

5-2019

Sense of Place in Kennedy Park: the Role of Urban Green Space in the Tree Streets Neighborhood

Dylan Peter Metsch-Ampel
Bates College, dmetscha@bates.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scarab.bates.edu/honorstheses>

Recommended Citation

Metsch-Ampel, Dylan Peter, "Sense of Place in Kennedy Park: the Role of Urban Green Space in the Tree Streets Neighborhood" (2019). *Honors Theses*. 275.
<https://scarab.bates.edu/honorstheses/275>

This Open Access is brought to you for free and open access by the Capstone Projects at SCARAB. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Theses by an authorized administrator of SCARAB. For more information, please contact batesscarab@bates.edu.

Sense of Place in Kennedy Park: the Role of Urban Green Space in the Tree Streets Neighborhood

An Honors Thesis

In Partnership with
Paige Wagner, Healthy Neighborhoods Planning Council

Presented to
The Faculty of the Program in Environmental Studies
Bates College

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Degree of Bachelor of Arts

By
Dylan Peter Metsch-Ampel
Lewiston, Maine
March 20, 2019

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I thank my Uncle Peter. Though I never knew you, your life and commitment to peace and justice informed my own passion for environmental justice. Because of you I joined the Environmental Studies department at Bates College where I was mentored by the most nurturing and capable professors. In particular, my thesis advisor, Francis Eanes. I cannot overstate my gratitude or thank you enough for your patience, guidance, and ability to inspire without overwhelming.

Thank you Professor Mueller for showing confidence in me as a first year. Thank you Professor Costlow for sticking with me for all four years. Thank you Professor Hall and Professor Aoki, your insights were foundational. Thank you Professor Kelley-Romano. Your mentorship in and out of class has changed how I understand the world.

A special thank you to Paige Wagner of the Healthy Neighborhoods Planning Council. Without your partnership, this thesis would not have been possible. You continuously went out of your way to provide endless support. I thank the entire Healthy Neighborhoods Planning Council for always welcoming me with open arms. Likewise, thank you to all of my friends across Lewiston, especially those at St. Mary's Nutrition Center, Raise-Op Housing Cooperative, the Root Cellar, Healthy Androscoggin, and Take 2. To the participants and everyone I spoke with. I hope this project is reflective of your realities and does justice to all of the amazing and intriguing insights you provided. Due to your willingness to participate, I am optimistic that my findings can help create a holistically healthier Tree Streets Neighborhood.

Next, thank you to the Harward Center. Ellen, Marty, Kristen, Darby, and Sam, you have continuously shown me the importance of community engagement and what it

means to do substantive community-engaged research. I cannot imagine my time at Bates without you.

To my friends, especially my roommates, without the laughter, debate, and endless nights in Coram, I would not have made it through. Zsofia, it is not an exaggeration to say your thesis directly inspired my own. Thank you for always being a text away. Analea, thank you for never leaving my side. To my mother, father, and sister, I aspire to live my life with as much impact and as passionately as all of you do. This thesis is a product of ALL that you have poured into me.

Finally, thank you Bates College. Here I have discovered my own deep sense of place attachment, place identity, place satisfaction, and indeed, place dependence, all while being productively pushed outside of my comfort zone.

ABSTRACT

In 2018, Lewiston received a Choice Neighborhoods Planning Grant from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. In conjunction with the city of Lewiston and Community Concepts, Inc., the Healthy Neighborhoods Planning Council has been managing the grant to create a neighborhood transformation plan. This plan focuses on making the Tree Streets Neighborhood a holistically healthier place where people choose to live. A key component is access to safe, green places where all residents can exercise, socialize, and develop networks (*Healthy Neighborhood Network Structure* 2018). Kennedy Park has the potential to provide such access for Tree Street residents. In order to better understand Kennedy Park's role, I ask: How does Kennedy Park currently influence Tree Street residents' sense of place? In what ways can ongoing Healthy Neighborhood- and Choice-related initiatives transform Kennedy Park so that the park fosters deeper sense of place and positive attachment among all Tree Street residents? As a concept, sense of place can be utilized to evaluate how people relate to place. My research utilizes the subconcepts of place attachment, place dependence, place identity, and place satisfaction; as well as concepts of processes of attachment as laid out by Setha M. Low and Jennifer E. Cross. Through in-depth resident interviews, in-person observation, and a thorough review of relevant documents, I explore these questions. The resulting analysis provides insight into Kennedy Park, and ways it can be enhanced or maintained to perpetuate deeper sense of place and positive attachment among Tree Street residents.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.....	ii
Abstract.....	iv
List of Tables	vi
List of Figures.....	vii
Introduction.....	1
Chapter I: Literature Review	5
Chapter II: Methods & Data	29
Chapter III: Results.....	37
Chapter IV: Discussion.....	71
Conclusion	82
Appendix A: Participant Briefing & Consent Forms.....	86
Appendix B: Participants' Conceptual Maps.....	92
Appendix C: Interview Sheet.....	113
Appendix D: Interview Transcripts	114
Appendix E: Code Book.....	247
Appendix F: Participant List.....	249
Appendix G: Participant Demographics Tables	253
Bibliography	256

