit. pp. 138.

² The Turkish invasion forced the establishment of permanent settlements which were subsequently organized into neighborhoods (mahalas). Each area was occupied by a clan. At the neighborhood's center was the house of the clan head or the church of the protector saint. The decline of Venice in the 1600's allowed local stock breeders to trade with Central Europe thus increasing the significance of some Greek villages as trading centers developed. The mahalas system was retained, "but the central piazza, usually in front of the church, assumes progressively more importance as the focal point of most social and commercial functions." (Augherinou, S. and Mikros, D. *To Elliniko Horio kai oi thiathikasies pou to ghenisan. Architektonika Themata*, vol. 8 1974. pp. 274.)

conflict do not arise, but in the face of hardship only by joining forces can the village survive.

In order for the cohesion of the family and of the community to be sustained, the dependability and consistency of its members must be secured. In the context of a homogeneous population, tradition plays a large role in providing a sense of continuity and consistency in daily life. Religion functions as a vehicle of hope as well as making norms explicit and defining appropriate roles and behavior.

Oriented towards the group, more than to the individual, it is important for the smooth functioning of the social system that a) ties are maintained and b) to ensure that all members of the social group adhere to the prescribed rules of behavior. It is not uncommon for the elders of the village to meet with the priest in order to discuss a "problem child" or a "deviant" individual's behavior and determine appropriate measures to be taken. In this way, by ensuring that all members adhere to patterns of behavior which are supportive of the cohesion of the village, the dependability of the social unit as a whole is secured.

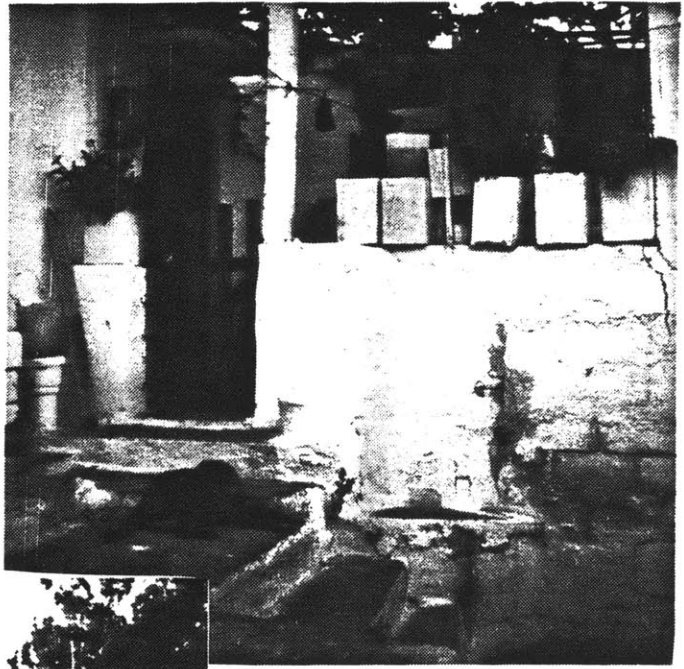
"The most important feature of vernacular Greek settlements is their highly organized architectural structure, which reflects their cohesive social structure."

¹

Thus, the environmental setting of the Greek village, its density, mix of uses, and general layout, supports both frequent contact between members as well as opportunities for surveillance of one another's behavior.

The following chapter briefly describes three of the settings to which a significant percentage of emigres from these villages re-made their home.

¹ Doumanis and Doumanis. op. cit. pp.43.



The Greek village in Greece





The Greek village in Greece



CHAPTER 6

THE GREEK VILLAGE IN THE U.S.

CASE STUDY DESCRIPTIONS

The main case study of this thesis is the "Greek Triangle," in an area called the Acre in Lowell, Massachusetts. Located in the Merrimack Valley, about thirty miles from Boston, Lowell has traditionally been a catchment area for immigrants of various lands. For Greeks it has provided a setting for adjustment for approximately a century. It is said that fifty percent of all those in the U.S. of Greek background have somehow passed through Lowell in their family's history. The neighborhood has undergone many transitions since it emerged in its Greek form, including the actual destruction of its physical core and the subsequent attempts of the Greek community to hold the various fragments together. Therefore, Lowell provides a rich example of the various stages of an ethnic enclave, from its inception through to the roles it plays after many of the residents have died or left and it is inherited by the second and third generation : from setting for intial adjustment to stage set for nostalgic refuge.

A brief description of Astoria in Queens, New York and Tarpon Springs in Florida, both traditionally Greek neighborhoods, will be provided as background to their analysis. Astoria and Tarpon are intended to demonstrate the role of locational conditions in restricting or permitting, possible adaptations and alterations, but more importantly as supporting evidence as to what is common across the three groups. That is, with Lowell as the focus, supporting evidence will be extracted from the Astoria and Tarpon communities to demonstrate the shared reactions to the new setting and common efforts involved in the process of making and re-making of home.

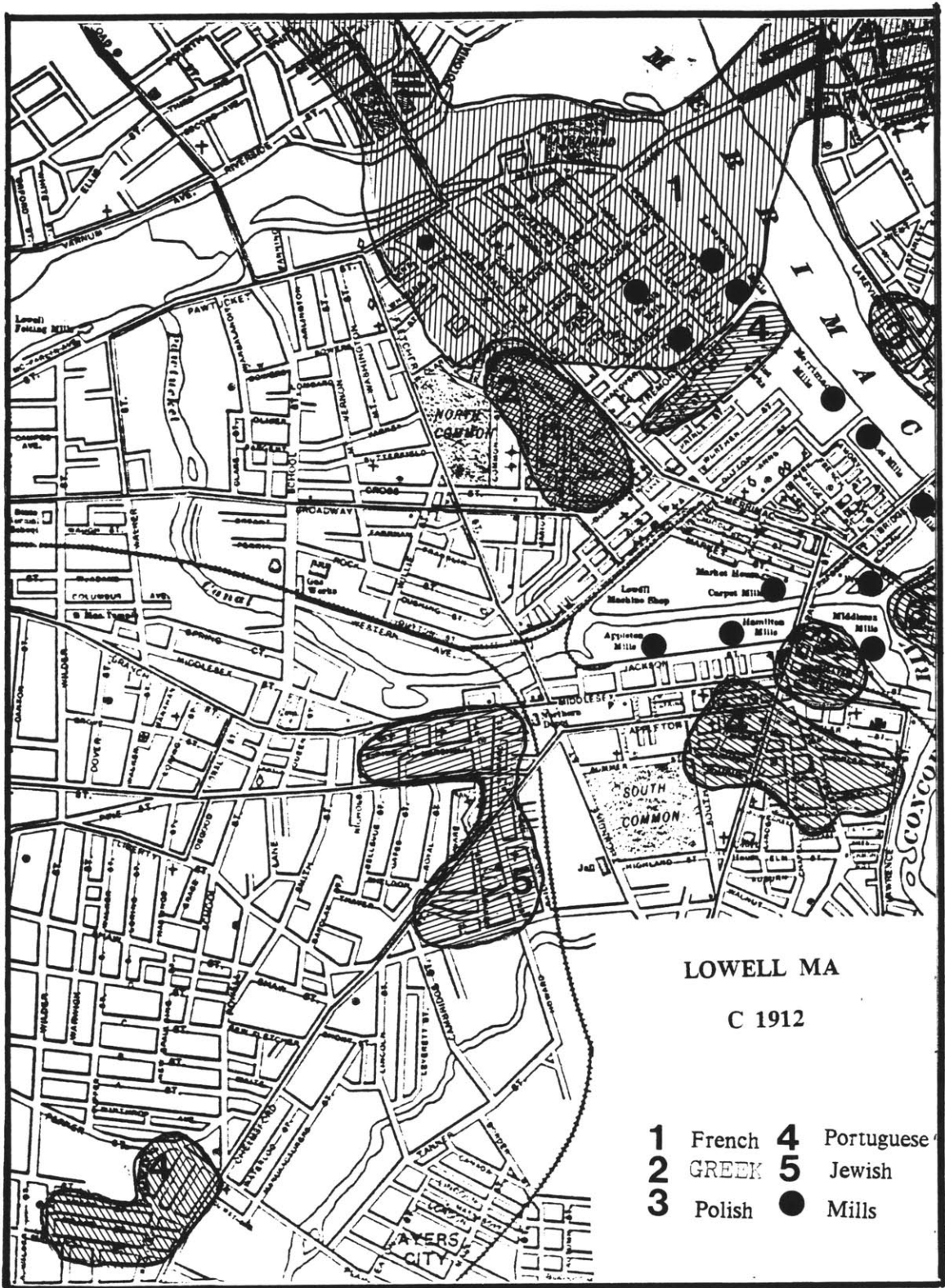
Lowell:

Lowell is the first major industrial town in the U.S. In 1822, its founders embarked upon a manufacturing experiment, constructing mill complexes with related housing and social institutions for the large-scale production of cotton. The need for a large-scale and easily accessible source of labor was unprecedented in its time. At first this demand was filled by thousands of young women, the "Mill Girls", who were recruited from farms throughout New England. Mill towns were subsequently established along the rivers throughout the region. This increase in competition led to lower wages and a demand for more work. Thus, the inevitable conflict between labor and management was initiated, culminating in a series of strikes. The Mill Girls abandoned work in the textile mills at a time which coincided with a wave of Irish immigrants, forced by the Potato Famine of 1846 to flee Ireland. Upon their arrival in Lowell, the Irish were granted an acre of land, and thus the name of the neighborhood: The Acre, on which to pitch their tents. In addition to working in the mills, they were hired to dig canals; as compensation for low wages, they were allowed to keep the stones from which they built their first church, St. Patrick's, which stands intact, at the same site, today.

As the temperature in the textile mills was relatively high, mill owners began recruiting Southern Europeans, who they believed, had a high level of tolerance to heat due to their warm climate. Posters advertizing "the land of opportunity" began appearing in Greece. The promise of work, housing, and a paid one-way boat fare (to be kept from the salary) attracted many villagers whose economic fate was uncertain, if not doomed, in the struggling Greek countryside of the time.

The first Greek arrived in Lowell in 1880. By 1884 "chocolate and Turkish candy could be bought from a Greek who had his stand along side the old City Hall."¹ The first Greek coffeehouse, grocery and bakery had emerged by 1894. With a weekly salary of \$6-8, the immigrants were able to send money to friends in Chicago and New York, enabling them to come to Lowell. They also sent money to Greece, encouraging friends and relatives to join them.

¹ from Sgouros, Adam. op. cit. pp.46



Location of Immigrant Enclaves
with relation to the mills

By 1895, there were 300 Greeks in Lowell. The first Greek woman arrived with her daughters in 1896 and within four years there were fifty Greek families in the city, making a total Greek population of 1800. With this increasing population, the Greek Evangelist Church of Athens dispatched a Reverend to Lowell who held liturgy at the Episcopal church. He also established the first Greek printing shop, the Athena, and published the newspaper, the Angleiphoros.

As protestant missionaries increasingly attempted to convert Greeks, the Greeks established a "protective" organization, named the "Washington-Acropole", whose decided purposed was to perpetuate Greek religion and Hellenism in the U.S. In January of 1894, a Greek fruit vendor was fatally wounded by an explosion of a can of naphtha and residents had to send for a priest from New York to perform the funeral service. Later that year they requested and received a permanent priest of their own.

The everyday life, and natural pace of the community's development was abruptly disrupted when in 1897, war was declared by Greece against Turkey. The Greeks of Lowell rushed to Greece's aid:

"a company of between two and three hundred young men was enrolled for services. The Turkish war was brief, ending disastrously for the Greeks. After it was over, most of the veterans from Lowell returned to New England bringing with them many of their fellow villagers."

1

As a result in 1898, the Greek population was approaching 2,000. However, it is the year 1900 that is considered the official organizational date of the Greek community of Lowell; it was finally registered under the religions law of the state of Massachusetts. That same year a general assembly purchased the first community Greek flag, and simultaneously, a U.S. flag, thus acquiring its first cultural symbols, bi-cultural, but with separate identities.

The following year the community purchased a two-storey apartment house building in which to hold church services. In 1904, it was demolished for the erection of what was to be the first Byzantine style church in the United States, recently declared a national historial landmark.

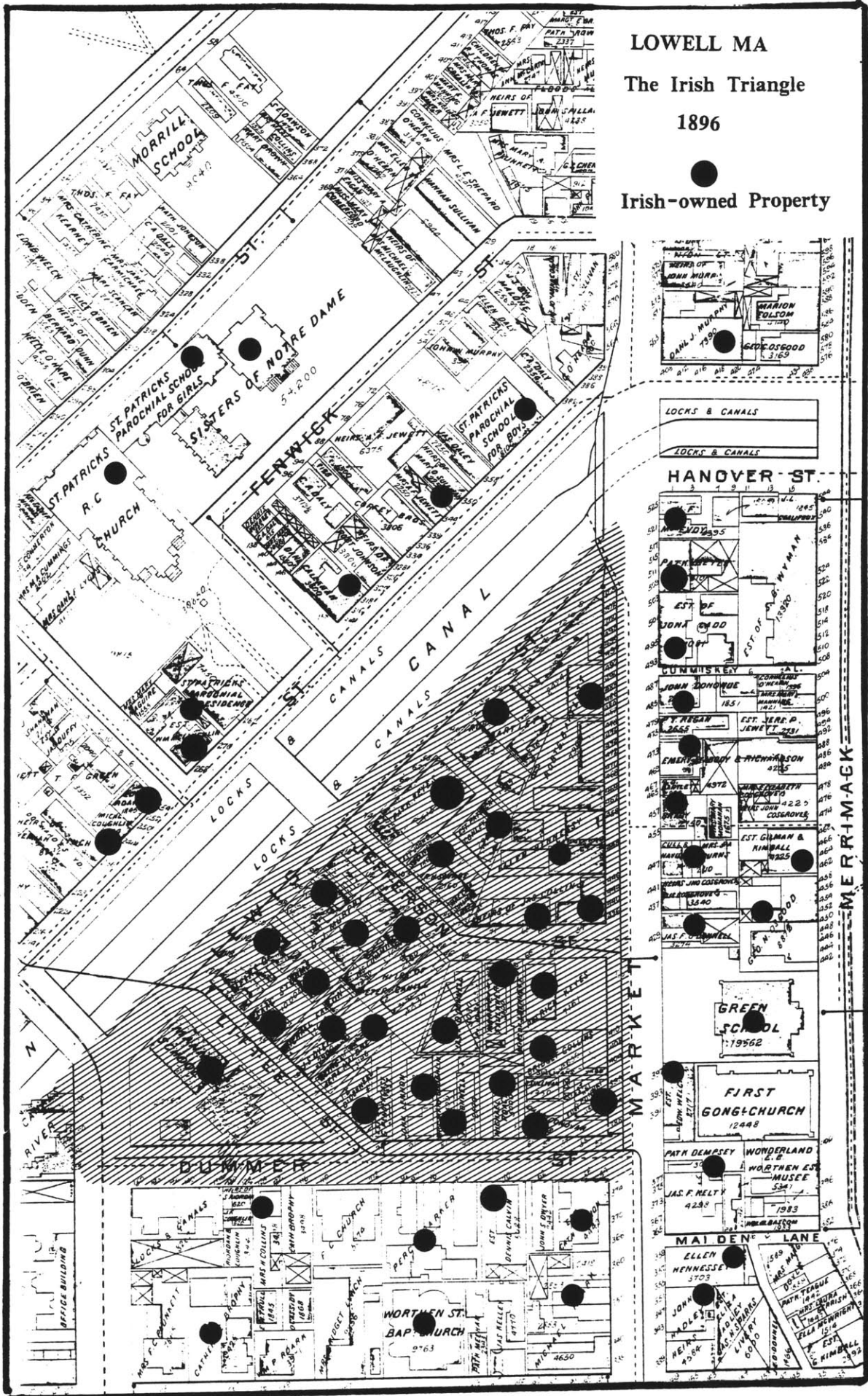
¹ Coburn in Sgouros, Adam. op. cit. pp.51

LOWELL MA

The Irish Triangle

1896

Irish-owned Property



"On Sunday, October 28, 1906, the pastor...circulated amongst the crowd with the Holy cloth from the Altar, collecting donations. The faithful contributed their entire weekly salary which was still sealed in the envelope as they had received it."

1

By the year 1912, Lowell was inhabited by 8,000 Greeks. Market Street, the commercial spine as well as a few commercial side streets were already well developed:

"seven restaurants, twenty coffeehouses, twelve barber shops, two drug stores, six fruit stores, eight shoeshine parlors, one dry goods store, four ticket agencies, seven bakeries, four candy stores, twenty-two grocer stores, five coal and wood dealers, eight truckment, one pool room, one flavoring extract factory, one wholesale meat dealer, four physicians, one Orthodox priest, two Protestant ministers, three milkmen, five farms (owned in partership of five or fewer men to each farm), two hundred farm laborers, two bankers, three teachers. The larger number of coffee-houses is an impressive witness of the transplantation of Greek customs to this country."²

The Greeks, as the Irish before them, settled in the Acre, in a ten acre area known as "The Triangle." Six main streets comprised the neighborhood: Adams, Broadway, Fletcher, Lagrange, Marion, and Suffolk; Adams St. bisected the triangle. The Greeks all settled among these streets, as if attracted by a magnet, as they gradually inhabited each and every house and all the spaces in between.

"Hostile behavior by the natives or other immigrants who came before was not a condition conducive to assimilation. He tried to reproduce his village in the shades of the tall buldings of factories. His compatriots, this church, and the home town or village benevolent association, with his tavern and kaffeineion, were the only institutions that gave him a meaningful existance."

3

Residential conditions were less than bearable as the Greeks were living where the Irish had lived for more than 50 years. The arrival of women into the enclave much improved the conditions of the houses and a health campaign was initiated. Mr.

¹ Gialopsos in Sgouros, Adam. op. cit. pp. 56.

² Fairchild in Sgouros, Adam. pp.77.

³ Sgouros, Adam. op. cit. pp.79.

Spiropoulos, a long-time resident of Market Street installed shower baths over his Kaffeneion (coffeehouse) , free of charge to all Greeks.

"After a long day's heavy work (in those cases where they do not have one of their number stay out to do the cooking) they rush to a grocery buy a bit of rice, potatoes, etc., go "home," light the stove, and try to cook. It is eight o'clock, perhaps, before supper is over, and then their tired bodies must drop in bed. And the poor food they eat? -- But that is no privation; it is as good as they were used to at home. To be sure they might, nay ought, to keep their windows open at night. But with no stoves for heating -- they often cannot afford that luxury -- and in the bitter winter cold of New England, what can you expect of a man brought up in sunny Peloponnus, where snow is unknown? ...In the beginning the mills built housing only for the young Yankee women they employed. Gradually, the Irish replaced their tent city with more permanent housing and the area became a neighborhood ... the Acre. Given its start as a shanty town, the Acre never could become better than a slum. The wooden tenement houses, built close together, showed no design for life: sun and air reached only a few of the rooms. Generations of tubercular people spat on the floor and left a killing bequest to those who followed them into the buildings. There was no attention to sanitation and well into the twentieth century many of the buildings had no sewerage except "vaults" which seldom were cleaned and often overflowed. In the tiny yards in the alleys, in the streets, junk and garbage collected. A typical slum, the Acre was infested with disease, misery and death. The buildings had been inadequate to begin with and did not age well. By the time the Greeks took over the eastern--and oldest--end, the houses in the Acre were by all standards uninhabitable. The underpaid Greeks had no choice but to live there, as close to the mills as possible, while many Irish moved to the better sections of town, opened up by the network of streetcar lines. Thus, the Acre served two nationalities consecutively as the location of their ethnic island."

1

Gradually with improved sanitation, the neighborhood grew free of health problems and houses were better maintained. The Greeks created a special corner for themselves, located at the three vertices of the Triangle, where they found comfort and solace in each other's company. They slowly grew attached to the new village they had created; it became their home with its houses, shops, institutions, and outdoor spaces that either because of the way in which they were used or the way they were made to look, were Greek.

¹ Burgess in Sgouros, Adam. op.cit. pp.73.

In 1937, Congress passed the Housing Act which resulted in the demolition of predominantly Greek sections of the Acre, and in 1939 the first public housing project in the U.S. The North Common Village, was erected in the heart of the Greek Triangle. The project contains multi-level brick buildings, no more than three stories, arranged to allow for green open space between structures.

1 "The physical architecture of the previous buildings disappeared: front and back porches which Greek mothers used as surveillance platforms, front steps which invited friends and neighbors to sit and chat, alleyways used by young people as short cuts and to explore their neighborhood and know it intimately..."

A significant portion of the Greek population was forced to relocate, many families scattering to various neighborhoods of the city. Still, the Greeks insisted on claiming their territory. During the decade of 1960, and until the early 1970s, "ninety-percent of Hellenism was still concentrated on Market Street". This included 15 coffeehouses, as well as numerous butchers, giftshops, fruit and vegetable markets, a barber, and various eating places. Greeks continued to return to the site of their "home"; many insisted on living in the remaining houses. The city authorities intended to impose a diaspora on the Greek community in the hope that by destroying their cohesion and their symbols, the Greeks would be melted into the mainstream...most remained solid.

Almost thirty years later, the Model Cities program attempted to make amends by undertaking to make improvements to the neighborhood.² It was decided that a large portion of Lowell's Model Cities program would be concentrated in the Acre. A forty member resident board (The Acre Model Neighborhood Organization) elected by the residents was formed, and a large majority of its board were Greek. It is for this reason that the Model Cities Program is of interest as proposals were presented to a large extent by residents and had to be approved by a Citizens Advisory Committee prior to implementation. Thus, it provides an opportunity to glimpse at what residents

¹ Karras, Nicholas. op. cit. pp.27.

² The Model Cities Program initiated in 1966, provided federal grant dollars to localities to revitalize urban areas. Though budget cuts drove the program to a halt in 1974, Lowell was voted as the number one Model Cities City.

desired given the chance and the money to make improvements and changes to their neighborhood, and the Greeks still considered The Triangle their neighborhood.

*"We wanted to do Greek things with the money, but mostly we were able to do things for Greeks rather than Greek things, politically it was dangerous to do otherwise."*¹ As a result of the Model Cities Program, The Acre has more candle power per square foot than any area in the U.S. making it relatively safe to walk at night "because Greeks like to walk outside." A police cruiser was also funded exclusively for the Acre to increase security in the neighborhood.

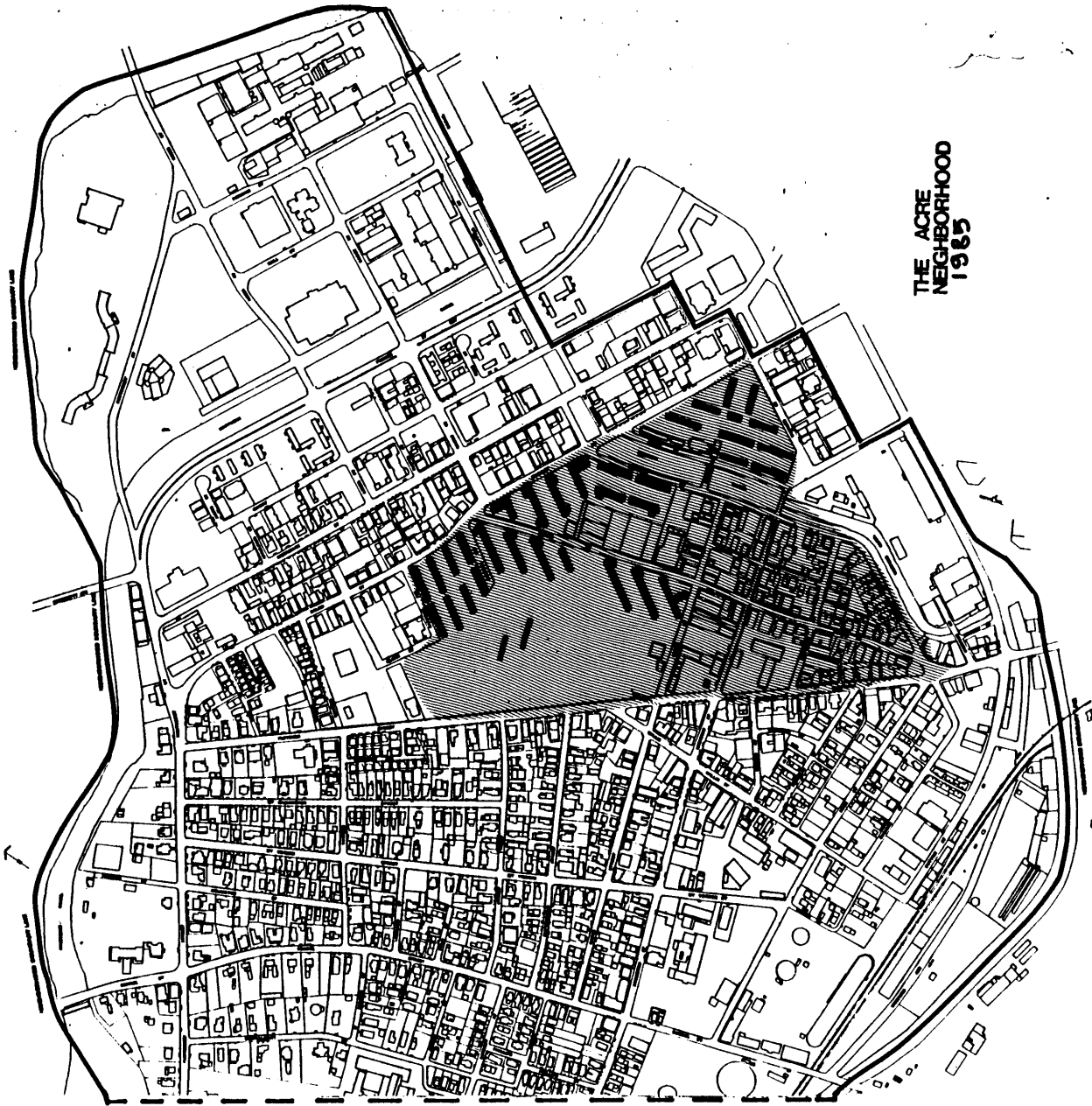
As part of the Western Canal Improvements, a plaza with benches (Ecumenical Plaza) was designed to link the St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church with the Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church, "bridging the schism between the two parishes." It was the first time the Greeks had cooperated with an Irish priest in 60 years. Today common festivals continue to be held by the two churches in the plaza, but it is rarely used by the Greeks, as they do not feel it belongs to them.

It is important to note here, that as a result of the North Common Village public housing located in the heart of the previously Greek residential section of the neighborhood, a significant percentage of users of the outdoor spaces were Hispanic at this point. Yet the Greeks struggled to preserve what they felt was rightfully theirs, and channeled their efforts towards expressing claim to the territory, towards marking their history in the U.S.

*"We had to be careful and subtle to be sure to fight the urge to make it too Greek...so as not to create trouble."*² Though the Greeks were able to participate significantly in decisions regarding the allocation of the Model Cities funds, and for the most part residents seem pleased with the results, there is a relative consensus regarding the restrictions placed on the way the money was to be used, that is, not for their exclusive use.

¹ John Tatsios, Chairman of Urban Design Committee. Greek born and brought up in the Acre.

² Ibid.



THE ACRE
NEIGHBORHOOD
1965

"The Model Cities Program was run by robots who didn't give anything specifically to the Greeks." (Greek professor Lowell University)

"Ever since they put that pool and stuff in the North Common, the place is full of Puerto Ricans..it used to be ours, all ours...we fought for this park..the Irish wanted it and we fought them for it... I remember (smiles with nostalgia) when the park was filled with Greeks and Greek..." (Greek carpenter)

"Personally, I would prefer doing things on our own, like the community center we are planning...because with help come rules and regulations that we may not agree with." (Chairman of Urban Design Committee)

Though the Greeks had a very significant amount of influence over how the Model Cities funds were to be used, the funding was conditional, it could not be utilized for exclusive use by the Greeks. Though superficial, from a brief look at what they did attempt to do one can draw some preliminary conclusions regarding what they desired: i.e. primarily, safety, security in outdoor areas, improvement of and additional recreational facilities, open social space out of doors, but more importantly one is struck by the expressed dissatisfaction with the conditions the federal funds imposed, specifically, that they could not do something that was for Greek use only, whether or not it "looked" Greek. They desired to maintain claim over the neighborhood, but more importantly to express it.

In the mid 1970's, a large influx of Cambodian refugees began arriving in Massachusetts, and in keeping with tradition, Lowell received the largest share of any city in the state, many of which were accommodated in the North Common Village housing project. Cambodians now inhabit many of the Triangle's outdoor spaces. Nonetheless, the neighborhood is still considered Greek, especially by the Greeks who continue to visit the area, some on a daily basis. The Greek character of the neighborhood, can be increasingly described by a display of "Greekness," rather than of adjustments to a new setting; the influx of new-comers has decreased significantly and the children and grandchildren of the first immigrants are asserting their identity and their connections to the area.

In 1972, the concept of Lowell as a cultural park was conceived, commemorating the city's industrial history and developing its tourist industry, and in 1978, the city was designated as an Historical National Park. Included in the boundaries is the Greek Triangle, a gesture which inspires much pride in the Greeks of the area. The Tourist

Information center sells books which describe the Greek history in the city, displays photographs which include Greeks in their exhibits, and gives credit to the Greeks in the audio-visual presentation viewed by tourists.

Construction for a Greek Community Center begun in April of 1985, its expressed purpose: *"Now that the physical center of our community is destroyed, in addition to the church and the school, we can preserve and propagate Greek culture in the Community Center..."* (r, L) The center is located next to the school, in the heart of the previously exclusively Greek section of the Triangle : a final gesture of claiming and display.

The Greek Triangle of Lowell has thus been transformed into a nostalgic refuge where the approximately 3,472 Greeks and people of Greek descent,¹ represent their loosely defined identification with Greece and express their intimate attachment to the Greek-American community of Lowell. This strong bond is displayed in bi-cultural symbols and in a continuous attempt to mark their separate identity and specific history.

Brief descriptions of Astoria and Tarpon Springs follow in order to provide some context to the examples which will be pulled from the two communities for the sake of comparison to Lowell's experience.

¹ 1980 Census

Astoria:

"self expression is more rampant in Astoria than most places, because it is a do-it-yourself place. The desire for self and to be someone or someplace else is seen in the surfaces and materials of buildings."

1

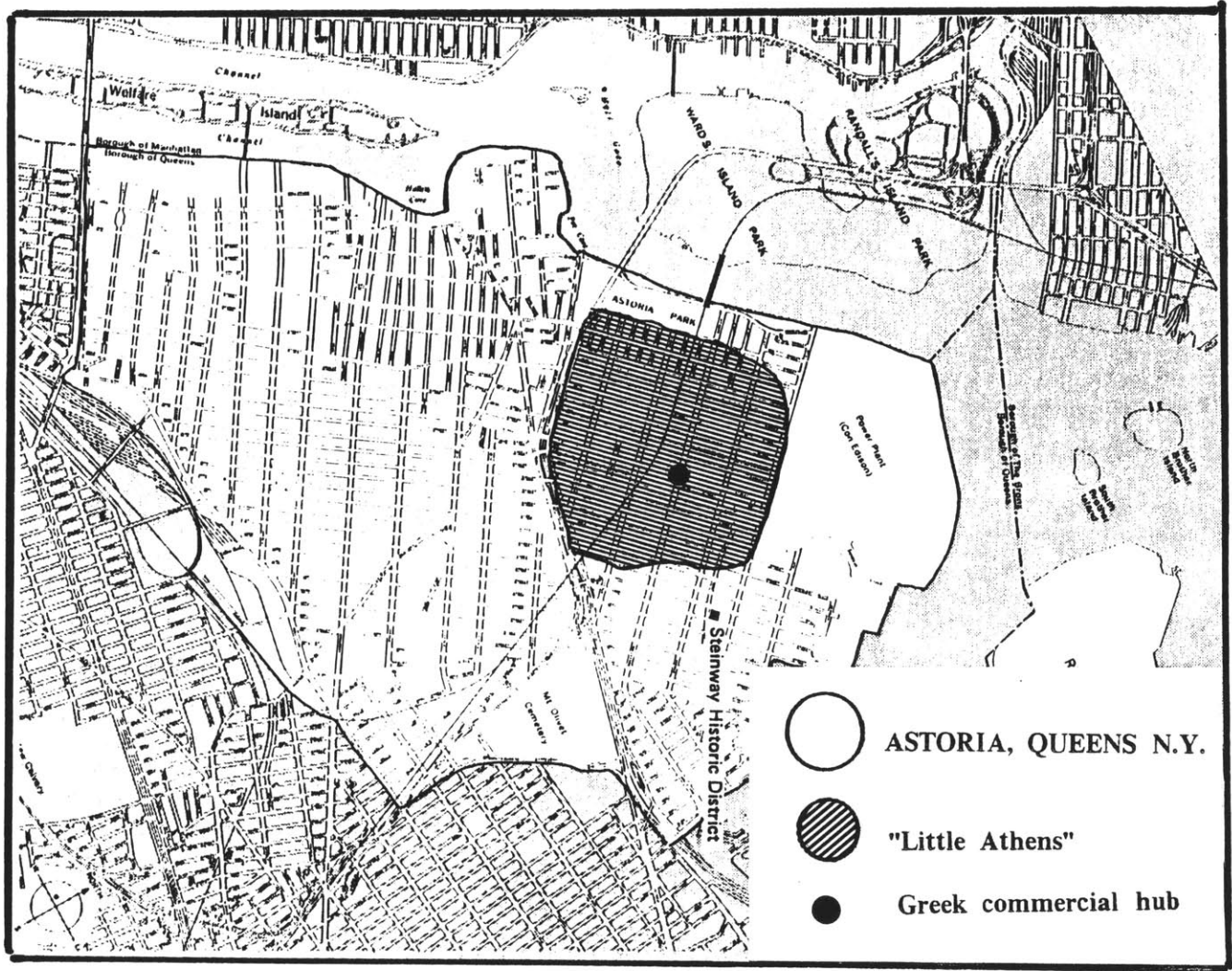
Astoria located in Queens New York has a population of 100,000 people of Greek descent. The neighborhood is unique partly because Greek culture is dominant in a district where many other ethnic groups also thrive. Only 50% of the residents in the core are Greek, the next most numerous group being the Italians, followed by remnants of earlier inhabitants of the neighborhood, mainly Irish and German. Blacks living in the area are primarily confined to public housing projects, while the Hispanics are usually found in surrounding apartment houses.

The Greeks and Italians are primarily owners and inhabit the small, red bricks flat roofed houses with decorated neat and tiny front yards. Zoned as two family units, almost all have rented basement apartments as well, "a circumvention of the law both Greek and Italian temperaments find natural and congenial."² As the Greek and Italian populations are relatively close in numbers there seems to be a latent, but relatively subdued competition for turf. "We are fifty percent Italians and sixty percent Greeks in Astoria." (an Italian resident of the neighborhood). There does not exist an open conflict or antagonism as Greek and Italian stores are found side by side on Ditmar Boulevard, the neighborhood's commercial spine, and some Italian stores even sell Greek products (though Greek stores rarely sell Italian goods).

With the intrusion of other groups, the Greek commercial center has gradually concentrated itself at the intersection of Ditmar Boulevard and 31st Street, the last stop on the elevated section of the BMT subway. The elevated bridge creates a sort of semi-weather protected environment conducive to lingering outside shops and on street corners, regardless of weather conditions. Among the various Greek goods and services to be had in this commercial hub, "it would not be exaggeration to say that

¹ Chermayeff, Ivan. "Ersatz Astoria," Space and Society. pp.92.

² Georgakas, Dan. Astoria. Greek Accent. Feb. 1981. pp.21.



finding quality Greek food of every variety is probably easier in Astoria than in Athens."¹

The large presence of the Italians has resulted in the relatively high degree of cultural expression that both Greeks and Italians tend to display in the neighborhood. Greeks paint their houses, fences, gates, stores, and signs in blue and white, the colors of their flag while Italians paint theirs in green and red, their flag's colors. This tendency to display cultural background may be an exaggerated attempt at asserting their separate identities. Nevertheless, because of the similarities in their respective cultural backgrounds (especially when compared to the dominant) their use and adaptation of the environment is similar in significant ways. Though Italians almost invariably decorate their front lawn with different sized madonas, both Greeks and Italians erect pergolas in their yards. Also both groups tend not plant grass in front of their houses, but instead to compose a conglomerate of potted plants, and on a few occasions individuals of both nationalities, have placed white gravel between their front door and the street. Both have a tendency to "hang out" on their front steps, in chairs placed near the street, on the street itself, and in other public places.

Greek Astoria, however, is undergoing transition. The neighborhood seems to be a "gathering-in site for the newly arrived and a cultural half-way house which doesn't fully satisfy, but can momentarily retain both Greek-born and their American-born offspring".² The permanence of the neighborhood's Greek character is threatened by the influx of other ethnic groups and by the competition for housing. The neighborhood's low crime rate, variety in services, diversity in ethnic flavor, its proximity to Manhattan (15 minutes to subway) and low rents "have led American professionals to vie with immigrants and the children of immigrants for Astoria's better housing".³

Simultaneously, Astoria has become a regional center for Greeks in the surrounding areas who visit the neighborhood on a regular basis, for church services, celebrations, shopping, entertainment, and in general indulging in nostalgia. The number of eating

¹ Ibid. pp.22.

² Ibid. pp.27.

³ Ibid. pp.22.

places and night clubs has increased even though the Greek population living in the core has decreased (though there continues to be a steady flux of new immigrants). This indicates an increasing trend towards transformation into a nostalgic refuge to be visited by Greeks and tourists alike, as Astoria is showing signs of becoming a "commercial Greektown".

"What then is the true nature of Astoria? Is it a safe, somewhat staid but charming old world neighborhood of families? Or is it a troubled and volatile community struggling to forge new relationships? Should it strive to be more or less Greek? Anyone who quickly asserts one or another of these propositions has not fully comprehended the complexities of this modern urban village; but some trends can only be ignored by those who prefer their illusions to historical realities.

For the moment, however, Astoria remains something special. It is the largest Greek city outside of Greece, a place in America where it is easy to feel, think, and be Greek, a place where the street greeting is Kali meta and yiasou."¹



¹ Ibid. pp.27.

Tarpon Springs

"If there is a place in the western hemisphere where the Hellenic customs, habits, and traditions are lived and practiced as closely as in Hellas itself, that place is Tarpon Springs, Florida."¹

A resident of Tarpon Springs, when asked about the influx of new immigrants to Tarpon replied: *"It seems as though there are always new immigrants, but I'm not sure whether they've just preserved the same way of life or whether they're actually new."* As the Florida climate is relatively similar to that of Greece, the natural environment is somewhat more supportive to a continuation of lifestyles than the northern weather of Astoria and Lowell.

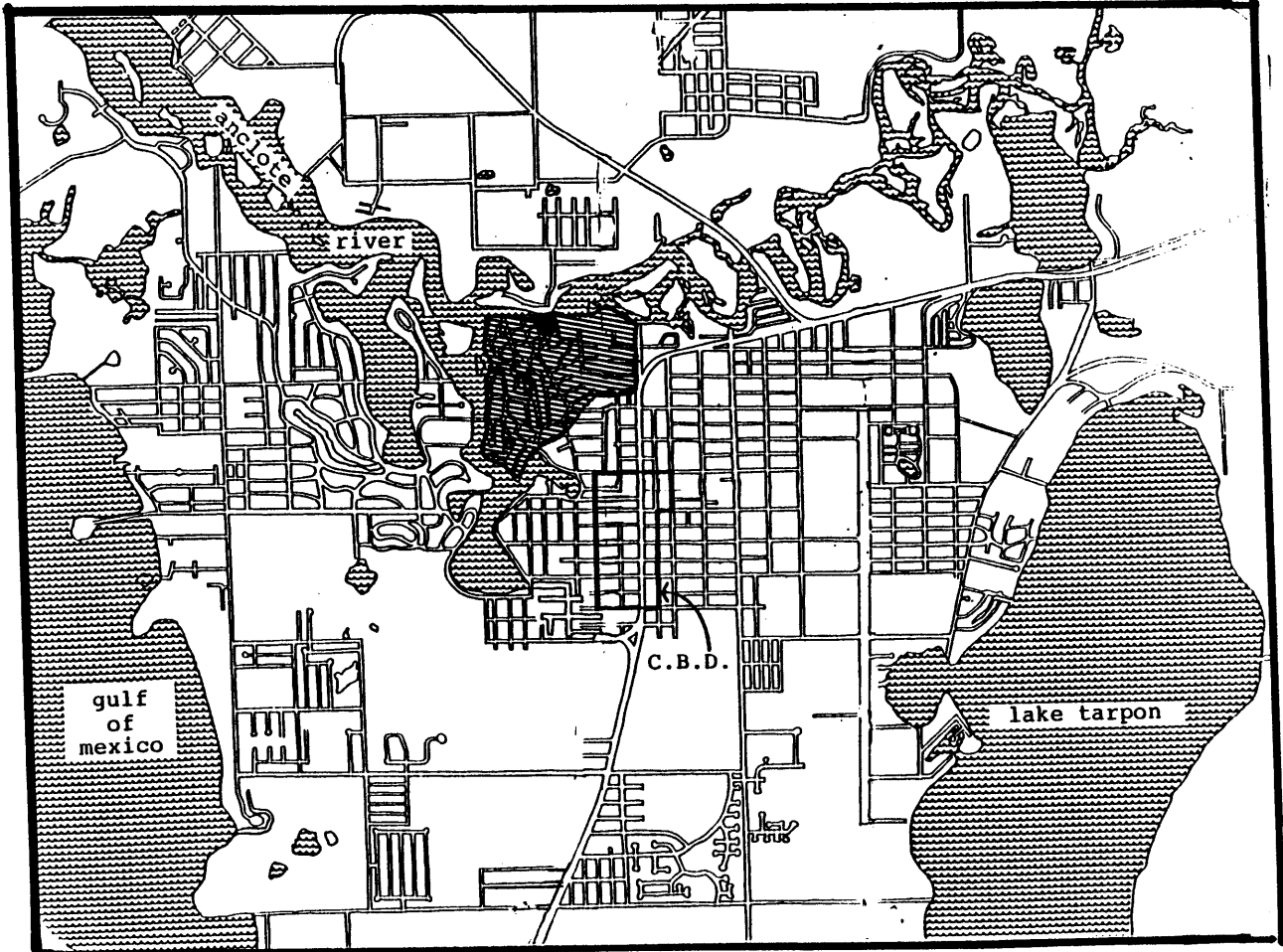
"Greek Tarpon Springs during the early years was like a Mediterranean port...the small white houses facing on brick streets were wood instead of stone, but the blue trim was there, and thrifty gardens with herbs and vegetables."²

The town of Tarpon Springs was established in 1880 when high-quality sponges were discovered in the waters of its shores. Then in 1905, following numerous experiments with diving equipment, several Greek sponge divers and seamen with their diving equipment were recruited from the Dodecannisos islands of Greece. The divers brought with them centuries of tradition and experience in diving. The North Americans were impressed and shipped a boat from the Aegean to Tarpon, the design of which they emulated in the construction of the first fleet of sponge boats in Tarpon. To this day, the boats in the harbor resemble those of a Greek island harbor.

In 1907, the Sponge Exchange, where sponges were auctioned off to wholesaler buyers, was established. The Sponge Exchange was the site of community celebrations until redevelopment disrupted this tradition one year ago. The Exchange is located at the Sponge Docks where, until the decline of the natural sponge industry in the early 1970's (due to the mass production of synthetic by the Japanese), Greek Sponge divers would drag long chains of sponges strung on a rope. *"Dodecannisos Boulevard (the commercial spine running along the Docks) is lined with white buildings except for the occasional mural of sponges or Greek symbols from Greece...what you notice isn't the buildings so much but all the clothes and food and other things*

¹ Rozee, Eileen and Lou. Sponge Docks. Tarpon: 1973. pp. 55.

² Ibid. pp. 53.



Greek Tarpon Springs



Sponge Docks

TARPON SPRINGS

Pinellas County

Florida

being sold on the street...people sit along the seawall...no cars are allowed on the main section of the boulevard and people, tourists and residents, are walking, always walking-up and down, up and down...it's just like being on a Greek island!" (r, TS). Tarpon Springs has actually been called the "Thirteenth island." as Dodecannisa means 'twelve islands.'

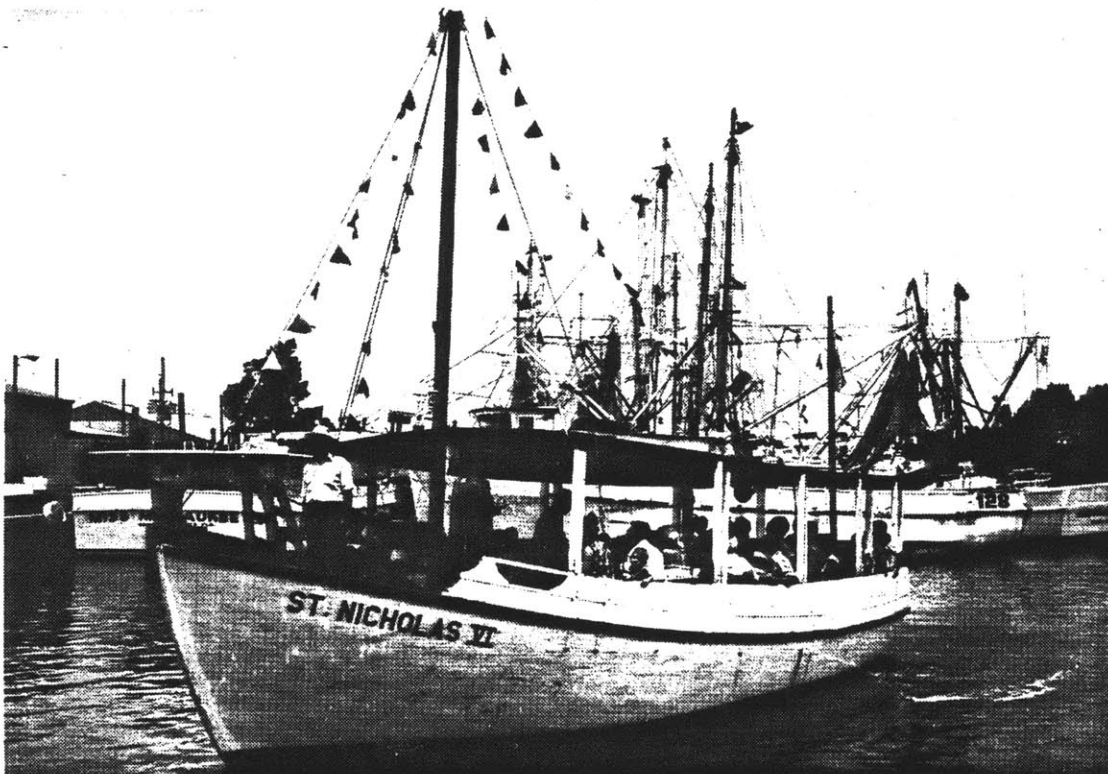
Tourism in Tarpon Springs has its roots in the celebration of the Greek holiday of Epiphany. As it received increasing attention by outsiders, Greek residents began embellishing the festivities with increasing attention to detail. Prior to WWII, the community actually conducted some experiments in tourism. One year at Epiphany, a week-long fair was held in a portable exhibit building and the next year, street vendors were encouraged to sell various edible goods of Greek extraction. It was deemed a success so that today thousands of people from around the country contribute to economic revenues of the Tarpon residents who as a result have increased their display of "Greekness" in certain sections of the neighborhood.

In 1973, the approximately 3,000 Greek residents of Tarpon Springs received a great honor to their cultural integrity. The Sponge Docks were designated as a National Historic Landmark formalized by a monument and bronze plaque describing the history of the Greeks in the area.





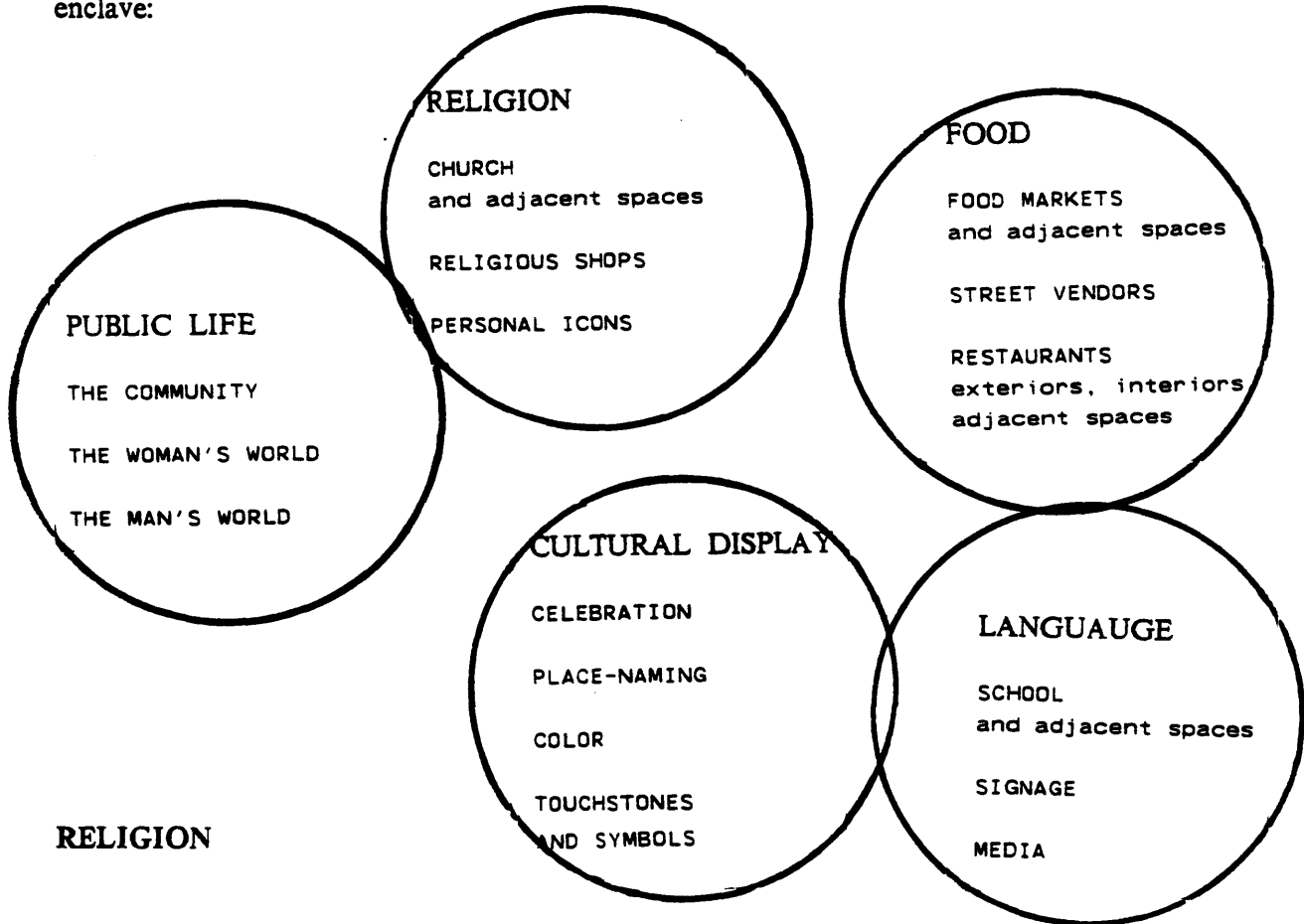
Cultural Celebration in Tarpon Springs



Greek boats taking tourists to sea

CHAPTER 7 THE MAKING AND RE-MAKING OF HOME

The following categories will be used to understand and explain the process of the making and re-making of home, as relates to the immigrant experience in the enclave:



RELIGION

"The thought of never being able to return home, to his ancestral origins, and the fear of dying in a strange land caused him (the immigrant) to embrace his religion with a fervor unknown in Greece itself."¹

Though religion plays an important role in the rural life of Greece, in the Greek urban villages of the U.S., as the church is the only place that can be considered for Greeks, and for Greeks only, it has had a much more significant impact. It is one of the first institutions to emerge in the enclave, and survives as the symbol of the ethnic community even when others have faded.

¹ Holli, M. and Jones, P. op. cit. pp. 122.

Religious symbolism is intimately tied to the physical forms which represent it, and thus religious edifices are the only instances in which immigrants have attempted to literally re-create the counterpart setting in Greece. In fact, the community at times has argued over both physical and liturgical authenticity as it relates to its Greek prototype in Greece itself, to the point of reaching unresolvable conflicts. The erecting of a Greek Orthodox church is not only a reaffirmation, but also an expression of the refusal to change, to be converted to the dominant religion and its persistence is the expression of the stubborn nature of a threatened institution.

The courtyard space outside the church is an important continuation of the function of the church as a social meeting ground for the Greek community at large. It is the only place where the entire Greek community of the area, both residents of the neighborhood and non-residents, can gather weekly and mingle, catch up on gossip, and give each other a sense of belonging to a larger group, a community.

Religious symbols are also expressions of values inculcated at an early age. The clinging to these symbols for belief in personal protection is evident in the interior of homes, especially through the display of icons in the kitchen. The prevalence of this practice is demonstrated by the existence of shops whose primary merchandise is that of "religious paraphernalia."

"Environment, like institutions and ritual, helps to transform evanescent actions into predictable repetitions. A shift of the scenery removes the behavioral support, troubling and stimulating the actor. But it may not by itself bring about a change, since many other devices— institution, habit, memory — can be used to perpetuate the old gestures. A coordinated shift of institutions and their settings is likely to be much more effective."¹

In 1978, the Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church at Lowell was registered as a National historic monument as it is the first church of Byzantine architectural style to be erected in the U.S. Designation provides for increased church security, beautification of adjacent land and matching federal funds for further historic preservation and archiving. Archbishop Iakovos of the Archdiocese of North and South America, in Lowell for the occasion said of the federal gesture: "...It is not the edifice which is

¹ Lynch, Kevin. op. cit. pp. 219.

important, it is the symbolism underlying it. It is our forefathers and the consciousness of the Hellenic people that help keep us together."¹

However, at least for the original Greek immigrants to Lowell, the edifice was as significant, if not more important, than its underlying symbolism. So they demonstrated by their actions. In 1892, they hired an Irish architect (Henry Rourke), selling their precious possessions in order to sponsor his trip to Constantinople, the site of Aghia Sophia Byzantine church.

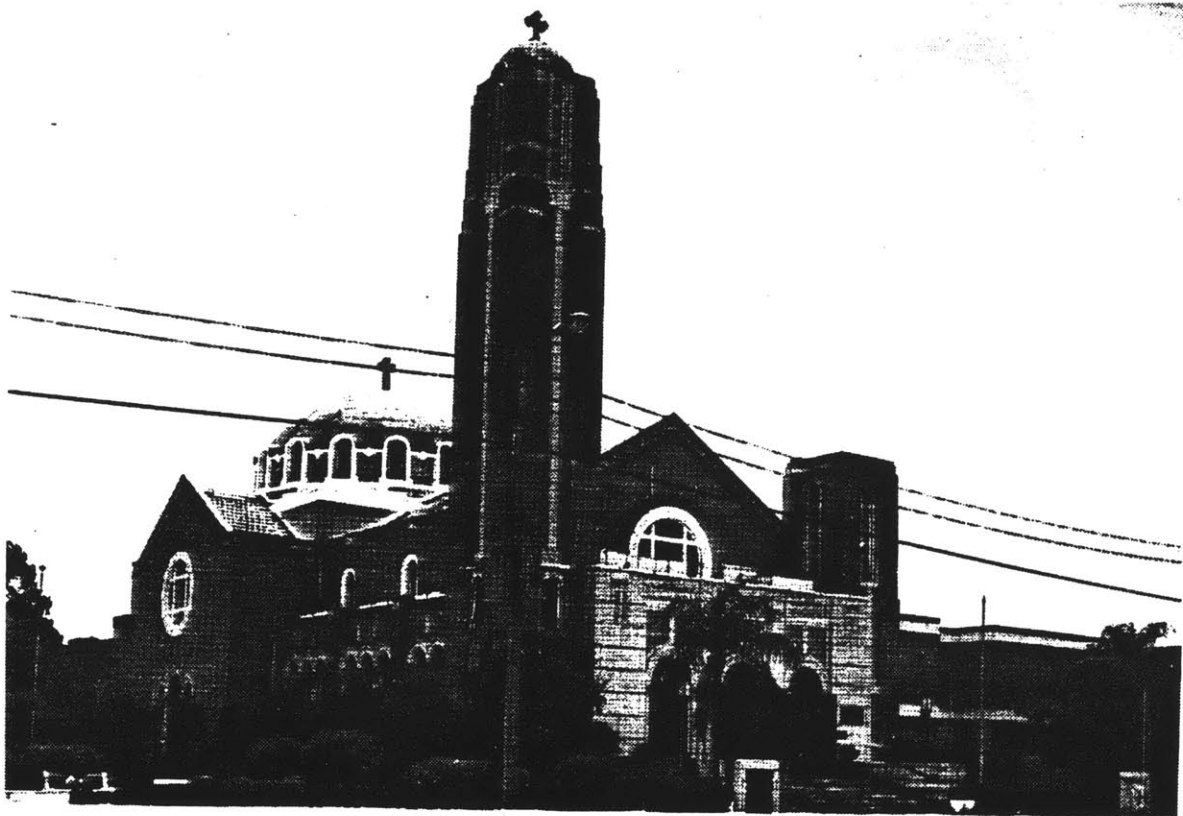
Ironically enough, most probably none of these Greeks had ever visited Aghia Sophia or Constantinople, for that matter. Nonetheless, their oral history provided them with a sense of cultural pride and the knowledge that Aghia Sophia is the symbol of the epitomy of Byzantine magnificence. Curiously enough, the Greek immigrants to Tarpon Springs displayed the same determination to architecturally re-construct their heritage by sponsoring their architect's trip to Aghia Sophia, completely independantly of the Lowell community. The two churches stand today on their original sites. However, for the parishioners of today, they are more representative of the Greek-American community, than of the Greek setting the original immigrants had attempted to recall.

In Tarpon Springs, the approximately fifteen tons of marble for the church was quarried in Greece and was originally part of the Greek Pavilion at the New York World's Fair in 1939. The church, completed in 1943, was named St. Nicholas, after the Patron Saint and protector of all marines, thus looking over Tarpon's sponge divers. The fountain in the church courtyard is symbolic of cleanliness and purity. The inscription carved in Greek reads the same backwards as it does forward and means: "Wash your sins, not only your countenance (face)." This also is a direct immitation of the fountain at Aghia Sophia in Constantinople. In Greece one comes across thousands of small church-like structures in the countryside expressing an individual's personal prayer for a specific event or commemorating the death of a specific person on the specific site. Similarly in Tarpon Springs near the church is the little chapel of St. Michael, built out of gratitude for a child's miraculous recovery from meningitis.

¹ Leonsis, Ted, "Archbishop here for designation of Holy Trinity as Historic site." Hellenic Chronicle, Nov. 2, 1978. pp.4.



Interior
St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church
Tarpon Springs



Exterior
Tarpon Springs

The symbols of religion, its images and forms are an example of a circumstance in which physical form is intimately linked with belief and behavior. The church' exterior form and facade articulate the faith it represents, but it is the interior which is laden with meanings and associations; it is an array of "ordered symbolism and pictured teachings." The shapes, colors, forms, their location and relationship to each other are equally significant in terms of communicating the desired symbolism. Thus in the majority of the Greek Orthodox churches, across ethnic communities in the U.S., most of the furnishings, icons and stained glass panels are imported from Greece.

In Greece in the past and even today, many churches do not have pews; there are only benches set against the wall for the ill and the aged, of whom few sit as they consider it disrespectful. For the parishioners of the Holy Trinity in Lowell, the issue of whether or not to install pews received much attention. *"One man, God rest his soul, fought against installing pews and then never sat down in church, always stood until the day he died. Then he had no choice but to be laid out, but he was so stubborn, if he had a choice, he would have stood up during his funeral service. I remember the words his wife spoke to him as he lay in his casket : "Ah, Kostaki mou (my little Kosta) only death could take you off your feet in church." (r, L)¹*

This passion for accuracy in symbolism and liturgical purity is not entirely explained by fervent religiosity of a traditional rural people.² In the U.S. "the church is one of the few things the immigrants can cling to, in a cold and unfamiliar world, their faith is their rock."³ The Greek Orthodox church in the U.S. context then , symbolizes both the Greek-American community and Greek, becoming the ultimate physical representation of social cohesion and of continuity with Greece itself, as the

¹ from Karras, Nicholas. The Greek Triangle. Meteora Press, Lowell : 1984, pp. 18.

² though it is true that many Greek immigrants in the U.S. are more "religious" than their counterparts in Greece, as the evolution of Greek society has included a gradual separation of church from state, and a concurrent decrease in the strict adherence to religion on the part of a significant part of the population.

³ Psaras, Peter. "Greek Immigration to Lowell". unpublished paper.

church attempts to accurately emulate both physically and functionally its idealized counterpart in Greece.

"Any threatened institution, ascendant or descendant, is likely to use environment as a stabilizer: to display its power and its timeless endurance, to reinforce and perpetuate certain ways of behaving."¹ Protestant missionaries often approached immigrants in the hope of converting them. For most Greeks, Hellenic and Orthodox are almost synonymous. If it was rumored that a Greek had converted (in order to gain social or economic favors), the individual was dismissed as no longer being Greek (in Lowell only one such case has been documented). Thus, the immigrants were determined to erect a monument which physically resembled as closely as possible that of their homeland, providing both a sense of continuity and of stability of tradition. It is for this reason that all the Greek women of Lowell gave their gold earrings and wedding bands² for the gold dome of the Holy Trinity Church. When the church was financially threatened during the Depression of the 1920's, rather than give up its physical setting, parishioners gave up their watches, rings, bracelets, and necklaces.

"The significance of the institution of the Greek Orthodox Church...is paramount. Along with the family, it was, and is, the enduring force in keeping the Greek ethnic group together."³

In the absence of other supportive Greek institutions, especially initially, it becomes the prime preserver and presenter of Greek culture.⁴ Therefore, in the U.S., in addition, of course, to the religious functions it serves, the church plays the role of social, educational, and cultural center of the Greek community. The priest as the embodiment of religion, acts to preserve cultural traditions. He is consulted much more than he is in Greece on matters having to do with appropriate social roles and

¹ Lynch, Kevin. op. cit. pp. 219.

² One man interviewed bought his mother a wedding ring when he grew up because he was embarrassed to have people see her without one.

³ Holli, M. and Jones, P. op. cit. pp.122

⁴ The role of the Greek church has historically been that of preserving Greek culture. Under the Turkish occupation in Greece, the church, being the only Greek institution allowed to persist, took on the responsibility of preserving all that was Greek (including language).

behavior, family relations, as well as issues regarding customs and ritual. He is in a sense the thread of tradition tying the Greek-American community to Greece.¹

Inevitably, as the church is the encapsulator of Greek culture in the U.S., it is also vulnerable to Greek culture in Greece. "Two major intertwined issues, one political, the other religious, divided the Greeks in Greece, and similarly the Greek immigrants in America."² The political struggle between Prime Minister Venizelos and the Royalists over whether Greece should be a monarchy or a constitutional republic, was described by a headline in the Lowell Sun at the time: "The Greeks (Venizelists) argue with the Maniates"³ (Royalists).

The dispute resulted in a schism in the Greek community manifested in the construction of the Transfiguration Church (1923), where the Venizelists went to worship. Immediately following this split, a conflict over the use of the old calendar and the new, resulted in the construction of still two more churches, as followers of the old calendar left the Holy Trinity for the Metamorphosis and the Transfiguration for St. George.⁴ All four churches were located in Lowell's Acre until St. George burned down and was relocated to its present site in the highlands section of Lowell.⁵

¹ This is one of the main contributing factors explaining the conservatism which pervades most Greek-American communities...the priest promotes "Greece and Greek as it was forty years ago" and as the immigrants remember it.

² Karras, Nicholas. op. cit. pp.18.

³ Maniates: people from the village of Mani, Peloponissos (southern Greece).

⁴ This seeming passion for accuracy in belief and symbol which divides the Greek community is evidenced across Greek neighborhoods in the U.S., most of which have more than one church. A rare example of the physical expression of adherence to tradition is found in Roslindale, Mass. where disagreement over liturgical methods resulted in a Greek man demolishing one half of his house and rebuilding the destroyed portion as a church.

⁵ The choice of the new site is interesting because the congregation moved into an existing church building constructed by a group of First Universalists. The Universalists were Hellenophiles and thus built the rotunda of their church after that of St. George of Thessaloniki in Greece. When the Greeks moved in they simply built office space around it and squarred off its edges with the addition of a basilika.

The church's religious functions in the Greek-American community of today, are almost secondary to its social ones. It is the church which represents the community as a whole, both physically and socially. *"We were ten boys in my group of friends and each boy had ten fathers because they all looked after us...making sure we didn't bring shame on the family and on the Greek name and I think the Greek name was first...any Greek boy that got in trouble would bring feelings of shame to the entire community...it was because we had to be more careful than the rest...we were already different and thus considered inferior...I remember once when an eighteen year old Greek boy broke into a shop and his name was in the newspaper. His father stood next to him in church and made the boy beg for forgiveness in front of the entire church audience."* (r, L)

In a sense the physical presence of the church legitimizes the immigrant's presence in the foreign land as it is both physically and functionally a re-creation of their homeland's institution and traditions. It is interesting that even those members of Lowell's Greek community who do not formally belong to Holy Trinity identify with it more strongly than with the church they regularly attend. Because it is centrally located, it inevitably becomes a physical and social focal point.

"Thank God for the church, I belong to St. George, but I come to the Holy Trinity sometimes too. This way you can see everyone, including those who you no longer see everyday because their houses are far away and their work involves them." (r,L)

The church's central location being conducive to its function as a focal point and gathering place, is now only the result of the commercial establishments which are located in close proximity to it, as most of the residential neighborhood has been erased. In addition to its location and the strength of its physical presence, many Greeks feel proud because of its visual prominence on the townscape. Thus, the Holy Trinity carries more than religious meanings to Lowell's Greeks. It is the symbol of the first Greek immigrants to the city and thus of their own history in the community. Its relatively impressive physical form, with the gold dome visible from many parts of the city, evokes a sense of belonging. As in the Greek village, the church bell tower viewed from anywhere in the village, indicates the physical center, so does Holy Trinity's dome imply social center. Though the neighborhood does not exist in its original form, the Greek residents of Lowell know its history and identify that part of the city with themselves, with their past, as well as with their present. The honor the Holy Trinity received when designated as an historic landmark is



expressed by all with great pride, as their symbol has been acknowledged, legitimized, and valued by the dominant society.

The church is also the place, maybe one of the only such places, where only Greeks attend. Increasingly, restaurants, food shops, neighborhood streets, and even cultural celebrations are attended by outsiders, whether they be tourists or other ethnic groups moving into the neighborhood. This is not necessarily negative, as the presence of outsiders can induce feelings of worth; if outsiders show interest in those things Greek it is indicative of a step further from tolerance towards acceptance. However, even as the community develops and adjustments are made both for the newly arrived immigrant as well as for subsequent generations, there remains a need to attend a gathering that is solely Greek.

For the newly arrived immigrant it is a source of refuge, a place where he can close his eyes and imagine that he's never left. For the second and third generation, the church and its cultural and religious values seem to be inculcated and preserved as sometimes the only link to their ethnic heritage. Scourby, in his study of Greek-Americans found that they are "favorable to the Greek church and that their church ties are still strongly intertwined with their ethnic identity."¹ In Lowell, though the frequency of intermarriage has increased, 75% of Greek Americans who marry a non-Greek, marry in the Greek church, and 95% of them subsequently attend the Greek church with their non-Greek spouses.²

It is the church which also organizes the majority of social events for the community as a whole to participate in. All the Greek churches in the Greek-American communities have renovated basements of significant size with spatial flexibility to accommodate a variety of uses and activities. The church sponsors a wide range of events, from dances to festivals to food sales to arts and crafts fairs. These occasions are attended by all members of the community, though some events are geared to specific age groups such as the elderly or children.

¹ cited in Sgouros, Adam. op. cit. pp.12.

² from interview with John Tatsios, Lowell resident

Newly arrived immigrants attend church events with equal fervor as second and third generation Greeks.

As "...for the third Greek American generation...its cultural identification is Greek, and indeed with almost anything "Greek," (which) becomes apparent mostly with respect to social events during which they display their preference and even a passion for Greek folk dancing and Greek music. Their regular attendance at the Greek Orthodox church is another indication that the "ethnic revival" which is never foreign to one's ethnic religion, is manifest among the third generation Greek-American."¹

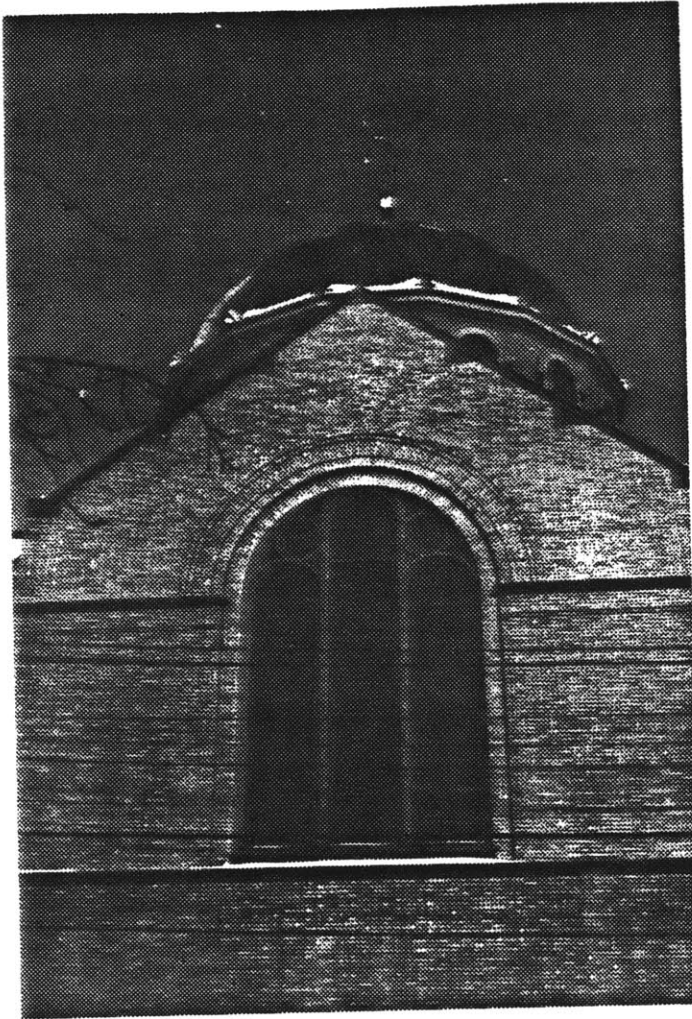
The interior spaces of the church must therefore accommodate both religious and social functions. Equally important are the adjacent outdoor spaces. Church parking lots are used for festivals, bazaars, and other special events, but weekly after service "lingering" occurs in the space directly adjacent to the church's main entrance. In both Tarpon Springs and Astoria, the church "courtyards" are a weekly gathering place of the community. The courtyards are relatively small spaces, adjacent to the churches, fenced off but with high visibility to and from the street.

The parishioners of Lowell's Holy Trinity do not have a church courtyard as financial difficulties forced the church to sell some of its property, and the construction of the public housing surrounding the church excludes the possibility of open space being adjacent to the church. Ecumenical Plaza constructed above the canal located directly across the street from Holy Trinity, was intended to serve this purpose.

The plaza was designed to link St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, located on the opposite side of the canal, with the Greek Orthodox Holy Trinity, thus symbolically "bridging the schism between the two parishes." However, the plaza is rarely used by Greeks after church service though it is located approximately thirty feet from the church entrance. *"The church helps to keep us together, it gives us a chance to see each other, but people no longer linger, except if the weather is good then we sit in that square you know the one over the canal, but that is for the Irish too...We don't have a place that's just ours."* (r, L)

Thus, it seems that in order for the church's outdoor space to function as is traditionally the case in Greece and in the other Greek communities in the U.S., it

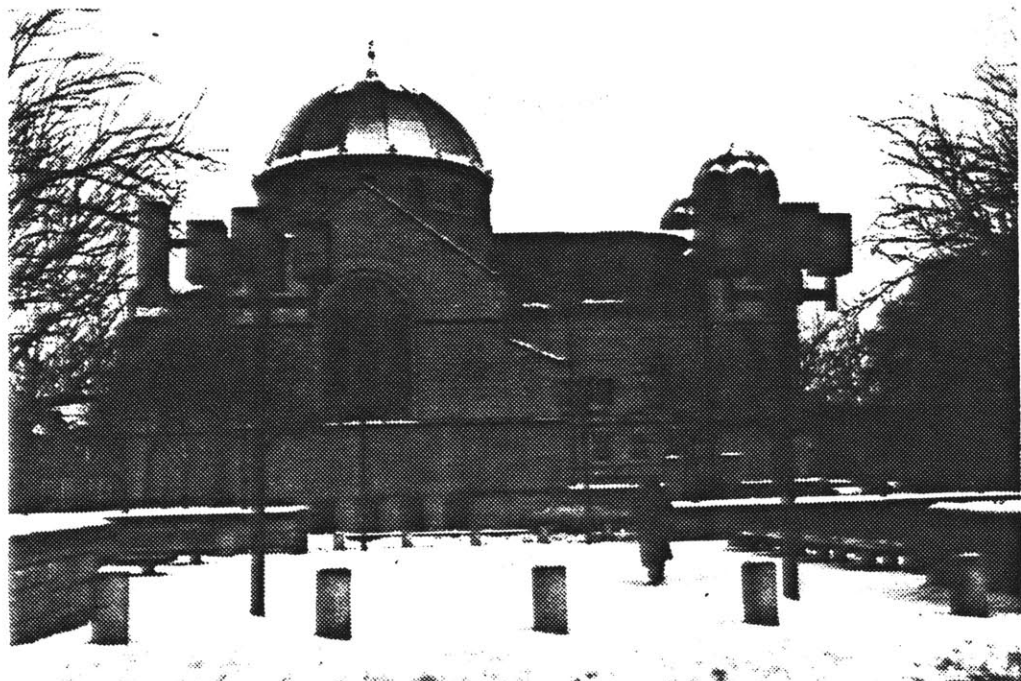
¹ Zotos, cited in Sgouros, Adam. op. cit. pp.5.



Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church
Lowell, MA



The first Byzantine style
church in the U.S.



must have certain characteristics. The courtyard functions as a continuation of the church as a place for Greeks and for Greeks only. Therefore the space needs to be directly physically adjacent to the church, well-defined, and relatively intimate. The space should also allow for a constant physical and visual flow of people and activities.

"Perhaps our children will lose the Greek tongue, but if they keep their Greek Orthodox religion, they will always have in them the companionship, the community of Greeks, of being Greek." (r, L)¹

Thus religion, or rather the symbols and places of religion are the focal points of the Greek community, both preserving a physical and social continuity with Greece and providing a center for the Greek-American community to interact and to identify with.

Religion is also personalized, that is its symbols are used as artifacts of individual expression. The most common personal symbols are religious icons which many times have been passed down through family members thus attaining additional meaning. Religious ritual is like superstition, it is not easily cast off, even if occasionally doubted. It is like the anecdote about the man who when asked if he believes in God replies: "No, but I go to church just in case." Thus for reasons of perceived personal protection as well as for a sense of continuity of family tradition, religious icons are a common artifact in the Greek house.

Most often icons are placed in the kitchen. The kitchen is the place where food, a basic need and the symbol of survival, is stored, prepared, and eaten. It is also the gathering place for family and close friends.

"An icon? All my life, always in my house, in the kitchen."

Religion is also commercialized, that is, the desire for the display of artifacts creates a market for "religious paraphernalia." In each community one encounters a number of small shops, usually called "Greek Gift Shop," which sell religious items both for individual and collective use. The shops are located on the main

¹ from Karras, Nicholas. op. cit. pp. 21.

commercial spine as they do not sell merchandise which is exclusively of a religious nature, and thus provide for more daily needs and desires.

Summary/Conclusions:

The church is the place where the desire to literally re-create Greece, both physically and socially, is most strongly demonstrated. Both its exterior and interior are accurate reproductions of their counterparts in Greece.

As the church's role extends far beyond fulfilling religious functions, its need for additional spaces both in its interior and exterior for social events is evident. Basement space or a large hall is necessary for indoor events and both a parking lot with adequate room for use during festivals as well as a church courtyard are very important spaces to the community.

The courtyard space is of particular significance and should be given special consideration. As it is used on a weekly basis for community gathering and intermingling. It seems that in order to best fulfill its role as an extension of the church's social function of bringing Greeks together, it must also be physically continuous with the church, that is adjacent to it. Its dimensions should be analogous to the number of parishioners, though it needs to be able to accommodate much greater numbers of people on special occasions. Its relationship to the street is important, and it should provide both visual and activity continuity with it. The sidewalk adjacent to the courtyard could be widened to provide a transition space for the second stage of lingering. (Most of the people spend a certain amount of time pausing on the sidewalk, delaying their goodbyes before they move on).

The significance the church remains constant throughout the enclave's development, as it fulfills the need for a social gathering place, both initially for the immigrants and later for their children. The fact that the church physically re-creates a Greek setting is important for the immigrant in that it serves to connect him to his homeland, and acts as a supportive structure, a familiar one, in the otherwise alien surroundings. For the later generations, the fact that the church articulates its Greek identity, is important to them for expressing their own sense of being separate from the dominant group and its symbols.



St. Nicholas with fountain, after that of Aghia Sophia in Constantinople and courtyard

LANGUAGE

Language is probably the largest single barrier to the newly arrived immigrant. It is also probably the strongest thread holding the enclave together. As language is both a way of expressing and of preserving a culture, the native tongue is used extensively in the enclave, and institutions are established with the purpose of propagating the culture to the children of immigrants.

Every Greek community has a Greek school and Greek lessons are also taught in church schools. The Greek school provides bi-cultural children with a better understanding of their backgrounds and thus facilitates their developing a a more complete sense of self. The location of the school within walking distance of the neighborhood is of importance to the parents as it facilitates their fulfilling parental roles as they have learned them.

Signage is another aspect of the enclave which is impacted by language. Initially all signage in the enclave is in the Greek. Gradually, as the enclave becomes increasingly bi-cultural, the signs become progressively bi-lingual. Eventually they may do away with the Greek language altogether, preserving only the Greek names, symbols, and decor.

In terms of mediums of communication, the newspaper is without doubt, the most popular in the Greek community. Newspapers and perriodicals are of different types, that is, language plays a different role in each type: Greek newspapers from Greece, newspapers in Greek about Greek news in both Greece and the U.S., and more recently, papers in English about Greek news. These play an important role in linking both the immigrant and subsequent generations to Greece, to Greeks in the U.S., as well as to their respective Greek community and neighborhood. Therefore newsstands are an important place, found in every Greek enclave, from very early on in its development.

School

*"If they cut off my child's roots, he will become a piece of dry, dead wood."
(r,L)*

Despite the fact that a majority of Greeks coming to the U.S. had little if any formal education, "Greek immigrants were knowledgeable about their illustrious past and the achievements of their people, possibly because of a long oral tradition in Greece."¹

The Greek language, as all tongues, is intimately related to the Greek culture. Jean Jacque Rousseau says of the Eskimoes that they have no less than twenty words for snow, thus they are able to see twenty variations in snow as a result of their having the means by which to describe them. Language is not simply a collection of words, but the embodiment of a culture. Thus, the perpetuation of the Greek language was and is a prime concern to immigrants and they demand that their children have the opportunity to learn it.² "The intensity of this universal feeling manifested itself every time a new Greek community was organized. After the establishing of a church, the Greek school received top priority. Every facet of the community, from voluntary associations to the Greek language press, was used to promote formal and informal schooling for language preservation."³

"Four hundred years of Turkish rule and we didn't lose our tongue and we will lose it in one generation in the U.S.? Never!" (nr, G)⁴

¹ Holli, M> and Jones, P. op. cit. pp. 152.

² Panagopoulos attributes the failure of the Greek community to survive at New Smyrna, Florida (1765) to the fact that neither a church, nor a school were established. All that survives of the colony are a few Greek names, even these, however, have been Anglicized. (cited in Sgouros, Adam op. cit. pp. 7).

³ Holli, M. and Jones, P. op. cit. p. 152.

⁴ The Greeks have had to struggle to preserve their language in their own land, and it is interesting to note the similarity in attempts at language preservation, that is, the role of the church. During the Ottoman occupation, teaching Greek was forbidden, but churches could remain open if the proper tribute was paid. As Greece had ceased to exist as a political entity, churches and monasteries were converted into educational and cultural centers for the people. Secret schools were

In all three communities, Lowell, Astoria, and Tarpon Springs, the Greek school was one of the first institutions to be established, second only to the church. Initially, classes were held in church basements. In Lowell, since 1918, the Hellenic School has been located on Worthen Street. Each year \$250,000 is gathered from personal donations and membership fees. At weddings and funerals instead of flowers, donations are made for the school (or the church). In Lowell there are presently three Greek schools, the Holy Trinity bi-lingual parochial school, and the St. George and Metamorphosis schools which provide Greek lessons three afternoons per week (in addition to Sunday school classes.)

" I felt very different ...conspicuous while growing up...in the beginning when you're not old enough to understand, when you feel more than you think, you feel badly ...no one wants to be an outsider because they make you feel inferior...until we went to Greek School, Thank God for that school...it taught us to be proud of our backgrounds and what we were. Only by learning could we realize our worth..." (r,L)

In Astoria there are two schools, both related to the church, both offering a full curriculum, because "keeping Astoria Greek means more than just supporting a few restaurants serving tarama and keftedakia."¹ The bi-lingual school at Tarpon Springs has made national news for its success at "making their students competent in two languages and two cultures without a hint that one is preferable to the other."²

The dual objective of these schools is to transmit the Greek language and cultural heritage to the children of Greek descent; religion has a secondary role (unlike the Roman Catholic parochial schools). The schools teach through the elementary grades and are closely patterned after the six-grade primary schools of Greece. Almost every child born of Greek parents attends some kind of Greek school, evidenced by the fact

organized in church cellars where Greek was taught. In fact, it is claimed that through the church alone, the Greek language was saved.

¹ Georgakas, Dan. "Astoria." op. cit. pp. 23.

² Georakas, Dan. "Tarpon Springs." op. cit.

that the vast majority of second-generation Greek-Americans and even some third generation are close to fluent in Greek.¹

In addition to the content learned at the Greek school, it is the method of pedagogy that is considered of importance by Greek parents. Teachers at the Greek schools are trained in Greece and serve to provide a sense of continuity with Greece in terms of the style of teaching and the relationship between students and teacher, parents and teacher, and community and teacher.

The Greek teacher considers it a personal affront if the student does not try to learn, and punishes, at times physically, those students who show disrespect. The teacher knows that the parents will support his judgement and enforce his rules. Parents will confront the teacher if they feel an accusation has been unjustly made of their child, "still pupils (know) that their parents (give) the greatest benefit of the doubt to the teacher, not to them."² Parents want to keep a close watch over their children's progress which necessitates frequent contact with the teacher, both on a formal and on an informal level.

Cultural differences in child rearing practices, mentality towards discipline and education are subtle, but significant. The concepts behind these roles and behavior patterns "are internalized at an early age, involve strong personal feelings, and influence concept of self."³ It is important for the Greek parent if he is to feel that he is a good parent, to follow the role models he is familiar with. Thus, as indicated in the following excerpt from an interaction between a Greek father and a teacher in a coffeehouse in Lowell, the location of the school within the enclave serves more than accessibility functions. The fact that the school, the coffeehouse, and the residence are all located in close proximity to each other facilitates contact and surveillance. Thus, as indicated in the interaction in the coffeehouse, the casual contact

¹ indicated by various studies i.e. Dimitrios Monos found in his study of Greek-Americans that in terms of linguistic and marital assimilation, the Greeks lag significantly behind other nationalities in the U.S. (cited in Sgouros, Adam. op cit. pp. 7.)

² Katras, Nicholas. op. cit. pp. 15.

³ Kowalski, Lidia. op. cit. pp. 15.

the dense organization of uses affords, provides the father with the reinforcement he seeks for his perception of a "good father," and a "good education."

"Mr. Kanavos, Greek parochial teacher: Vasili, your Christo, a smart boy, but yesterday he didn't do all of his homework, and I doubled it for tomorrow."

"Good, good Kyrie Teacher. They know more than us, they think, but they have loaves of bread to eat yet."

"I almost rapped his knuckles with the ruler but he kept quiet, in time. His friend was slow. By the ear, and he danced out of the classroom like a karageozi (puppet)."

"They're American born. As Jimmy Karelis calls them "milk-fed vodia (oxen)."

"They're young what do they know of hardship. of our pain, of what we lived at their age. Will they ever know?"

"When they become men Vasili, someday they'll be blessed with wisdom if we, the teachers and the parents, teach them correctly."

"Yes, who else is there?"

The school buildings in all three Greek case study communities are not housed in a structure which could be considered "Greek" in anyway. They are simple, buildings with a relatively small school yard for the children to play in. Their location within the community does not seem to display any discernable pattern with the exception of the school initially being held in the church cellar until enough money could be raised for the construction of a separate building.

However, the school actually being located in the enclave is important to the neighborhood's residents. Not only is it important for casual contact to occur between teacher and parent, but also parent and parent: *"The school is where everything is preserved, you should go to the school...Everyday all the mothers go to pick up their children, we go early even though there is a bus and that way we can meet and talk until the children come out... Then we walk all together until our roads make us part, some of us don't live in the neighborhood anymore." (r, L)*

Thus, in addition to being the center of the children's social life, the school yard is a place for mothers to meet and exchange their worries and pride about their children.

"We left Lowell and then came back because I wanted my children to go to

Greek school, and I wanted to be around mothers that understood my childrens problems." (r, L)

Language also holds the family together. Thus the family needing each other both psychologically and economically in order to cope and survive in the new land, is the prime promoter of the preservation of the Greek tongue. As the child more than often feels misunderstood by the dominant society, a better understanding of his background and an ability to communicate with kin, minimizes alienation at least in the household, between family members.

As the extended family is a common prototype of the Greek family, and the older people most often do not learn English, in order for the child to communicate with the elders of the family, from which he receives much of his informal education, he must learn Greek.

"I wish I could understand my grandchild better and she understand me. One time my small granddaughter spoke to me in English and I didn't understand what she said. Without thinking she said, "You're stupid Yiayia."

"Why honey? "

"You don't understand English."

"Later I asked her in Greek to bring me a glass of water."

"I don't understand you Yiayia, she said to me."

"You stupid Katerini, you don't understand Greek. You called me stupid because I don't understand English."

"I'm sorry Yiayia."

"You're stupid for Greek, I'm stupid for English I said to her and we both laughed ." (r, L)¹

Greek is the language spoken on the street, written on the newspapers, spelled out on the signs. Learning Greek then is, therefore, almost a matter of survival, not only in the family, but also in the enclave. *"It's a culturally schizophrenic upbringing*

¹ 1G pp.16.

being an immigrant's child...we didn't learn to speak English until we were four or five...most homes didn't allow English to be spoken in the house...and then there was the school of course...We visited Greek friends, shopped in Greek malls... Many children are born in Lowell who speak Greek as their first language." (r, L)

The public school system of the United States was first initiated in Lowell on an experimental basis. The large number of immigrants in the city necessitated the creation of an assimilation institution, that is a place where along with the English language, American values and cultural ideals were to be inculcated.

In 1983, years after the establishing of a public school system in Lowell, a young boy came home from school and said to his father, "Baba, George Washington was my grandfather, they told me so in school." His father, a Greek immigrant felt tears come to his eyes. He took his son to see a baby horse and asked him, "Who is the horse's father?" The son answered, "a big horse." "What is your father?, the Greek man asked. "Greek," answered the son. "What are you then my son?" The small boy thought for a moment and then gave the answer that pleased his father, "I am Greek," he replied.¹

The answer pleased the young boy's father, but did it please the young boy ? As discussed earlier, the burden of biculturalism is indeed a heavy one to carry. In order for the immigrant's child to feel more comfortable with himself, to have a stronger identity, and thus a more complete sense of self, so that he may cope with the conflicting images of self he receives, he must develop a consciousness regarding his background. He must learn about his personal and cultural past, thus acquiring a more complete picture of the base of his existence.

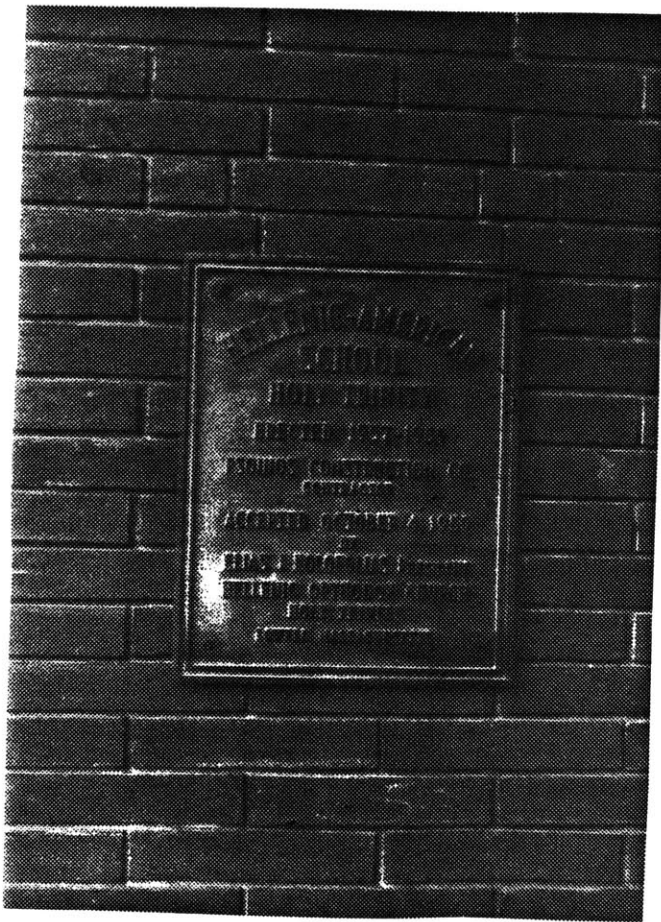
"In the American school Greek boys would be taunted, teased, many times beat-up...We had dark skin, dark hair, and were different in general...so many times we'd come home beaten up that our fathers sent us to the YMCA for body building...The YMCA gave us confidence in our bodies, the Greek school in our minds and souls."

¹ Told to me by a Lowell resident

LANGUAGE



Hellenic-American School



Signage

Signs are one of the most important markers in the enclave, defining its boundaries and communicating information to both residents and visitors. Initially signs are exclusively in the native tongue. As the community develops, however, and expands its market to include tourists and/or is inherited by the second and third generation, the signs betray this transition as they become bi-lingual.

In Astoria, the majority of signs convey information in both Greek and English, though there are some instances where Greek is used exclusively. This seems to be the case when identifying establishments which are most often frequented by immigrants and least likely to attract non-Greeks, such as social clubs of a particular province.