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Correlation between place of process and processes of attachment	40
Table 2: Correlation between location and sense of place.....	54
Table 3: Correlation between process of attachment and sense of place.....	56
Table 4: Participant demographics in relation to place of processes	253
Table 5: Participant demographics in relation to processes of attachment.....	254
Table 6: Participant demographics in relation to sense of place.....	255

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Depiction of Kennedy Park’s layout (Kennedy Park Master Plan 2006).....	6
Figure 2: Tree Streets Neighborhood as outlined by HNPC (HNPC Update 2018).....	30

INTRODUCTION

On February 27, 2018 the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) announced that Lewiston, Maine was one of six cities to receive a fiscal year (FY) 2017 Choice Neighborhoods Planning Grant through the Choice Neighborhood Initiative (CNI). The grant, worth \$1.3 million, is intended to help create a transformation plan to revitalize downtown Lewiston's HUD-assisted Maple Knoll Development and the surrounding Tree Streets Neighborhood. Reception of the award is the first step in applying for the Choice Neighborhood Implementation Grant, an award worth up to approximately \$30 million ("Choice Neighborhoods Implementation Grantees" 2017). HUD's press release emphasizes a holistic approach to neighborhood transformation that addresses housing, education, community health, crime, and access to wealth (Sullivan 2018).

The Healthy Neighborhood Planning Council (HNPC) is responsible for overseeing the CNI grant in collaboration with Community Concepts, Inc. and the City of Lewiston. The plan is intended to be dynamic, culturally sensitive, linguistically accessible, and produced through community collaboration. The ultimate goal is to use the plan to foster a healthy neighborhood in the Tree Streets Neighborhood where people *choose* to live (*Healthy Neighborhood Network Structure* 2018). HNPC wants to know what changes can be made to the physical and social environment that will increase the retention of residents and improve overall quality of life for all residents.

To do so, HNPC has identified several key components of a healthy neighborhood. The components can be conceptualized into two categories: basic needs and social-psychological needs. The basic needs are affordable and safe housing, access

to medical care, access to healthy food and nutrition education, and available employment and training. The social-psychological needs are safe places to exercise and play, and places to nurture and access social connections and social support (*Healthy Neighborhood Network Structure* 2018). I am concerned with the social-psychological aspects of a healthy neighborhood.

Urban parks are a great option for fulfilling the social-psychological needs of residents by providing safe places for exercise, play, and sociality. They also provide access to green space in the midst of expansive built environments (Cranz 1982). Access to green space has been shown to have countless social and physical health benefits, such as stress reduction, improved cognition, and increased social integration (Hordyk et al. 2015; Kweon et al. 1998) Kennedy Park, a large public green space on the southwestern border of the Tree Streets Neighborhood, has the potential to fulfill the social-psychological needs outlined by HNPC.

The concept of sense of place is an avenue to explore and connect the social-psychological needs of residents with the social and physical construction of Kennedy Park. Kennedy Park's impact on residents' sense of place can inform park oriented transformations in order to improve residents' wellbeing. Moreover this is a key aspect in HNPC's mission to make the neighborhood a place people choose to live. Sense of place is an umbrella concept that incorporates various forms of association and attachments with place (Shamai 1991, 347; Trentelman 2009, 201). Sense of place is both an outcome of time spent in a place, and a predictor of whether people will continue to inhabit a place. Therefore, people with a deeper sense of place are more likely to remain as residents in their respective neighborhoods. As HNPC plans to transform the physical

makeup of the Tree Streets Neighborhood, residents' sense of place can be used as a key indicator of individual and community health and wellbeing, and to inform what kinds of changes are likely to deter residents from leaving.