In Lowell, signs are almost exclusively written in English. In the enclaves earlier days, the signs were all in Greek, and the actual sign was very simple with little or no decor. Now, however, with the significant decrease in the influx of new immigrants and the majority of Greeks being of second generation, it is more common to transmit information using the English language. A change in language away from Greek, is accompanied by a greater tendency towards displaying more of a "Greekness" in their decor.

Though there is a great variety of sizes and shapes, most signs are placed horizontally and parallel to the building facade. Many use "Greek style lettering" and some are in the "Greek colors" of blue and white and/or use Greek motifs (i.e. meandros) as decorative trim.

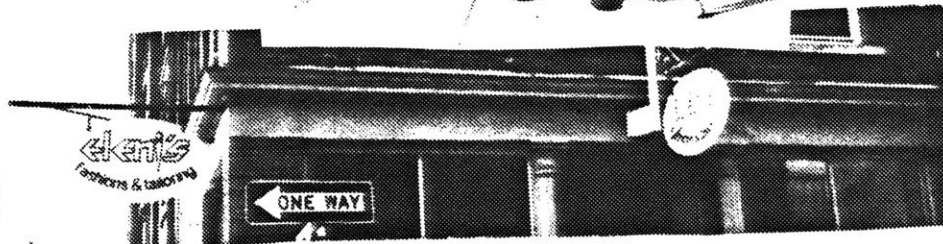
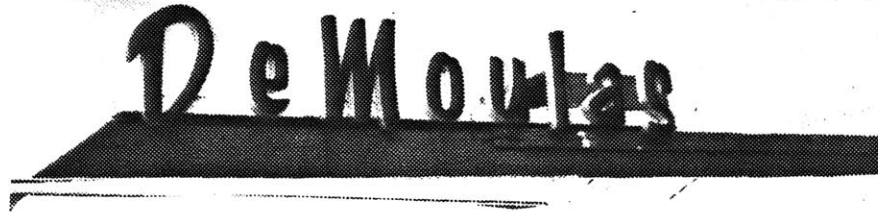
Nonetheless, there are some pieces of information which are communicated only in Greek. For example, posters announcing the arrival of a Greek personality from Greece, are almost always in Greek. Information which primarily concerns new immigrants is also usually written in Greek.

Informal signs and posters are found on doorways and windows of shops, at the school, and in the church. Sometimes the entranceways to food establishments and clubs act as "community bulletin boards."

Summary/Conclusions:

LANGUAGE

Signage



The existence of the bi-lingual school in the Greek neighborhood is of primary importance. The school promotes the preservation of both language and heritage providing the immigrant's children with a stronger ethnic identity and thus a more complete sense of self. Its location within the enclave is significant as parents expect to be able to survey their children's education by engaging in casual and formal contact with the teachers, by walking their children to and from school, and by sharing impressions regarding their children's progress with other parents. The school yard then is used both by children at play and by mothers supervizing the children and exchanging worries.

Signage in the enclave both provides the area with an identity as well as conveys important messages and information. Changes in the language of the signs are indicative of changes in the make-up of the neighborhoods population. The need to express the cultural nature of messages and information, however persists regardless of population changes and the language of communication.

Signage can be made more distinctive enhancing the area's identity and further defining its boundaries. In areas where sign codes place restrictions on signage, these should be relaxed for the ethnic neighborhood, as it is important means of both relaying and receiving messages. The need for a community bulletin board is also evident in all three case study communities as posters and public announcements are posted wherever a free window pane, doorway, or wall exists.

A newsstand is a very important element of the enclave. It provides residents and Greeks of the surrounding area with an information source regarding current events in Greece, as well as creating a sense of belonging to the larger Greek community of the U.S. by way of disseminating Greek-American news.

The lack of bookstores and other establishments or enterprises to do with the printed word in all three cases is a striking gap which should be filled. Initially, sections of a local branch library may be inhabited by Greek books, newspapers, magazines, and music providing a resource only for the highly motivated. If interest in this effort is deemed significant, but market forces do not catch on, a "bookmobile" with the option to borrow or buy can be circulated throughout a region's Greek neighborhoods.

A community center is another place where language can be preserved and displayed.

FOOD

Food, because it is a basic need, because dietary habits and preferences are difficult to change, because of the social meanings and personal associations it carries, and because of its neutralizing quality in bringing people together on common ground, has one of the most significant impacts on both the social and physical patterns of the Greek neighborhood.

Food establishments are one of the first ethnic "institutions" to emerge in the developing enclave, and one of the longest to persist in a neighborhood undergoing transition. Even when the Greek population living in the immediate area decreases, food establishments continue to survive, new ones even emerge. Economic revenues derived from selling "ethnic" sometimes result in an increase in Greek symbolism or in a diversification geared to attract a tourist market.

Initially, Greek food markets are organized after shop patterns in Greece and often spilling over onto adjacent sidewalks. Gradually, as the enclave absorbs outside influences, food markets begin to resemble their North American counterparts. Greek restaurants decorate their interiors and more than often, their exteriors, with "ethnic flavor" usually symbolizing , rather than re-creating a Greek atmosphere. Obviously the kitchen takes on significance concurrently as food is stored, prepared and served there. Thus food being the center of social activity results in the kitchen being the place for social interaction.

In countries where fertile land is rare, and repeated wars and natural disasters make food scarce during certain points in history, food, its preparation and its presentation to others, takes on social significance. In Greece, food is often made the center of social activity. Sharing it with others indirectly signifies sacrifice as well as hospitality and friendship, as unconsciously its present abundance is symbolic of its previous scarcity. It naturally follows that Greek immigrants, the majority having come from relatively poor backgrounds, both continue the Greek tradition of food as a means of communicating warmth, as well as celebrate their economic successes by eating with others.

In addition to being a continuation of dietary habits, the tastes and preferences for which develop over time, the desire for food one has grown accustomed to, is not

merely a functional requirement. Food, its taste, smell and appearance, carries memories associated with one's childhood and with special occasions. It is then a symbolic attempt to provide a sense of continuity, to remind one of the past, and to continue to mark the passing of time by eating special foods at specific events.

Cooking, the preparation and serving of food, is an important way for the traditional woman to display her worth as wife and mother. She has been taught in Greek foods and methods of preparation; the others have learned to judge her on these known foods. Thus she seeks to display her talents by cooking the food she feels best expresses her. Food is also used to communicate more directly, for example, certain sweets traditionally indicate hospitality, a meaning not carried by North American food.

Probably most important of all explanations regarding the immigrant group's attachment to their own food as a group, is the neutralizing quality food is characterized by. When Greeks from different regions, different backgrounds, of different generations mingle, few things are really left in common. Food, most people can relate to, and if it is Greek food, then all can bring their own memories and associations to it and have something to share.

Food Markets:

The significance of food is evident both in the evolution of the enclaves as well as in their present state. Following the establishment of church and school, the subsequent immigrant institution which emerges is the food market. Initially, these markets play an important economic role in the neighborhood, they provide credit to their customers who could not receive such trust elsewhere in their new environment.

Food establishments, in addition to being places where people meet while shopping or eating, are public places for a variety of other reasons as well. As food provides a relatively secure economic position, those in the business are among the better off in the beginning. In the mid-1920's most Greeks in Lowell did not have a car. During the summer, the large grocers would take truckloads of families to the beaches or on

FOOD



Sidewalk

picnics, free of charge. Each grocer would arrange with his customers to meet at a specific time outside the shop.¹

As the immigrant housewife's shopping habits include buying groceries almost on a daily basis, the market's location in the neighborhood is very important for her- she must be able to walk there, and daily. Food markets are thus almost always located in the neighborhood's commercial spine, usually centrally situated in relation to the residential sections. At the food market, women also meet their friends. The sidewalk outside the food shops is normally adorned with produce displayed in boxes, and women stopping for a chat while choosing the evening's meal.

Food shops are also places for gathering : *"The store being at the corner of Broadway and Marion Streets, was a convenient location since Broadway was a thoroughfare from downtown to the Acre. People passed by constantly and youths met their friends there."* (r,L)²

As abundance and choice of food implies status, Greek food markets are organized in a manner similar to that of Greece itself, that is, with as much food as possible on display. This desire ,on the part of the shopkeeper, of providing the choice to the customer and of creating the sense of a well stocked store (coupled with the fact that the shopowner can only afford a small store with limited space), often results in the merchandise spilling out into the street. Food is rarely stored in backrooms during shopping hours.

¹ *"Sunday mornings the streets were filled with families carrying their bags and baskets on their way to Dummer Street and Market Street to board the trucks. The trucks were open, except for the sides, and we sat on boxes while the children sat in the middle on the floor. Some of the roads were bad, there were many holes, and when the truck hit a deep hole, po, po, we hung on the sides with both hands. The children thought it was fun to get all entangled. I think they enjoyed the ride more than the outing...At night when we were returning, we joked, sang Greek songs, and got nostalgic, sometimes we even quarreled over some misunderstanding. The next day we went to work. some of us worked together in the Boot Mill and the next day we talked again about what we did the day before, what we ate, what we said, what the others said..."* (r, L from Karras, Nicholas. op. cit. pp.29).

² from Karras, Nicholas op. cit. pp.36

Thus, especially in Astoria and Tarpon Springs, food markets often claim a large portion of the sidewalk space directly outside the shop. In Lowell, many of the Greek food markets were demolished under the urban renewal policy. Those remaining are large enough now to accommodate all of their products in their interiors (also the threat of theft has increased with the increase in the diversity of the area's population). However, most of the older shops retain a traditional pattern of organization, resembling that of a food shop in a Greek village.

Initially, as the ethnic community develops, food markets specialize following the Greek pattern of separation by type of produce (i.e. bakery, fruit and vegetables). However, as the neighborhood becomes more established and begins absorbing outside forces, some food shops which resemble the U.S. prototype of the supermarket, begin to emerge. The extreme of this is the example of Demoulas Market in Lowell.

At the same location as the small market his father owned, on the very same spot, Mike Demoulas has built the Demoulas Market which has expanded to include thirty-five stores in its chain. Interestingly enough, though the store still includes Greek products in its aisles, it is now also catering to Asian and Latin tastes, as these populations increasingly inhabit public housing in the Acre. After courses at the International Institute, groups of 25-30 refugees are taken on food shopping tours arranged and conducted by Demoulas Markets. "Faces light up when they finally find the foods for which, to them, there are no substitutes."¹

Food markets serve both the residents of the local neighborhood, as well as those individuals of the same cultural background who do not live in the enclave. Food markets in Astoria serve the daily needs of Greek housewives living there, as well as the nostalgic desires of those Greeks living as far away as New Jersey and Connecticut. In Lowell, where many of the Greeks have been forced to relocate outside the immediate neighborhood, food stores continue to serve Greeks of the Greater Lowell area both because of the specialized products they sell, as well as because of the personalized service they offer. Lowell shops also serve a larger population. A young woman who grew up in Astoria recalls how every Easter when her family and friends travelled to New

¹ Lyons, Marguerite. "Area's new Ethnic Groups Bring Exotic Foods to Markets." The Lowell Sun. May 9, 1981. pp.47.

Hamshire for their celebration, they stopped at Lowell to buy Greek pastries for the event.

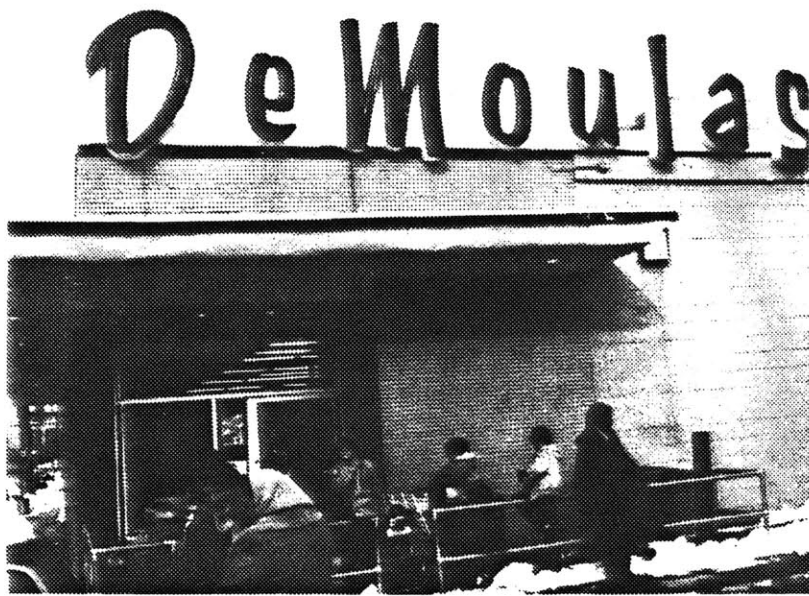
Sidewalks, in addition to functioning as additional store space, are also inhabited by occasional street vendors. This is no longer the case in Lowell as the street vendor is usually a recently arrived immigrant, and as a majority of the Acre has been inhabited by other ethnic groups, the vendor cannot be guaranteed a constant flow of Greek pedestrians desiring treats of their childhood. In both Astoria and Tarpon Springs, however, the street vendors share the sidewalks of the main commercial spine with fruits, vegetables and women conducting their daily shopping. Chairs are often placed near the entranceway.

Restaurants:

Restaurants are, of course, prime promoters of Greek food in the Greek neighborhood. Residents form personal relationships with restaurant owners and some, especially men, become "regulars." Some of these men are single or have left their family behind, not used to cooking for themselves, they frequently eat out and seek each other's company in certain eating places. Thus many restaurants serve as gathering centers and become public places in the ethnic community.

As a community grows, these both increase in number and specialize in clientele. As many of the poorer immigrants had rarely eaten in a restaurant in Greece, they wish these restaurants to be very "Greek" so that they can live out their dream, now that they are able to afford it. This nostalgia manifests itself in a variety of physical expressions.

The Neo-Hellenic Taverna (Ditmar St., Astoria), is exactly what its name implies, "neo-hellenic." It is an example of a physical setting which has been created in an attempt to express "Greek," but with much poetic license. The interior of the Taverna is completely covered in Greek paraphernalia, from the murals, to the plastic grapes, to the life-size Greek columns; the restaurant is a symbolic representation of what is Greek as there is no such prototype in Greece itself. At lunch time, it fills with Greek men who eat their meal after they have chosen it from the display case, Greek style, drink, sing to the jukebox which only plays Greek discs, while simultaneously watching the Greek program on the television set. The waitress takes care of each customer individually, asking them if they like their food. It is as



FOOD

Facades



though they wish to overload themselves with Greek stimuli in order to compensate or to combat the stimulus overload they encounter in the outside and alien world.

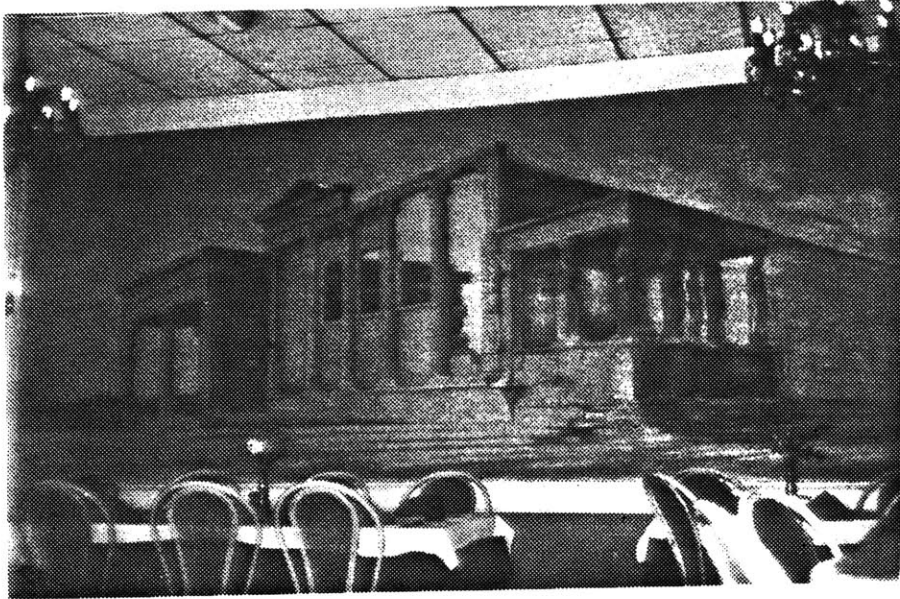
The Olympia Restaurant (Market St., Lowell), is an example of a stage further in the process; it represents a physical setting of biculturalism, where poetic license has been taken so far as to re-interpret Greek symbols for the sake of display.

The Olympia is blue and white, both on its exterior, as well as in its interior. The area around the bar where people gather during the day and chat with the owner, is framed by white columns and in a small niche in the wall, Greek dolls stand tall and proud. The dining room walls are decorated with images of Greek architecture and landscapes, while a huge mural of the kariatides of the Acropolis covers one wall. This composition of "Greek" is not a re-creation of Greece, but instead a re-definition, a selection of Greek symbols compiled; the blue and white colors of the flag form the backdrop for the stage set.

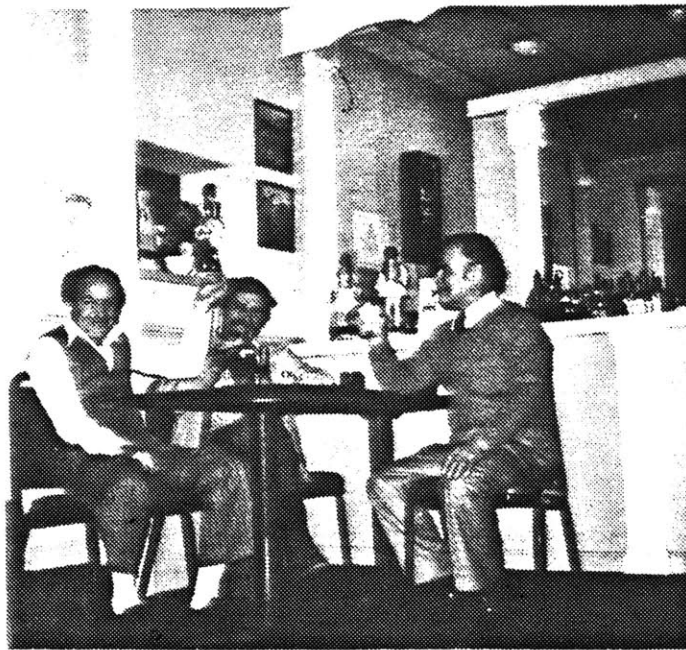
As evidence to its popularity as a setting, The Olympia functions as a daily gathering place for both men and women. Some individuals stop by every day, older people are dropped off there, while others walk, even now that the neighborhood has been somewhat dispersed. A seventy year old woman who was born and brought up in Lowell and walks every day to the Olympia (even though she was forced to move from her house on Market St.) explains: *"I come here everyday and sit for hours. How else can I pass the time? How else can I see my friends? We used to meet on the street and then sit on the stairs...now with the invasion of the Puerto Ricans you don't feel safe outside...I still meet people on the street, but then we come here and sit..." (r,L)*

Tatsios Restaurant on Dummer Street in Lowell is an example of an attempt to more accurately re-create a Greek setting. Outside in the back of the restaurant is a space created after a typical Greek taverna. A shelter has been constructed of bamboo with grape vines hanging from a pergola. Tables and chairs are flexibly grouped to accommodate different sized groups. This outdoor re-creation of a typically Greek environment is only used during summer months when the weather somewhat resembles Greece's warm summers. John Tatsios, who was born and brought up in Lowell, explains why he has created this space: *"When I was thirty years old I finally went to Greece for the first time in my life...I felt very peculiar...I said to myself: Everything I know is different, yet strangely very, very familiar...For the first time in my life I felt at home, I felt I belonged...since then I have*

FOOD



Interiors



been to Greece many times...I can't be satisfied with either place...its the curse of two cultures which will eat me...but I am sometimes more comfortable here, afterall I grew up here, but we must try best we can to preserve Greece in ourselves and to live like Greeks..."

These food establishments also function as community information centers of sorts. Events, such as music performers coming from Greece, Greek films to be shown in the local theater, and other news is often posted on the windows or on a "bulletin board" inside the entranceway of the shop. Of course, as food establishments serve as gathering places, they also act as a forum for the oral dissemination of information regarding upcoming events.

The establishment of a distinct business system, separate from the mainstream, acts to seal the community further and to increase its inward looking tendencies as it becomes increasingly self-sufficient. As business ties within the cultural group are developed and supported by a demand and supply relationship for "ethnic goods," the enclave is further isolated from the dominant society. These business relationships

"reinforce the insulated market system. As businesses are located within the ethnic community and cater specifically to ethnic clientele and needs, the market becomes dependent upon the cohesiveness of the ethnic community and in turn supports more heavily ethnic separation and strength."

1

Thus, merchants sponsor cultural events, such as the street festival in Astoria which takes place three times per year, sponsored entirely by the merchants of the neighborhood.

As the influx of new immigrants decreases, or as the neighborhood is discovered by outsiders, or both, some restaurants become increasingly tourist oriented. This can reach the point, as the Pappas Restaurant (a modern Greek "vernacular" building located at the Sponge Docks in Tarpon Springs) has, of gaining wide-spread acclaim outside the community, but since "it attracts all the tourists...none of the natives go there anymore." (r, TS).

¹ Kowalski, Lidia. *op. cit.* pp.15

Other restaurants diversify in order to survive: "I learned that you can't survive if your market is just Greek. That's why the old clubs like the Adonis, Dionysos...failed—they got too Greek. The advantage I had was that I left Greece when I was seventeen, I went to ...other places , where I learned how to sell Greek music and food to non-Greeks, looking for the universal nerve."¹ This restaurant owner has combined Greek music, food, and decor with that of Israeli, French, and Spanish, creating an entirely new atmosphere.

Summary / Conclusions:

The impact of food on both the social and physical patterns of the neighborhood persist from the initial establishment of the enclave onwards. The significance of food as a social, economic, and cultural force in the Greek neighborhood is paramount, influencing both private and public places.

In the private domain the kitchen takes on added importance as a place for social interaction between family members and close friends. In considering the design of dwelling units for a Greek population, the kitchen should be allotted more space, even if the provision of a living room must be forfeited as a result.

Thus, initially, food establishments facilitate the continuation of the immigrant's lifestyle by providing physical settings which are familiar to the immigrant as they are reminiscent of rural food markets in Greece. Street vendors also function as a link to past experience.

However, as the enclave undergoes demographic changes, food markets absorb some elements of the world outside the neighborhood and express this in their structure and organization; supermarkets even emerge. Some old habits persist as many of the older stores preserve traditional patterns and, for example, Greek housewives in Tarpon Springs continue the practice of purchasing food from a truck loaded with fresh produce.

As the enclave progresses towards the state of nostalgic refuge, restaurants emerge in new forms, some re-creating Greek settings, others re-defining them with a display of bi-cultural symbols.

¹ *Georgakas, Dan. Astoria, op. cit. pp.30*

PUBLIC LIFE

"Among a population for whom sitting on stoops, congregating on street corners, hanging out of windows, talking to shopkeepers, and strolling in the local area form a critical part of the *modus vivendi*, the concept of personal living space must certainly be expanded to include outdoor as well as indoor space...In other words if the prevalent lifestyle is such the street scene, hallways, and the apartments of others are the locus for a considerable part of the day's activities, measures and standards of residential density must be revised to include a realistic assessment of available living space as well as consideration of the preferred pattern and intensity of interpersonal contact."¹

A combination of "push factors" due to crowded residential conditions and "pull factors", including the interdependency among members of the enclave, the desire for casual contact for support, and habit, result in the extensive use of public places. The custom of socializing with members of one's own sex for at least a few hours of the day is continued, as women and men claim and inhabit different spaces defined by their roles and what is considered appropriate behavior. Thus there are places which belong to men, and others which belong to women.

In some cases the nature of the public life is a direct continuation of the immigrant's previous lifestyle, both in terms of the spaces in which it occurs as well as the activities which take place there. An example, is the coffeehouse where men gather, frequently on a daily basis, in a place which very much resembles its counterpart in Greece.

Usually, however, the use of public and semi-public spaces for the purpose of conducting a public life is an adaptation of behavioral patterns rather than physical ones. That is, spaces are inhabited in such a manner that they allow for the desired social functions to occur; most often the physical environment is not permanently transformed for this purpose...

"When place changes rapidly, as in the migratory move, people no longer "know how to behave." They must expend effort to test and choose a new form of behavior and to build group agreement. Thus when change is wanted, a new setting supports the discontinuity. For

¹ Hartman, Charles in Tricarico, D. op. cit. pp. 68.

social continuity it is useful to reenact behavior together in a setting of the past."¹

"In Greece we had a courtyard, a terrace, and our windows opened to those of the neighborhood on the street, and sometimes even to their house..most of the time we met each other on the street." (r, A)

All Greeks interviewed, whether living in Lowell, Astoria, Tarpon Springs, or not, mention the lack of balconies in houses in the U.S. as the most missed element. It is the contact with the outside world, but also the transitional space which it provides. In fact, in all three communities, when a family's economic condition improves one of the first alterations done to the house (if able, that is, if they become home-owners) is the addition of a balcony or porch area.

Interesting to note is the evolution of porches in Tarpon Springs: *"Whenever a family saves enough money to make improvements to their house, the first thing they do is add a porch to it... Now porches are starting to get screened in." (r, TS)* Thus it seems possible, that as time passes the immigrant or the second generation absorbs some of the dominant notions of privacy demonstrated in the added "screening" or distinction between outside and inside, and between public and private.

"If one is person oriented in this "peer group society," then it is important to ensure that those with whom the society is shared are also adhering strictly to this life style... For this, surveillance of everyone by everyone else is of primary importance."

2

Thus, in order for the physical environment to support such a life style, high densities must prevail so that many related families can live near each other. Street patterns must be such that people can easily see passers-by from their windows and call out to them. If the windows of one house are close to the windows of another then conversations between neighbors is supported. When the various stores patronized by the residents are specialized and scattered, "even the pursuit of routine daily errands

¹ Lynch, Kevin. op. cit. pp. 40.

² Tricarico, D. op. cit. pp. 49.

bring people within range of doors and windows of a wide number of potential contacts."¹

COMMUNITY

THE STREET

"Weather permitting residents must go to the streets to find a place befitting the ordinary nature of their "weekday" life. For their purposes the street is ideal. The setting is informal and open to many possibilities. Its activities can be entered or abandoned almost at will because they are relatively unscheduled or easily bed to meet number of participants. Close at hand are most of the people they are interested in and the content that makes up their conversation. And, along with these attractions, there is the advantage that peers of same sex can separate themselves as a group and take up their private concerns."²

The street then is the main meeting place of the community. Purposeless walks are a major past time. Both residents and visitors enjoy spontaneous unplanned encounters with each other on street corners, outside shops, on front stoops and entranceways. One finds chairs placed in front yards, street corners, on the sidewalks, outside stores and sometimes even on the street itself.

Residential streets are used primarily by the children for playing while mothers sit in those spaces adjacent to the house but connected to the street so that they may watch their children at play. The commercial spine acts in a sense as a linear village square, a promenade. Outside the food markets and next to the produce displayed on the sidewalk, women gather and chat. Occasionally, chairs are placed near the doorway for more extended interaction.

Men gather in their own social clubs but also on the sidewalk spaces outside these places as well as on the street corners. Sometimes chairs are placed on the sidewalk for lengthier interactions.

¹ Ibid. pp. 66. Also surveillance of one anothers' behavior is made possible.

² Suttles, G., *The Social Order of the Slum* University of Chicago Press, Chicago: 1968. pp. 76.

"Much of the time, we are re-enacting patterns of behavior associated with particular recognizable settings. A setting may encourage a behavior by its form.. but also by the expectations associated with it."¹ Thus the street, being a readily recognizable physical setting inspires the familiar patterns of behavior previously associated with it in the immigrant's village in Greece. Though the actual form may differ and its dimensions may in some way deter an exact replication of use, nonetheless it is a setting which is easily transformable by use.

In Tarpon Springs, the commercial spine has been physically replicated as well. A majority of the original immigrants came from islands, they reproduced a Greek island seaside promenade. Thus, though the general pattern is such that the commercial spine is located approximately at the center of the neighborhood, in Tarpon Springs it acts as an edge creating a boundary reinforcing that of the water's edge. "Once you cross the bridge you are no longer in the Greek neighborhood." (r, TS)

"It only goes for about three or four blocks...the buildings are all painted white...they are old buildings, the same ones that were there before, just that they are painted white now...the stores put lots of stuff on the street...Oh, and no cars are allowed there are very few parking spaces..you have to park behind Dodecanisos and walk...just like the promenade in a typical Greek island."

Both during the day and at night residents and tourists stood along the promenade, stopping to sit on the seawall and look at the red and white and blue and white sponge boats anchored in the harbor St. Nicholas, St. George, Katerina... One of these boats has a glass bottom and serves as a major tourist attraction as a sponge diver dives in, his talent being not to dive for sponges, but to hook the sponge he has thrown in "when the tourists aren't looking."

On Dodecanisos Boulevard is also the old Sponge Exchange, originally the site where sponge auctions were held. Until last year it was the main entertainment and celebration space for the community. Pappas, a wealthy businessman of Tarpon has converted the open court building into a mini-atrium gift and specialty shop tourist center. Residents fought this development with much passion, but eventually lost to strength of the Pappas dollar.

¹ Lynch, Kevin. op. cit. pp. 40.

Astoria's commercial space is the perpendicular intersection of Ditmar and 31st Street: and intense concentrated center comprised of Greek food and clothing stores, coffee and pastry shops, Greek movie theatres and newstands. The few benches along this stretch are almost always occupied regardless of the weather.

The "volta", aimless walking on crowded streets stopping to greet and chat with friends and acquaintances, is a common past time of the Greek, both in his village in Greece as well as his village in the U.S.

"In the U.S., most neighborhoods are luxurious jails. Everyone is closed in, spend all their time and money in their houses...people don't spend any time outside or in public places, but only in stores and inside their houses..." (nr, G)

The desire for casual contact on the street setting is also a continuation of village lifestyles. It is also an expression of the need to create a needed, and familiar type of support system and informal news network. The street also serves as a stage for the surveillance of each other's behavior enabling a kind of check system whereby inappropriate behavior is apprehended.

The street is also a seam, connecting the various elements of the community together. When Greeks lived exclusively in Lowell's Acre, all outdoor spaces belonged to them. Since the "outdoor rooms" were considered extensions of the interior spaces thus relatives and close friends would pass from the outdoor rooms to the individual indoor spaces with relative ease, that is, without requiring an invitation.

"People didn't lock their doors during the day. What if a neighbor visited? Wouldn't it be embarrassing to have to unlock the door to let the person in. You weren't afraid of your neighbors. Now, instead of neighbors there are just people who live near you." (r, L)

The custom of inviting "guests" to visit one's house gradually emerges as an "issue". Most Greeks express dislike at the idea, but admit that it is difficult to continue life on U.S. time while simultaneously attempting to preserve a casual socializing schedule. When the Acre was all Greek not only did friends and relatives visit each other spontaneously, but also on special occasions the entire neighborhood felt free to enter into each other's houses to pass from outdoor rooms into indoor ones without regard to formal invitation, thus, their concept of home embraced the neighborhood territory.

As the community matures, there is a decreased need for casual contact on a daily basis, but simultaneously an increased tendency for gathering in more public places, both indoor and outdoor.

OPEN SPACES

Generally speaking, immigrant neighborhoods are characterized by very limited recreational spaces, especially of adequate size, desired character, and facilities for diverse recreation. It seems that there is also a desire on the part of the enclave, that the outdoor space belong to them in one way or another, so that they can be assured of meeting one another without the potential threat of strangers, and so that their children can play with other Greek children, and be supervised by other Greek parents.

In Tarpon Springs there is a small park, though somewhat removed from the central area of the neighborhood and thus shared with adjacent neighborhoods. It is not well maintained and provided little opportunity for choice of activities, it is basically a playground. The park is little used by Greek residents of Tarpon because they do not feel it belongs to them.

The story of Lowell's North Common demonstrates the role of perception of territoriality with regard to recreation space. A relatively large green space located within the Acre, the North Common prior to, and for some time following the construction of the public housing project, in terms of perceived turf, belonged to the Greeks. In reality it was the meeting ground where the Irish and French Canadians had to be confronted, but it was used primarily by the Greeks. Greek children played there, young Greek boys played soccer and Greek little girls played chase. It was socializing the setting for the entire Greek community; it was adjacent to their neighborhood, it was used by them, thus they protected it as if it belonged to them.¹

¹ In 1915, when a gang of Irish boys attempted to prevent a Greek mother and her child from drinking from a water fountain in the Common the almost legendary riot of the "Battle of the knives" ensued as Greek men gathered from the surrounding houses to protect "their" territory.

Following the construction of the North Common Public Housing project and the subsequent influx of a mix of new populations, Greek use of the park decreased, though the Common continued to be the main recreational space of the Greek neighborhood. Gradually, as the area's outdoor spaces became increasingly inhabited by Puerto Ricans and later Cambodians and Vietnamese, the North Common has once again become a meeting round for the various groups in the Acre. However, Greeks no longer use the park frequent for daily socializing and recreation.

"I want my children to play with other Greek children and to be watched by other Greek parents...now in the Common you can find all the races of Israel."

Nevertheless, there persists a stubborn attempt at preserving claim of the park evidenced by efforts at marking and defining portions of the park as Greek. There are three main examples of this attempt. The first was made possible by federal money made available to the Acre by the Model Cities Program. The Greek majority on the urban design committee chose to construct an amphitheatre at a location close to the Transfiguration Greek Orthodox Church, located on the edge of the park. The Committee "picked a classicist architect and asked her to somewhat emulate an Ancient Greek ampitheatre." Since federal money excludes the possibility of creating something for the exclusive use of Greeks, "at least we could make it look Greek."¹

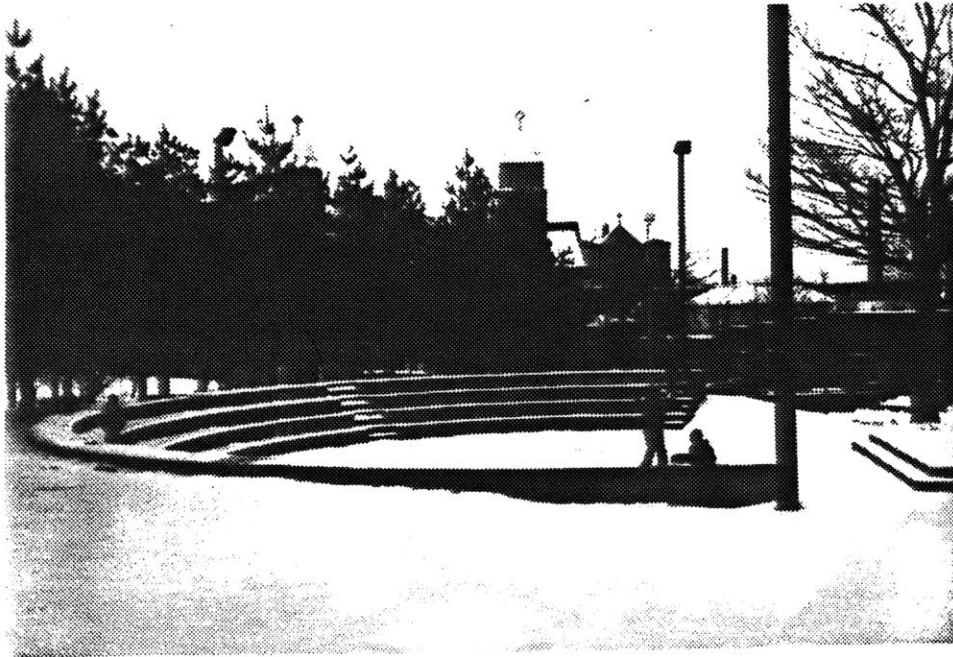
Concerts, dances, and small festivals are held in the amphitheatre by various ethnic groups of the area, but some Greek residents complain, "that space used to belong to us." The chairman of the committee defends the project as: "You have to present a program that is yours, but that others can agree with if you want to get anything out of it..."

The portions of the park across from the Transfiguration Church initially was designated for parking "for the french Candians. We were able to get the money and landscape a 120 ft. area on the edge of the church that is maintained by the city. Thus, though it is not Greek, it is for and enjoyed by Greeks since it is outside our church."² The third example of Greek attempts to assert their claim over the park, is

¹ John Tatsios, Chairman of Urban Design residents Committee

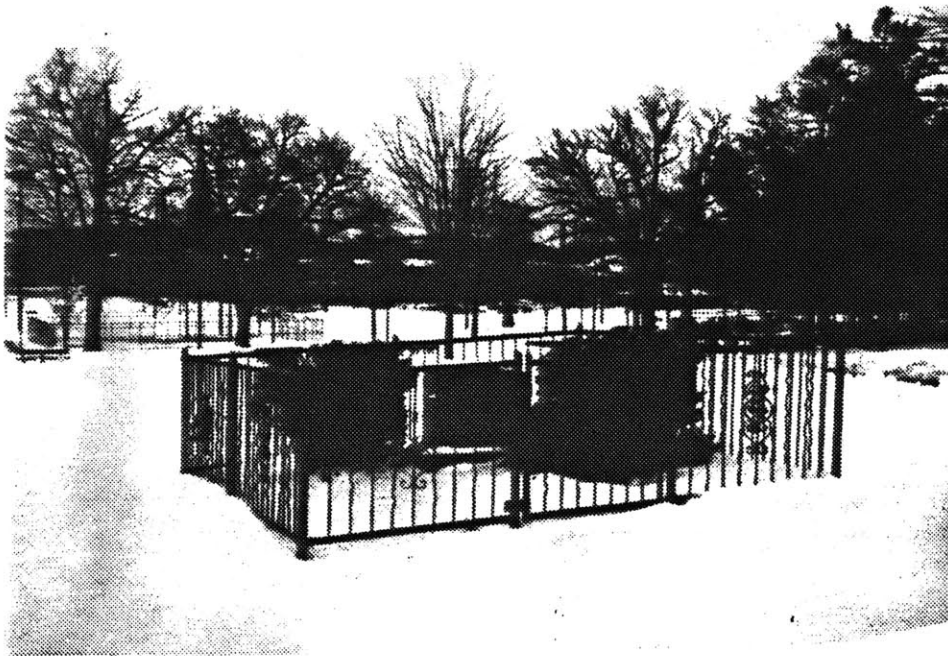
² Tatsios. op. cit.

PUBLIC LIFE



The amphitheater in the North Common, another attempt at expressing Greek claim to the space.

Open Space



The North Common with memorial to Greek war heroes, marking Greek claims.

the memorial to a Greek youth killed in Vietnam. Though other memorials in the city are free-standing, this one curiously enclosed by a low fence on all four sides, as if to define it further as Greek space. Thus, Greek claim to the Common is no longer because of use, but attempts at symbolically marking and defining spaces in the park represent the Greek's struggle to preserve their sense of belonging to a neighborhood, which in reality they must share with others.¹

THE WOMAN'S WORLD

The house and its adjacent outdoor spaces are the woman's domain. She decorates the interior, spends the most time in it, and is where she receives her family and visitors. Curtains of lace, knit bedspreads, and croquet doilies on the furniture indicate that it has been decorated by and for her. "The well-kept household is less a place for carrying out day-to-day life, than a "show place" to demonstrate the housewives' diligence and domestic skill."²

Though it has been stated that the immigrant has limited choice for self-expression in his private spaces, many interiors of Greek homes are highly decorated with Greek symbols.³ Usually, the women of the house decorate with whatever family heirlooms and souvenirs they were able to bring with them from Greece.

"From one object in a room to another, housewifely care weaves the ties that unite a very ancient past to the new epoch. The housewife awakens furniture that was asleep...In the intimate harmony of walls and furniture, it may be said that we become conscious of a house that is built by women, since men only know how to build a house from the

¹ They are practical, however, and aware of the political realities regarding inter-ethnic competition. *"You can't over do it, even with Paul Tsongas on our side...competition between minorities is a sensitive thing..."one must fight for things Anglo-Saxon style with kid gloves... The Greeks can't reelect Tsongas alone and without him who knows what would happen to Lowell, the Greeks in the U.S. and to Greece itself."*

² Gabaccia, Donna. *From Sicily to Elizabeth Street*. State University Of New York Press, Albany: 1984. pp.76.

³ An unusual example of ethnic expression in private spaces is found in Lynn, Massachusetts: a Greek family has painted a floor to ceiling mural of their entire village in Greece, on two adjacent walls of their living room.

1 outside, and they know little or nothing of the 'wax civilization' ."

In addition to the house's interior, spaces adjacent to the house are also a significant part of the woman's world. Unlike in the Greek village, women in the U.S. cannot easily combine wage-earning or household work with continuous supervision of children's play. In an attempt to fulfill both household and motherly duties, Greek women continue their custom of inhabiting outdoor spaces connected to the house just as they did in the village in Greece. In addition to fulfilling the same purposes as it did in Greece, this habit also acts as an opportunity for the immigrant woman to share her thoughts and feelings with the only people who will fully understand them, other Greek immigrant women.

"Men and older boys work long hours, but nevertheless usually return each evening , first to their families for an evening meal, and then, if they wish, to the street for casual recreation."² Just as in the Greek village the house is where the family is gathered at the end of the day, where family members support and protect each other. As the immigrant's economic conditions preclude the possibility of having an informal and a formal sitting area, the kitchen most often functions as the gathering place for relatives and close friends. If there exists an "extra" room, this is usually reserved for special occasions, as the formal sitting area. (often furniture is covered with plastic or sheets to protect it from dust and to save it for use by "formal guests").

The importance of the kitchen is a function of its use as gathering place, of the social significance given to food in general, and the prominent role food plays in expressing a woman's skill as cook and hostess. If the house is the woman's place, the kitchen is her home. She stores food, prepares it, and serves it here; it is in this space where her family and guests will judge her worth as housewife. To indicate the status designated to the kitchen a Lowell resident recalls: *"My father liked to work on the house. In fact he'd paint the kitchen twice a year , regardless."*

As the interior of the house is primarily the woman's place so do the spaces exterior to the house, but adjacent to it, belong to her. Since men and women traditionally

¹ Bachelard, Gaston. op.cit. pp.68.

² Tricaro, Donald. op. cit. pp.59.

segregate their socializing activities at least for a certain amount of time daily, the men usually at the coffeehouse, the woman in the more traditional families cannot wander far from the house. She must stay near the house in order that others see her fulfilling her role as wife and mother, and simultaneously her duties of supervising the children and conducting household chores necessitate that she be as near to the house as possible.

"We used to scrub the stairs with lye. When we lived on the second floor we'd scrub down to the first floor; people on the third floor scrubbed down to the second. We even swept and sometimes washed the sidewalk in front of our homes. During the spring and summer, we used disinfectant (creoline) on the outside stairs and even on the sidewalk."(r, L)¹

In Lowell, during the summer months, after supper the women sat outside on chairs or on the front steps. One by one they'd come out of their houses and call to one another to join them. *"I had good neighbors on Marion St. I used to gather them on my front stairs...I'd call them, 'Come out and sit!' We talked: How was your day? How are your children? Your husband? What do you hear from Greece? Where is there work? We wondered whether our boys would marry Greek-American girls. We told stories, joked and laughed. We'd go inside about 8 or 9 o'clock. The next day, the same."* (r,L)²

In Astoria many of the women shop for food together and then cook together. In this way they save money as well as find solace in each other's company. In Astoria, the stairs do not come to the street, as each house is set back from the sidewalk with a small space for a front yard. In order to have a full view of the outdoor activities in which they cannot completely participate, the women meet in spaces which most directly communicate with the street: in Lowell, the steps; in Astoria, the front yard.

Supervizing the children, exerting discipline and expressing affection towards them is one of the most important roles of the Greek mother. *"We played ball in the street... There used to be a gas street lamp in front of where Mrs. Manos*

¹ from Karras, Nicholas. op. cit. pp. 33.

² Ibid. pp.30.

lived... On summer nights we'd play jackstones beneath the lamppost while the mothers sat on the stairs talking." (r, L)¹

The younger children and the girls stay in close proximity to their mothers. The older boys however, often meet with their friends on street corners. *"Demosthenes!" I might be on Lagrange St. and she'd be calling from Marion ST. but I knew she was calling me. Every mother would call her son if he were out. You could hear them, everywhere from the different streets." (r, L)*

Because of the relatively small dwelling units, but probably due more to the fact that a tightly interwoven community inevitably adopts gossip as its major pasttime, the family's affairs are kept inside the house. As the Greek woman inhabits the interior which is viewed only by a select few except for special occasions, it is her responsibility to display her worth as housekeeper (nikokira) on the houses exterior for the rest of the community to judge. *"Everyone took care of their houses. The windows shone. Curtains were clean, attractive but not expensive. Just by looking at the windows a person could tell how good a nikokira the woman of the house was." (r, L)*

Limited resources and poorly fertilized soil in Greece necessitated that each family unit be self-sufficient to the extent that it was possible, that is grow their own food whenever they could. Though it is not an economic necessity, Greek women in Lowell, Astoria, and Tarpon Springs cultivate small vegetable patches where there is space.² As vegetation, especially domesticated plants, grow with difficulty in the rocky and arid regions which characterize most of Greece, the growing of plants (especially potted), is a common effort on the part of most housewives.

"The garden represents the control of man over nature...perhaps in response to the harsh realities of the world outside that space."³

Is the Greek immigrant womans' efforts at planting, possibly an unconscious symbolic attempt at establishing roots? Is it a reaction to "the harsh realities of the world outside"? Or is she simply continuing a practice which she learned at home? Probably

¹ from Ibid. pp.24

² (usually in the backyard...in Tarpon Springs some even keep chickens in the back).

³ Carver,Norman. Iberian Villages. Documan Press. EPI, Inc.: 1981. pp.33.



PUBLIC LIFE

WOMEN



a combination each of the above. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that often potted plants are of the same type as those found in Greece. This is especially true in Tarpon Springs where similarities in the climate are conducive to the cultivation of warm weather plants. However both in Lowell and in Astoria, potted vasiliko and geraniums, two very common Greek house plants, are seen in abundance. The grapevine pergola is also a common Mediterranean yard "fixture" providing shade and decor to the spaces outside the house. In Astoria, both the Greeks and the Italians have used it extensively in their yards. In Tarpon Springs it is also a very common sight. In fact, both Greek and non-Greek residents of these communities claim that the plants and gardens outside the houses are one of the main features distinguishing a Greek house from a non-Greek one.

Additional evidence demonstrating the Greek woman's attachment to the house can be abstracted from Mistras' study¹ of second generation Greek-Americans. Among other things, the study concludes that second generation Greek-American males are more assimilated than second generation Greek-American females partly due to the fact that males are more exposed to the American world through their work and other activities. The women then, in the traditional family, remains close to the house and its adjacent outdoor spaces.

Summary/Conclusions:

Family roles are not easily transformed, thus even at later stages of an enclave's development, when some values of the dominant society have infiltrated the neighborhoods boundaries, the traditional family structure remains intact, especially with regard to the woman's role expectations, in fact, *"the more pressure there is, the more we tend to cling to old ways for protection..."* (r,L).

As the Greek woman must fulfill her role as housewife and mother, that is perform her household duties and supervize children's play, while simultaneously protecting her reputation within the community as a dedicated wife and mother, the house and the spaces adjacent to it are the center of her world.

Especially important are any outdoor transitional spaces connecting the house to the street, whether this be the front steps, a small yard large enough for chairs to be placed in it. From here, women can sit outside performing some of their household duties, while supervizing their children's play and passively participating in the street's activities.

¹ cited in Sgouros, Adam. op. cit. pp.11.

A space for a flower garden and/or vegetables is desirable, the flowers for the front, vegetables in the back. A desire to define these gardens is discernable. It is said that in Roslindale, MA one can tell a Greek house from a non-Greek one from the fenced in garden outside the Greek houses. In Astoria all the Greek gardens are fenced in , often with ornamental gates sometimes displaying Greek symbols, such as the meandros or painted blue and white, the colors of the Greek flag.

The Greek woman's world also extends to the school where she walks her children and waits with the other mothers to pick them up in the afternoon. The church and its various woman's associations is a place she frequents more often than does the man. The street and especially the sidewalk space outside the grocer's store, is where she meets other women doing their daily shopping.

THE MAN'S WORLD

In Greece, the kafenio (coffeehouse), is the traditional male social institution. In the United States, as external stresses exaggerate the need for contact and support, the kafenio is reproduced both in its physical and social forms. Initially, when regional attachments are incontestable, coffeehouses are organized by province or village of origin. As regional differences gradually dissolve in the face of comparisons to the dominant culture, the number of coffeehouses decreases and their proximity to the residents of immigrants from a particular village (as residents are initially regionally organized as well) is no longer of importance. As the neighborhood is penetrated by other ethnic groups, the coffeehouses become increasingly introverted indicated by a decrease in their use of adjacent outdoor spaces.

"Like the hub of a wheel, the coffeehouse brought together in a central place, for consideration and discussion, the community activities that revolved around it daily. Most importantly, the Greek immigrant man met his friends and spent an hour or two in good company."

1

If the coffeehouse in Greece provided an important setting for male interaction, socializing, and support; in the U.S. its functions are of paramount importance. Men sit for hours sipping "real" coffee from a demi-tasse. The coffee, its taste and smell is full of memories and meaning. Entertainment such as playing backgammon, cards, and simply being able to converse and joke in one's mother tongue is nowhere else to be found. The coffeehouse "filled the early Greek immigrant men's need for companionship, understanding, and commonality with fellow Greeks. It functioned as a clearing house for community news, church and school activities and personalities, city

¹ Karras, Nicholas. op. cit. pp. 10.

politics, message and information center about other Greeks both here in America and in Greece."¹

According to a study conducted at the LaGuardia Community College of the Greeks of Astoria,² the new lifestyle poses the greatest threat to males. Men, because of the language barrier more than often find themselves declassified, that is engaged in employment which is below their level of training or education. Many times initially, they must work at menial jobs void of personal satisfaction. They are forced to see their wives work in order for the family to survive. They must allow their children to be left alone or with friends, relatives or even strangers for long periods of time. Their traditional role as taught to them, part of what makes a man a real man being able to feed and care for his family, is destroyed.

Traditional expressions of machoism, as the Greek male knows them are not understood by the dominant culture and at times even ridiculed. The behavior he received reinforcement for while growing up, is condemned in his adult life. Sometimes even his family stops understanding :

"After completing a work day of twelve hours and more, the tired and irritable males arrive home to find a less than smoothly running household with children and wife brimming with new definitions of personal freedom and independence. Incessant demands for the material goods America is famed for, make the tensions even greater."

3

In the village, a Greek man might boast of keeping control of his domestic domain with a "heavy hand," but in this new world he does not receive any social sanctions for such behavior, in fact it is condemned. The male immigrant often feels frustrated, lonely, and depressed; his alienation is intensified by separation from the familiar support system of relatives and friends left behind in Greece. In the kafenio then, among other things, the Greek men "find moral support for the traditional male priveledges they are losing."

¹ Ibid. pp. 10.

² Georgakas, Dan. "Astoria" op. cit. pp. 23.

³ Greek Accent. pp.23.

"The coffeehouse is without doubt the most potent of all influences in keeping the Greek content with his lot in this country...throughout the early hours of the evening he may at least enjoy the cheerful and smoke laden atmosphere of the kaffeion where one listens either to the national music or to the clatter of one's own amateur arguments regarding the destiny of nations."

² At the kafenio, men gain a sense of control over their lives as they gather the necessary bits of information which aid in their survival in the community, psychologically, even economically as they sometimes secure jobs through contacts made at the kafenio.

Presently only three of the thirty-eight coffeehouses remain in the Acre,³ the Acropole, the Salonica Club, and the Demosthenes Club. *"When we gathered to go to the coffeehouses, we filled Dummer St. and Market St. Neh, neh, each one to his patriot's coffeehouses. The Maniati were past the bridge, the Spartans and other southern Greeks from the bridge to Jefferson St., from then on and on Dummer St., the northern Greeks, the Macedonians and Thessali."* (r, L)

In general, the section of Market St. beyond Suffolk St. belonged to the Maniates, while the remaining sections of Market St. was shared by the Macedonians, Epirotes, Kalambakans, Arcadians, and Messinians. Though the great majority of the coffeehouses no longer exist, the three surviving are very active. The coffeehouses of today do not cater to people of a specific region or village of Greece as they used to, but instead are specialized by the activities they sponsor, that is they serve all Greek men who attend the coffeehouse, each in a different way. The Acropole organizes soccer games and The Salonica, though preserving a trace of its previous customers in its name, is known to patrons for its political discussions for which they go when the mood strikes.

Since regional affiliations are no longer of great importance, neither is the location of the coffeehouses in relation to the houses important. That is, as tenement houses were

¹ Greek Accent, pp.23.

² Coburn cited in Sgouros, Adam. pp.79.

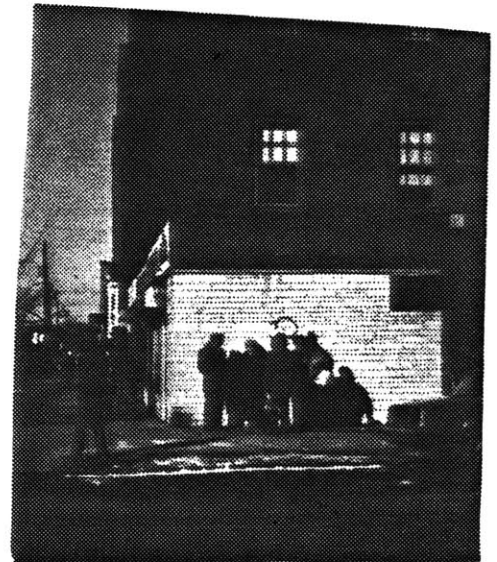
³ Many were demolished by urban renewal, still others died when their patrons died. Those remaining serve post-world war II immigrants as well as American born Greek men of various ages.



PUBLIC LIFE



.MEN



often organized by village or province, coffeehouses catering to a clientele of a specific locale located close by. Only half a block separates the Acropole from the Salonica, both of which are located on the edge of the portion of the residential area which was not demolished by urban renewal, in which many Greeks still live.

"...at one time there were thirty-eight coffeehouses on Market St., on Dummer St., and near there. There wasn't a person you didn't know walking down Market St. In the good weather, the men would have their chairs in the street, in the gutter, and their legs on the curbstone. There were also chairs in front of the coffeehouses where the men sat. Sometimes one or two of the men would have a bouzouki, a mandolin, and they'd play. Someone would always sing, others would join in. A man might jump up and dance because the music moved him, and the others would encourage him. "Opa,opa, Yianni."

The three remaining coffeehouses are housed on the ground floor of small, older buildings and are comprised of one room establishments. Tables and chairs cover the floor, Greek images and symbols, the walls. However, the men do not bring chairs outside anymore as they are confronted by persons of various ethnic groups on the street, whom they fear may not understand them. Thus they have become increasingly inward-looking and there is much concern about keeping the doors closed (this is also a result of the card-playing taking place inside). Men can still be seen standing on the street corner in the hope of meeting up with old friends. The entranceways of the coffeehouses are also popular "hang-out" spots, the door, however, is always kept shut.

Summary/Conclusions:

For the Greek man, the existence of the coffeehouse, the male social club, is of utmost importance to his well-being. Initially the coffeehouses were organized by province or village of origin. This served to fulfill the man's need to have contact with that which was most familiar, those whose memories most resembled his own. Gradually, however, regional affiliations dissolved as overall "Greek" is taken on as an identity.

The coffeehouses need to be centrally located, but relatively removed from the residential environment as the time spent in the coffeehouse is the man's time away

from his family, thus he does not want the possibility of surveillance by wife and children to inhibit his behavior.¹

The Greek coffeehouse is characterized by a high level of privacy and a relatively public face, at the same time. That is, its general appearance needs to be low-key as only those who are informally "members", are desired to enter, and its somewhat ambiguous activities require a low degree of visibility into the establishment. Simultaneously the coffeehouse's outdoor spaces, including the stoop, entranceway and sidewalk areas, should afford possibilities for "hanging out" and surveillance of street activities. Spaces exterior, but adjacent to the shop could be treated with increased weather protection, a defined area for the placement of tables and chairs, and possibly widening of the sidewalk. Further defining these spaces may facilitate in providing their users with a feeling of belonging to them, even after the invasion of other groups into the neighborhood.

¹ Cultural factors in the location of such institutions are an important consideration as demonstrated by the experiences of a Scottish new town. Planners of the new town based the lay-out and organization on an English model which attempted to emulate "organic" winding streets, placing a pub in every neighborhood. The Scotsmen, however, did not walk to the pub in their own neighborhood for fear of being watched by family members and thus drove home drunk...along the "organic", winding streets, resulting in a significant amount of traffic accidents.

CULTURAL DISPLAY

"Our memories are only poor that work backwards."

- Lewis Carroll -

As the differences between the ethnic group and the dominant society become increasingly felt, the need to express a separate identity in search of a sense of cultural legitimacy, becomes evident in the enclave's environment.

This cultural display is expressed both in terms of activity and physical symbolism. Cultural celebrations recall the ethnic groups' previous setting, and serves to unite them, while declaring allegiance to a separate set of symbols and rituals. Celebrations also result in ephemeral, and often permanent alterations to the physical environment, as rituals are symbolically and physically connected to the neighborhood's spaces.

The ethnic group begins to give its own names to places, both in an attempt to familiarize the new setting, but also to assert their claim and history in the home they have re-made.

Certain colors are defined by the bi-cultural group, as being representative of their ethnic identity, and are used in various ways to express it. The blue and white colors of the Greek flag, are the most common manifestations of this aspect of cultural display.

Finally, when the enclave has been inherited almost exclusively by second and third generation Greek-Americans, a series of symbols and touchstones, commemorating their bi-culturalism, are erected for display. These symbols and touchstones are both expressions of a desire for cultural integrity, marking the group's legitimacy and claim to the home territory, as well as serving as the places to which the group pays homage on special occasions.

CELEBRATION

"Group memories are supported by the stable features of the environment, which becomes a spatial emblem of time. The consciousness of the group is further reinforced by ceremonies that vivify the sense of a common present."

As in the Greek village celebration institutionalizes frequent and regular contact to ensure the cohesion of the community. It also provides an outlet for expression and a symbolic continuation of the past, linking the ethnic community with centuries of tradition. In some cases celebrations are adapted to the U.S. lifestyle, in others, the rituals are performed with more pomp and circumstance than in Greece itself. Celebrations, because they imply ritual and procession have a relatively significant relationship to the physical environment in which they take place. Celebrations provide a welcome break from the monotony of the immigrant's daily hard work. They also provide the opportunity to meet new members of the community to keep contact with individuals that move away after the community matures, and most importantly they preserve the cohesiveness of the group and express its identity.

Celebrations are also a way of marking the passing of time in a familiar pattern, thus bringing back memories and providing a sense of continuity with the past..."the multiple streams of collective memories must be brought into some common framework to allow coordinated social action. There arise common ways of marking and structuring time, common histories, and myths, common rituals."² Cultural celebration, the rituals, food, and music related with it are also learned by the second and third generations which then can share a symbolic past with the immigrants. In this way the community develops a series of events to which it can refer to as significant points in time which mark the history of the enclave itself. "The time structure of a culture...requires widely known events as reference points, which can be the landmarks for significant change and the symbols of social cohesion."³

Celebration then, both wakes the collective memory , as well as creates it, that is, it provides an outlet for the immigrant to express his ties to his homeland as well as functions as a mechanism through which the ethnic community can develop new ties and links to the foreign land. "Memories, expectations, and present consciousness are not just personal possessions. These temporal organizations, and thus the sense of self, are socially supported...the...group that has actually experienced certain events together

² Ibid. op. cit. pp. 126.

³ Ibid. pp.126.

and , by constant communication and reinforcement, creates a group past and a group future, selecting, explaining, retaining, modifying."¹

Most of the year, the immigrant is subjected to the holidays and symbols of the dominant culture with which he cannot relate or identify. Cultural celebration is also a way in which the ethnic community can express pride in its background and display this pride to the dominant culture. At a festival, the ethnic group faces the dominant in great numbers, unconsciously this gives the members courage to more loudly express their links to their heritage. Also, the celebration belongs only to them, its rituals and costumes have meaning only to them.

The twenty fifth of March is Greek Independence Day, the date of the liberation of Greece after four hundred years of Turkish occupation. It is a holiday Greeks around the world celebrate with great fervor. In Astoria, Independence Day is displayed to all of New York with a somber parade on Fifth Avenue in Manhattan. Both adults and children are costumed. Church ceremonies take place afterwards in Astoria itself, after which the taverns fill with families. Greek flags fly from every doorway, both commercial and residential.

In Lowell, however, the ceremony is much more closely tied to the neighborhood and its spaces. The parade comprises of costumed children who lead the community and visitors through the maize of Greek places and landmarks, the Greek flag flapping from each: from the church, to the school, the children weave in and out of streets like a snake, stopping at the two memorials for Greek immigrants. Here the procession pauses as wreaths are placed at the foot of each marble stone, and the priests give their collective blessing, rendering certain corners of the neighborhood sacred. "Gypsies seem to live from one spontaneous celebration to another, brought on by chance encounters at the crossroads of the world. But each celebration is also a nostalgic festival, which reaches back to memories of the dead kin mutually known to those who have met together."²

¹ Ibid. pp. 125.

² Lynch, Kevin. op. cit. pp. 88.

The climax of the day is when the community gathers in front of the town's city hall where both Greek and American personalities give eloquent speeches regarding freedom and democracy, in Greece, and in America; both national anthems are sung. Suddenly, the blue and white flag of Greece pierces the sky and a passionate burst of patriotism is felt in the applause. The American flag is also raised, it is explained, out of respect for the host country. However, the raising of the Greek flag is a source of much pride for Lowellites who consider it a gesture of acceptance and recognition.

The ceremonies continue in a more private setting, a small theatre across the street from the city hall, where the children perform national dances, recite poetry of liberty, and sing songs of freedom.

"We the Greeks of Lowell are a family, and in order to stay a family we must gather often...Today we have celebrated the dual independence of our church and of our ethnos...we, from the land which gave birth to democracy, living in the land of democracy...a struggle which is continued like generations of Greeks holding hands and forming a beautiful chain...Today we have proven that Greece never dies!"

1

The lay-out and location of the various symbols of the Greek community are significant in forming the character of the procession. Hundreds of Greeks who do not live in Lowell or who have moved away return to the site of the enclave to pay homage to those places that represent them and their struggles, serving to connect them both to Greece and to Greeks in the U.S.

During the procession numerous Greeks claim spaces outside the various Greek commercial enterprises which remain. These spaces are no longer inhabited daily by Greeks, as they no longer necessarily belong to them. However, on this day the Greek neighborhood is resurrected and its identity is reaffirmed by making the Greek presence visible in past and present outdoor spaces.

In Tarpon Springs, one corner of the neighborhood, at the Spring Bayou, has been transformed to accommodate the rituals of a single annual event. The monumental marble steps and platform at the edge of the Bayou have been constructed for this

¹ Closing statement of the priest, March 25, 1985.

CULTURAL DISPLAY

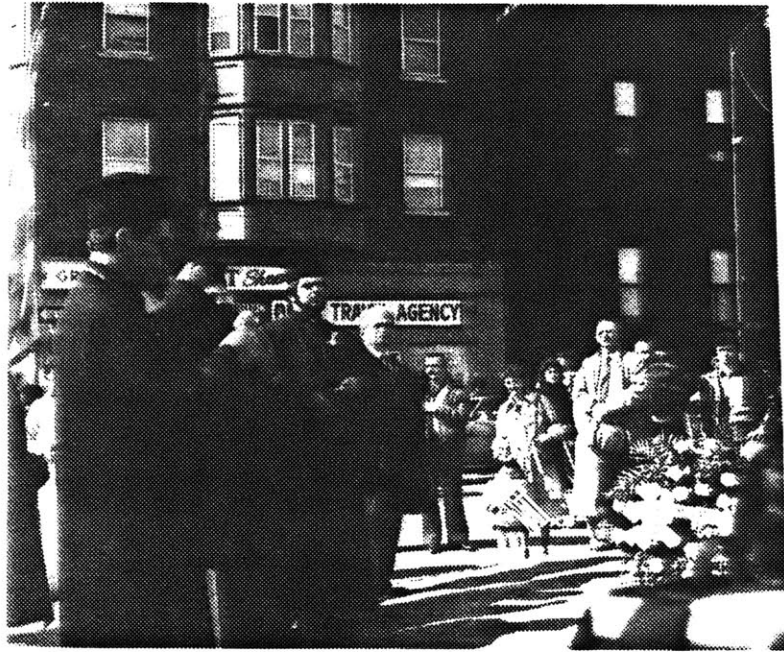
Celebration
Greek Independence Day
March 25, 1985

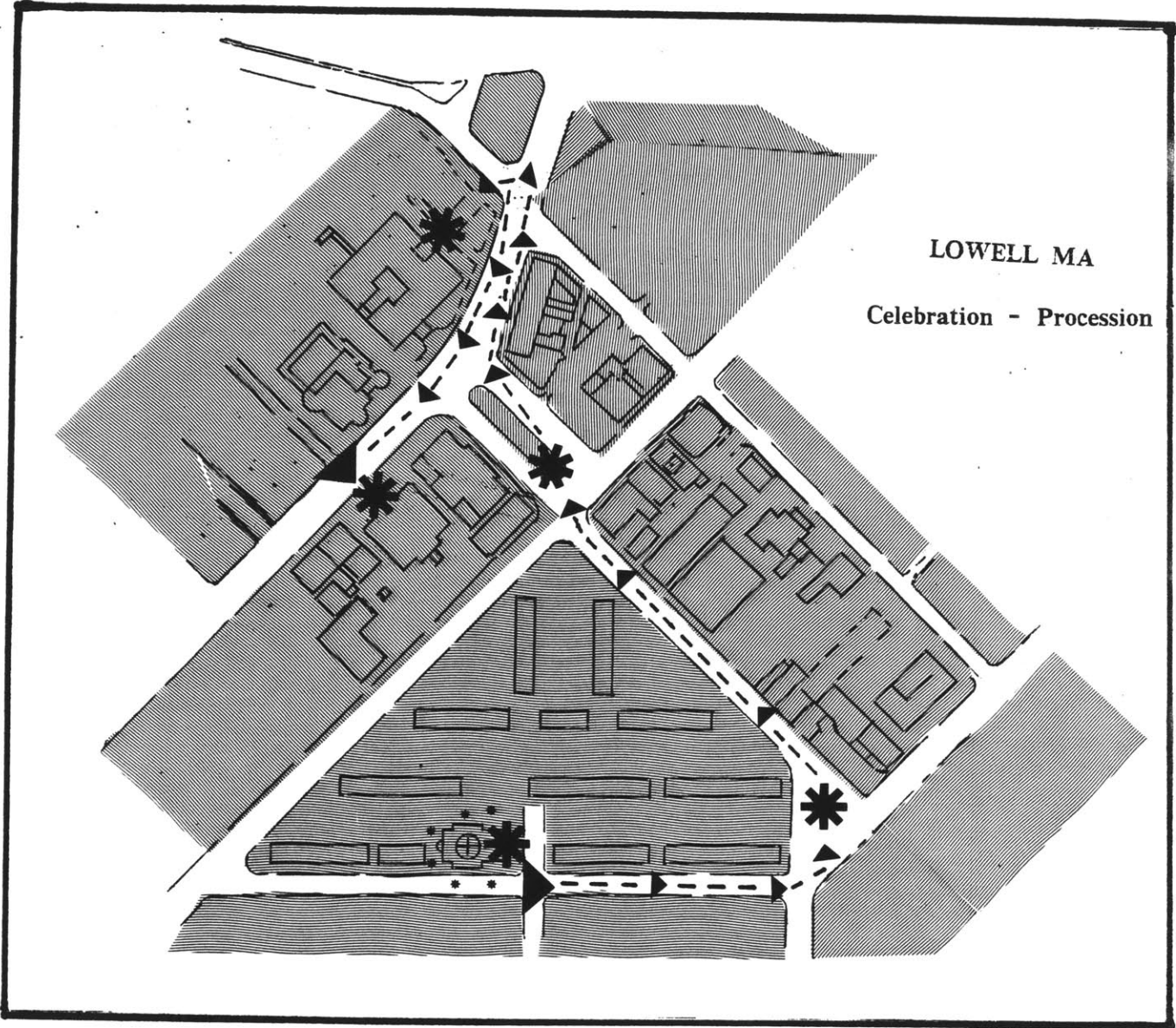





CULTURAL DISPLAY

Celebration
Greek Independence Day
March 25, 1985







-  Touchstones
-  Procession Path
-  Start/Finish

purpose, and are used only on one particular day of the year, January 6, the day of Epiphany.¹

The religious observance of Epiphany is performed with elaborate detail in Tarpon Springs as nowhere else in the U.S. As in the sponging Greek Islands, the spongers established that each year on January 6th, the day of the "Santification of the Waters," "Aghiasmos" or Epiphany be celebrated and consecrated as a great Holy Day of the spongers. The majority of immigrants to Tarpon having come from the Greek islands, their economic dependency on the sea, as well as the town's physical seaside location, increases the holiday's significance to Tarpon's residents as well as facilitates the performance of its rituals.

The approach of Epiphany is the signal for the return of the sponge and other boats of the Tarpon Springs fleet. Greek flags and colored pennants flap in the seabreeze. At dawn the church bell summons the residents to attend service. People arrive in groups and fill the church, its courtyard, overflowing even onto the street.

Following the liturgy, is the Blessing of the Waters, when the Archbishop and clergy adjourn to a marble kiosk in the church courtyard. Making the sign of the cross over a symbolic bowl of water, the priest prays for calm seas and the safety of all sailors, afterwards blessing all those present. The clergy and the congregation, including many organizations and school children in national costume, form the procession line. The ecclesiastics wear embroidered robes and bear jeweled crosses. With them is a white-gowned woman carrying a white dove, symbolizing the Holy Spirit.

Following the invocation, the dove is released to fly over the Bayou. The Archbishop steps down the marble steps and onto the platform and throws a golden cross into the water. Fifty youths dive out of a semi-circle of small boats to retrieve it. The young man who returns the cross to the Archbishop then kneels to receive his blessing for good fortune in the coming year. "The tossing of the cross in the restless water represents the gospel message coming into the midst of the troublous world and the

¹ The holiday commemorates the baptism of Christ in the River Jordan, when the Holy Spirit descended upon him in the form of a dove. This, in the view of the Orthodox Church, was the event which above all others revealed His divine nature and mission.

men eagerly stretching to retrieve the cross represent the nations reaching after a world of hope and cheer."¹

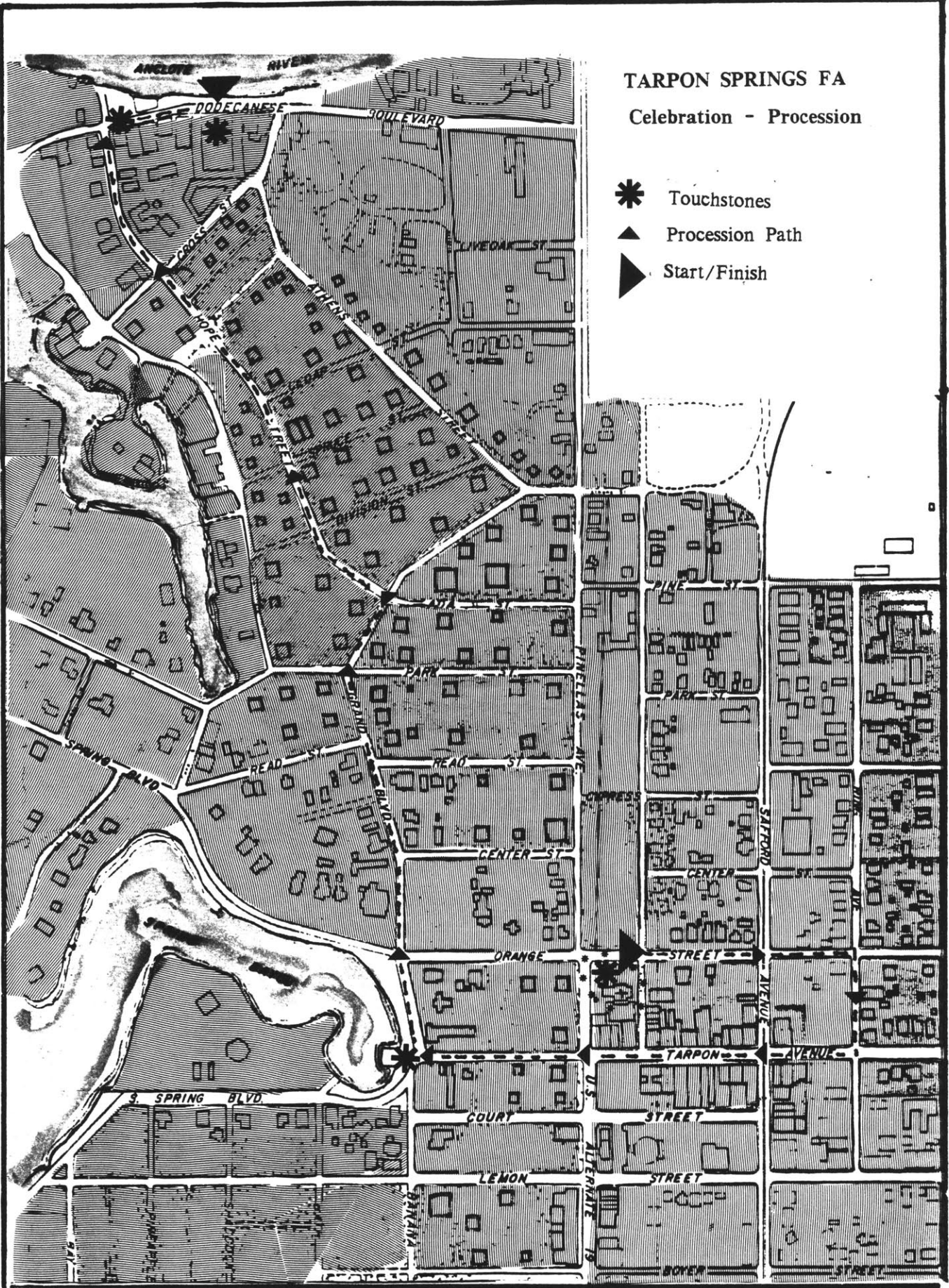
Epiphany has been celebrated in Tarpon Springs since the first immigrants, who from the earliest days of their arrival reverently performed the religious rites. The first observances were small-scale and confined to the local residents. The growth of outside interest in the Epiphany celebration resulted in an increase in attention to symbolism and ritual detail, to the point that its present form exceeds the festivities of Greece itself. Each year thousands of tourists, of all denominations, visit Tarpon Springs for the event. It still, however, carries much religious and cultural meaning for the residents who are proud to have visitors admire their celebration, but do not perform merely to be a spectacle.

The procession follows the same path as it has since the first immigrants began celebrating Epiphany. It begins at the church and then circles around two blocks crossing the old railroad tracks, turning back to culminate at the Bayou's marble steps. The midnight observance on the eve of Good Friday, when "candle-carrying worshippers silently follow the flower-decked bier containing the symbolic body of Christ"² through the streets, follows the same path as well, with the exception of the stretch of procession to the Bayou. The two blocks which are encircled are located in the original residential core of the immigrant neighborhood, and continue to be the location for newly arrived immigrants to settle. A significant mixed-use renovation project, planned for a section of Tarpon Avenue covered by the procession had to take its path into account, and take care not to disrupt ceremonial proceedings.

Following the Epiphany celebration, but on various other occasions during the year, the residents of Tarpon proceed to the old Sponge Exchange building located at the Sponge Docks; at least they did up until a year ago. Here, in the days of active sponge diving, sponges were stored, hung to dry, and in the central open air court, auctioned off to prospective customers. When the industry declined the building was locked up, to be used only on "glendi" (festival) occasions. In a few of the sponge

¹ Rozee, Eileen and Lou. Sponge Docks. St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Cathedral. Tarpon:1973. pp.68.

² Ibid. pp. 71.



TARPON SPRINGS FA
 Celebration - Procession

- * Touchstones
- ▲ Procession Path
- ▶ Start/Finish

neighborhoods for many other different kinds of activities. As the bandshell hinders view of the orchestra from its back edge, the formal dancing platform defines the dancing space, and the chairs are symmetrically arranged facing the band – all dictate observation, the occasion is transformed into a much more passive event as opposed to the active participatory nature of the celebration at the Sponge Exchange.

Residents note that after some time, the chairs are moved into group formations, as people gather and attempt to emulate some of the interactive nature of their previous experience. Food stalls are scattered in the grass area at the edge of the cement platform acting to disperse people rather than to bring them together. Though the setting is much more spacious than the Sponge Exchange,

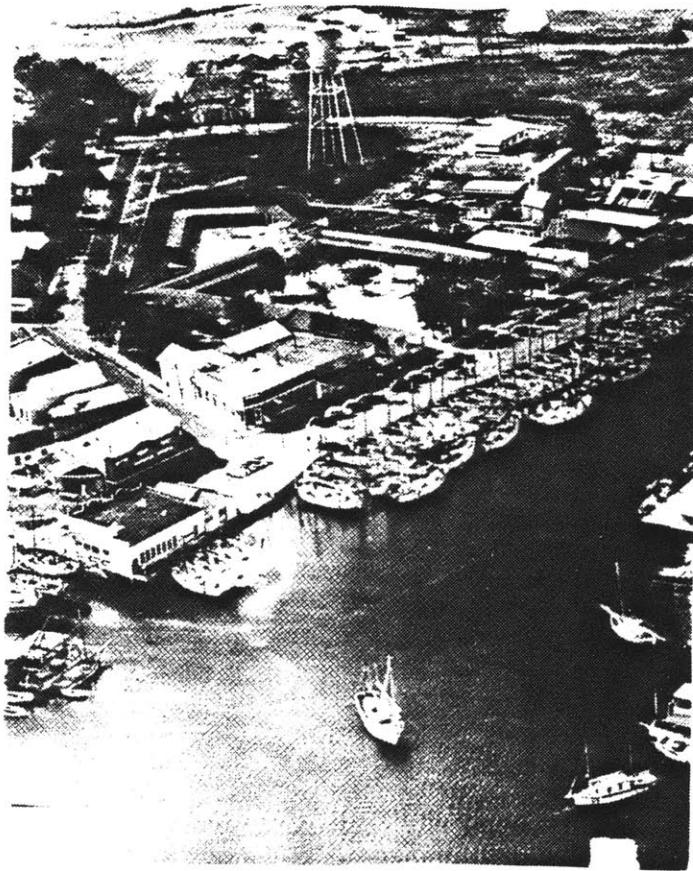
"People aren't used to it, they want to be close to one another and so they all cluster around the band, but we can't dance around it, so not that many dance anymore...it just doesn't feel Greek anymore. (r, TS)

Thus we see the close relationship between cultural celebration and the ethnic neighborhood.

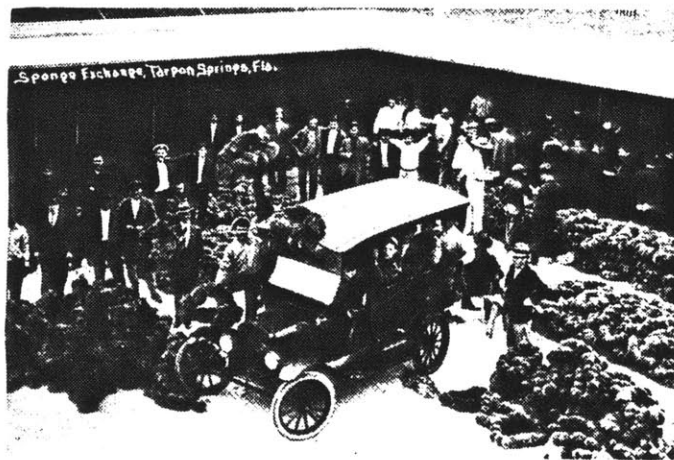
It used to be the case in Lowell that the day following the Easter procession, lamb would be roasted and other holiday festivities would take place on the North Common. Afterwards the streets would be covered with red egg shells *"which would remain for days, decorating the streets and sidewalks of our neighborhood"* (r,L) Now that the outdoor spaces no longer belong to the Greeks, the red eggs are smashed only inside people's homes.

In Lowell, a few times a year, the church sponsors a Greek festival, attended by both Greeks and tourists. June 5-7 , the main Greek festival in is held annually to celebrate "Greekness." It is the city's largest such event at which the attendance is 40% non-Greek, including the Mayor of Lowell. For three days, from 9 am until 12 pm , Greek music is heard on the streets, and various Greek foods and crafts are sold from vendors and booths. The festival is written up on the first page of the Lowell Sun, the city's daily newspaper. The festival is held in church parking lots and spills out onto the surrounding streets . There does not exist a more suitable setting.

In Astoria, the merchants along Ditmar Avenue sponsor a Greek festival a few times each year. The street is closed off from traffic and Greek music accompanies the dancing in the street. Food stalls are set up along the sidewalk, protected by a series



The Sponge Exchange
Tarpon Springs



The Sponge Exchange
early 1920's
Tarpon Springs

145

bins, some sponges were kept to commemorate this space and its significance to the community.

"Facing the sponge docks is a large, lightly shaded courtyard, with two iron grill gates flanking a white-stucco office at the front. Surrounding the open space on three sides is an arcade, and behind the arcade are over a hundred doors covered with wooden strip iron, casting stark checkerboard patterns on white walls. The doors open into light airy cells, roughly carpentered, and bearing an odor that is not quite fishy, but definitely of the sea."

1

Under the arcaded sections surrounding the court, during a glendi celebration, the women sold food and crafts. In the center of the court, the band played in full view from any corner. All around the band, residents danced, ate, talked, and mingled simultaneously, fully participating and interacting with all activities with equal intensity.

In 1984, after much neighborhood opposition, the old Sponge Exchange was bought by a wealthy Greek enterprenuer, Pappas, to be redeveloped into a tourist-oriented mixed use project. Multi-level gift shops and restaurants replaced the celebration space, preserving only one of the original walls; the sponge bins are now explicitly on display, not simply left over as a memory. The associations with the building and the space, which had developed over much time, have now only a symbolic reminder of the historical significance to the community. The interior court has been formalized, and each Sunday, Tarpon's dance troupe performs for Greek and non-Greek observers, no longer participants. *"It's great for tourists and has attracted more money, and it's good for us Greeks too, but its just not the same anymore."* (r, L with second home in Tarpon).

Since the Pappas redevelopment of the Sponge Exchange, following the Epiphany celebration and other glendi occassions, residents and visitors go to a nearby park for the festivities, where there is a bandshell and dancing platform. Since then, a resident of Tarpon has noted a marked decrease in Greek attendance and an increase in tourists.

The bandshell is somewhat removed from the central area, though it is still located relatively near the church. However, it is used by both Greeks and other adjacent

¹ Stoughton, Gertrude. Tarpon Springs, Florida. Tri-Arts Studio, Florida: 1975. pp.50.

of canopies. The festival is primarily attended by Greeks of Astoria and the Greek community of the surrounding areas.

PLACE-NAMING

All three Greek case study communities display their desire to give their own names to places: streets, intersections, stores. Naming a place is like baptizing it, it creates a link between the namer and the named. Isak Dinesen in commenting on the forced relocation of the Masai in East Africa says:

"The Masai when they were moved from their old country, north of the railway line, to the present reserve, took with them the names of their hills, plains, and rivers in the new country...The Masai were carrying their cut roots with them as a medicine."

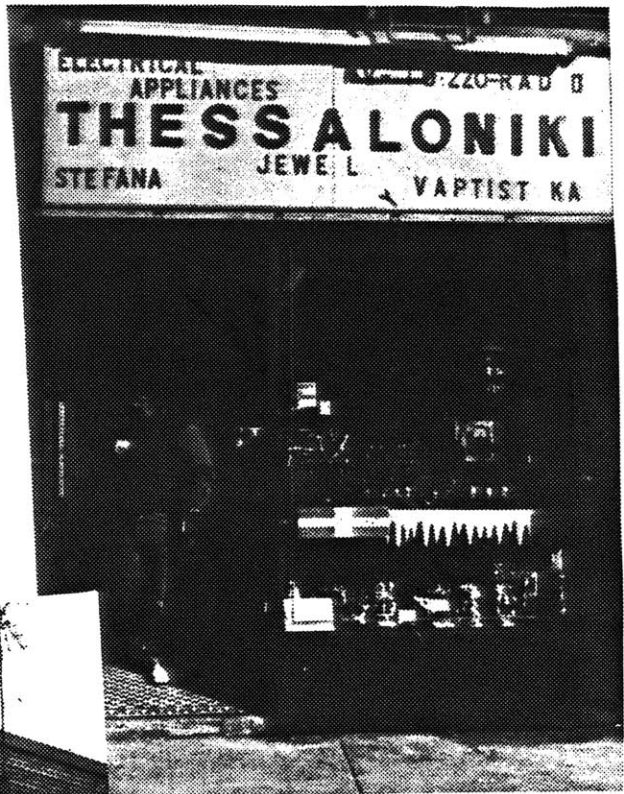
¹ This was also the case of the first immigrants to the United States, thus the northeastern region of the country is named New England and New York was called New Amsterdam (of numerous examples).

Naming is a way of connecting to the past, but also to the present. In general the two kinds of psychological desires can be discerned from the names is a seeming attempt to provide a connection to the Greeks in the U.S., and more specifically to the Greeks in their respective communities. There is also a chronological pattern discernable : as the enclave moves from a setting for initial adjustment to nostalgic refuge, naming moves from Greece to Greeks in the U.S.

After the surrender of Italy in 1943, the Greeks renewed their plea that the Dodecanese Islands be re-united with Greece. In Tarpon Springs this cause was expressed through resolutions to the United States Senate from the Greek community and , to commemorate the struggle, the residents of Tarpon changed the name of their main street by the sponge docks from Anclote Boulevard to Dodecannisos Boulevard. Another street is named Athens, after Greece's capital, however, most of the other Greek streets are named after Greek sponge divers of Tarpon Springs, thus in someway documenting Greek history in the Florida community.

¹ from Lynch, Kevin. pp. 41.

PLACE-NAMING



In Astoria, the Greek community engaged in a struggle with the other ethnic groups in the neighborhood, as they wanted to name the main commercial area, 31st Street, Athenian Street. The Greeks claimed that it was fine with them if another street was named Italian street, but that this was theirs in that it concentrated most of the Greek shops, movie theater, and pastry/coffeehouses.

"It is a way to express our pride in Hellenismos, to identify the area as being Greek, to document its history of being Greek, and to claim it as Greek." (r, A).

Astoria's Greek community was granted permission to name a small intersection Athens Square instead, but this spot does not hold much in the collective memory of the Greeks of the neighborhood, and thus the compromise has been a disappointment. ("What's Greek about that street corner?" (r, A).

Another Astoria tendency is to name stores and clubs after famous enterprises in Greece. In this way the proprietor is expressing his connection with Greece to Greeks, and in a sense saying "look, I made it."

In Lowell, on the other hand, almost all place names are bound to the Greeks of Lowell itself. Streets are given the names of young Greek boys who fought in the Vietnam War and stores are given the names of Greek families of Lowell. Occasionally, generic Greek names such as the "Athenian Corner" are given to restaurants.

Also interesting to note is the use of Athens as a name for places. A very small percentage of the immigrants in these communities actually come from Athens. It is as though they are tacitly expressing their regret for not having made it to the capital while simultaneously stating their desire for the cosmopolitan. Also, the capital city joins them in patriotism and is the most well known among non-Greek potential tourists.

COLOR

Color as cultural display seems to express a number of emotions. It is used to assert and express identity, to recall or recapture lost associations, as well as to create an atmosphere of "ethnic" for commercial purposes.

In all three Greek case study communities, but especially in Astoria and Tarpon Springs, color is a significant means of expressing "Greekness." The colors of blue and white, those of the Greek flag, are translated into "Greek colors" in the North American setting, and defined as such in all three communities. The designation of blue and white as Greek colors is a function of the increase in ethnic awareness and sense of patriotism that leaving Greece has brought on. It is not unheard of, nevertheless, not common to use this color combination in Greece in the way in which it is done here.

Especially prevalent in Astoria, blue and white on railings, fences, the edges of windows, doors, and roofs, is a way of asserting one's ethnic identity and thus displaying both pride and individuality.

"The way one expresses being Greek differs according to one's personality, background, and what one understands to be Greek...you can express it by listening to Greek music, by eating Greek food...or by painting your house in patriotic colors." (r, A)

It is interesting to note that in Astoria, Italians paint in green and red, the colors of their national flag. The fact that the practice of painting in "patriotic colors" is more prevalent in Astoria than in the other communities is at least partly due to the Italian presence which increases Greek awareness of "Greek."

The use of blue and white could also be a way of recalling, if only symbolically, cherished associations, as suggested by one Astoria resident:

No matter where he goes, a Greek can never forget the intensity of the Aegean environment...the contrast between the white of the houses and the blue of the sky and the sea...there is no way to reproduce it, maybe only to symbolize it."

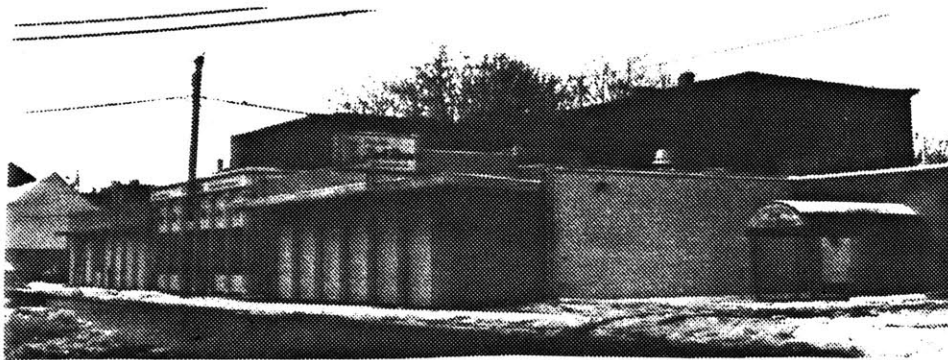
Many Greeks have commented on the dark colors of the New England buildings. Some even find brick a depressing sight.

"Most Greeks identify with white, it is the color of our islands afterall...it reminds us of light and cleanliness." (r, A)

White-washing occurs only in fragments in Astoria. Sections of building facades, doorways, sidewalk curbs, even occasionally tree trunks. In Tarpon Springs, however,



In Astoria railings are painted blue and white, the colors of the Greek flag.



An entire commercial block in Lowell painted in blue and white. Also note the pilasters resembling ancient Greek columns.

where, the explanation given is that the climate supports the practice, many buildings are painted white in their entirety. Residents of Tarpon claim they can tell when a building changes ownership from Greek to non-Greek hands, because when a non-Greek moves in, often the building is painted over in "earthtones."

In Lowell, there is not much use of color on residential buildings. This is possibly because when Greeks were the majority in the neighborhood, they were primarily renters with obvious restrictions as to what they could do to their houses. The neighborhood was destroyed before its residents could become home-owners, and when they did, it was no longer in the enclave. Outside the enclave there is no support for cultural display and thus it is much rarer for such expressions to occur, at least on building exteriors.