Researchers have devoted much attention to sense of place, its subconcepts, and processes of attachment (Altman & Low 1992, Cross 2015; Hummon 1992; Jorgensen & Stedman 2001; Kyle & Chick 2007; Lewicka 2011; Low 1992; Milligan 1998; Relph 1976; Scannell & Gifford 2010; Shamai 1991; Stedman 2003; Stokols & Shumaker 1981; Stokowski 2002; Trentelman 2009; Tuan 1975; 1977; Van Patten & Williams 2008). Likewise, the physical and social health benefits of exposure to natural spaces have been greatly researched (Beatley, 2011; Hartig et al. 1991; Heerwagen 2009; Hordyk et al. 2015; Kahn, Jr. & Kellert, 2002; Kaplan & Kaplan 1989; Kellert & Wilson, 1993; Sullivan et al. 2004; Wilson, 1984) The existing scholarship does not, however, explore the impact that urban green space has on processes of attachment that inform sense of place among residents of diverse neighborhoods.

Specifically, I focus on Kennedy Park, and how it affects Tree Street residents' sense of place and whether they are likely to maintain residency. I am interested in the granular details about how processes of attachment can inform structural and social change to Kennedy Park in order to foster a positive sense of place that will deter residents from leaving. The driving questions behind my research are two-fold. First, how does Kennedy Park currently influence Tree Street residents' sense of place? Second, in what ways could ongoing HNPC and Choice-related initiatives transform Kennedy Park's built and social environment so that the park fosters a deeper sense of place and positive attachment among all Tree Street residents?

To address the questions raised in the introduction, my research is based on in-depth interviews with Tree Streets Neighborhood residents, in-person observations within Kennedy Park, and a thorough review of official town, CNI, and HNPC documents. In Chapter I, I situate Kennedy Park within the existing scholarship regarding the role of parks as public urban green space, and the benefits they provide park goers. My research in this chapter also draws upon existing place and space scholarship, with particular emphasis on processes of attachment and sense of place. In Chapter II, I outline my methodology. Chapter III focuses on the results, and evaluating my findings. Then, in Chapter IV, I explore the impact of my results, and how they can be utilized by HNPC. Additionally, this chapter addresses my shortcomings and avenues for further research. The conclusion summarizes my findings and how processes of attachment impact sense of place in Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood.

CHAPTER I: LITERATURE REVIEW

Kennedy Park

Theoretically, urban parks are constructed for the use of all residents. Urban parks are intended to offer the benefits of exposure to nature, access to place for exercise, and social interaction. Kennedy Park is no exception. Kennedy Park is located on the southwest border of the Tree Streets Neighborhood. The “classic urban green” has been central to Lewiston since the land was donated to the city in 1861 (*Downtown Neighborhood Action Plan 2009; Legacy Lewiston 2017, 68*). Originally named “City Park,” the park was renamed in 1963 following the assassination of President John F. Kennedy who held a campaign rally there in November 1960 (*Downtown Neighborhood Action Plan 2009; Hodgkins 2011, 3*).

The 7.5 acre public park is nearly a perfect rectangle. Kennedy Park features basketball courts, an in-ground pool, a playground, a skateboard park, a civil war monument, and much open space (*Kennedy Park Master Plan 2006, 6; “Parks in Lewiston”*). One of Kennedy Park’s key defining features, due to its long and well documented public history, is the bandstand. The current bandstand was erected in 1925, replacing the original one built in 1868. For over 150 years, the bandstand has been home to political rallies, concerts, and many important cultural celebrations (*Hodgkins 2011, 1; Legacy Lewiston 2017, 68*). For extended periods of time, the bandstand has gone unused due to being deemed unsafe (*Legacy Lewiston 2017, 68*). However, recent renovations have rehabilitated and revitalized the iconic landmark. Like the bandstand, various aspects of the park have fallen in and out of disrepair over the years. In 2006, the town adopted the *Kennedy Park Master Plan* to guide renovations. Since then the town has updated various aspects of the park, like the pool and skateboard park. In September 2018 repairs to the sidewalks, walkways, and benches began (*Moss 2018*).



Figure 1: Depiction of Kennedy Park's layout (Kennedy Park Master Plan 2006)

The park's walkability is crucial because 56% of Tree Street households do not have a car (*HNPC Update 2018*). Pathways throughout the park allow for radial movement to and from the outside streets, as well as between sections of the park (*Kennedy Park Master Plan 2006*). Surrounding Kennedy Park are several incredible community organizations and town resources. The Lewiston Public library, Goodwill Take2, Community Concepts, Inc., St. Mary's Food Pantry, and the Trinity Jubilee Center are located right off of Kennedy Park. A little further into the Tree Streets Neighborhood, Kennedy Park users can access even more organizations like Sophia's House, Center for Wisdom's Women, B-Street Community Center, Raise-Op Housing Cooperative, and Tree Street Youth (*HNPC Update 2018*). This list includes just some of the community organizations and resources located in the Tree Streets Neighborhood and within walking distance of Kennedy Park. The Lewiston Police Department and City Hall are also visible from and located along the border of Kennedy Park. Kennedy Park is also bordered by or within walking distance of at least five public transportation bus routes that provide access to places all over Lewiston and Auburn (*HPNC Update 2018*).