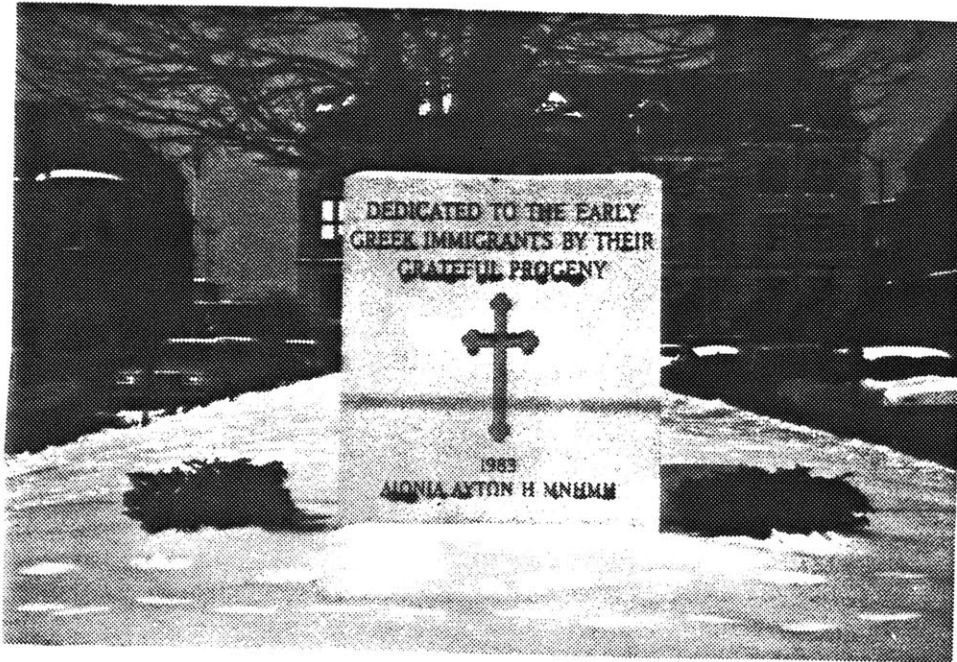
However, on Lowell's Market Street, there exists an entire half block of commercial enterprises painted completely in blue and white. The half-block belongs to one owner who claims he had this done along with bricks placed on the facade in the form of Greek pilasters, as much for himself as for commercial purposes.

TOUCHSTONES AND SYMBOLS

Symbols:

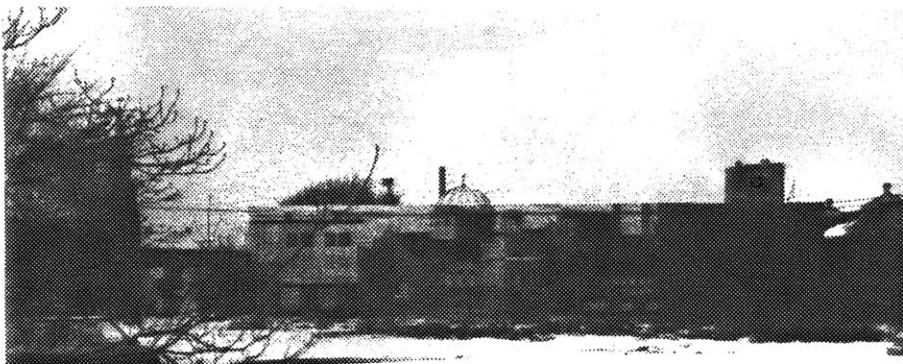
In addition to color, a series of Greek, and Greek-American symbols adorn public places and spaces. Murals cover blank walls in both Lowell¹ and Tarpon Springs. The themes of these paintings include scenes of the respective neighborhoods, and collages of "Greek" symbols, such as the flag and men dressed in the costume of the National Guard. In Tarpon, many murals depict scenes of the early Greek sponge divers' escapades, thus displaying Greek history in the area. Some of Tarpon's facades also have reliefs carved on them of similar themes.

¹ Interesting hidden evidence as to the demographic transitions in the Acre, are the murals and other Greek public art displays, which no longer exist as they have been painted over by the city authorities, much to the disappointment of the Greek community. In addition to several murals, there used to exist numerous "Greek" firehydrants: a tsolias, and a Greek flag are the most remembered.



Monument to the pioneers

located opposite city hall



Mural (Lowell): A blue dot on the sidewalk on Worthen Street indicates the position from where the real dome of the Holy Trinity Church completes that of the mural's Acre scene.

In Astoria, the main medium for displaying cultural symbols are the railings enclosing the front yards of individual houses, and of some commercial and institutional buildings. In addition to being painted blue and white, often they are designed with "Greek motifs", the most common being the meandros, and grape bunches.

In Lowell's early days, the Greek flag hung from most doors and windows, residential and commercial. As the enclave developed, however, and the place-identity became increasingly the ethnic neighborhood, the symbols displayed reveal the change. For example, Jarvis Market (on Market St.)¹ sold food, and instead of Greek symbols from Greece, he decorated his store with scenes of the Greek Acre.

Touchstones

"...And we have monuments to us...we work hard, and have spilled our blood, and dripped our sweat in this country...we deserve some recognition..." (r, L).

Touchstones are memorials to Greeks of the ethnic enclave which mark and commemorate Greek history in the area. These are visited and honored with ritual on special occasions. Touchstones are integral components of the nostalgic refuge; they are the sacred sites of pilgrimage.

In Tarpon Springs, the names of Greek Tarponites who served the U.S. army in WWII, are painted on the white band shell in the city park. Sometimes wreaths are placed beneath them. The Greek-American Youth Men's Club, has inscribed the honor roll of those Tarpon Greeks who have died in U.S. wars, on a marble fountain at the north side of the church. On holidays, wreaths are placed at the foot of the fountain. The Greek portion of the Cycadia Cemetery of Tarpon is legible, not only by reading the names inscribed on the tombstones, but is more clearly defined, as each Greek grave has a photograph of the dead affixed to it.

¹ went out of business during the course of this study

¹ Lynch, Kevin. op. cit. pp. 120.

In addition to honoring those Greek Lowellites who have been killed in U.S. wars by immortalizing them in the baptizing of street intersections,¹ Lowell's Acre is marked by memorials to Greek war heroes of the U.S.

"...he was really a hero. I remember the night before he left for Vietnam, we were all playing cards, and they came from Immigration to check his papers..What papers?', I told them, 'the boy is going to Vietnam in the morning'...ONE week later he was killed. He was a hero though. The Irish and the French, they wanted to know why their boys didn't have a monument dedicated to them. Well you don't get a monument if the bullet hits you accidentally..."(r, L).

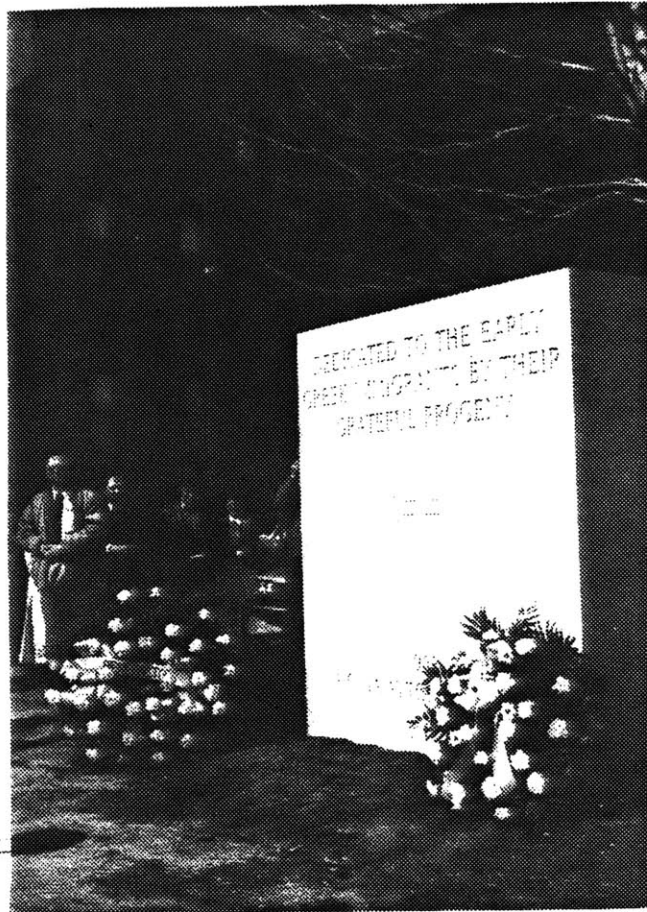
Lowell's Acre is also marked by numerous monuments "commemorating the first immigrants, who gave us everything we have." (r, L). On holidays, and other special occasions, Greeks from the surrounding areas come to pay their respects, and homage, to these symbols of their own, and separate history in the city. The monuments receive a ritual blessing from an entourage of priests, and wreaths are placed on the ground beneath them.

As evidence to the desire for these monuments to be displayed to others, as well as serving as touchstones, a monument to the Greek American Legion, located at a busy street intersection, has been the cause of much discussion in Lowell recently. Greeks complain its location is inappropriate because the monument is "difficult to get to," but most of all, "many people pass by without even seeing it."

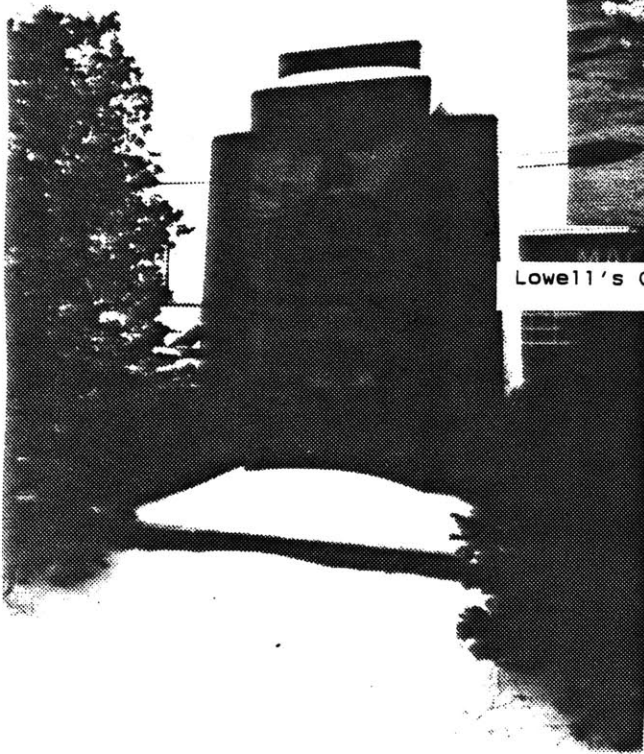
Lowell's Greeks are presently planning a monumental expression of their claim to the Acre, and their history in the area. On a site at the edge of the Triangle, a statue to the first Greek immigrants to Lowell is to be erected, "before 1985 is over." (r, L).

¹ With the exception of the Christos Rouse Esplanade (near the Lowell Police

TOUCHSTONES: LOWELL



Lowell's Greeks pay homage to their separate history



Plans are underway for the relocation of the monument to the Greek-American Legion as its present location "many people pass by without seeing it"

PART III
CENTER-PIECE
INTERPRETATION

CHAPTER 8 THE PROCESS

Isak Dinesen speaks of the Kikuyu who were driven off their African land

"They pleaded to be relocated together...It is more than their land you take away...It is their past as well, their roots and their identity. If they were to go away from their land, they must have people round them who had know it...Then they could still, for some years, talk of the geography and history of the farm, and what one has forgotten, the other would remember. As it was, they were feeling the shame of extinction falling on them."¹

Thus we see that in the early years in Lowell, immigrants not only defined a Greek neighborhood by inhabiting its outdoor spaces and establishing Greek institutions, but also by imposing a more intricate spatial organization on the subsystem they had brought with them.

The coffeehouses, but also the residences were organized by the village of origin: *"The first house I lived in was on Market Street, across from Demoulas in a bulding owned by Mr. Sakerellis. All patrioti, people from the same village, lived in the building. My husband and I lived with a first cousin and his wife for about ten months when we got married, until the cousin moved away."* (r, L)²

In the beginning, the immigrant has a need for the familiar, not merely the recognizable; even other Greeks are different from him. Thus, he seeks to mingle as much as possible with those that share the same past, those who remember the same individuals, landscapes and especially the village left behind: from village to urban village.

As regional differences dissolve in the face of comparisons to the dominant society, the immigrant's associations expand to include all that is Greek, and all who are Greek. The psychological point of reference extends beyond the village and province of origin, and gradually embraces the theme, "Greek." The dominant group already

¹ Lynch, Kevin. op. cit. pp. 126.

² from Karras, Nicholas, op. cit., pp. 31.

holds ideas about what Greek is. Some of the physical expressions evident in the neighborhood are a response to the perception of these preconceived notions, especially when attracting tourists becomes a goal.

As the community evolves further and develops new associations over time through use, and symbols marking the townscape, the place identified with becomes increasingly the ethnic neighborhood. This then is the general process of remaking a home.

Therefore, as people seek to improve their living conditions, spatial relationships become less important, though their need for a social and commercial core remains constant. Nevertheless, in every Greek community a set of institutions named "topika somateia" are established. The purpose of these "societies" is to bring immigrants of a particular part of a province of Greece together to provide assistance for the region and to perpetuate its particular traditions. "The organizations are not, in fact pure heritages, but the product of the immigrants' efforts to adapt their heritage to American conditions."¹

These topika somateia seek to socially solidify the physical relationships of immigrants: that is, to perpetuate their proximity to each other which had originated in the village and continued in the enclave until this was no longer possible. These organizations have now developed a national network with regional headquarters, thus linking together all immigrants in the U.S. from particular provinces in Greece.

However, second generation Greek Americans rarely join the topika somateia in their adulthood. "They do not know the village of their parents, nor do they share the nostalgic desire to resettle in Greece."² U.S. born Greek children identify more with what is "generically Greek" and what is Greek-American; their village is the enclave, to which they frequently return; it is the Greek enclave which fulfills their nostalgic desires.

"Greece is our spiritual ideal, not our physical, after all we have to deal with this here physical reality...many of us have been influenced by American ideals and aspire a suburban house and suburban lifestyle."

¹ Holli, M. and Jones, P. op. cit., pp. 136.

² Ibid., pp. 137.

Nonetheless, in all the Greek case study communities, when second and third generation Greek Americans move out of the enclave, a significant proportion move to a suburban location in relatively close proximity to the enclave, and curiously, together. That is, a new wealthier second and third generation neighborhood is formed. These non-residents visit the enclave at least once a week to attend church services and many continue to do their shopping and visiting there. Some of these "guilded ghettos"¹ develop to the point where they establish their own institutions, the first of which to emerge is again the church.

These second and third generation Greek Americans also expand their identification with the neighborhood to include other Greek enclaves in the region. After an extended period of time, the individual neighborhood becomes somehow part of a loosely knit network of Greek neighborhoods in a particular region. As socio-economic status increases so does the cognitive radius which defines the neighborhoods to be included in the place identity of the individual. Thus many Greeks from Lowell go to Astoria for entertainment, and to Tarpon Springs for vacation, some even own a second home in Tarpon.

What then is the physical relationship between the immigrant group and the enclave? Initially, it is a locational importance, that is, the immigrants' lack of transportation means, the need to be in close proximity to his institutions and commercial enterprises, and his habit of making frequent casual contacts in public places render the enclave environment, its density, lay out, and mix of uses, irreplaceable. The significance of the street as a unit of rest, and as a unifying force in the community, is of utmost importance.

Some models describing the city center explain the location of poor neighborhoods adjacent to the CBD as a function of low-income people's desire to minimize transportation costs. Landlords then rent high property value units to low-income families in high densities, that is, crowded conditions. The location of the enclave can of course, be understood in this way: "as the feudal lord's castle was enclave surrounded by the slaves houses, so was the industrial feudal lord's factory encircled by the tenement houses of ethnic workers." (r, L)

¹ term coined by Judith Kramer and Seymour Leventman in *Children of the Guilded Ghetto*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961.

The original immigrants to the U.S. searched for agricultural lands that were similar to those they had left behind. The already acclimated Swedes and Norwegians were attracted to Minnesota's winters while the British perceived similarities between English landscapes and those of the Northeastern region of the U.S. and thus it was baptized New England. Later, California attracted Italians to its fruit-growing regions.

It would be difficult to claim that contemporary immigrants to urban areas search for an urban fabric similar to that which they left, as economic obstacles pose obvious restrictions to choice. However, it can be said that dense inner-city settings are more conducive to the lifestyles the immigrant group prefers than would be suburban setting, for example.

In fact, a study of Boston's Italian West Enders found that residents of the West End pictured suburbs as cold, dreary places, which could not support their way of life.

"How could people meet their contreres frequently and spontaneously if they might have to drive to get other's homes? This number of families simply can't locate as closely to others in the low densities that characterize suburbs. How do you run into people without prearrangement when homes are set back well beyond the sidewalks (if there are any) and when strict separations of land use remove convenience centers from the midst of where people live."¹

Though once again economic restrictions complicate the issue, it is also interesting to note the similarities among the areas to which West Enders moved after relocation. The majority of them moved to the North End, Charlestown, Somerville, and Boston, all areas of the highest densities in the Boston region and with a relatively diverse mixture of land uses. Again, this could very well be the result of affordability, but nonetheless many immigrants from different countries have expresses surprise at the degree of introversion they perceive characterizes most, both urban and suburban U.S. neighborhoods.

A resident of Astoria, upon describing the difficulties of adapting the existing fabric to Greek needs and desires, exclaimed: *"If they had only given us a neighborhood of narrow, winding streets..you would have seen the Greece we could have shown them!"*

¹ Ricarico, Donald, op. cit., pp. 69.

"In short for people with this lifestyle, regardless of whether it is a function of their ethnicity or social class background, the immediate neighborhood (i.e. a pattern of several streets) is far more important to them than the condition of their housing."

1

Initially, the need to be together is so great, that the self-orchestrated spatial organization is consistent with the needed and desired social cohesion. That is, a very specific social organization is superimposed upon the existing fabric. The density, intensity, mix of uses, and use of spaces are all conducive to regional allegiances, and frequent casual interaction among residents of the neighborhood for whom a public life in public spaces is of great importance.

As the community develops, however, the tightly woven network is loosened, as are links to the home country. Nevertheless, a need to be linked to a physical place which symbolizes a collective home, a refuge, persists. This is expressed both as a desire to hold claim to a defined area, thus clutching to roots in the adopted setting, as well as by various forms of cultural display which express the distinct collective identity of the ethnic group.

"The key explanation for the great diversity in basic perceptions of space lies in the nature of the boundary that distinguishes from external space in the treatment of territorial space."

2

One way in which to determine perceived boundaries of space is to examine what people think of as internal space by establishing where external space begins and vice versa. Where and how this boundary between inside and outside, and between private and public is drawn, is a difficult task indeed.

Instead one can attempt to determine the spaces and areas which an individual and a group feels they can define as their spaces, that is, regardless of inside/outside differences, where do individuals draw boundaries. People are not generally conscious that their behavior, their use of environmental settings, and their attempts at physically defining spaces, result in defining boundaries. The "pattern of territorial space

¹ Ibid. pp. 70.

² Ashihara, Yoshinobu, op. cit. pp. 23.

corresponds to the pattern of social use."¹ These patterns are indicative of a group's feelings regarding turf and territoriality, which in turn determine their perceived domain of control in their environment.

These turf definitions are everchanging and fluctuating, as they are vulnerable to a host of both internal and external forces. In the ethnic enclave, the greatest threat to turf definitions is the intrusion into the neighborhood of other ethnic groups, which increases consciousness regarding territorial boundaries. Pressure and competition over turf results in conflict between groups, the resolution of which is only reached when one group withdraws or attempts to express claim over specific area.

In the case of Lowell, the influx of a Hispanic and Asian populations into the Green enclave has resulted in some of both, that is, in some cases, the Greeks withdrew from spaces they previously inhabited in other instances they have attempted to express both their past and present claim over the area, by physically marking it.

The street has been surrendered to the new ethnic groups in the Acre. Its use by the Greek population has significantly decreased. In fact, even produce is no longer displayed on the sidewalks and people no longer use the street as a setting for casual contact. The woman's spatial world has decreased as she has been forced inside by the intrusion of these other groups. The man's world has similarly diminished, as the existence of outsiders in the neighborhood has caused him to retreat from the outdoor spaces he used to frequent: the chairs have been brought inside the coffeehouse and street corners are only pausing places, no longer spaces for congregating.

In terms of the neighborhood as a whole though a general state of withdrawal has occurred, many people abandoning the residential core and no longer inhabiting the outdoor public spaces on a daily basis, there has been a marked attempt at clutching to vestiges of spaces previously "owned." This is evident in the North Common where efforts at defining "Greek place" and marking the Greek presence is physically evident. It is also demonstrated in the naming of street intersections in the core area, many of which have Greek names. A number of memorials and a statue planned to commemorate the first immigrants is additional evidence to the Greek struggle to preserve their sense of belong to the environment. The Greek Community Center

¹ Malberg, Torsten, op. cit., pp. 157.

presently under construction at the edge of the Triangle, is the latest example of the Greeks determination to add on to the neighborhood.

Constance Cronin concludes her study of 20th century Sicilian immigrants in Australia by asking,

"Have they changed? It is not really a difficult question because the respondents themselves answered it. In the public sector they are Australians and they so appear, but in private they are the Sicilian they have always been, living a Sicilian way of life and holding intact those Sicilian values, norms and behavior patterns which perpetuate their way of life in the face of intrusions from the outside."

¹

Private, she defines, as "that part of one's life which is live away from the scrutiny and direct control of the (dominant) society and its members...in their food and housekeeping habits; in their friends and associates, and in their family and social values, immigrants to Australia remained the Sicilians they had always been."²

Similarly, it could be said of the Greeks in all three communities, that they have progressed to a state of being able to cope with both social and physical realities outside the defined Greek world, nevertheless, holding and desiring a refuge of their own to which to retreat.³

Milton Gordon⁴ describes assimilation as being a two step process; reaching the first does not necessarily mean attaining the second. The first, "cultural assimilation" or acculturation, is when the immigrant takes on the style and manners of the native culture, that is, emulates the exterior manifestations of the dominant way of life. Presumably this includes identification with the symbols of the dominant society. The second, "structural assimilation," is when the immigrant has reached the stage at which he includes members of groups, other than his own, in his most intimate relationships.

¹ Gabaccia, Donna, op. cit. pp. 112.

² Ibid. pp. 112.

³ This refuge is not a place where Greek culture is retained, as has been the case in some enclaves, historically, for example Alexandria in Egypt, it is more of a place for the preservation of Greek-American culture.

⁴ Gordon, Milton, op. cit.

This is what the dominant society is referring to when it preaches assimilation. It is, however, for many unattainable, for others, undesirable.

"The immigrant retains portions of his original culture and continues to practice them within the framework of his newly established environment."¹ Thus, certain elements of the previous lifestyle are carried over, and concurrently elements of those settings related to these behavior patterns are emulated. Even for bi-cultural individuals, who must make conscious decisions regarding the cultural dialectics they face, certain ways of life are unconsciously continued, and the related physical settings are more comfortable.

For some, it is easiest to stay involved with and emersed in the ethnic community. For those who are unable or unwilling to adapt, the physical protection of the enclave is the only solution. For most of those who leave, however, the ethnic enclave is a place to return to in order to feel connected both to the adopted country, and to collectively express and identify with a distinct identity.

Thus, as regional links with the homeland dissolve and identification with the larger sense of cultural background emerges, as memories fade but simultaneously the sense of ethnic awareness by virtue of contact with the dominant culture, the enclave progressively takes on a symbolic meaning. That is, the need for constant contact with others decreases and is substituted by gatherings in ethnic institutions and cultural celebrations. However, the need for ethnic identification persists and is fulfilled through symbolic recreations of the home culture and the creation of a nostalgic refuge. The need for legitimacy also increases and is expressed by a desire for cultural display, in forms sometimes unknown in the home country.

A small regional refuge must be preserved. Here the initial adjustment of newly arrived immigrants can be eased. Later, it is a place for them, their children and grandchildren to visit. The original dwellers derive direct satisfaction of their basic psychological, social, and economic needs. Their children and grandchildren have a place of origin, a point of reference, which they can identify with, which encompasses the places of their symbolic past. It is a place where they can feel "at home", where they can experience a link to the physical environment.

¹ Kowalski, Lidia. op. cit. pp. 17.

Tourists also gain from the existence of this refuge, at times their interests even overlap with those of the residents and especially of the non-residents. Indirectly, tourists may derive a vicarious sense of community upon their visit to the enclave. More directly, they can experience another culture, enjoy its food, music, dance and symbols. Possibly, repeated visits may increase awareness regarding the acceptance of cultural diversity. Thus, exposure may encourage a greater sense of cultural relativity among members of the dominant group.

CHAPTER 9 THE STAGES

The time it takes for an ethnic enclave to undergo change and evolve through various stages is dependent upon many location - specific conditions. Nevertheless, roughly speaking the developmental process can be divided into two main phases: that of an environment which facilitates initial adjustment and at some future date, when the influx of new immigrants becomes minimal, that of a setting for maintaining identity.

INITIAL ADJUSTMENT

During the period of initial adjustment, the role of the enclave is to provide a setting which allows immigrants to immerse themselves in familiar reminders, continuing previous lifestyles to a certain degree, seeking solace in each other, and gradually familiarizing themselves with the dominant environment. What is it then about the neighborhood which provides the immigrant group with possibilities of continuing their previous lifestyle and the potential to create the feeling of being at home? Overall, it is the density and intensity of use and kinds of uses which both provide the needed and desired goods and services within walking distance and create a setting conducive to the communal life the group is used to and seeks.

This is achieved by superimposing a spatial organization onto the existing fabric which includes using certain existing spaces and places in a way different from that of the previous inhabitants. Also, certain basic components of the environment play very specific social, psychological, and economic roles some of which are dependant upon their physical characteristics.

The enclave is a sort of decompressant chamber for which spatial organization plays the most significant physical role. The main characteristics supporting the desired spatial organization are: proximity, legibility, density, intensity, and the existance of specific elements.

Proximity: For the immigrant group, it is the neighborhood as a complete entity which is valuable. The individual elements that compose the whole are important, but

the significance of the integrated aggregate, is much more valuable than the sum of its parts. In fact, it is the consequences of concentrating specific types of uses in a defined area, which gives the neighborhood both its character and renders it valuable to its residents..."We'd talk to neighbors from the windows. Here was the best place to live. I didn't want to move anywhere else. The Greek school for my children, the church near and I walked to work. We couldn't afford a car, but we didn't need it, living on Lagrange St."(r.L)¹

The clearer the definition of the enclaves boundaries, the more comfortable residents feel, as it is important to them that the limited amount of space they inhabit, is understood as being their turf.

Legibility:

The shock of the new environment, is very much caused by a lack of understanding of environmental cues. In order to ease this shock, the immigrant desires familiar, recognizable, and legible settings. Signs play an important role in directly communicating the environment to the newly-arrived immigrant. In his language, places defined as in his previous home, and at times emulating the appearance of the places he once knew, explicit communicators of the new setting facilitate the immigrant's interpretation and translation of the new physical world. Spaces, such as the street, are familiar in that they are recognizable. The fact that the street in the U.S. is primarily a unit of movement dominated by the automobile, is not familiar and can be confusing as it is contradictory to the immigrant's expectations regarding recognizable environmental setting.

Well-defined places which emulate a place the immigrant knew in Greece, such as religious structures, provide the immigrant with the physical support which facilitates him knowing what to do. These re-created settings most directly communicate the environment to the newcomer through their symbolism with which he is intimately familiar.

¹ (r,l)

Information then, whether transmitted through language or symbol is a very important aspect of the enclave's role in translating, thus making legible the new environment to the immigrant.

Density:

The enclave is typically characterized by a high density of uses because it is a low-income area where space is limited, but this is also a desired characteristic of the neighborhood for a variety of reasons. The high density of uses is accompanied by a high density of users. This promotes frequent casual contact between residents, especially when uses are specialized and dispersed, thus providing individuals with the opportunity of passing through various sections of the neighborhood during the daily shopping trip, for example. High densities also facilitate the surveillance of others' behavior as privacy is necessarily decreased.

Dense residential sections facilitate socializing between neighbors, surveillance of one another's children, and provide women with the opportunity of passively participating in street activities which they cannot be fully part of.

Intensity:

The desired level of intensity of activity, a consequence of a high density environment, is contingent on the organization, and location of uses, and the condition and type of adjoining spaces.

With regard to the residential sections of the enclave, the nature and arrangement of housing, and especially its location within the neighborhood is of importance. "Tenement life was kaleidoscopic—densely—crowded, group-oriented, an ever-shifting world of changing social and physical boundaries."¹

The spaces adjacent to housing, between it and the street, also play an important role in both providing the possibility, especially for women, to continue the previous lifestyle to fulfill role expectations, and participate in daily communal life.

¹ 5. pp. 87

More importantly, however, is the level of intensity of activity created at the neighborhood's commercial hub. This is primarily a function of the high density of uses and the multi-functional nature of adjacent spaces. For example, along the commercial spine are a large number of small enterprises, and the sidewalk spaces adjacent to many of them are used simultaneously for the display of produce, by street vendors, and by people walking, stopping, and occasionally sitting.

The integration of commercial uses with residential, and especially the existence of a centrally located commercial spine where ethnic goods and services are concentrated is a salient feature in all three case study communities. This street is the social and physical center for daily life and is where members of the community meet exchange news and support. It is where individuals can find food and other goods and services which remind them of home, both because they have been imported from Greece, and because of the manner in which services are delivered and goods are displayed. It is also the place where immigrants are comfortable communicating: signs are in Greek, the street greeting is in Greek, and the store-owners and shop-keepers speak their language.

Elements:

Certain elements appear to be constant across Greek communities, indicating the importance of their function in the enclave. The neighborhood receives both local and regional attention because of the cultural institutions which it houses. These institutions, both represent a continuity with Greece as both physically and socially they emulate their counterparts in the homeland, as well as provide a forum for the regional Greek community to meet.

In the Greek community, formal organizations have appeared as early as did the informal ones (for example, the coffeehouses). Greeks were generally quicker than other groups to meet these needs, despite occasional factionalism. Possibly, "the long period of persecution by the Turks had forced them to gain expertise with self-help organizations in the absence of civil government."¹

¹ 6G. pp. 135.

The church is the primary formal institution in the Greek neighborhood. It most closely recreates a physical setting like that of its counterpart in Greece, as religious symbolism is intimately linked with physical forms. The church is located off the commercial spine, on a secondary road of a major intersection. Its courtyard is adjacent to the street and acts as an important place for weekly community mingling.

The school, a major institutions in the Greek enclave, begins as a small gathering in the church basement until enough money is saved to erect a separate building. Here the Greek language is preserved and propagated, and children learn about their background, and develop a more complete sense of identity. The school's location within the neighborhood is also important as it provides parents with the opportunity to more closely observe and guide their children's education by having frequent contact with the teachers, other parents, and bringing their children to and from school on a daily basis. "The Greek school will train children to be Greeks so that they will not be digested in the vastness of America."¹

Informal institutions, such as the coffeehouse, serve to continue the Greek tradition of male social clubs, and also to provide a place for sharing the traumas (and joys) of the immigrant experience. Sidewalk space and entranceways to the kafenio, provide areas for casual contact and surveillance of the street's activities.

Eating places are informal institutions in that they provide a setting which can both link the immigrant to childhood memories, food being a strong connection to mother, as well as to the Greek community at large. Many eating places are symbolic representations of Greece as their architecture and decor are not usually re-creations, but based on a collection of images and memorabilia, which have Greece as their unifying theme. Eating places are important gathering places and information dissemination centers.

The fact that no distinct patterns in the actual lay-out of the neighborhood are discernable, is most probably the result of local conditions taking precedence over the desired organization of the residents. That is, the fact that they are moving in to an existing fabric, some of which is already inhabited by other users and uses, in addition

¹ Peter Lambros, editor of Greek star Holli, M. and Jones, P. op. cit. pp. 35. in Ibid. pp. 109

to economic restrictions, precludes the group from creating a neighborhood "just like home," or one that would be most convenient.

The main threads tying the community are language¹ and the informal network created by the well developed public life. "The Greek way of life, which revolves around its communal institutions, provides a sheltered enclave for aliens in which insecurity can be overcome at the individuals's own pace."²

As the community matures, it grows in population, develops institutions, and creates a distinct identity. In absorbing the culture shock for newly arrived immigrants, the enclave inevitably also absorbs elements of the dominant culture. These habits, preferences, attitudes and objects, are integrated into the lifestyles and settings of the immigrant group, especially by the second and third generations.

It is then, that cultural display takes on additional importance. As the immigrant group is increasingly exposed to the dominant society a number of things occur. An increased consciousness regarding the differences between the two cultures results in an increased awareness of ethnic identity. This is usually followed by a need for legitimization as the ethnic perceives he is often misunderstood by members of the dominant group. Thus, more explicit representations and expressions of his origin with which he can identify are needed to define him as part of an acknowledged and legitimate group. The need for a physical locality where the ethnic group can express their identity with the support of physical representation, symbolizing their belonging to a place, seems to be a persistent one.

NOSTALGIC REFUGE:

The desire to maintain a separate ethnic identity is evident in the degree of cultural display observable in the enclave's environment, long after the majority of initial immigrants have died or moved away. That is, the second and third generation

¹ (even the policeman who was not Greek had to learn to speak Greek in Lowell's Acre. In Tarpon Springs a black electrician who services Greek households has become fluent in Greek)

² 6G. pp. 135.

channel their efforts towards creating a kind of nostalgic refuge to which they return quite frequently.

The cultural display which describes the refuge takes on a variety of forms; it is expressed both physically, and in terms of activity, and can be explained in terms of the following characteristics: preservation, congregation, links, display, and homage.

Preservation:

For people whose lives are restricted within the boundaries of the enclave, attachment to place is inevitably great. For a population whose life has suffered severe disruption, even if only symbolically (the children of immigrants feel the discontinuity) a threat to the symbol of new found security, the enclave, is passionately opposed.

During the early stages of an enclave's development, the immigrants are usually impotent with regard to creating obstacles to the disruption or destruction of their neighborhood. At later stages though when certain individuals have achieved relative economic success and, thus political-leverage, the ethnic group is more likely to be successful at its preservation attempts. As the workings of the formal system are gradually learned, attempts to protect the refuge are made through legislative measures. Example include the nomination of the Holy Trinity Church for landmark status, and the Tarpon Springs sponge docks for National Registry. Opposition to the redevelopment of old Sponge Exchange in Tarpon Springs, though unsuccessful, delayed this project by one year.

Congregation:

As the majority of residents move out of the enclave, planned meetings replace spontaneous casual contact. As other ethnic groups move in, most of the outdoor spaces are surrendered to them. Therefore, the need for gathering places, both indoor and outdoor, increases. Eating places continue to play this role as does, of course, the church and its courtyard space.

Links:

The nostalgic refuge as a setting for maintaining and expressing ethnic identity, gradually acquires a variety of associations and reminders of the ethnic group's connection, not only to their land of origin, but to the specific enclave. Thus, the enclave serves to preserve memories of the homeland while simultaneously creating and preserving the collective memory of the ethnic group's experience in the particular neighborhood.

A common expression of these links is in the baptizing of places; they are Greek because they are (or were) inhabited by Greeks.

Display:

Expressions of ethnicity represent the group's having come to terms with their position as separate and different from the dominant society, and feeling comfortable enough to express it. They are also symbolic of the process of group definition.

Cultural celebrations are one way of displaying ethnicity, recalling places of the past, connecting people with ancient traditions and expressing their link to a separate identity. In some cases celebrations become more elaborate when the enclave reaches the phase of refuge: costumes, symbols and inhabiting spaces around the path of procession reclaims the enclave and resurrects its past vitality. This is a way to claim the places a belonging to the group, as well as serving to unite members of the ethnic community sharing a symbolic past.

Symbolic re-creations of the land of origin represent and remind ethnic group members of a loosely defined familiar setting, its only unifying theme is that of being Greek. Since, however, these combinations of colors, cultural artifacts, and architectural elements do not exist in the same way in Greece, in fact, they are expressions of the hybrid, hyphenated Greek- American culture.

Public art, primarily in the form of murals is a common means of cultural display. These serve to further identify the area as being Greek, and in many cases include sciences of the neighborhood itself in their depictions.

Once many of the residents have moved out of the enclave or even before, when the influx of new immigrants has significantly decreased, the longer-term residents having adjusted and no longer seeking exclusively Greek goods and services, commercial

enterprises cannot depend solely on their own group and occasionally turn to tourism as a source of increasing their economic revenue. Tourism is also in a sense an attempt at attaining legitimacy. In addition to providing economic support for the maintenance of the refuge, the presence of tourists, while slightly changing the nature of expression, encourages cultural display. This in turn, can be perceived positively by members of the ethnic community as "foreigners" show interest, at least curiosity, about their lifestyle and symbols.

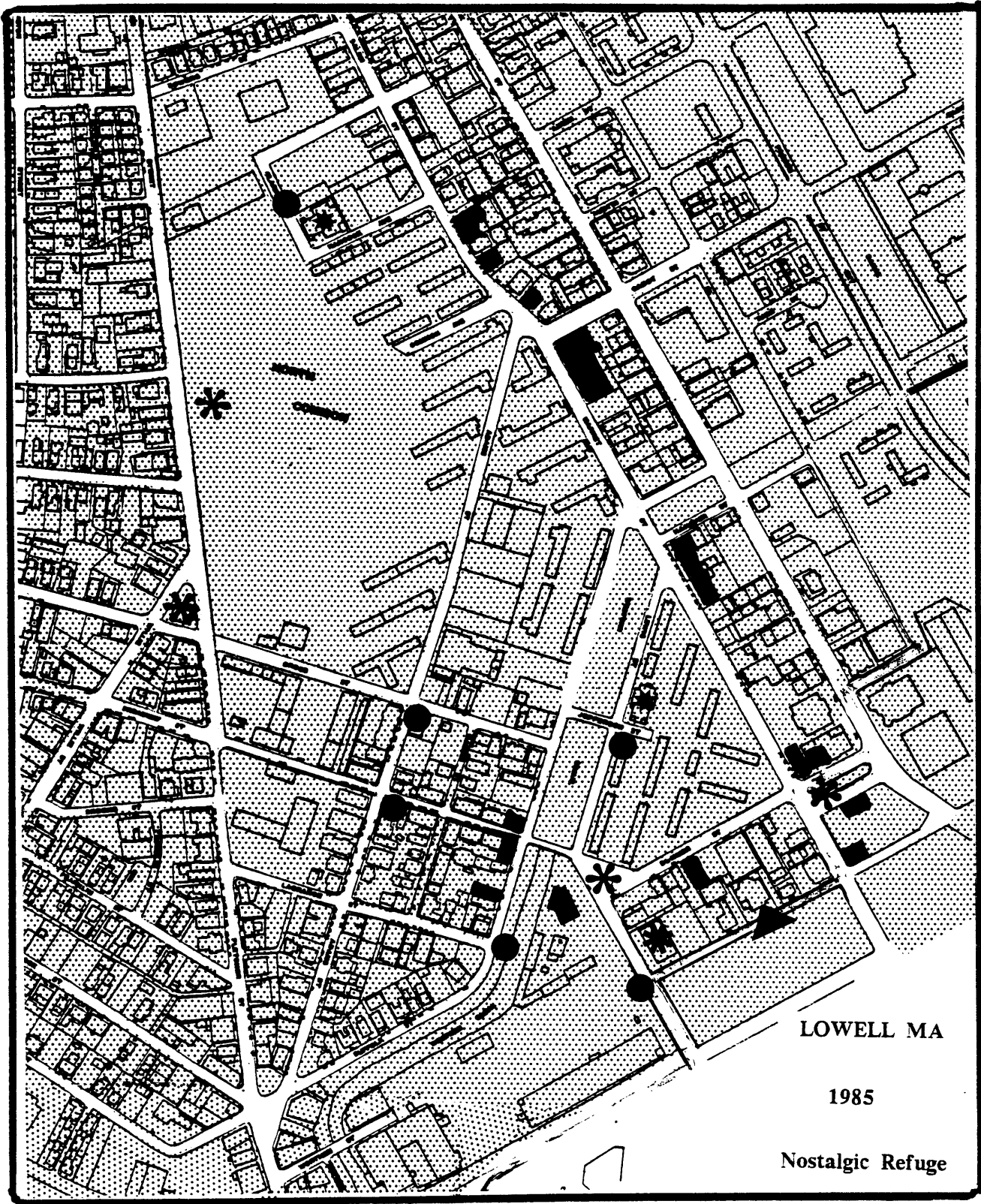
Homage:

Finally, the nostalgic refuge is a site of homage. It is where members of the ethnic group, past residents or not, of different generations, return to "pay their respects" to a series of touchstones symbolizing the legitimacy of the group's presence in the area, and serving to provide a link to their past in this specific place.

Memorials to particular individuals are few. Instead they tend to honor the group as a whole, uniting them, and granting them voice to express their struggles. During special occasions these memorials are honored with ritual wreath-laying ceremony, thus literally paying homage to the ethnic group's separate history in the U.S. and in the neighborhood. The erecting of touchstones is then analagous to the planting of roots.

The nostalgic refuge also offers opportunities for heritage learning in the form of "museum"-like exhibits and displays, more often the theme of the immigrant groups' history in the area rather than of the homeland. The refuge also houses the Community Center which preserves and propagates traditions, as well as fulfills "museum" functions.

The distinction between phases of initial adjustment, and of maintaining identity, are obviously slightly forced, as a significant transitional stage is common where there is a large overlap between the two. In fact, during this time, the two general roles may even come into conflict as newly-arrived immigrants, who do not yet understand the new hyphenated culture, sometimes react against what they consider to be reactionary (i.e. "This is what Greece was like 40 years ago"), or diluting of the Greek culture, as by definition the Greek-American culture has absorbed outside elements. The long-time residents, on the other hand, resent these insinuations and numerous of them



- * Monument
- Street-Name
- ▲ Mural

- * Church
- * School
- Commercial Enterprises

have expressed their distain (i.e. "The Greeks from Greece are trying to make us less Greek.") The relative time periods corresponding to the changing states of the enclave, are inevitably dependent on the particular local conditions influencing its development. Nonetheless, the distinction between stages and can be approximated by considering the rate of influx of new immigrants and the amount of time since the enclave's inception. Generally speaking, the older the enclave and the fewer the newcomers, the more likely it is that the neighborhood is moving towards refuge and away from decompressant chamber of the initial adjustment period.

The following two sections will apply the previously developed categories of activity with impact on or implication for the physical environment in order to both examine the validity of the categories in relation to other ethnic groups and to investigate their level of affordance in terms of providing for initial adjustment and nostalgic refuge. Treatment of the two additional case studies will be much less comprehensive than that of the "Greek Experience", because of both time and accessibility limitations.

Chapter 10 applies the categories to Chinatown, Boston and Part Chapter 11 to Villa Victoria, also in Boston. Chinatown represents a conglomerate on various levels: It's main economic base is tourism while it has reached the refuge state for some, it simultaneously functions as the setting for newly arrived refugees from Southeast Asia. Because of the low-income status of the majority of its population, Chinatown is a mosaic of self- help and federal interventions and transformations to the existing fabric Villa Victoria represents an entirely planned effort, with the participation of its primarily Puerto Rican residents, at creating a culturally-sensitive environment. It is indicative of what people ask for when given the change and the results of professional input into the process of the remaking of a home.

PART IV
COMMON DENOMINATORS
VALIDATION

CHAPTER 10

CHINATOWN

Background

Boston's Chinatown is defined by Essex Street to the north and the southeast Expressway and the Massachusetts Turnpike to the east and south respectively. Its western boundary is primarily a defacto definition due to the adjacency of the combat zone (Washington Street) but is gradually shifting towards Tremont Street. The neighborhood is composed of a very high density¹ of mixed residential and commercial uses. The typical Chinatown building is comprised of commercial space on the first floor with walk-up apartments on its upper storey.

Beach Street is the heart of Chinatown's commercial district. Major side streets which open onto Beach (Harrison, Tyler, Oxford, and Hudson Streets) are lined with shops on both sides. The predominant business in the neighborhood is food, in the form of both grocery stores and restaurants. Until recently a garment industry was also a major economic activity.

In 1979, the population of Chinatown was 5,000 - all of which was concentrated in twenty acres. The neighborhood's population has been rapidly increasing with the influx of Southeast Asian refugees, though the space in which to accommodate these people has remained the same. Though Boston's Chinatown is the fourth largest Chinatown in the U.S., since it is the only one in New England, it serves thousands of visitors of Asian origin who visit on a regular basis, in addition to the numerous non-Asian tourists who shop and eat in Chinatown.

Architect, Paul Sun identifies three distinct stages of development patterns in Chinatowns across the U.S., as reflected in their architecture.² In the first stage, predominantly Chinese immigrant men in search of work arrive in cities.

¹ The majority of left over spaces are owned by the BRA and the MBTA. Source: BRA, Chinatown-Southcove Report, Boston, 1979.

² McInnis, Edward. "Local architect defines 3 stages of Growth. Sampan. Feb. 1985 pp.35.



© INTERARTS, I
Map insert used by permission of Eschig Map Service, Stockholm.

"The newcomers came with a vision; they would make money to return to China with their savings for a life of ease, surrounded and honored by the families which their toil has sustained."

1

Because of the language barrier the immigrants were forced into low paying jobs and thus searched for cheap housing. "That's why most Chinatowns are near run-down areas of the down-town part of the city, particularly the combat zone areas."² During this first stage, Boston's Chinatown was characterized by three-story brick row-houses, "undistinguished tenements, warehouses of people."³

The Southcove area is the site of successive waves of immigrants - Irish, Italian, Jewish, Syrian, and finally in the late 1880's, the first Chinese arrived, an overwhelming majority from the Canton area of China. Land values decreased as the area was transformed into a low-rent district and leather and garment industries were attracted to the available pool of cheap labor. In 1899, the construction of the elevated Washington Street line depressed land values even further.

In Paul Sun's second stage, "a real Chinese community" begins to emerge as women and families arrive. It gradually evolves into an "important center for food and for socializing, and a continuation of Chinese lifestyle, including games, and Chinese language magazines." This is when Chinese physical expressions begin to be incorporated into the fabric of the enclave, partly in an attempt to facilitate the continuation of a previous lifestyle and partly as a result of an emerging tourist industry.

In Boston, it was not until 1950, when some of the tenement housing was remodeled, that ground floor commercial uses, especially restaurants, came into being. Urban renewal demolished most of the low-rise buildings, replacing them with public housing towers, large-scale institutions, and developments were interspersed with the remaining rowhouses and warehouse buildings.

¹ Barth. Gunther. op. cit. pp. 1.

² Paul Sun in McInnis, Edward, op cit. pp. 27.

³ Paul Sun in Ibid. pp. 29.

Paul Sun's third stage, Chinatown's present state, is when tourism takes on an important role in the economic-base of the enclave. "Extensive development is underway and land values are going up. This threatens the stability of Chinatown community life," as outside redevelopment pressures pose a potential danger to the survival of the neighborhood.

In Boston, the expansion of the Tufts/New England Medical Center and the construction of Lafayette Place put such pressures on the Chinatown area. According to Sun, it is this third stage that is particularly crucial to Chinatown's development, as "it is possible for a Chinatown to become more of a tourist idea than a community." The physical expressions of Chinatown become increasingly commercialized "token Chinese appearances...Instead of architecture that is rooted in community values, we find only stereotyped tokens such as gargoyle street lamps or pagoda-topped telephone booths."¹

The third stage is also a paradoxical one in that simultaneous to the increase in tourist orientation, Chinatown is becoming home to an increasing number of refugees, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotian.

"The refugee enters a road into the unknown. It has no goal, it leads away from a home that cannot give protection and it has no end. The fugitive will get to a place of safety but he suspects that there is no salvation for him only insofar as his fleeing removes him from the immediate threat."

2

The increasing refugee presence in Chinatown is gradually becoming evident in the physical environment as they are beginning the process of re-making a home. Thus amongst the various Chinese community and tourist symbols, one observes the emergence of the old patterns in a slightly new interpretation. Chinatown is slowly being transformed into Asiatown, while simultaneously and paradoxically, becoming a place for shopping and sightseeing.

FOOD

¹ Paul Sun in *Ibid.* pp. 35.

² Pfeil ("Aubruch aus der Heimat", 1948) in Malmberg, Torsten. op. cit. pp. 113.

The Chinese people have a philosophy regarding the way food affects both the body and the mind. They believe that a ying-yang balance between hot and cold in proportions of ingredients and methods of preparation result in positive effects to blood circulation and the heart. Food which is "off-balance" is thought to make one ill.

All Chinese interviewed, agreed that food was one of the most difficult aspects of their previous lifestyle to change, no matter how long they had been in this country. "The Chinese cannot adapt to American ingredients in the kitchen."¹ This is especially evident in hospitals where many Chinese cannot eat the food, especially not dairy products, and thus their families bring them familiar food.

The significant difference between Chinese and U.S. foods and the attraction to the quick and inexpensive Chinese food that many tourists have displayed, has resulted in a plethora of food establishments, their signs and symbols being the most salient features of Chinatown's physical environment.

Chinatown merchants estimate that more than 60% of the neighborhood's economy is supported by food, sold in both restaurants and groceries. Forty-two percent of the entire male labor force of Chinatown work as waiters, cooks, and general help in the food industry.

The food establishments are of different kinds, that is, they are geared to different people and to fulfilling different needs. Some food markets are for residents, some for "community Asians," and others for tourists as well. Bakeries are primarily for residents and "community Asians," while restaurants are primarily for tourists. However, as Chinese residents recently are "going out to eat" more frequently, there is a great overlap in populations. Even though the majority of restaurants are still for a tourist population, a few exist for the almost exclusive use of the residents. For example, Kim Toy is primarily frequented by single men who are not used to cooking for themselves. The recently opened Hong Kong Eating Place, the atmosphere of which can be described as "a bit of chaos" (r, CT) has become a community gathering place. The organization and appearance, it is said, somewhat emulates an eating place in Mainland China with its numerous booths and centrally located common tables and

¹ Pauline Yee, manager of Tung Hing Lung, grocery from O'Neill, M. pp. 190.



FOOD



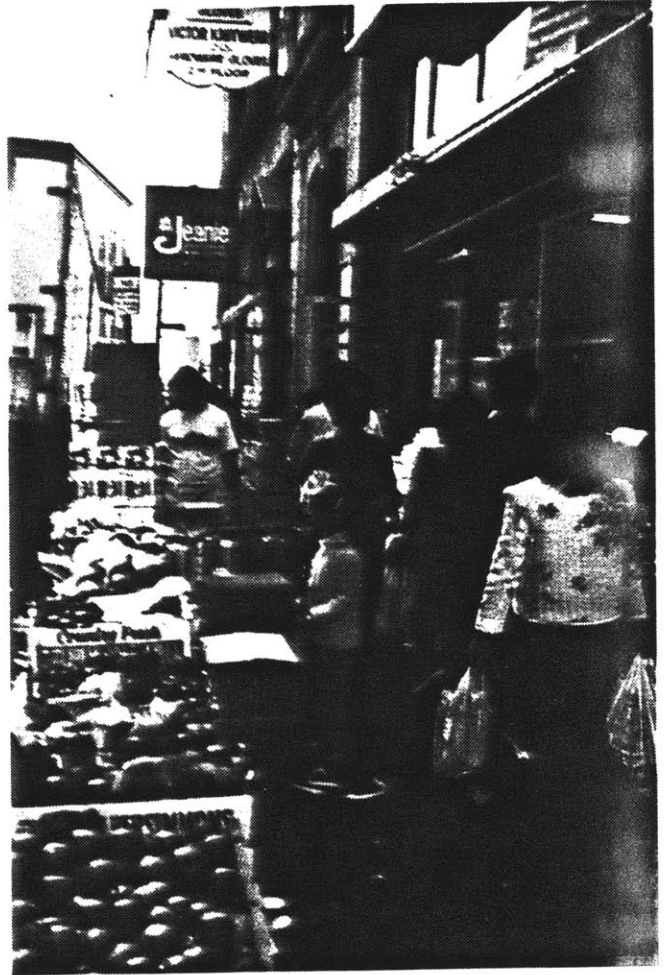
chairs. Regardless of clientele, the majority of restaurants in Chinatown are greatly embellished with a "Chinese" look. Whether it be the vertical signage with Chinese letters or red columns on the interior or pagodas above the entranceways, there is an obvious effort to express "Chinese." "I think the restaurants do it on purpose for the tourists," says a Chinese non-resident of Chinatown. However, others have a different opinion. Another Chinese non-resident noted that no matter where Chinese restaurants are located they are identified by vertical signage with Chinese characters. He has repeatedly asked owners who claim it is decorative, and, yes, it attracts their clientele, but it also means something to them; it is a way of expressing their identity.

The impact of food on Chinatown's sidewalks is immense. In almost every case, grocers display their produce in boxes and crates set up along the narrow sidewalk space. Women, and men, mingle among the boxes. On specific street corners, twice a day, groups of men can be seen waiting for a van to pick them up to take them to the various Chinese restaurants in suburban locations, the only place they could find a job.

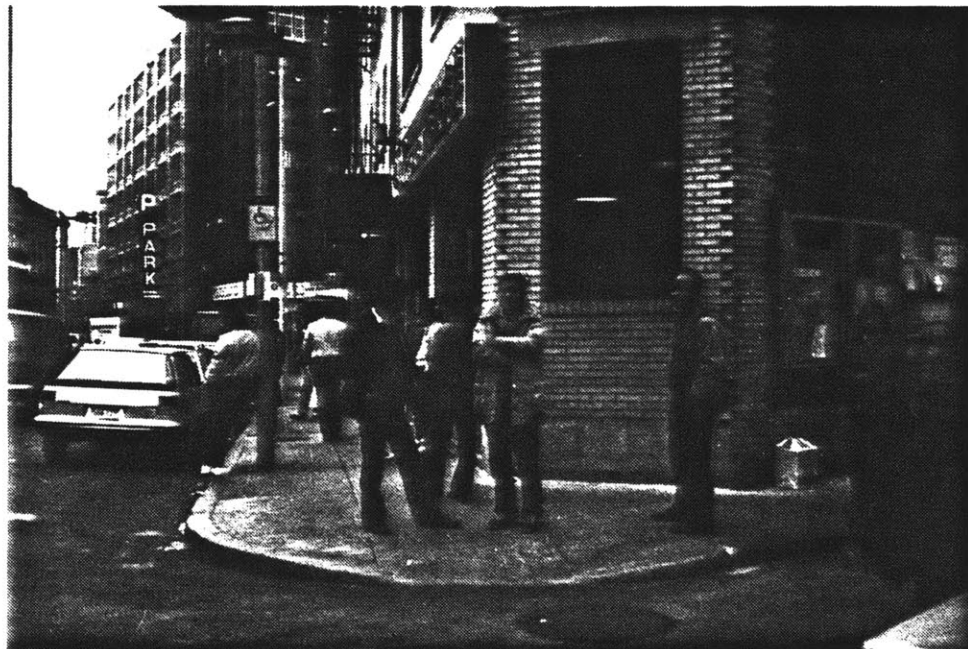
Although the refrigerator is fairly common in Hong Kong, it is very rare in China. Thus newly arrived immigrants have difficulty believing that food kept in the ice-box is as fresh as when bought the same day. Therefore, many Chinese immigrants continue their habit of shopping daily, this keeping them tied to living in Chinatown.

Food also finds itself in conflict with the environment in Chinatown. The "Chinese urgency for freshness" results in vegetables being trimmed and fish cleaned on a daily basis while many restaurants and shops have limited space. As a result, every few hours, the street needs cleaning. The merchants have hired a street cleaner for the commercial bulk garbage, but he finds himself in conflict with traffic and the parked cars. Also, many food establishments only have basement entrances and load/unload in narrow side alleys. These are inadequate for the volume of trade most are involved with.

On an Oxford Street corner, an established rice wholesaler providing rice to almost all of Chinatown, has left its mark on the streetscape. The BRA undertook to implement street improvements on Oxford Street by placing a series of red bullard along the sidewalk's edge to prevent cars from parking there. In front of the rice wholesaler the bullards break to enable the rice-packed trucks to enter, and at that spot instead



FOOD



Men waiting for van to take them to suburban restaurants

of granite curb a reveal was constructed, "acknowledging the fact that there was no way to avoid the unloading of rice at this spot, but the design gives cars the signal not to park there."¹

However, the fact that Chinatown is undergoing a transition in its traditions and absorbing some elements of the dominant society is revealed in the style of food markets.

"Five years ago I could spend half a day in several tiny, concrete-floored cellar markets ferreting out the fixings for a single whimsical stir-fry. Today all the ingredients for a Chinese banquet can be found in any of a handful of modern diversified Chinatown groceries."

2

Chinese people in suburbs and, increasingly, people in the neighborhood, absorbed by the pace and pressures of work in the U.S., can no longer afford the time to shop daily; many times work schedules conflict with shopping hours.

In the 1940's, "the heads of families would get together over tea and agree to raise the price of soy sauce or egg rolls."³ Today, increasing attention and interest from tourists has resulted in the decline of family-run and operated Chinatown groceries, as expansion requires more employees than the family can provide. Thus Chinese entrepreneurs are moving into management.

"...We've been through a cultural revolution. Our children are better educated and no longer automatically enter the family business. We no longer have time to shop every day. Times change..."

4

Ming's Oriental Supermarket, approximately 9,000 square feet of 85 Essex Street, "epitomizes the new wave of Chinatown groceries"⁵ recently emerging. With \$1 million

¹ Carol Matthewson, BRA.

² O'Neill, M. op. cit. pp. 191.

³ O'Neill, M. op. cit. pp. 192.

⁴ Chin, owner of Ching Pearl in O'Neill, M. op. cit. pp. 192.

⁵ O'Neill, M. op. cit. pp. 192.

worth of inventory, "the store is like an Oriental Stop and Shop."¹ It includes a full butcher, fish market and the widest range of food choices in Chinatown.

At 17-23 Beacon Street, the young men behind the fish counter at Asia Super Market play new wave music. A relatively wide range of groceries attracts a mixed clientele - Chinese, Americans, Southeast Asians and a few North Americans.²

Sea Sun Market at 19-25 Harrison Avenue is favored by suburban shoppers "because there is a parking lot adjacent to the store." It has the atmosphere of a rural grocery store, "packets of loofah, Oriental pickling cucumbers, white gourd...by the front door," reinforcing the image.³

Nevertheless, the continued and persistent influx of new immigrants to Chinatown supports the survival of small traditional food markets. An example of one of the survivors is located at 18 Hudson Street. Warren Wong has owned Chong Lung Kee Company at the same location, since 1953. His inventory consists of a small eclectic selection of groceries for his neighborhood clientele, with whom he has established a personal relationship.

A few crates of vegetables are propped on 100 pound barrels of MSG on the sidewalk outside his store. "And while new-wave Chinatown grocers install computerized cash registers, Warren Wong continues to tally sales on an abacus."

The other traditional element in the physical expressions of food is the newly emerged southeast Asian shops which are following the same pattern as the older Chinese establishments. Southeast Asian merchants now own an estimated 25% of food concessions in Chinatown, a few of which have opened only within the past year.⁵

¹ Ibid. pp. 192.

² Gunther, Barth. op. cit. pp. 193.

³ Ibid. pp. 193.

⁵ Ibid. pp. 191.

On the corner of Harrison Avenue and Kneeland Street, a Vietnamese refugee sells "Vietnamese Lunch" - hot rice noodles, rice soup and chao bank cuon (sweet rice compote) for less than \$3 - from a cart on the sidewalk.¹

LANGUAGE

An estimated 60%-80% of Chinatown's residents do not speak English. Language is cited as the number one problem for Asian immigrants. As differences in alphabet, syntax, and manner of expression are great, immigrants, some of whom are not very literate in their own language, find learning English a huge obstacle to their adjustment. As many, especially men, are declassified and thus limited to entry level positions with long working hours, the time and energy left over for English classes is minimal.²

SIGNAGE

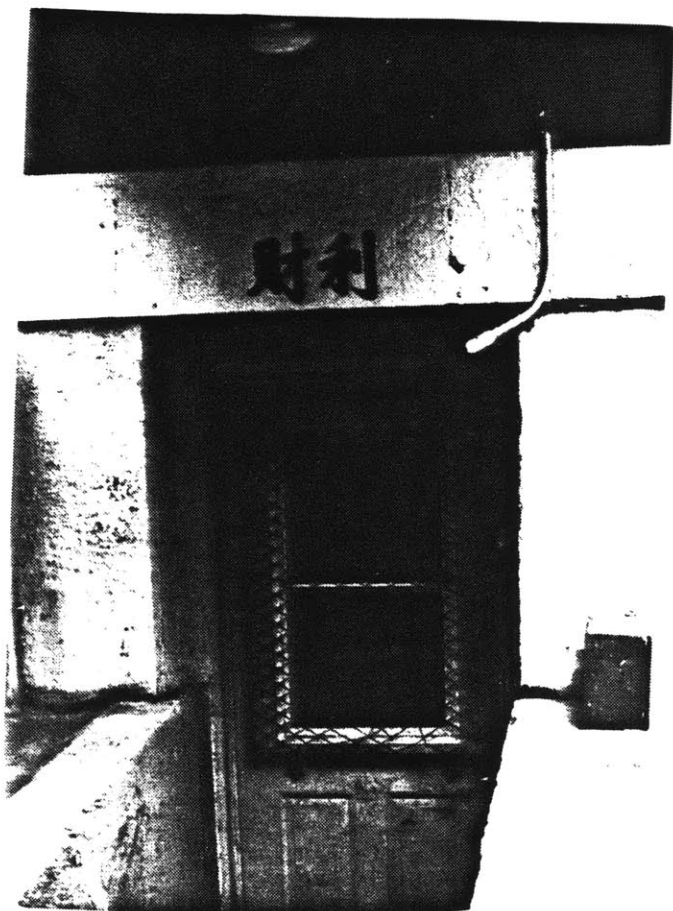
Signs have a very significant impact on Chinatown's physical environment. Ashihara, in comparing Asian to European commercial areas, describes the Japanese shopping street as characterized by "perpendicular signboards and other fixtures that project over the building's facades so that the town's skyline is not defined by the building's roofs, but by a collective cluster of these fixtures."³ The very same can be said of Chinatown's commercial core. That is, the salient features of surrounding neighborhoods are evident in their "primary profile,"⁴ defined as the outline of the buildings' front exterior. In

¹ Ibid. pp. 192.

² As an illustration of the severity of the language barrier, the BRA amongst its recommendations for Chinatown includes the following strategy: "City should help to ensure that residents are considered for construction jobs in adjacent areas by requiring that job openings posted on the site be written in Chinese." (BRA. Chinatown-Southcove. op. cit.)

³ Ashihara, Yoshinobu. op. cit. pp. 73.

⁴ Ibid. pp. 76.



LANGUAGE



contrast to this, Chinatown's salient characteristic is its "secondary profile,"¹ created by protruding or temporary ephemera attached to the primary profile.

Signs are of many types, colors, shapes and sizes communicating bi-lingually, not because the residents prefer Latin letters to Chinese characters, but as a result of the tourist industry. The shapes, sizes, and location of the signs are often in violation of the city's sign code. However, for tourist interests, these regulations are overlooked by the city authorities.

On Oxford Street is located the main community bulletin board where information of all types is disseminated, much of it written on the traditional red paper with black ink. Almost all notices are in Chinese and communicate a large variety of messages, from announcements of upcoming events to descriptions of units for rent, to a public thank you for a wedding gift.

SCHOOL

Quincy School, Chinatown's elementary school, also doubles as a community center. It is the only place with indoor facilities which residents have access to. It offers adult education classes and English as a Second Language courses. The Quincy Community Council, Inc. offers pre-school extended kindergarten classes to supplement regular kindergarten with education, recreation and social services geared specifically to immigrant children.

The school's significance in the community is evidenced in the physical appearance of the building. Architects at TAC incorporated a children's mural with Chinese flavor, in the facade treatment, its bright yellow background as trim for the building's roof. This both identifies the building and inspires identification with it as both resident involvement and cultural expression is symbolized in the mural.

Media

¹ Ibid. pp. 77.

Chinatown has one weekly bi-lingual newspaper, the San Pan, which is primarily geared to discussing issues concerning the neighborhood. Also available are other Chinese newspapers with nation-wide readership serving to link the enclave with other Chinatowns in the U.S. and Asian news in general. A weekly Chinese radio program and a Sunday morning television show provide additional mediums of communication in the immigrants' mother-tongue.

Recently a series of Vietnamese signs have been appearing on storefronts, offices, houses, and even on trucks.

PUBLIC LIFE

Street

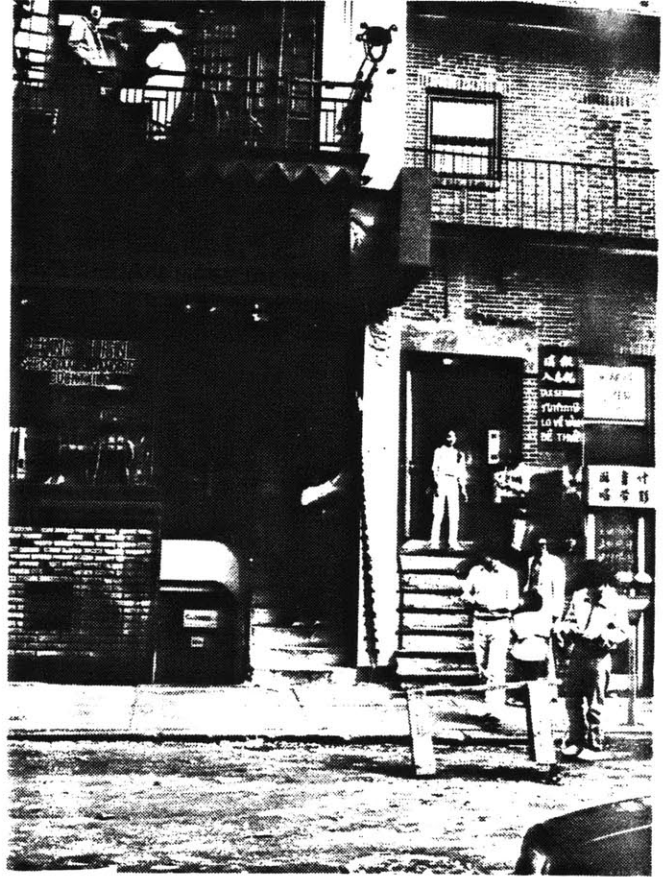
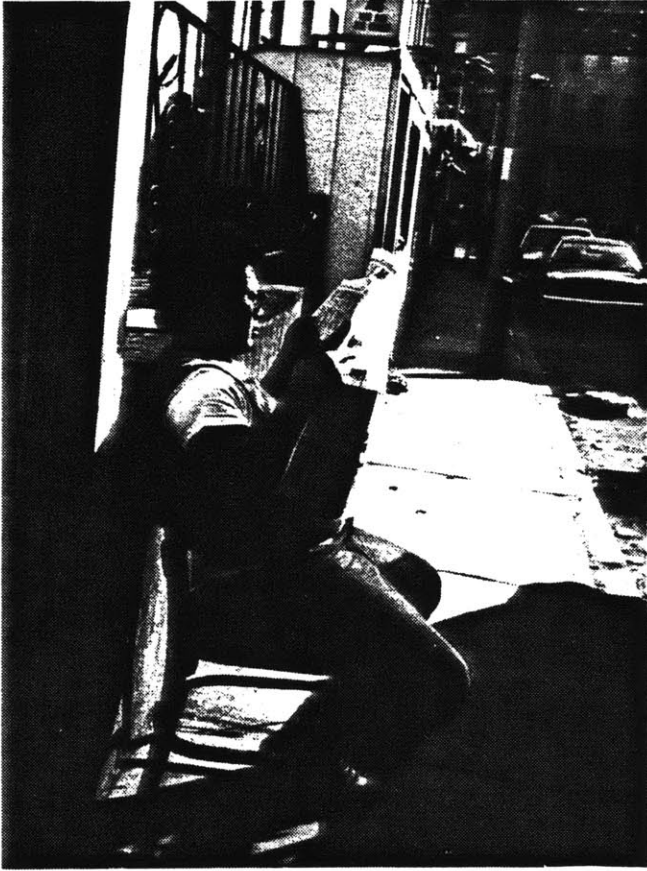
"The street is the meeting place for the Asian community...there isn't much room in the houses, not much open space, and anyway it's like that in China and other places..." (nr, C)

In Wuhan, China, the street is a "big outdoor living room."¹ In the morning, people brush their teeth, wash, and dump the water on the street. At noon, it fills with push carts selling food and drink. In the evening, the set changes again as the night market sets up its booths, and people gather to shop and socialize, children playing street games among the mingling adults. During summer nights, cars and buses stop circulating at an earlier hour, and beds are placed out onto the street, each family forming a tight cluster of beds.

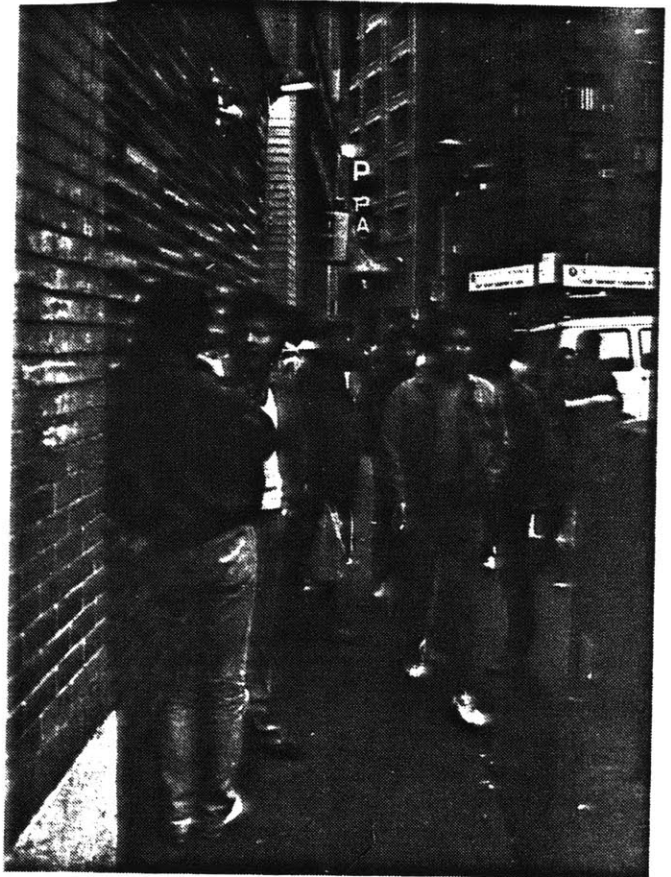
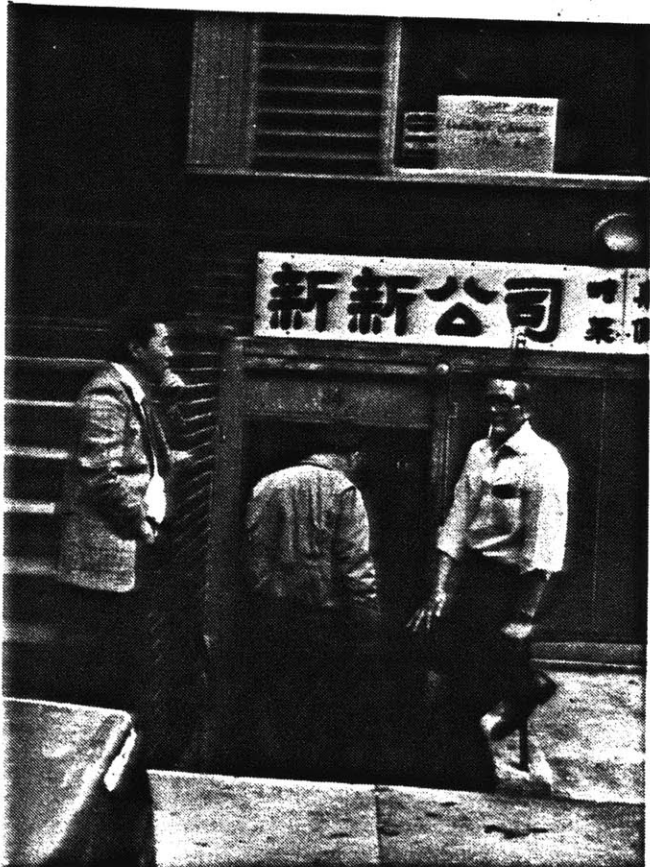
In Canton, from whichmost of Chinatown's residents have come, the street is used to hang clothes up to dry, to display wares and dry goods, and especially as a meeting place for socializing. Thus, the typical Chinese street, in China as in Chinatown, "looks lived in," because it is.

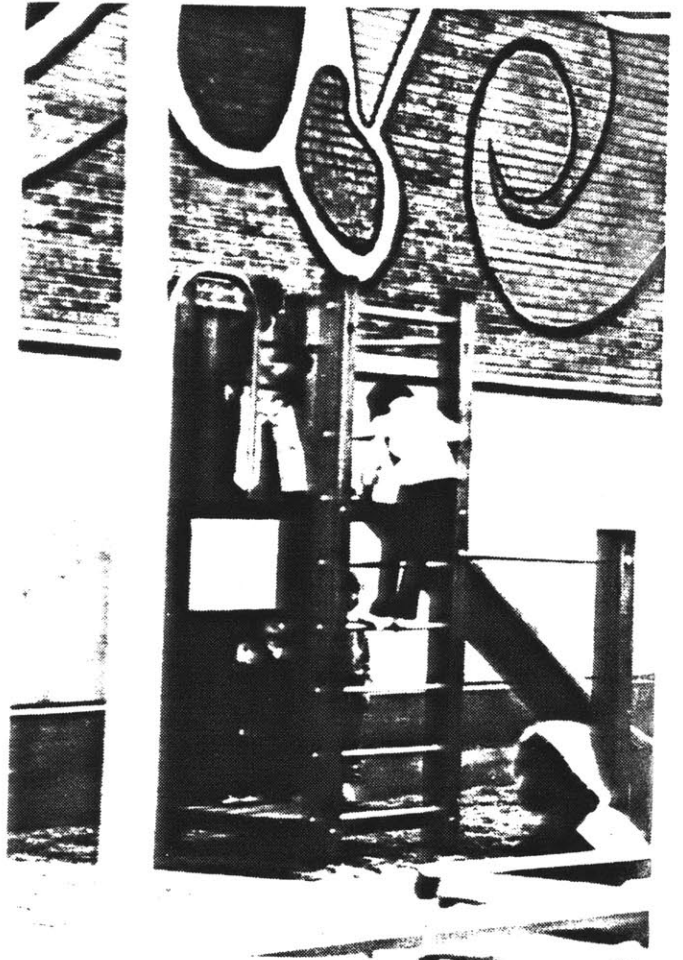
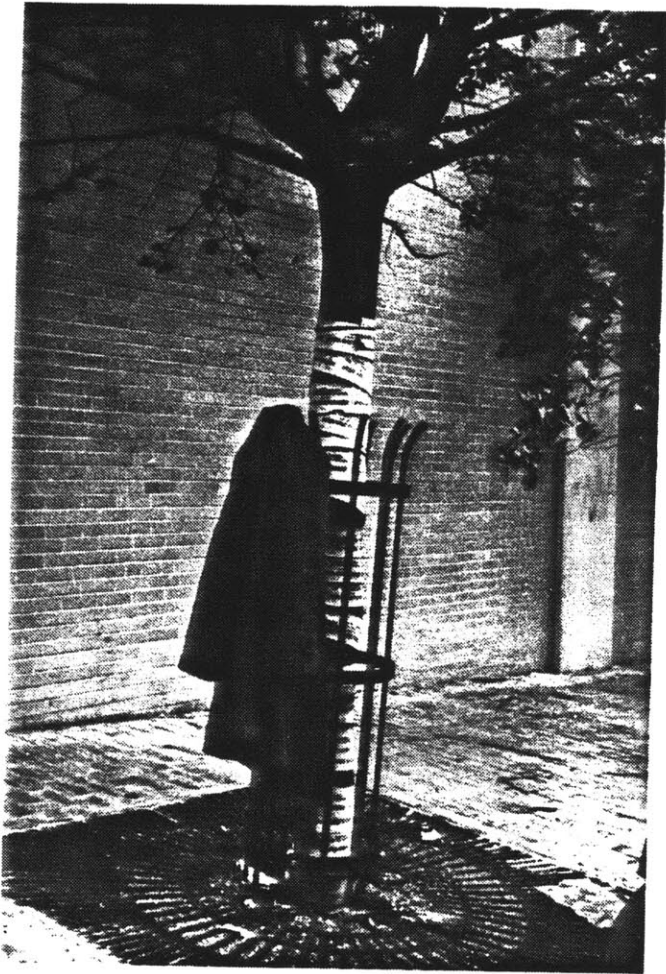
In addition to highly congested vehicular traffic, streets in Chinatown's commercial core are crowded with people (residents, Asian visitors, and tourists) and produce

¹ Paul Sun, Chinese architect.

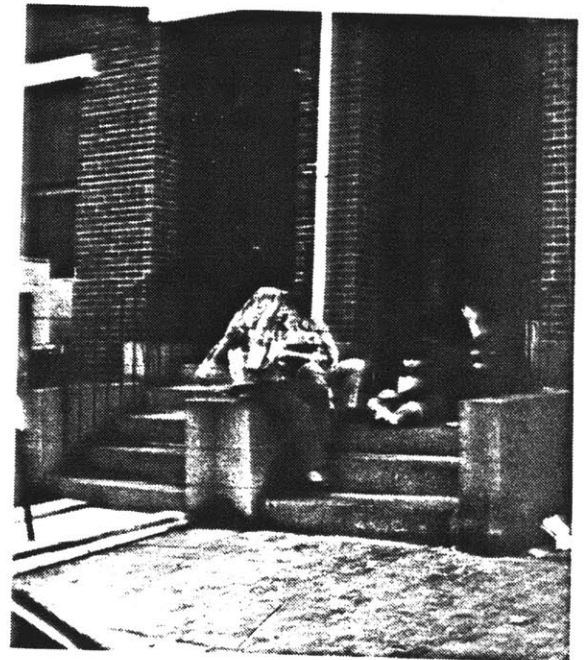
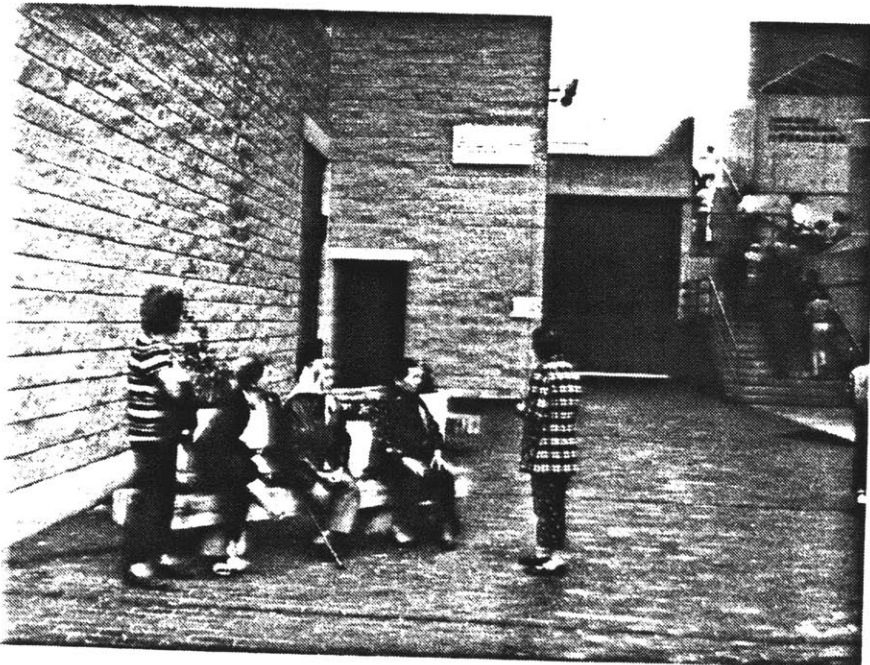


PUBLIC LIFE





PUBLIC LIFE



displayed on sidewalks and garbage. Under most weather conditions and during most hours, there seems to be a continuous flow of people in the streets. During late evening hours, the proximity of the combat zone and the perceived and real danger it induces, forces many people inside. As most Chinese, especially from the Canton area, are not used to drastic weather changes, some never having seen snow before, extreme cold also inhibits their inhabiting of the street. Nonetheless, most of the time, the central core of Chinatown is used as an extension of most of the neighborhood's indoor places, both residential and commercial, as the main setting for socializing.

Segregated socializing by sex is common in the Asian community. Women inhabit stairs and stoops in the somewhat more secluded residential streets, as well as mingle in food markets and among the crate and box displays on the sidewalk.

Men gather in specific eating places, gambling clubs, and wait for the van to take them to work at suburban Chinese restaurants, on street corners. They also meet in Family Associations, a social club based on the family last name and patterned after its traditional counterpart in China. Some of these associations express their symbolic continuation of Chinese organizational forms by incorporating Chinese architectural elements in the buildings within which gatherings occur. The epitomy of this is the Lee Family Association, whose building on Harrison Street is an elaborately decorated building in Chinese monumental architectural style. It is the wealthiest family association in Chinatown, something which is also expressed by the economic ability to construct such a structure.

Open Space

Though open space is limited in Chinatown, there are a few small parks which are frequented by residents and visitors alike.

Gateway Park, located on the neighborhood's main commercial street (Beach) is the most frequently used park of Chinatown. It is used by both residents and Asian visitors. It is in close proximity to major markets, bakeries, and restaurants. Beach Street, being the main circulation path, and its position relative to Chinatown's monumental Gateway renders the space significant in the sequence of movement through the neighborhood.

The park, designed by the BRA, was conceived as a "Chinese park," thus incorporating some Chinese physical elements into the design. The conspicuous Chinese gateway in full view guarded by lion statues adds to the effect. Geometric red cast-iron fencing with patterns reminiscent of Chinese motifs encloses the space. Lighting is provided by lamp posts topped with pagodas. The most salient feature of the park, however, is a mural which covers two-thirds of the main wall enclosing the park, providing a backdrop to the space. Though the colors and abstract design are reminiscent of Chinese flavor, residents have commented on their desire for a more Chinese-looking mural. Though not intended for this purpose, the mural also provides recreation for many children who attempt to target its various colored forms with a ball. Improvements to the mural could include enhancing its Chinese associations and increasing its flexible interactive nature.

Pagoda Park, planned for sports activities with basketball and volleyball courts, and bleachers, is disconnected from the neighborhood both physically and perceptually by the difficult and sometimes dangerous crossing of the Southeast Expressway. However, its signboard which attempts to link it back to the neighborhood by symbolizing a Chinese form, successfully claims the space for Chinatown residents. Though the park lacks a distinct identity and physical connection to the enclave, the small but conspicuous sign topped by a Chinese roof and Chinese characters accompanying its name, Pagoda, seems to provide it with enough identity to enable it to be included in Chinatown's turf.

Another interesting but little used space is the roof of Quincy School designed as a "park" for both the school and the adjoining Quincy Towers elderly housing project. Though children play there during school breaks and after school in daylight hours, the roof is abandoned at night. The small space at the base of the stairs leading to the roof is frequently occupied by elderly from Quincy Towers, but it is unreasonable to expect that residents from the elderly housing will be able to climb the stairs to reach the park space. In addition to this architectural obstacle, the relative isolation of the site and distance from the neighborhood's core render it underutilized by other residents and thus it is perceived as being unsafe; in the evening "it is lost to foreigners, drunks and prostitutes," claim Chinese residents who feel they can no longer protect the space from such intrusion.

"The Chinese people receive the most recreational satisfaction and needed support by talking with friends...I think we would love a traditional courtyard which allows for the best way to support each other - to get together and talk."
(r, CT) Physical elements most commonly mentioned as desirable for open space in Chinatown include trees, wooden or stone benches, a water fountain, and a well-defined area that feels Chinese and is for the residents of Chinatown exclusively.

Tai Tung Village, a public housing project with 75% Chinese occupancy on the edge of the neighborhood, attempts to incorporate the traditional Chinese courtyard concept. Architects Jung-Brannen, constrained by Section 8 regulations, designed the complex with an effort to give some attention to the specific needs of the Chinese residents. In addition to the court (still under construction), the ground floor is almost exclusively Chinese retail. However, the street and sidewalk space in front of the project is not occupied for socializing and the courtyard is rarely used, except by children playing, but the proximity of Chinatown's commercial core and its related intensity of use of outdoor spaces, compensates for the lack of activity in the housing project's outdoor spaces.

"In the village we could sit and talk until late at night...we took walks after dinner and then groups of people would sit and chat."

As Chinatown's location within the downtown and its adjacency to the Combat Zone make it difficult to prevent the intrusion of outsiders, many residents complain that at night their streets and open spaces are sometimes taken over by drunks and prostitutes. Safety in the outdoor spaces of the neighborhood is a major concern of the neighborhood residents, since the real and perceived dangers pose an obstacle to their outdoor public life.

CULTURAL DISPLAY

Celebration

Celebrations in Chinatown have become a part of "things to do in Boston." Hundreds of tourists gather to watch the Chinese reenact traditions which link them to an ancient past. However, though tourists participate in the rituals as observers, celebration may be the only aspect of cultural display in Chinatown which is

exclusively for the Chinese community with little thought given to the tourism potential.

"Celebration is the most authentic part of Chinatown...it is not done for the tourists, but is the expression of the spirit of the community." (nr, CT).

During the various festivals, the entire neighborhood is transformed with brightly colored lanterns, streamers, banners and flowers in, on, and around buildings. As religion does not play a large role in bringing people together, celebrations are a very important part of Chinese life, both in China and in the U.S. In the U.S. they must be slightly adapted to fit the work schedules of the immigrants, but nevertheless they are carried out with much passion and attention to traditional detail.

"I have been in the U.S. 30 years and consider myself very Americanized....Everything can be Westernized except two things: food and celebration." (nr, C).

"It is difficult for the Western mind to grasp the full significant of the Lunar New Year. On the one hand it was a time for reunion, and at the same time it represented a renewal of the spirit. The Chinese Lunar New Year is followed by the Beginning of Spring."¹

The New Year was and still is the most widely celebrated festival throughout the whole of China, and throughout Chinatown. Preparations for the New Year include placing long strips of red paper, expressing good luck wishes, in doorways and elsewhere; the Gate is fully adorned. Both Chinese and U.S. flags are hung from windows. Homes, offices and the streets receive a thorough cleaning to do away with misfortune and bring good luck, according to an old superstition.

Gifts of food of different kinds are exchanged, representing various wishes for the coming year. In many families a big fish is set on the table, whole, to symbolize the unity of the family. The fish also symbolizes abundance as the two are represented by the same Chinese character, simply pronounced differently.

¹ Latsch, Marie-Luise. Chinese Traditional Festivals. New World Press, Beijing: 1984, pp. 23.

On the actual New Year's Day (as the month of February is for family celebration) the entire neighborhood is transformed for the public celebration. The core streets are closed off from traffic and small tables and benches, each with an orange for luck and a head of lettuce for prosperity, are placed in front of each store. A procession led by flag-bearers, followed by drummers and dancing lions, weaves in and out of the streets. The procession stops at the entrance of each commercial enterprise where the merchant awaits the ritual blessing for prosperity in the new year. Firecrackers are set off blowing up the oranges and heads of lettuces: the offering to heaven and earth.

The main occupation of the children is setting off fireworks which explode continuously throughout the day. The cracking sound is considered to be auspicious, sending the evil spirits away. The streets are covered with red confetti, fragments of the firecrackers. New Year's pictures adorn both public and private spaces. Flowers are placed everywhere.

For the entire month of the new year festivities, houses are decorated with "New Year's pictures." The subjects of the pictures demonstrate the insistence on adhering to tradition surpassing the passion of China itself, which has undergone many social changes. In the past, the themes of the New Year pictures were basically of four types:¹ 1. Images of various deities, particularly the Kitchen God and the Guardians of the Gate. 2. Scenes from the peasants' lives, very often on a calendar. 3. Allegoric or symbolic figures and objects such as peaches, fish, and well-nourished children, all expressing man's desire for a better life, happiness, riches, abundance, many children, long life, fame, and success. 4. Scenes from legends, novels, historicals episodes and operas.

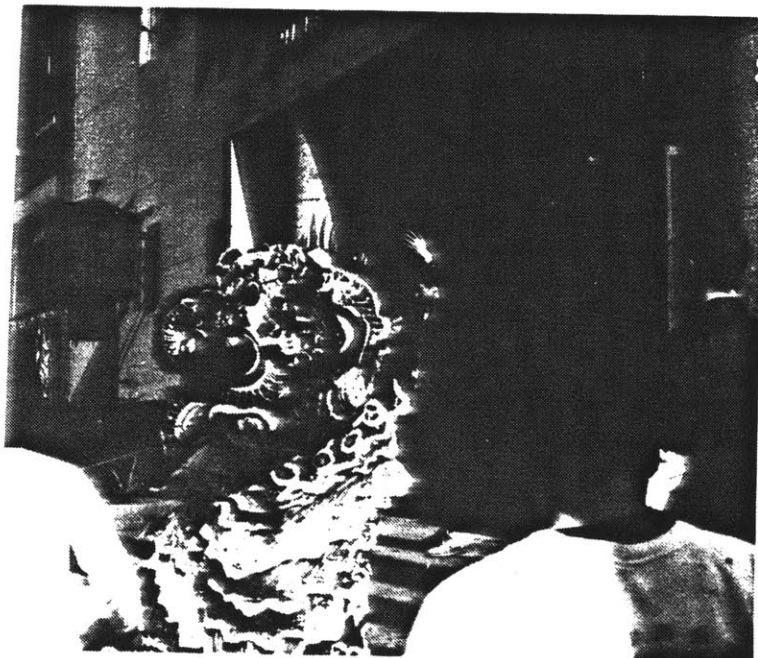
After 1945, new types of New Year's pictures appeared, preserving the old form, but with different themes. The old "Guardians of the Gate" were replaced by pairs of peasants, workers or soldiers; the Kitchen God was replaced by a portrait of Mao Zedong. Today both traditional and revolutionary themes are depicted on the New Year's pictures in China. In Chinatown, however, most New Year's pictures displayed

¹ Latsch, Marie-Luise. op. cit. pp. 23.



CELEBRATION

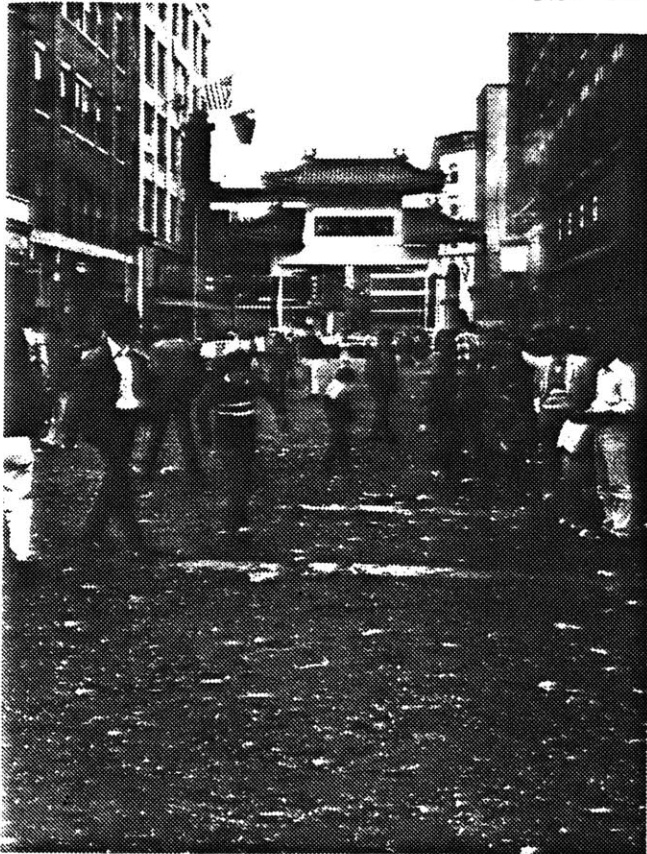
- New Year, 1985



CELEBRATION



• New Year, 1985



are of traditional themes, the immigrants thus express their desire to cling to the most traditional.¹

"Chinese people come here from China and exclaim: but this is how we were forty years ago!" (r, CT).

Though closing Beach Street off from the intrusion of traffic allows the community to somewhat transform the main street of the neighborhood into a setting for celebration, the lack of space and crowded conditions act to somewhat confine the festivities. A flexible celebration platform space would facilitate the expressions of cultural celebrations which are of such importance to the Chinese community. A precedent for this may be found in China itself. In the town of Futze Miao in the district of Nanjiang is a space analagous to the Town Square which has incorporated in its facilities a special place for celebrations. Though abandoned during the cultural revolution, it has now been revived and functions all year around as a marketplace and gathering space; for celebrations it is converted into a stage set for the particular festivities.

Place-Naming

There is only one street in all of Chinatown with a Chinese name, Ping-on Street, which is the narrow alley where the first Chinese immigrants to Boston settled. Ping-On means "safe-arrival," thus commemorating the original immigrants as they came to settle in the tenement housing lining the street.

The names of restaurants are sometimes those of famous establishments in China, without the restaurant owner having any connection to the original enterprise.

In terms of place-naming, Chinatown is unique in that it not only has acquired full identity and acknowledgement of claim to the neighborhood in the name of the

¹ Interesting evidence of the importance of the New Year's celebration in the Chinese culture is its persistence not only when the physical setting changes but also when the social and political system is transformed. During the cultural revolution in China as no icons could be brought, people painted them themselves, and when no incense sticks were available, in certain places in China they were replaced by high-quality cigarettes. "Where a popular basis for the festival exists the people will find a way to realize it." (Latsch, Marie-Luise, op. cit. pp. 33.)

enclave itself, but it has been formalized to the point of having signs on the highway informing motorists of its location. *"No other neighborhood can make such a claim." (nr,C).*

The name "Chinatown" has become institutionalized as it is used throughout North America to refer to Chinese enclaves. (Highway signs also appear in Los Angeles and Chicago). Interestingly enough, as the influx of non-Chinese Asians has recently increased dramatically, the new immigrants seeking refuge in Chinatown as it is the closest setting to their cultural background, Chinatown has begun to answer to the name of Asiatown. In Seattle, the Chinatown area has been designated as the "International District"; it is nicknamed the ID.

Color

Red symbolizes happiness and wealth. It is the color of the Ching Dynasty, that is, it carries this meaning for approximately 300 years. Red is also the color of Peking, as it is most commonly used in that city's commercial areas.

The most often used color in Chinatown is red, with green running a close second. However, there is little private display of color on the exterior of residential buildings which may be the result of most Asians in the enclave being renters as opposed to owners.

In the commercial core, red is found both on the exterior and the interior of public places. Entire building facades are painted in red; other buildings are decorated with red panels. Signs are most often red as are other fixtures and pieces of street furniture, such as the bollards on Oxford Street. During holidays, narrow strips of red crepe paper with black Chinese characters printed on them are placed on three sides of entranceways.

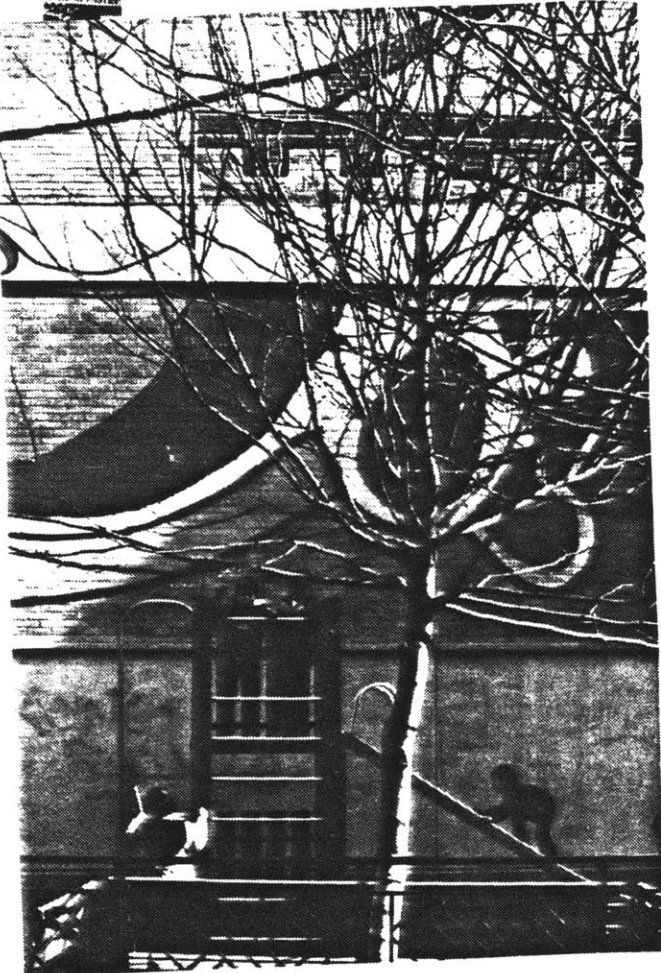
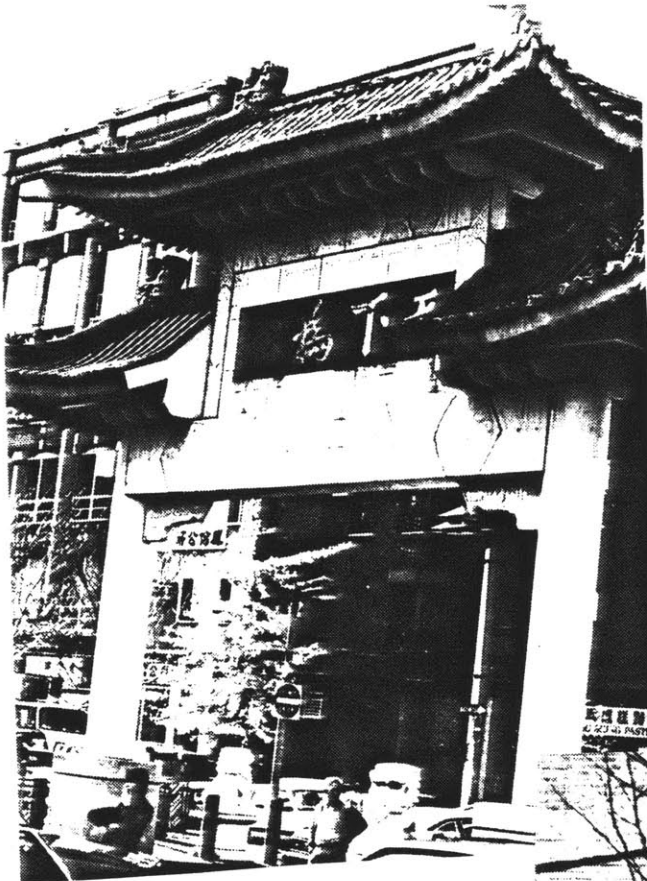
It is difficult to discern how much of the use of color is meant to attract tourist attention, and how much is a genuine cultural display with authentic meaning for the neighborhood's residents.

Touchstones and Symbols

The single most salient feature of Chinatown is the Gateway located at the neighborhood's east entry. The Gate, which is in the style of a traditional Chinese

CULTURAL DISPLAY

The Gateway



The Gateway Mural

pai-fang, was a Bicentennial gift to Boston from the government of Taiwan in recognition of the growing Asian population in the city. The Taiwanese government sent the tiles, four white marble lions to guard entrance into the neighborhood, and the plans for the structure. The design and engineering of the actual Gate was undertaken by Jung-Brannen, with a total cost of \$500,000 to the city.

"Green and gold and curlicued, it looks like a Disneyque caricature of a Cantonese gate."

¹

Though reminiscent of gateways in traditional Chinese cities, Chinatown's gate resembles more the Gateways of San Francisco and New York. It is in fact considered by many as Chinese-American architecture, thus acting to connect Boston's Chinatown to the loosely knit network of other U.S. Chinatowns.

The city made an unusual effort to create a "cultural" setting for the Gates as it considered such treatment conducive to tourism. The choice of trees in the adjacent park was consciously made to remind one of Chinese trees. The fence enclosing the park has a Chinese-like motif and is painted red; "Chinese" ornamental lamp posts provide light. However, they neglected one significant detail: in China, white gateways are placed in front of shrines for tombs, red gates are for commercial areas. A Chinatown superstition claims that since the erection of the white Gateway, there have been two suicides and several murders in the enclave.

In addition to this, second and third generation Chinese are not sure they approve of the Gate. *"No one asked the community if they wanted it..." (r, CT)* Some claim that more important things should have been done with the money. Others react against the actual symbolism: *"There is something else I've often wondered about...the four characters on the Gate are of classical Chinese philosophy. Not everyone believes in Confucian philosophy...it may not be fair."* For example, a young woman objects to the first character which symbolizes "rites", that is, relationships are regulated by roles...a women listens to her father and then later to her husband...always.

¹ O'Neill, M. op. cit. pp. 189.

The Gateway has created one more problem; it has become a public liability. Because of the drastic temperature changes Boston experiences, not only do Chinese immigrants have difficulty adjusting, but so do Chinese tiles. They were not fired at a high enough temperature and as a result a few have fallen on cars.

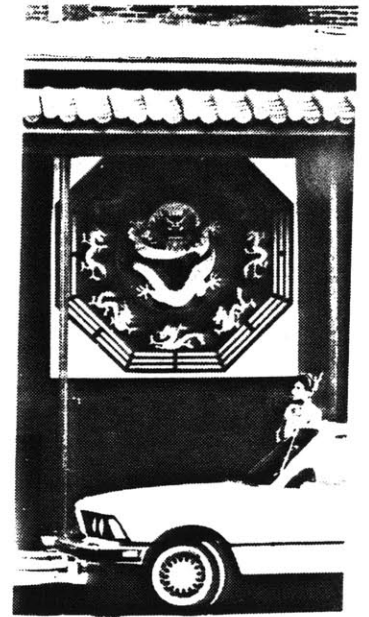
Nevertheless, the Gateway does provide a focal point and identity to the neighborhood and makes the area immediately recognizable as Chinatown, marking the entrance point. Also, it provides a stage set for the scene of various cultural celebrations which use the Gateway and its surrounding setting as a kind of celebration space.

Chinatown is full of what architect Paul Sun calls "Chinese-American or Chinatown architecture," a collection of Chinese-American symbols which have more of a relationship to the Chinatowns of North America than they do to China itself, although the forms are based on traditional Chinese styles. Nevertheless, these symbols incorporate elements of classical, monumental Chinese architecture, for example the pagoda, which represents only 15% of all Chinese forms (the remaining 85% being vernacular and modern). In addition to this, the forms are never used in China the way they are used in Chinatown.

For example, both the street lamps and the telephone booths in Chinatown are topped with pagoda-like forms. These are actually symbols which the merchants of the neighborhood requested from the city since "all the other Chinatowns have them." That is, they express a desire, at least on the part of the merchants (as most newly-arrived immigrants "laugh very loudly when they see them") to be acknowledged as a legitimate Chinatown, with the same status as other Chinatowns in the U.S..."It's like Chinatown Chinese food, it's really Chinese-America food as Westerners have come to expect it...Chinatown architecture is the same stereotype."¹

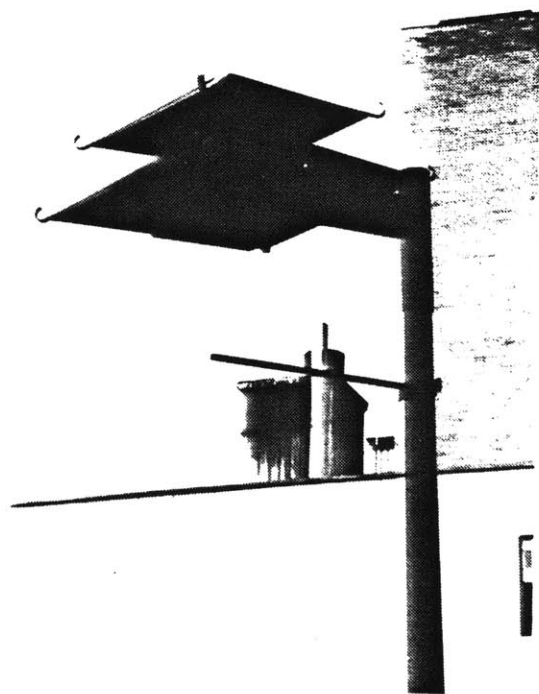
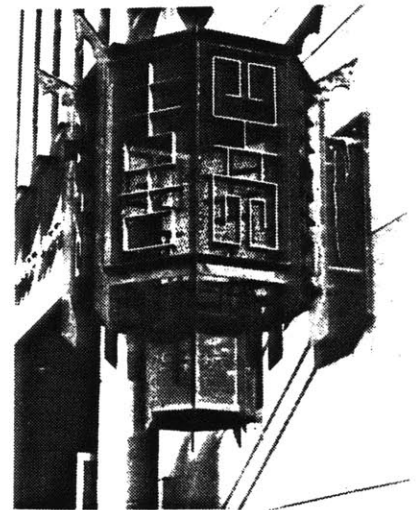
A token attempt by the city to mark the history of the Chinese in the neighborhood is evidenced in a sign on Oxford Street: "The Chinese come to Boston," which briefly explains the history of the area. However, the sign is written only in English and many residents do not even know what it says.

¹ Paul Sun, Chinese architect

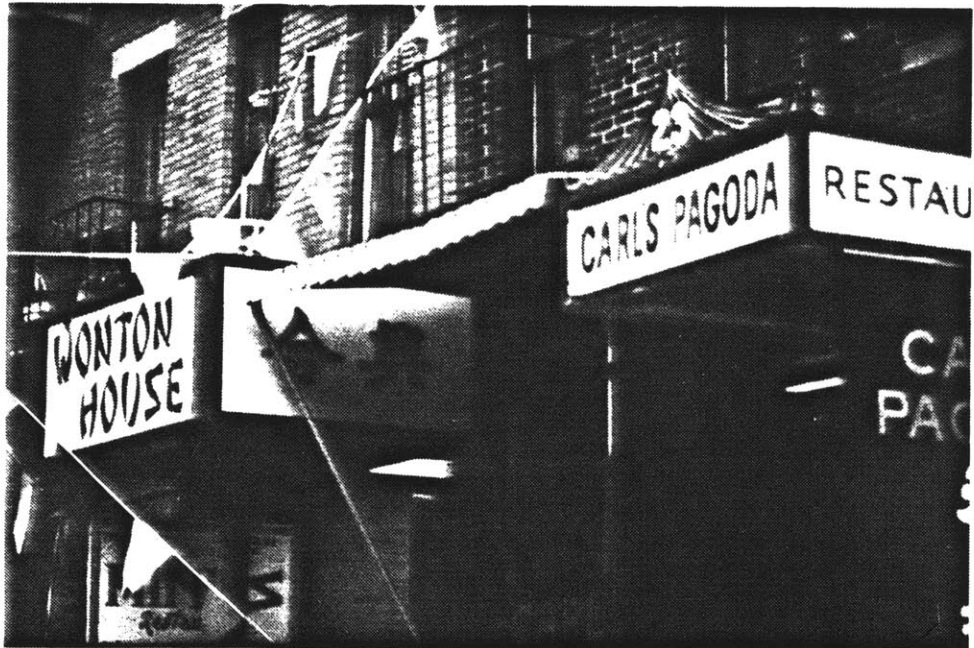
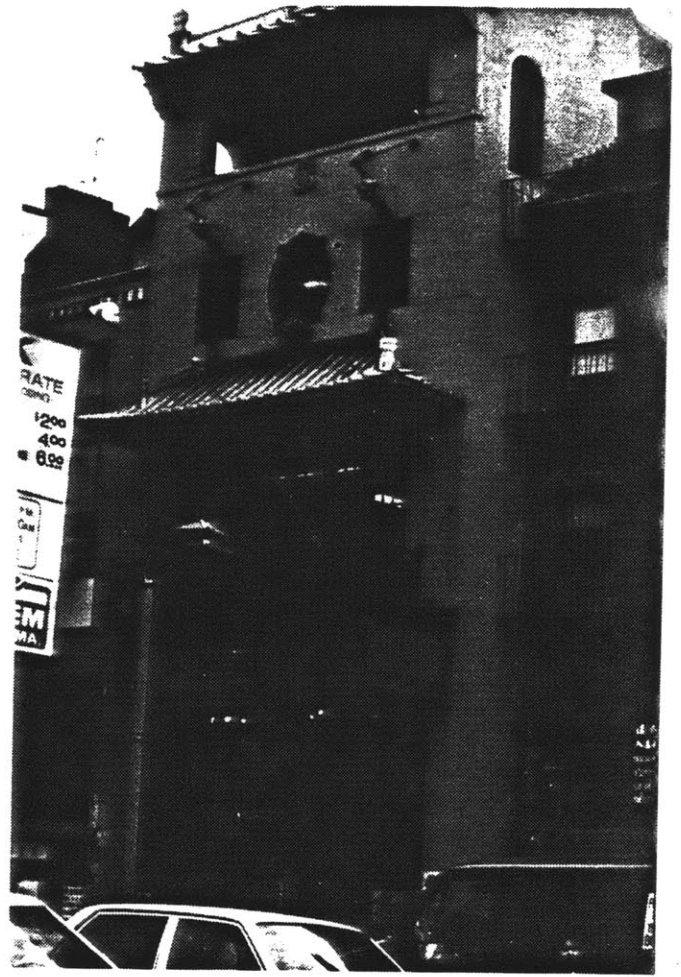


CULTURAL DISPLAY

Symbols



CULTURAL DISPLAY



Additional such symbols are found in roofcapes, as quite a few restaurant entranceways are crowned with pagodas. However, a few more subtle symbols may be found incorporated into the existing fabric which may not be part of the touristic stage set. For example, on the landing of the stairs leading to a drug store on Tyler Street is a mosaic of the map which insists on including Mongolia in China's boundaries. Surrounding the map is an octagonal border (the octagon in a Chinese symbol found throughout the neighborhood) with a series of lines of differing lengths, each carrying a different meaning.

RELIGION

Less than 1% of the Chinese in Massachusetts go to church once a week. *"Religion doesn't work for people...family life is for socializing and educating...the school and the restaurant are social centers, not the church...the family is almost a religion in itself, everything is for the family...if children don't believe in the goals of the family then there are severe conflicts...unity and faith in the family is the Chinese religion."* (nr, C).

The Chinese have not been ignored by religious missionaries attempting to convert them to lead them towards acculturation. A short description of one such attempt in San Francisco's Chinatown will suffice to demonstrate the degree of success attained by such efforts. When the Reverend T. Dwight Hunt, pastor of the First Congregational Church, "startled the Chinese with a discourse on life after death"¹ the reaction of the Chinese was described by observers: "the idea of the existence of a country where the Chinaboys would never die made them laugh quite heartily."²

Though the Chinese do not place importance on a formal congregation, nor do they use the church as a social center, they nonetheless have their own separate church presumably serving to preserve a distinct religious identity, regardless of its relative insignificance in the people's daily lives. Thus, the exposed side of the building of the

¹ Barth, Gunter. Bitter Strength. Harvard University Press, Cambridge: 1964. pp. 161.

² Ibid. pp. 162.



Mystical Symbols



Christian Life Church in Chinatown is entirely covered by a mural with the words: "Chinese Church" painted at the top, asserting its separate identity and resistance to outside pressures.

As the family is the center of Chinese religiosity, many houses have an ancestral shrine which is more important to most people than the church. These are usually located in the kitchen or living room.

More common than religious icons is the display of mystical symbols. Especially common for both residences and commercial enterprises is a small circular disc with a mirror at its center, surrounded by a series of lines of different lengths. The mirror is believed to reflect evil spirits away, thus protecting those inside the building. The symbol is usually found above entranceways.

CONCLUSIONS

Chinatown has evolved to the point where tourism has overwhelmed the neighborhood, at times forfeiting residents' needs. This is evident in the physical environment which has been saturated with both community and tourist symbols, some of which overlap, others of which are in conflict. The commercial core has been transformed into a "two-dimensional stage set of cosmetic architecture."¹

It has developed a "style" of architecture, consistent with that of other Chinatowns across the U.S., that of Chinese-American or Chinatown architecture. Increasing commercialization of the neighborhood threatens its integrity and viability as a residential environment. It may be appropriate for a more explicit separation between commercial and residential to be implemented. As almost everywhere in Asia, people live in the same neighborhood in which they work. Thus, the separation must not be a segregation of uses, but rather the residential sections could be expanded and treated with more subtle physical interventions based on Chinese precedents and references. A section of the commercial core can be further defined and designated as a kind of "Disneyland Chinatown" where tourist images of Chinese can be expressed without fear of contradicting community symbols.

¹ Paul Sun

Massachusetts continues to receive Chinese immigrants, at an average rate of 500 annually. Thousands are on waiting lists for housing in Chinatown, as it is still the environment which most closely resembles that which they have come from. Simultaneously, a dramatically increasing influx of Indochinese refugees has placed additional pressures on the neighborhood, since when compared to the dominant culture, it is Chinatown that most reminds them of home. The main core of Chinatown remains the meeting place of the Asian community.

Increasing land values and the resultant redevelopment pressures have begun to take their toll on the neighborhood. Already many immigrants and refugees cannot afford to rent and are forced into public housing. Attempts at supporting and preserving the resident-oriented aspects of the Chinatown area should receive more care and attention, especially in public spaces where intervention is easiest, and the impact greater.

Presently the city's proposals only include plans for tourist-oriented developments, such as a Chinese Marketplace at the site of the Boylston Building. A few years ago, an incentive program was developed for the revitalization of the commercial core of the neighborhood. However, the timing was off as the enclave hasn't evolved to the point where landowners are Chinese, thus the foreign property-owners were not interested in promoting cultural expression.

Efforts should be channeled toward improving the living environment, to make it one that is more beneficial to Asian immigrants.

"Street life, the marketplace, Chinese celebrations and ceremonial activities, outdoor socializing, these are an important part of Chinese life...Architecture can provide the background, create a living space for people to live and work and socialize."¹

The public life of the community can be enhanced by improving the physical settings in which it is carried out and by providing additional facilities. Chinatown is in desperate need of communal activity spaces which can accommodate a variety of uses. Included in the residents' desires are facilities for playing chess, drinking tea; but most of all sitting and talking in a peaceful place, is what many want.

The daily life of the immigrants can be enhanced by improving the "spirit of the street." Creating the sense of an Asian Street does not necessarily mean imitating building forms of an Asian city, but instead applying spatial concepts such as the courtyard, which supports the lifestyle traditions of the immigrants.

¹ Paul Sun in McInnis, Edward. op. cit. pp. 38.

Bi-Cultural

The second and third Chinese generations are undergoing bi-cultural crises as other immigrants' children and grandchildren, though their identity may be somewhat more difficult to define.

"East meets West. These are the two forces which create the identity - as well as the complexity of an Asian American. Do these forces, ethnically and culturally different, more often blend or collide?"¹

In some ways the Amerasian individual is a paradox, embracing contradictory values, beliefs, and lifestyles. This struggle with somewhat ying/yang opposites has been the subject of a number of recent films depicting the Asian American Experience. Poet and musician Jason Hwang, in his film "Afterbirth" concludes that "Asian Americans should connect with, or at least redefine to present terms, old Asian traditions...as Asian Americans become more westernized through succeeding generations, the need to link themselves to their heritage appears increasingly necessary for the sake of spiritual survival and inspiration."²

Thus portions of Chinatown can serve to support the dual identity of the bi-cultural Asians while simultaneously providing an opportunity for heritage learning by preserving the integrity of the area's Asian connections.

Elderly

The elderly population of Chinatown is very significant. Compared to a citywide average of 6% of households with one or more resident over 60, Chinatown-Southcove has 27%.³

There are over 1,000 older, low-income Chinese residents in Chinatown, most of whom do not speak English. These members of the community have no reason to adapt, and in most cases are unable to do so. Thus, it is important that facilities provided specifically for a Chinese elderly population receive special attention with emphasis on cultural sensitivity. Ruth Mey, director of South Cove Golden Age Center emphasizes

¹ Wong, Wanda, "Reviewer: Asian American films." Sampan, Feb. 1985. pp. 8.

² *Ibid.* pp. 8

³ BRA. Chinatown-Southcove. op. cit. pp. 6.

the need for such an environment: "If one must go to a nursing home you'd want to go to a place that you can feel comfortable in."¹ She tells of a recent runaway from a home in the Boston area: "He hated it! He didn't like the food, couldn't communicate (as he didn't speak English), and did not like the surroundings."²

The new South Cove Manor nursing home, to finish construction in May, will be "the first nursing home that will accommodate Chinese culture and lifestyle while attending to the needs of healing."³ The home will provide "cultural comforts" such as familiar language, food, reading material and recreational programs. A bilingual or perhaps even trilingual staff will allow elderly to "go back to their childhood language." However, the plans do not indicate that the home will in anyway emulate a Chinese physical environment to allow the elderly to go back to their childhood spaces. As the physical setting is an integral part of what makes one feel comfortable or not, and this is especially relevant to an elderly population, it seems that the lack of attention to architectural "cultural comforts," is a significant omission.

However, South Cove Manor has taken important locational considerations into account. As, in a sense, the U.S. concept of a nursing home is contradictory to Chinese family traditions, but pressures of work and the U.S. lifestyles force many families to leave their elderly in the care of others, the home was consciously located as close as possible to Chinatown. Thus "people can...visit their elderly parents or relatives during lunch hour or right after work."⁴

¹ Yee, Anna Wong. "Nursing home to open in May." *Sampan*, Feb. 1985. pp. 43.

² *Ibid.* pp. 43.

³ Yee, Anna Wong. *op. cit.* pp. 33.

⁴ Robert Chin, community psychologist, in *Ibid.* pp. 43.



CHAPTER 11

VILLA VICTORIA

Background

Villa Victoria, located in Boston's South End, is a rare example of a comprehensively planned environment, designed for a specific cultural group, with resident participation. It is unique also in that it represents the struggle of a group of Puerto Rican migrants to acquire the dignity of control over their home territory and to express their legitimacy and integrity as a separate cultural group.

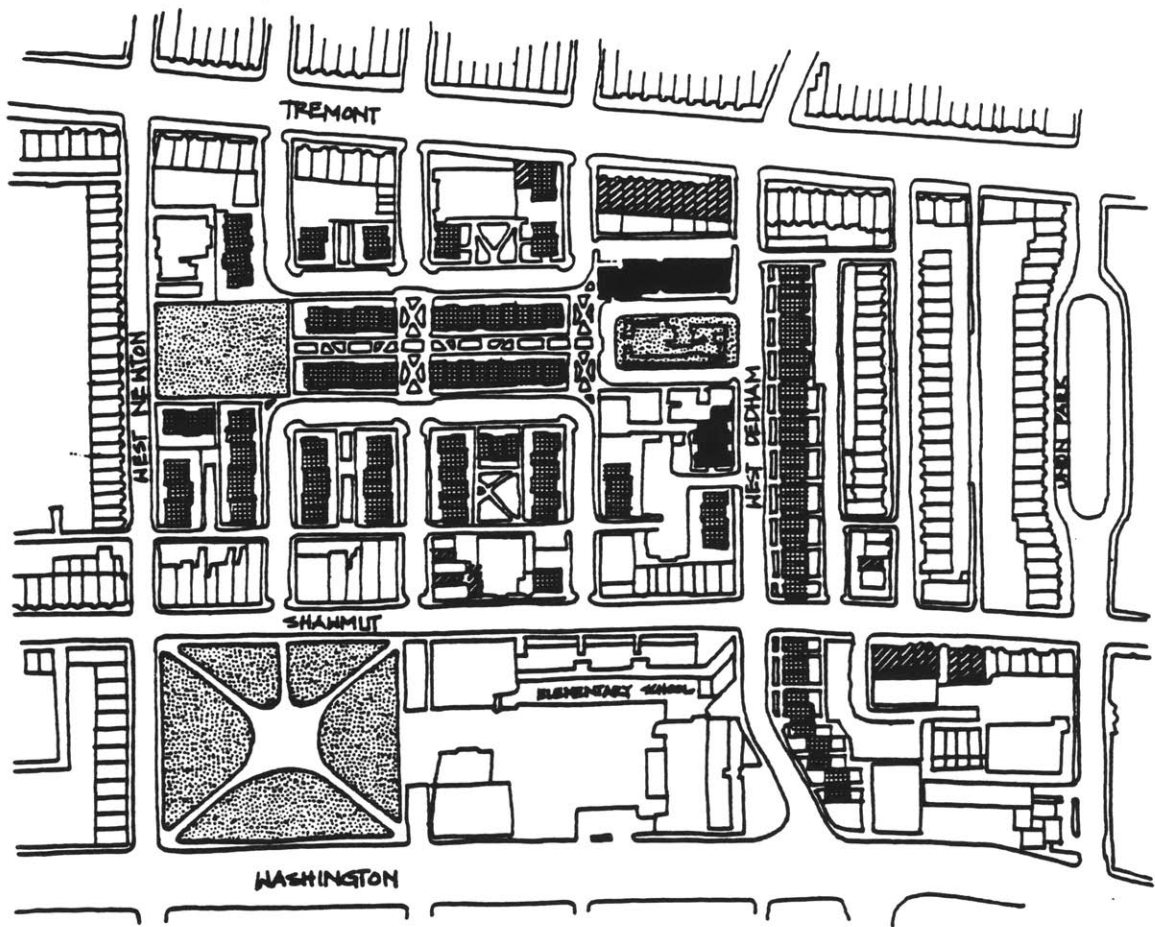
Inguilinos Borcuas en Accion (IBA, formerly called the Emergency Tenants Council: ETC) was organized in the late 1960's to lead the opposition of residents of Parcel in Boston's South End, to urban renewal plans by Boston's Redevelopment Authority. BRA plans have been implemented, the entire neighborhood would have been destroyed and its residents displaced. United under the slogan: "No nos mudaremos de la Parcel 19 (We shall not be moved from Parcel 19) residents organized a struggle against the authorities, formalizing the opposition with the incorporating of IBA in August of 1968.




The BRA urban renewal plans encompassed the entire South End and called for the clearance of a significant portion of low-income housing. Proposals recommended replacing the housing with commercial and institutional uses to be united by a park-and- transportation axis. The low-income housing was to be pushed back and concentrated in northern Roxbury.

In 1968 ETC (presently IBA) was incorporated as the Emergency Tenants Council of Parcel 19 with directorship going to Israel Feliciano, a resident of the area. Included in the group's objectives were the following:¹ a) to prevent the displacement of residents b) to develop family and elderly housing, with low rents and unit sizes compatible with needs of residents c) to create an exciting neighborhood with quality

¹ IBA

VILLA VICTORIA



- Tower Housing 
- Rehab. Houses 
- Open Space 
- New Townhouses 

Parcel 19 before rehabilitation



design work providing attractive and usable open spaces and a sensible traffic pattern
d) to develop cultural activities to strengthen the identity of the community. e) to provide support services to ensure the success of the residents in the new living environment. f) to develop a total neighborhood with residential, institutional and commercial activities. g) to guarantee long term community control over the entire area h) to mobilize public and private resources in the area to build new community facilities (schools, clinics, etc.) for the benefit of the existing residents

Public housing is generally constructed with reducing economic costs as the main determinant of design. Therefore, residents desires for individuality, cultural expression, or other identities, are rarely given consideration.

"It is possible that the vandalism inflicted on high-rise housing projects is, in part, an angry reaction of the inhabitants to this blatant violation of self-image."¹

Beginning in 1969 John Sharratt, an architect from Urban Planning Aid worked closely with ETC to develop plans and designs with which to counter the BRA proposals. *The architect "is always very laidback with us..most architects have preconceived ideas and try to fit the client into them. Sharrat took the client's needs as the most important...he was never manipulative or imposing..."*²

The self-image of the Puerto Rican in the United States is the result of a complicated combination of forces. As the status of his people is most often low-income, he feels branded and humiliated by the perceptions of the dominant culture regarding both his status and his cultural background. As travel between Puerto Rico and the U.S. is not restricted, rendering Puerto Ricans migrant, and not immigrant status, many individuals travel back and forth annually, in search of seasonal employment opportunities. This serves to reinforce the Puerto Rican's identity with the island.

"The nature of the migration is such that movement between both geographic points (U.S. and Puerto Rico) is constant. Reinforcing

¹ Cooper, Clare, Op. Cit. pp 32.

² Rodrigues in Poodry, Deborah. Op. Cit. pp. 131.

Hispanic communal development, this circular movement of people serves also in a sense to inhibit the adjustment and assimilation of the migrant community."¹

Thus we see the origins of the two underlying themes of the residents' requests: 1) that the housing complex emulate in some way market housing (that is, that it not remind them or others of public housing) and 2) that it be reminiscent of Puerto Rico in specific ways, both by using physical references from the island and by supporting the continuation of a lifestyle the migrants had grown accustomed to in their previous home.

PUBLIC LIFE

The lay-out and density of Villa Victoria was designed based on the residents' requests to support their lifestyle, especially with regard to their public life. Some elements like the central plaza were based on Puerto Rican precedents, others were simply incorporated to provide a setting conducive to community interaction.

The physical form of most Latin American cities has evolved as a result of the Laws of the Indies, a series of guidelines developed by the spaniards to be implemented by their colonists. The main component of the resultant pattern is the central plaza which is the main center for social communication; the plaza is the setting for both everyday life as well as for special occasions. It is the place where processions, ceremonies, festivals, markets, and casual contact take place. The typical Puerto Rican plaza is flanked by a variety of uses including religious, governmental commercial and residential. Thus it is always active whether people are meeting informally or at ceremonial events.

Included in the original IBA objectives was the goal of strengthening the identity of the community. A central plaza was the major request of the residents as they felt it was need to contribute to to the clarity of the group's self-identity.

"By their own definition, they would not be a permanent settlement,

¹ 21 pp. 205

would have no identifiable presence as a group, could not present themselves to the world adequately, and would not have a heart without a plaza."¹

Plaza Betances has in fact become the physical representations of Villa Victoria's identity as well as its heart. It is the main meeting place of the neighborhood, its social focal point. It is used on a daily basis by children playing and residents socializing. Built in chess tables and seats attract men and elderly. It is also the setting for all major cultural events.

Though the concept of the plaza was applied in the conception of Villa Victoria and though it is an essential component of the neighborhood, some complain that it does not incorporate enough physical characteristics of a Puerto Rican Plaza. It's design is introverted, with thick walls enclosing it, rather than emulating its extroverted Puerto Rican counterpart.

Though an attempt has been made to provide for active ground floor uses along the edges flanking the Plaza, only one edge has been occupied by commercial and institutional uses. One street is planned for retail uses which may enhance the plaza's authenticity.

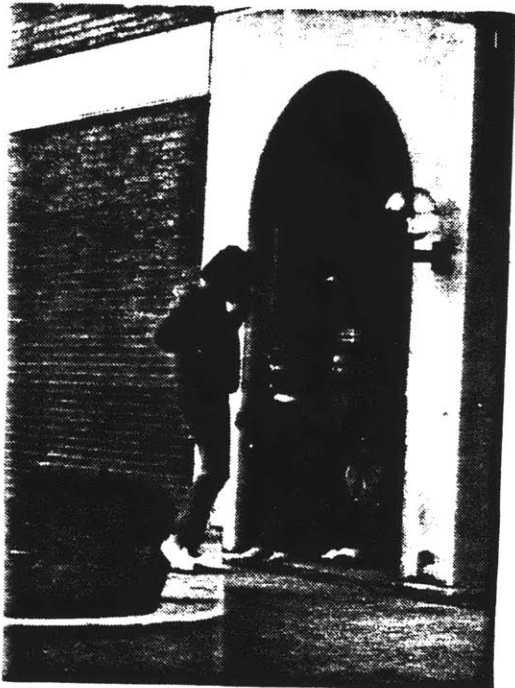
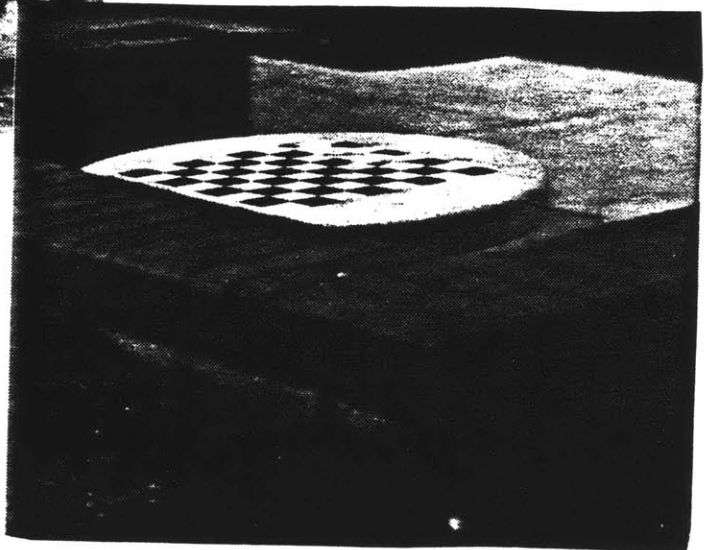
The definition of the neighborhood boundaries achieved by a design identity which is distinct from the adjacent fabric, in addition to a pedestrian path which runs throughout the complex, and is physically linked to the plaza, results in a very well-defined sense of turf for Villa Victoria residents.

In Puerto Rico many activities take place out of doors: men gather on street corners, women on front porches, children play ball in the street, and in general people take aimless walks on the "paseo" (traffic-free street for walking). The pedestrian path, and prevention of through traffic created by the street pattern promote the habit of meeting out of doors.

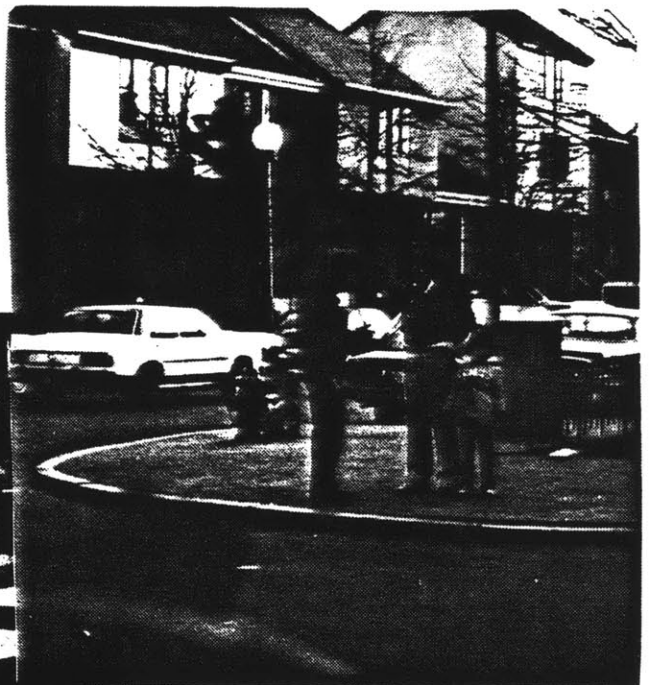
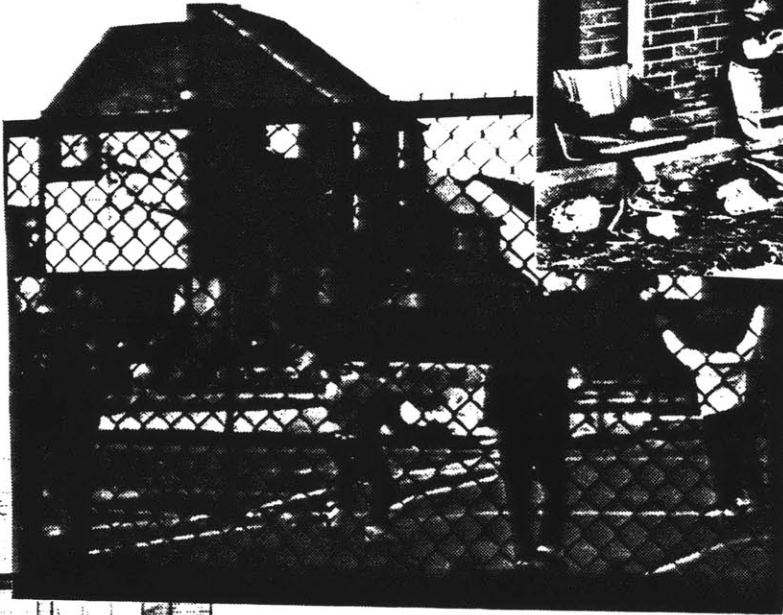
¹ Poodry, Deborah. Neighborhood Self-Definition and Design Imagery. MIT MCP/SMarchS Thesis. 1979. pp. 112.



Plaza Betances



PUBLIC LIFE



222



"They wanted to put in as much housing as possible, but we need open space to breathe, to get together, for children to play..." (R, VV)

The "paseo", the pedestrian path which crosses through the backyards of the houses has permanently fixed chairs and coffee tables, chess tables, and children's play equipment, thus catering to different activities and attracting different age groups. Also the site organization supports the surveillance of children's play as kitchen windows and backsteps both provide observation potential of the children's play areas.

"It is a perfect place to hang out outside" (r, VV) Each house is designed as a single-family dwelling unit with a separate entrance, as requested by the residents. In Puerto Rico, the front porch is a common transition space from which the street's activities are observed. In place of the porch, architect John Sharrat, using the stairs of the surrounding South End Fabric as a reference, incorporated steps and stoops into Villa Victoria's design. These are used extensively by all residents of the neighborhood; sometimes chairs are even placed on the stoop or at the bottom of the stairs:

"That's why this neighborhood is so safe, especially in the summer, because there are always people outside." (r, VV)

Street corners are generally inhabited by men and in some cases the sidewalk is widened for this purpose. Women gather around the school, on the sidewalk, and sit on short walls at the edges of the plaza. Front yards are also used occasionally for sitting; some have chairs placed in them. There used to be an annual competition held for the best flower and vegetable gardens which kept the front yards better maintained.

A community garden on the corner of Shawmut and San Juan streets is used extensively by the elderly residents of the complex.

CULTURAL DISPLAY

Touchstones and Symbols

Against the back wall of a Boston Edison electrical power plant is the main symbol of the Puerto Rican community of Villa Victoria. The Mural Betances is "a celebration of color and movement," commemorating the Puerto Rican Revolutionary. Dr Ramon E. Betances, thus expressing a Puerto Rican identity while simultaneously incorporating symbols of North American culture and images of the South End of Boston, thus linking the migrants to their adopted home.

Casa del Sol, a resident's agency run by a group of nuns took the responsibility of organizing the creation of the mural. A seven year old girl remembered a woman who had taught an art class at the nearby Children's ART Center that year and told one of the sisters. Lilli Ann Rosenberg, an artist with special expertise in participatory murals was hired to supervise the creation of Mural Betances.

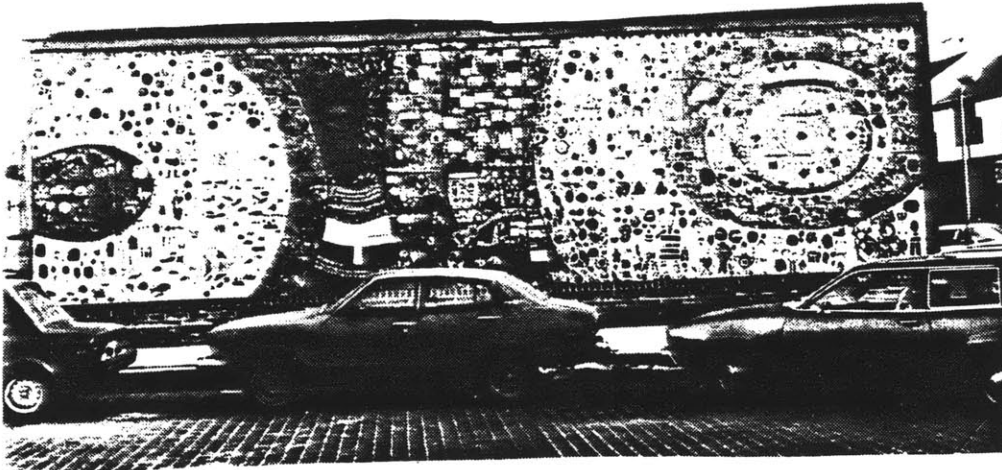
The mural which took two years to complete (1977-79), was conceived of, and largely created by the residents who chose the subject matter and subthemes to be portrayed. Rosenberg traveled to Puerto Rico in order to get an idea of the culture and traditional designs of the island. Under her supervision, over three hundred residents contributed handcrafted clay pieces which were embedded in the concrete base.

The themes of the mural reveal the sense of identity of the Puerto Rican community. Approximately at its center is a portrait of Betances, the Emancipator of Puerto Rico from the Spaniards.¹ Directly below him is the flag of Puerto Rico and Betances words of liberty: "Sempanos combatir por huestro y nuestra libertad."

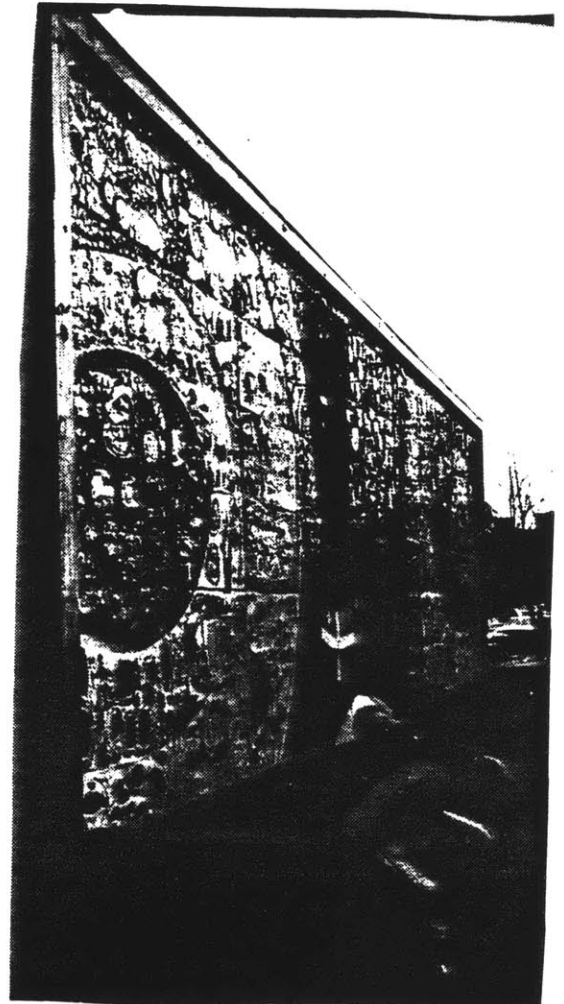
On either side of Betances portrait is an eclectic collection of various symbols ranging from Puerto Rican fruits and vegetables, animals and patriotic slogans, to Charlie Brown comic book characters and images of the South End such as different houses and stores.

¹ Betances is celebrated as a national hero. He freed slaves, initiated several uprisings, and was eventually exiled by the Spaniards.

CULTURAL DISPLAY



Mural Betances



Thus, the mural is a conglomerate expression of the bi-cultural nature of the community and its identification with the South End as a "new home" is evidence in some of the subjects depicted. As an indication of its significant role in expressing the community's identity though other parts of the neighborhood suffer from occasional vandalism, the mural has never been tampered with, with the exception of a few minor additions made to it in the form of graffiti. Even this has been done with respect and seems almost as an attempt to be included in this collective expression of ethnicity and community.

Color

The most colorful piece of Villa Victoria is the Mural Betances. The muralist Lilli Ann Rosenberg attempted to capture the spirit of Puerto Rico's sun, sea, and landscapes by using bright colors: tropical greens, sunny yellows, sky blue and white forming the major portion of the background surface. The flag of Puerto Rico, in blue and white with its single star's an outstanding element.

In addition to the mural, however, the entire neighborhood is painted in "Puerto Rican colors," at the residents' request. Protruding facades and entranceways are painted in various pastel colors reminiscent of the colors of vernacular Puerto Rican architecture, but used in a different way.

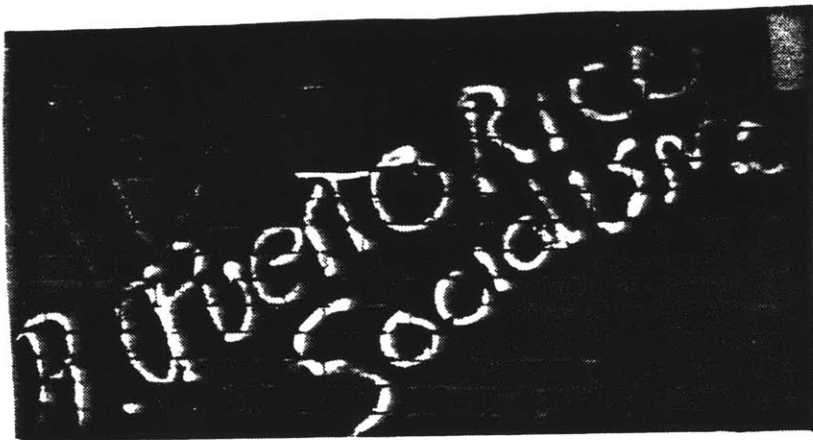
Celebration

Plaza Betances is the setting for celebration for the residents of Villa Victoria. All festivals are centered on the plaza and spill over to its edges. The community celebrates many festivals, both Puerto Rican as well as some North American holidays such as Mother's Day. The summer months are especially active in terms of celebration festivities. Although immigrants from Latin America, especially other Puerto Ricans, who do not live in Villa Victoria attend these events, they are not a tourist attraction.

CULTURAL DISPLAY



Color



Graffiti

The most important festival for the neighborhood is Festival Betances, celebration and commemorating Puerto Ricans' trobadour. The festivities used to go on continuously day and night for one week until surrounding neighborhoods complained about the loud music. It now lasts for three full days. The celebration as most of the festivals, includes salsa music, dancing and Puerto Rican food sold from booths set up along the Plaza's edges.

The facilities built-in to the Plaza for electrical hook-ups of speakers and amplifiers are also used by church and other groups to play music on informal occasions.

Place Naming

The identity of Villa Victoria's physical distinctiveness as compared to its surroundings is reinforced by identity given by place names. The name of the complex itself, Villa Victoria, village Victoria, declares the separateness' of the area from the adjacent neighborhoods.

Residents were asked to vote for names for the main streets in the complex and decided on San Juan and Agua, the two towns in Puerto Rico from which the majority of the residents had come.

Other Puerto Rican names include Plaza Betances, Mural Betances, Torre Unidad (the elderly and handicapped housing complex).

All place names reveal a desire to link to Puerto Rico the community does not seem to have evolved to the point to expressing ties to the U.S. context in the act of placenaming, at least, the ties to Puerto Rico are preserved.

LANGUAGE

Villa Victoria's elementary school is located at its Shawmut Street edge. Each day mothers walk their children to and from school, taking turns as some of the women work. Thus in the early afternoon chains of small children are seen holding hands, a mother at each end of the chain leading them to their respective homes.

The two highschools which serve the Villa Victoria community, inspired by the Mural Betances, have created each their own, both embellished with Puerto Rican symbols. The schools are bi-lingual. Musician Gil Ardiris teaches Latin music as a means of promoting bi-lingual education both to bi-cultural and mono-lingual students.

Signs and information in Villa Victoria are almost exclusively in Spanish, and when they aren't, they are bi-lingual. All services are administered by a bi-lingual staff and IBA bulletin-boards are covered with bi-lingual information.

A well developed audio-visual media communicates community and cultural information and entertainment in Spanish. Villa Victoria has both a radio station and a cable television station. However, a neighborhood newspaper with community and Puerto Rican news is something the residents feel is missing.

A blue decorated sign at the Plaza describes the construction of Villa Victoria as a symbol of the success of a Puerto Rican struggle. The sign is written in Spanish.

RELIGION

Though the Spanish Laws of the Indies gave the church much physical prominence, places on the plaza's edge with specific orientation, etc., in Puerto Rico the Catholic Church is not a national church. It provides a subtle background for the people's lives marking important events along the way. It provides the setting for baptisms, weddings, funerals and sets the dates for holidays and festivals. It does not, however, have a large impact on the people's lives, not in perpetuating the society's values and its role as a social institution is minimal. It is primarily a place of woman's associations.

The church played a large activist role, organizing the residents of Parcel 19, to fight against displacement and for the creation of Villa Victoria. A group of nuns continue to provide counseling and organizational services. Their religious functions, per se, however, are not primary. Their activist role is evidenced by the fact of their being the target of protest from those opposed to the creation of Villa Victoria.

"We were holding mass in the sister's house, Casa del Sol (names after a woven wall decoration of bright colored round design, resembling a sun which hangs in the house), when two white middle-class looking men set fire to phase II construction materials outside the house...we interrupted mass to put the fire out." (r, vv)

Thus religion per se does not play a large role in the communal life of Villa Victoria, and thus is not prominently displayed in the physical environment. In fact, the neighborhood's main church, located on the Tremont Street edge of the neighborhood, was partially burned over a year ago, and not much action or reaction from the neighborhood has resulted. Also the symbols and spaces of religion seem to be flexible and easily transferable as demonstrated in the use of casa del Sol.

Instead, one frequently observes the display of personal religious icons in windows of individual dwelling units. These are most commonly considered as cultural and family artifacts as they have been brought from Puerto Rico.

RELIGION



LANGUAGE

"Villa Victoria
An example of the struggle
of the Puerto-Rican people"



FOOD

As Villa Victoria is a planned public housing complex, it is composed primarily of residential units. Therefore, there are not food establishments located within the strict boundary definitions of the neighborhood. However, directly across the street from the Tremont Street edge of the complex, is the Aguada Market. The small corner Latin grocery is organized as a traditional rural food market in a Latin Village. It sells everything from nail polish to platanos. Crates and sometimes chairs are placed on the street corner directly outside the market where youths gather to "hang out."

Villa Victoria residents must travel to Jamaica Plains or Dorchester where spontaneous Latin American communities have well-developed commercial spines catering to Latin tastes. To hold them over on a daily basis, Corre Camino, a vending truck selling Puerto Rican food can be found parked on a street forming an edge to the central plaza, everyday.

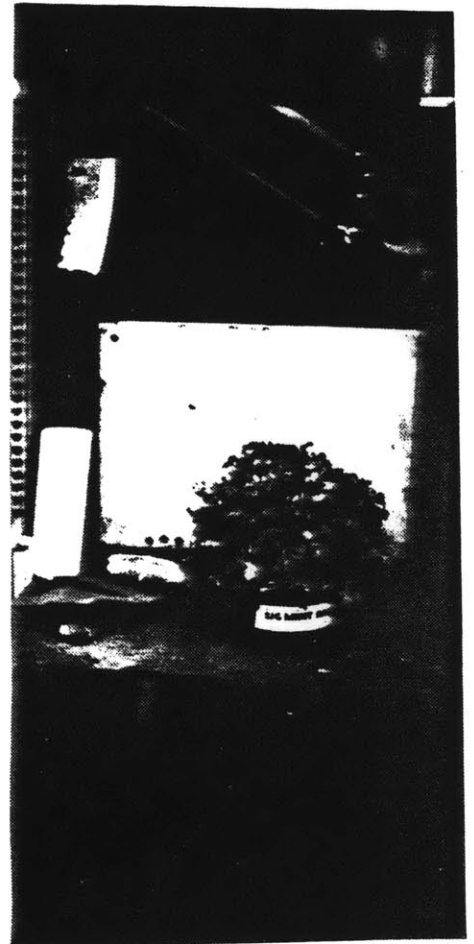
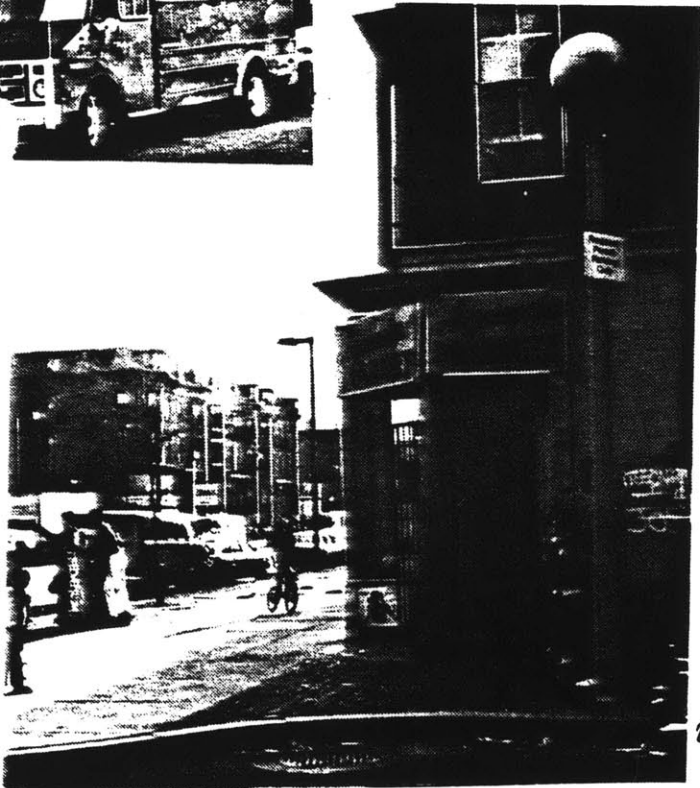
Plans for commercial uses on the ground floors of buildings flanking the central plaza, include a Latin food market.

Summary/ Conclusions

According to IBA staff, many of Villa Victoria's present residents do not know how the project came about, nonetheless, they feel very comfortable living there. Warm, well-insulated units to counteract the effects of the unfamiliar northern cold and the relatively large dwellings to accommodate families "...not census tract families, but our kind of families, ten people or so..."¹ increases comfort in their private spaces.

However, it is the support to the resident's public life and cultural symbolism that the physical environment provides, that contributes to the group's image and identity as a whole. Though the Puerto Rican physical references are for the most part "obvious to

¹ resident in Poodry, Deborah. op. cit. pp. 113.



the eyes, but not necessarily to the spirit",¹ it is the sense of defined identity with implied connections to the resident's former home which provides them with a sense of cultural integrity.

The small village concept results in a self-contained, inward-looking neighborhood, made separate and distinct from the surrounding South End context by the introduction of different design elements. A slanting roofscape protruding colored facade elements, and the central plaza are not authentically Puerto Rican, rather they are "Spanish romantic."² Nonetheless, they evoke the group's social and cultural memory and express their distinct identity.

The support of the physical lay-out gives to the community's public life is enhanced by the separate nature of the appearance of the complex as a whole for it defines the resident's turf and extends their unit of control from the interior spaces to include the outdoor areas of the neighborhood. This is evidenced both in extensive use of these spaces and in the temporary physical connections residents make between the indoors and the outdoor worlds: namely placing chairs in various semi-public areas as well as keeping doors of individual units open, as if to signify a continuous flow between the inside and the outside.

In addition to cultural symbolism and support to lifestyle the residents' also wished the environment to express their economic achievements in the U.S., mainly their success at attaining control over resources. This, they desired be also reflected in the design by the incorporation of elements of market-style housing. This imagery which in a sense imitates others who can express themselves through the control of resources i.e. by buying a house, is primarily conveyed by the illusion of private low-rise, suburban style single-family units with separate entrances. This request, on the part of the residents reveal their previous experiences in public housing, the fact that many had been chronic migrants, coming from New York and Philadelphia thus having had

¹ architecte Andres Mignucci, himself from Puerto Rico residing a few blocks away from Villa Victoria.

² architect Andres Mignucci

contact with the prototypes of the dominant culture, and therefore wishing to express their presence in the U.S. context with symbols the dominant group understands as success. This illusion of economic independence, as defined by images of the dominant culture, is not easily acquired by people of similar socio-economic standing of Villa Victoria; this also makes them proud.

Reinforcing the symbolism is the relative independence from public aid the residents have achieved.

"Management control of the properties has been retained by the tenants, but is handled and paid for on a professional basis. The projects are an important symbol of community and personal achievement and commitment. This presumably makes a difference in the care people take of their spaces, which feeds back into the amount of maintenance required."¹

Resident participation and subsequent continued involvement is a major contributor to the success of the neighborhood. Substantial program revisions made on the basis of resident feedback and continual post-occupancy evaluation have been integrated into the second phase of implementation.

With the Phase II rehabilitation of existing buildings on adjacent streets, the boundary of the neighborhood is becoming less defined. However, the new construction of Phase I and Plaza Betances remain the symbol and social and physical centers of Villa Victoria.

¹ Poodry, Deborah. op. cit. pp. 123

ston ithio horo
ikias perivalon
kentron, sinikias
pou vlepo kai pou perpato
hronia kai hronia.

Se thimiourghisa mes'e hara
Kai me'se lipes:
Me tosa peristatika
Me tosa pragmata

Kai esthimatopoiithikes olokliro ghia mena.

-Kavafis

[In the same space
Familiar environment
center, neighborhood
that I see and that I walk;
years and years.

I created you from happiness
and from sorrow.

with many events
with many things
And you became a part of my emotions.]

PART IV
CONCLUSIONS
APPLICATION

CONCLUSIONS

"The more we purge our forms of every inherited element, the more we shall be returning to certain basic traditional forms. It is here that we find the link between tradition and evolution."

Constantinos A. Doxiadis

As the immigrant is initially an "environmental orphan" when confronted with a new setting, his efforts at familiarizing the environment provide insights into the meaning of home; it is in this process of re-making that those elements that are of value, are made explicit.

The differences in the needs and desires of the three ethnic groups studied, as well as their distinct reactions, are due to a number of reasons including their respective cultural backgrounds, the socio-economic level of the specific group under study, the stage of development of the enclave, as well as differing local conditions, such as differences in their adopted physical settings.

Nevertheless, striking similarities do exist. As the only variable held constant was that of their being ethnic neighborhoods, it is even more impressive that these similarities make themselves evident across groups. These shared reactions are the result of the common characteristics of a rural society transplanted to a new setting, which then manifest themselves in similar ways, as a result of the nature of the immigrant, and then later, the "ethnic" experience in the United States. The similarities are then, an integral part of the process of re-making of home.

Two main factors influence the immigrant group's relationship to the ethnic enclave.

1. The desire to continue aspects of a previous lifestyle which in the rural setting, where a relatively high degree of interdependence between villagers characterizes the social organization most have left behind, results in a well developed public life. The increased need for support and an informal news network in addition to "push factors", resulting from crowded residential conditions, act to reinforce the continuation of this public life. Also, in the public domain, cultural expression is collective and sanctioned; this is in contrast to what the immigrant confronts outside the world of the enclave.

Thus, the need and desire for a public life in public places results in the use of particular places in particular ways carried over from the rural village. Symbolic representations of the home country serve to provide a link to the previous setting. Literal re-creations of the home country, though rare, are evident where the physical setting is intimately linked to the symbolism it evokes, i.e. in religious edifices.

Thus, initially, it is the spatial organization which is of importance to the setting for initial adjustment. Gradually, the group begins inserting pieces into the existing fabric which re- create or symbolize a previous setting, or merely remind the group of their previous home.

2. The increase in awareness regarding both the immigrant's identity and the differences between his previous setting and adopted one, that coming to the U.S. has brought on, results in a need to make explicit decisions about the physical and cultural contrasts. Confrontations with the dominant society amplify the need to further define personal and group identity and be legitimized through physical expression in the environment.

As adjustment takes place and ties to the home country are loosened over time, the immigrant groups' and especially the subsequent generations' place-identity becomes increasingly defined as the ethnic enclave. Various attempts are then made to express this newly defined identity and home, by asserting claim to the enclave in a variety of ways. Cultural display takes on increasing significance, as the creation of a nostalgic refuge is undertaken.

As in both cases the environment is changed, some ethnic neighborhoods become tourist attractions. This can be either disruptive or beneficial to the enclave and its residents, depending on how tourism influences the area's physical and social patterns.

In order to facilitate this process and to ensure place-making which is culturally sensitive and responsive, interventions must be made relative to the specific conditions of a particular group. That is, it is not sufficient to be sensitive to the peculiarities of the setting at hand, nor is it sufficient to be responsive to the culture of a group in general. One must also take into account, and understand, a specific ethnic group's stage in the process of the re-making of home, in a particular place.

Following a brief review of the case studies previously discussed, a general discussion, based on observable patterns, will ensue, regarding considerations for intervention in an ethnic neighborhood.

"Patterns may be established through the observation of a particular environment and the way in which it is utilized. Each pattern contains a generally valid principle but, conversely, each principle might be able to be satisfied in a variety of other ways, and thus generate further patterns. Patterns are therefore never absolute."

1

A brief overview of the case studies studied and their overlapping roles and functions will aid in recalling the needs and desires at each stage of development.

Lowell:

Lowell's Triangle has more or less evolved into a kind of stage set which serves as a nostalgic refuge for the Greeks of the area. However, it continues to receive a small, but constant flow of new immigrants, and thus also is a setting for their initial adjustment. Lowell's Greeks, however, are most concerned with preserving the fragments which have remained over time, improving the neighborhood's outdoor spaces, and increasing opportunities for cultural display and heritage learning for their children.

Historically, the neighborhood has been self-sufficient and self-contained, catering only to its local and visiting Greek members.

The Acre's inclusion in the urban national park and plans for the creation of an international plaza to include a Greek section, may increasingly attract a tourist population to Lowell, not only as a result of its mill revitalization, but also for its ethnic flavor.

Astoria

Astoria continues to receive a significant number of new immigrants annually, and is thus replenished with fresh input, however, the thousands of individuals of Greek descent who live in and around the neighborhood and use it more as a nostalgic

¹ Mills, Stephanie. op. cit. pp. 42.

refuge, have influenced its development towards this end. The neighborhood seems, at least at this point, to be able to fulfill both of these roles simultaneously, without too much conflict and contradiction. However, the increasing presence of other ethnic groups and gentrification pressures from young urban professionals pose a threat to its ability to continue to serve both roles, and may result in the premature commercialization of the enclave.

Tarpon Springs

Tarpon Springs, on the other hand, fulfills the needs of new immigrants, bi-cultural, and tourists simultaneously without significant conflict. As Tarpon Springs' tourist industry was self-initiated and developed gradually over time, even with occasional "experimentation", tourism does not overwhelm the community: Residents have learned to accommodate the visitors and feel proud that "foreigners" are interested in their cultural heritage. One way in which the neighborhood has learned to cope is by loosely defining the area of overlap between tourists and residents, but more strictly defining the physical boundaries which belong exclusively to the residents.

Chinatown

Chinatown is a setting for initial adjustment and a tourist attraction simultaneously. There is some overlap in its functions with those of a nostalgic refuge, especially for visiting Asians. However, there is sufficient conflict between the needs of the newly-arrived and the commercialization of the area in an effort to attract economic revenues.

Chinatown's developmental process has been disrupted and forced at an unnatural pace and thus both its social and physical patterns are negatively influenced. Interventions from city authorities are in themselves contradictory: on the one hand, the acute need for housing places pressures for additional public housing units; on the other hand, the city is encouraging tourism at a pace which the community cannot absorb.

Villa Victoria

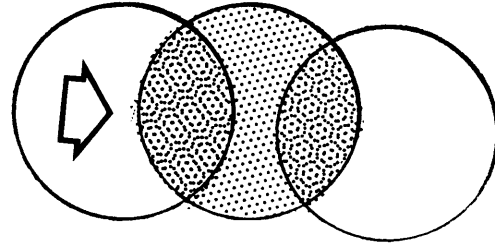
Villa Victoria has retained its paradoxical dualism which defines its residents' identity. As they are Puerto Rican, and U.S. citizens simultaneously, they are, by definition, migrants. As travel between the two locations is unrestricted, and many migrant

INITIAL
ADJUSTMENT

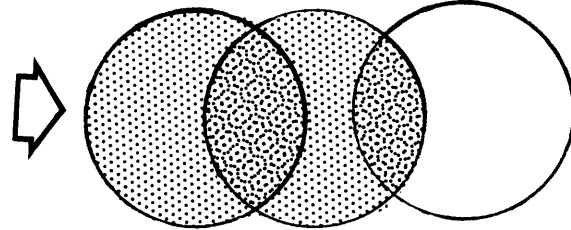
NOSTALGIC
REFUGE

TOURISM

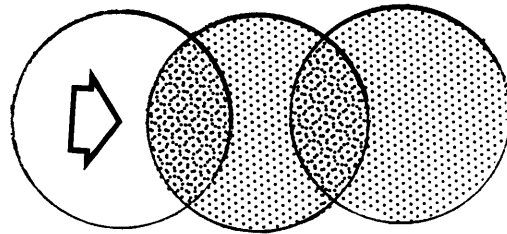
LOWELL



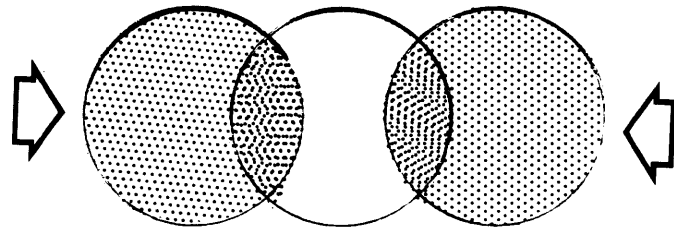
ASTORIA



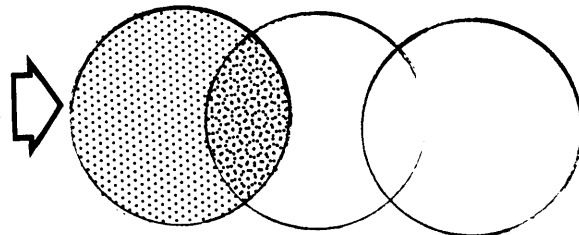
TARPON SPRINGS



CHINATOWN



VILLA VICTORIA



workers go back and forth in search of seasonal employment, there results a relatively replenished ethnic environment. There is also a process of development towards a nostalgic refuge, as many residents have frequent physical links to the homeland and thus preserve a setting for initial adjustment. However, as round trip migrations are decreasing, and attachment to the neighborhood as place-identity is increasing, (evidenced by the inclusion of South End scenes in the Betances Mural), the neighborhood has begun to move towards a preserver of ethnicity, rather than a place which acts to facilitate initial adjustment.

Thus, each neighborhood is unique, not only because of the specific culture of each group and its particular location, but also because of the specific developmental history describing its residents' process of the re-making of their home. Any interventions undertaken must take into account the dynamics of the specific ethnic neighborhood's process.

If we return once again to the slightly forced divisions of the stages of development, forced because of the pervasiveness of overlap between them, a series of guidelines for intervention may be abstracted.

INITIAL ADJUSTMENT

As the balance between community and privacy in agricultural societies diverges significantly from the U.S. norm, and immigrants from such backgrounds tend to perpetuate a well-developed public life, environmental improvements towards this goal can facilitate the desired type of social contact and interaction.

A self-contained communal life serves as a decompression chamber for uprooted immigrants, enabling them to cope with the stresses and strains of the unknown setting. Thus by tightening definitions of the neighborhood's boundaries, by enhancing its distinct identity, and by loosening the definitions between public and private spaces, the desired lifestyle can be easier attained.

It may be necessary to determine which aspects are better dealt with spontaneously and which would be improved by intervention. Spontaneous coping provides a sense of strength and increases a group's confidence. Participation must be sought in order to determine areas of perceived need for professional aid.

FLEXIBILITY

In some ways the ethnic neighborhood is more stable than the non- ethnic. It is stable for as long as the same group inhabits the area, certain characteristics remain constant even if the individuals actually living there are transient. On the other hand, fluctuations in the influx of new immigrants, an increase in the number of second and third generation inhabitants, and in some cases an almost total transition to another group, render the neighborhood an ever-changing scene, needing an adaptable setting.

As a specific community evolves away from a setting for initial adjustment, and towards a stage set for nostalgic refuge, some needs will increase and others will diminish, sometimes disappearing altogether. However, the influx of newcomers must be also considered, regardless of the direction taken by the enclave as a whole; if there is a continual flux of new immigrants, even if it has decreased decreased, the needs of initial adjustment must be taken into account. Thus the timing of the intervention, with sensitivity to local conditions, should aim to the creation of an adaptable environment, one in which individuals can adapt and which they can transform.

"An environment that cannot be changed invites its own destruction. We prefer a world that can be modified progressively against a background of valued remains, a world in which one can leave a personal mark alongside the marks of history."

1

Especially when making physical interventions, it is very important to ensure that the environmental settings created are not static, that is, that they allow for flexibility and adaptation. Incomplete environments are often preferable to complete ones as they afford individual expression. Also, incorporating the new with the old documents the change that the environment undergoes and better defines behavioral possibilities as the old is somehow more familiar even if it is unknown to the immigrant - modern settings are inevitably more alien than older fabric. "There seems to be some optimum degree of previous development in a environment...the feeling of being at home that it fosters and paradoxically, to the way in which it limits simplifies choice."²

¹ Lynch, Kevin, pp. 39.

² Ibid. pp. 41.

The evolution of the ethnic enclave is gradual yet dynamic. Over time it fulfills different needs for different people and therefore it necessarily must be flexible and adaptable to change. When observing communities left on their own, one notes a gradual process of transition overtaking the neighborhood. This is not to imply that they are without tensions; however, abrupt changes are not sought after. For example, as people die so do the stores which fed them, but others take their place in a slightly different form.

In communities where premature decisions have been implemented with no consideration given regarding the transition between old and new, one sees evidence of a struggle to hold on. For example, urban renewal in Lowell drastically and abruptly destroyed the tightly interwoven physical network joining the immigrants' lives together. Nevertheless, the social ties, and associations to place, continue to be superimposed on the now fragmented physical fabric. Collective memories, and continued use hold the broken pieces together.

"It is the familiar connections, not all the old physical things themselves, that people want to retain, except where those things have a personal connection..."

1

The process of group adaptation is slow and thus opportunity for individual choice in the pace of adjustment must be provided. Physical interventions should not introduce drastic change and may need to consider the possibility of phasing implementation in various stages, testing neighborhood attitudes at each level. Most importantly, resident participation should be actively sought.

"The more at home a man is, the less need he has for consciously designed information sources in his physical surroundings."

2

¹ Ibid. pp. 39.

² Carr, Stephen. City Signs and Lights. Prepared for the BRA. M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, 1973, pp. 2.

It therefore follows that the less at home one feels, the greater the need for explicit and recognizable environmental cues. The type and nature of environmental information needed depends on the stage of development of the community, the culture of the group, and other local conditions. However, in general, initially the immigrants' spontaneous coping behavior can be supported by facilitating the development and preservation (alleviate redevelopment pressures) of the desired spatial organization and its legibility to newcomers.

"More often ... we are not engaging in changing the world to some determined end. We are adapting—responding to outside forces beyond our control, seeking to survive, to preserve something or maintain some desired level of performance."¹ As the case with which the newly arrived immigrant adapts, and indeed, initially, survives, is very much dependant upon his ability to receive and convey messages in his own language, all information in a newly emerging enclave should be conveyed in the native tongue.² Environmental cues are also disseminated by symbols and physical settings. Initially, the ethnic groups attempt to recall aspects of the physical world left behind.

"Recognizing that the forms they love were produced by a certain type of life, they mistakenly hoped that the reverse was also possible, so that by recovering these forms they could once more resurrect the life that had first created them."³

Thus, physical interventions at early stages of the immigrant group's adjustment can support this need for physical support in an alien society.

The need for literal re-creations of a home culture environment seems limited to those settings in which symbolism and behavior are intimately linked with physical form such as in the case of religious edifices. Also residents express a desire for a

¹ Lynch, Kevin. op. cit. pp. 199.

² This may sound obvious, however, many immigrants have been excluded from a participation process regarding changes to be made to their environment, because meetings were held in English.

³ Lewis Mumford

central "heart" of the neighborhood, a very public open space, to be both a symbol and gathering place of the community, with elements of architectural traditions of the home country incorporated in its design. Elderly environments may be another place where re-creations may be appropriate.

ELDERLY ENVIRONMENTS

"We cannot change. The truth is we don't want to." (r, L)

Possibly the case of environments for the elderly is another exception to the general principle of not literally re-creating environments. An infant's social world is equal to that of his physical sphere of movement. Throughout life's various stages, as one's social world increases so does one's physical, they are directly correlated. Once old age is reached, however, at a time when one's mental image and social world is at its peak through the accumulation of experiences, the physical world of the elderly is suddenly confined to that of the infant. The mind of the elderly individual also brings them closer to their childhood and they desire, to be nearer to those memories. The fear of dying in a strange land can be devastating.

Thus, as the elderly person attempts to seek comfort in rediscovering memories of the past, an environmental setting which most resembles what the individual feels most comfortable in and associates with home may be appropriate.

Care must be taken, however, not to concentrate solely on architectural re-creation and neglect other factor variables. An elderly housing project was constructed in San Antonio Texas with the specific purpose of providing services to Mexicans of the area. The building incorporated many elements of Mexican architecture, including that of an interior courtyard. However, it was located much too far from the Mexican enclave for the elderly people to do their visiting, watch the goings on in the street, etc. Thus it is presently inhabited by non-Mexicans. The Mexican families felt guilty sending their elderly to what seemed to be an isolated place as it was outside of their context, and the elderly themselves refused to go because it would cause major disruptions in their lives as a result of its location.

NOSTALGIC REFUGE

"...psychological history and geography cannot serve as a touchstone for determining the real being of our childhood, for childhood is certainly greater than reality. In order for us to sense, across the years, our attachment for the house we were born in, dream is more powerful than thought."

1

In order to deter involution and stagnation, especially when the influx of new immigrants decreases, an increased renewed and renewable flow of information is necessary to prevent the community from deterioration and repetition. Attempts to retain and reinforce the remnants of the previous culture and ways of life must take care not to produce a stagnant, tradition burdened community.

When a community no longer receives fresh input to replenish it, it necessarily reiterates the old familiar patterns. Information, including physical reminders of both the home country and of the immigrant's process of re-making a home in the U.S. can act as a rejuvenating force.

Symbolic links to the residents' home culture can be made by way of installing small, but visible signs of conscious culture. Connections to the U.S. context can be made in such ways as place-naming, erecting monuments to immigrants of the enclave and other symbolic gestures of acceptance by the dominant society.

Kiosks with both changeable and constant elements can be placed at or near street corners. Permanent features can include photographs, maps and descriptions of the history of the immigrant groups in the neighborhood. Photographs should be of both people and places, that is of residents and the neighborhood, as it has changed over time.

The kiosks can be used as local bulletin boards for both personal and public announcements, poster displays of local events and activities. Information kiosks facilitate the channeling of information through the news network that spontaneously takes place on the street informally. They are a place for information, communication and display. "Basic information on the area's diverse activities, its physical structure,

¹ Gaston, Bachelard. op. cit. pp. 16.

its history culture can be presented in a manner that people will find both useful and engaging.

They can become a local form for communication of all kinds and by themselves stimulate people to talk to each other.

Information centers can be designed to evolve by means of feedback mechanisms which enable their content to continually be made relevant to the needs and interests of the people who use it."

Cultural celebration is very important, as observed in each ethnic group. Its significance remains constant, if not with increased passion, as the community matures. Cultural celebration is both a form of display as well as a source of personal connection to others and to a common past. It is indulged in equally by newly arrived immigrants as well as by the second and third generations.

A celebration space should be incorporated into the main community public space, preferably to be included in the central plaza. It should be designed with special consideration to specific rituals and traditions, but not too rigidly as these are subject to possible future change and adaptation due to influences from the dominant culture.

The celebration space should also be flexible and adaptable to changing uses. That is, it should be designed to accommodate daily uses, such as an open air market, or a children's play area. This is a difficult endeavor which requires close participation of the residents.

Activities should be programmed to take place in its outdoor space. Some ideas: street theatre, cultural dances, slide and movie presentations on blank walls, an adventure playground.

The procession path of an ethnic neighborhood must not be disturbed, as it is sacred to those who honor it. Enhancing its identity may be desirable to residents.

In general, however, an important part of the creation of the nostalgic refuge, is that the ethnic group creates it, that is, a the proliferation of cultural display is tacitly exclaiming economic success and the concurrent ability to express themselves in the environment, in the same way that the high-income individual does when buying a

¹ Carr, Stephen. op. cit. pp. 47.

house. Thus intervention at this stage should not be major, and should primarily be the result of an explicit request on the part of the ethnic group.

Tourism

If intervention is to take the form of promoting tourism in the enclave, then a number of considerations must be taken into account. The classic conflict of tourism: protecting the environment for tourists vs. protecting the environment from tourists, is accentuated in the ethnic enclave's environment. For example, one could suggest that the refugee and the tourist are visitors of the opposite kind, one has been forced into the enclave, the other attracted to it. However, the roles of nostalgic refuge and of tourism are not necessarily conflicting, both are based on re-creating stage sets, both promote cultural display.

If tourism incentives are introduced with sensitivity they may even act to promote the objectives of the nostalgic refuge in terms of providing an accepting audience to the displays of the group's ethnicity. Tourism then has the potential, if carefully implemented to promote a sense of cultural relativity. When a group of low-income Greek immigrants in Chicago were trained to act out a classical Greek tragedy, it was the first time most of the audience had seen a Greek play acted by Greeks instead of North American college students.

"The thought which came over and over again into every mind was: these are the real sons of Hellas chanting the songs of their ancestors, enacting the life of thousands of years ago.. How noble it made these fruit merchants for the nonce; what distinction it gave them! They seemed to feel that they had come into their own. They were set right at last in our eyes... The sons of princes, they had known their heritage all the time; it was our ignorance which had belittled them... Those who saw them on that stage will never think of them again in quite the same way as before."¹

Architect Paul Sun organizes the production of Chinese plays acted by both Chinese and American actors with traditional costumes and stage set, but the plays are recited in English in order to promote cultural understanding.

¹ Lorado Taft in Holli, M. and Jones, P. op. cit. pp. 140.

Tourist activities which encourage participation are also desirable as they promote interaction between visitors and residents and thus provide an opportunity for exchange.

Care must be taken to ensure that the commercial aspects of tourism do not smother the resources that originally attracted visitors, by preserving the basic integrity of the attractions. That is, development must not exceed the carrying capacity of limits beyond which the quality of community life is adversely affected.

In making physical interventions for the sake of tourism, designs must be sensitive both to the cultural integrity of the group, and to the stage of the enclave's development. That is, though Stanley Milgram's study of cognitive maps of Paris concludes that the icon of the city is not really different for the insider than for the tourist, in the ethnic enclave this is not necessarily the case. For example, Chinatown's Gateway is without doubt, the most salient feature of the neighborhood for outsiders, most of whom consider it Chinese. For newly-arrived Asian immigrants, however, the Gate because of its color¹ has taken on a negative superstitious meaning. Thus care must be taken so that tourist symbols do not come into conflict with community symbols.

Thus if tourism is to avoid conflict with the role of the enclave as setting for initial adjustment and compatible with its function as nostalgic refuge, the following should be included in the considerations:

Emphasize attractions that promote an understanding of cultural adaptation.

Ensure that commercializing aspects of the enclave's environment do not interfere with the quality of community life and the residents' sense of control over their turf.

Enhance the understanding of the historical and cultural context of the enclave, for both residents and visitors.

Take care so as to be certain that tourist symbols do not conflict with the symbols of the ethnic community.

Preserve the integrity of the residential environment by defining areas which are out of bounds for visiting tourists.

¹ white gateways being used for tombs in China, red ones for commercial areas

CONCLUDING COMMENTS:

McKinsey and Co. the economic consulting firm, were hired by a Japanese company to conduct a management study. In one week's time all the top 500 executives had changed jobs, many moving from Tokyo to Osaka, or vice versa. McKinsey consultants were much surprised to observe that "Within one week...the dust had settled and business was proceeding as usual."¹

After researching the situation, the consultants concluded that "The Japanese were able to reorganize as seemingly ruthlessly as they did because security was always present; not security of position, for many were demoted or transferred to subsidiary companies, but security that they had roots in solid cultural ground and shared meanings."

Thus once again demonstrating the importance of collective memories, fixed in space, for people whose lives are disrupted.

"The best environment for human growth is one in which there are both new stimuli and familiar reassurances, the chance to explore and the ability to return. In a mobile age young people, at least, must learn to acquire the skills of adaptation: how to acquire new information, how to relate to strangers, how to make choices. But they must have a home and a center somewhere, a secure base from which they can open out.

²

¹ Peters, Waterman. In Search of Excellence. Harper & Row. N.Y.: 1982. pp. 77.

² Lynch, Kevin. op. cit. pp. 204.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ashihara, Yoshinobu. The Aesthetic Townscape. M.I.T. Press. Cambridge: 1983.
- Barth, Gunther. Bitter Strength. Harvard University Press, Cambridge: 1964.
- Bray, Sharon. "Abandoning Objectivity to Experience the Delight of Folk Traditions." The World. April 11, 1984.
- Burney, Elizabeth. Housing on Trial. Oxford University Press, London: 1967.
- Carr, Stephen. City Signs and Lights. prepared for the BRA. M.I.T. Press, Cambridge: 1973.
- Carver, Norman. Iberian Villages. Documen Press, EPI, Inc.: 1981.
- Chermayeff, Ivan. "Ersatz Astoria." Space and Society. pp. 92.
- Clark, B.D. and Gleave, M.B. Social Patterns in Cities. No. 5. March 1973. Institute of British Geographers.
- Collier, John. "Computing and Interpreting the Cultural Inventory," Visual Anthropology. Holt, Reinhart, and Winston, N.Y.: 1967.
- Collier, John. Visual Anthropology: Philosophy as a Research Method. Holt, Renhart and Winston, N.Y.: 1967.
- Cooper, Clare, "The House as Symbol of Self." Proshansky, Ittleson and Rivlin. Environmental Psychology. 2nd edition.
- Eliade, Mircea. The Sacred and the Profane. Hartcourt, N.Y.: 1959.

Fried, Marc. "Residential Attachment: Sources of Residential and Community Satisfaction.

Friedman, Murray, (ed). Jewish Life in Philadelphia. Ishi Publ., Philadelphia: 1983.

Gabaccia, Donna. From Sicily to Elizabeth Street State University of New York Press, Albany: 1984

Gans, Herbert. The Urban Villagers. The Free Press, N.Y.: 1962

Gaston Bachelard. The Poetics of Space. Presses Universitaires de France: 1958.

Georgakas, Dan "Astoria" Greek Accent Feb, 1981, pp. 21-27

Glazer, Nathan and Moynihan, Daniel, Beyond the Melting Pot. The M.I.T. Press, Cambridge: 1970.

Gordon Milton. Assimilation in American Life. Oxford University Press, New York: 1964.

IBA, HUD Technical Assistance, Community Control Model, HUD, 1979.

Holli, Melvin, Jones, Peter. (eds.) Ethnic Chicago. William B. Eardmans Publ. Co., Michigan: 1984.

Karas, Nicholas. The Greek Triangle. Meteora Press, Lowell: 1984.

Korrol, Virginia. From Colonia to Community. Greenwood Press, Westport, CT: 1983.

Kowalski, Lydia. Ethnicity and Urban Conversation. M.I.T. Thesis, M.C.P.: 1973.

Latsch, Marie-Luise. Chinese Traditional Festivals. New World Press; China: 1984

Leonsis, Ted. "Archbishop here for Designation of Holy Trinity as Historic Site. Hellenic Chronicle. Nov. 2, 1978, pp. 4.

Lyons, Marguerite. "Area's New Ethnic Groups Bring Exotic Foods to Markets." The Lowell Sun. May 9, 1982.

Malberg, Torsten. Human Territoriality. Mouton Publ. The Hague: 1980.

McInnis, Edward. "Local architect defines 3 stages of growth..." Sampan. Feb. 1985. pp. 35. 38.

Michelson, William. Man and His Urban Environment. Addison- Wesley Publ. Co. Inc. Phillippines: 1976.

Mills, Stephanie. Place-Making with Cultural Values. Harvard Thesis.

Mumford, Lewis. The Culture of Cities. Hartcourt, Brace & Co. N.Y. 1938.

Nibi, Sophia. "A Greektown Called Lowell" Greek Accent. Nov- Dec. 1984. pp. 12-15, pp. 38-39.

Oberg, Kalvero Lecture: "Culture Shock and the Problem of Adjustment to New Cultural Environments." New England Refugee Resettlement Agency.

O'Neill, Molly. "Chinatown, Inc." Boston. March 1985. pp. 189-192.

Poodry, Deborah, M.I.T. Thesis, M.arch/M.C.P. M.I.T.: 1979.

Psara, Peter. "Greek Immigration to Lowell." Unpublished paper.

Rainwater, Lee. "Fear and the House as Haven..." in Housing Urban American. Jan. Pynoos (ed). Chicago: 1973. pp. 181-190.

Reisman, David. Abundance for What? Anchor Books, N.Y.: 1965.

Rozee, Eileen and Lou. Sponge Docks. St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Cathedral. Tarpon: 1973.

Sampas, Charles. "Growing up Greek in Lowell's Acre." Lowell Sun. March 24, 1985.

Sgouros, Adam "The greek american Community of Lowell, MA." Ph.D. Thesis Florida State University: 1979.

Stoughton, Gertrude. Tarpon Springs Florida Tri-Arts Studio, Florida: 1975.

Suttles, Gerald. The social order of a slum. University of Chicago Press: Chicago 1968.

Tricarico, Donald. The Italians of Greenwich Village. Center for Migration Studies. N.Y.: 1984.

Wong, Wanda. "Reviewer: Asian American films." Sampan. Feb. 1985. pp. 8.

Yee, Anna Wong. "Nursing home to open in May." Sampan. Feb. 1985. pp. 33-43.

Sarrilli, Phillip and Neff, Deborah. "Performances in America's Little Switzerland", The Drama Review. Vol. 26. No. 2. Summer 1982. pp. 111-124.

Zeisel, John. Inquiry by Design. Brooks/Cole Publ. Co., California: 1981.

Zeisel, John and Brolin, Brent. "Social Design in Mass Housing", Architectural Forum. vol. 129, No.1. Jul-Aug. 1968. pp 66-71.