Unfortunately, Kennedy Park and the surrounding areas of downtown Lewiston have a negative stigma. In a HNPC survey one respondent said, “If the park was safe, I’d spend more time there. I like it during the day, but I hate it at night” (*HNPC Update* 2018). Commenting on Knox Street, which leads to the park from the southeast area of the Tree Streets, another respondent said, “I wouldn’t walk on Knox Street because of the stuff that goes on down there - drug activity” (*HNPC Update* 2018). A 2018 survey found that Kennedy Park is a place that some Lewiston residents avoid due to the presence of or proximity to violent crime (*HNPC Update* 2018).

In June 2018 Donald Giusti was murdered in the park during a fight between a group of teens and Giusti’s companions (“Lewiston man dies” 2018). Giusti’s death increased hostility towards New Mainers, but Giusti’s family alongside leaders in the New Mainer community came together and held a peace rally to ease tensions (“Lewiston residents rally” 2018). Unfortunately, the homicide still had the impact of reinforcing the park’s reputation as a dangerous place. A month later, Kim Dobbie was stabbed to death in front of her children on Sabattus Street (Washuk 2018; Gallagher 2018). Although out of sight of Kennedy Park and not technically in the Tree Streets Neighborhood, this second murder compounded tensions and feelings of insecurity in downtown Lewiston.

Despite the stigma and resulting atmosphere of unease, crime rates have dropped (Tice 2012; Skelton & Rice 2018; LaFlamme 2018). Crime statistics are by no means a perfect reflection of the safety of a town or neighborhood, but ideally they are an indicator. With crime rates actively dropping, feelings of unease, fear, and anxiety should not be on the rise. Writing for *The Sun Journal*, journalist Mark LaFlamme explains that this is a common trend in Lewiston’s history. Although crime rates have been steadily dropping over the past decades, high

profile crimes impact residents' perceptions of the safety of the neighborhood (Skelton & Rice 2018; LaFlamme 2018). Kennedy Park's negative stigma is likely the result of high profile crimes, combined with visible substance abuse in the park and high poverty rates in the Tree Streets Neighborhood ("Administrative Data" 2018).

Searching the keywords "Kennedy Park" in *The Sun Journal* online database returns tens of thousands of results. The headlines reflect differing opinions and present various events that have taken place in the park over the years. They range from op-eds lamenting the trash to stories about children playing to articles reporting acts of violence ("Kennedy Park is Full of Trash" 2006; "Playing in Kennedy Park" 2012; Sover 2016). Each conflicting narrative exists in tandem and affects how the park is understood and perceived by residents, and in turn how it is governed and policed by the City of Lewiston. This greatly impacts the social construction of the park, and thus how people go through processes of attachment to Kennedy Park.

The designed layout, condition, and surrounding community organizations establish the physical construction of Kennedy Park. The interpersonal interactions within the park, sustained stigmas surrounding the park, and the well-established history constitute the social construction of Kennedy Park. How can HPNC in partnership with Tree Street residents, the city of Lewiston, and CNI make changes to the physical construction in ways that will improve the social construction of Kennedy Park and foster deeper sense of place among tree street residents?

The Benefits of Parks as Place

Now that I have established Kennedy Park's place within Lewiston, I want to explore the benefits of parks, and parks as place. Then, I will place my research and parks in the context of public urban space. I should clarify that by definition public urban space is devoid of any boundaries in that it includes all space not explicitly owned (Lehtovuori 2010, 36). The

delineation between space and place will be explained later in this chapter, but the lack of boundaries is why it is public urban space and not public urban place. However, specific areas, such as Kennedy Park, are public urban place because they have definitive boundaries that make clear the tangible social and physical constructions.

Galen Cranz writes that there are three levels of attitudes towards urban parks, each increasing in sophistication. The first level views parks simply as preserved land. The second level establishes parks as aesthetic creations that have changed throughout time. The third level, which my research abides by, says that every aspect of a park presents an opportunity for planners to affect the community by influencing the social interactions of park users (Cranz 1982, 253). I will add that the existing scholarship shows that access to nature is crucial for a healthy existence, and planners have the responsibility of creating access to essential natural features (Beatley, 2011; Hartig et al. 1991; Heerwagen 2009; Hordyk et al. 2015; Kahn, Jr. & Kellert, 2002; Kaplan & Kaplan 1989; Kellert & Wilson, 1993; Sullivan et al. 2004; Wilson, 1984).

The existing scholarship on the benefits of exposure to nature is abundant. The contemporary foundational theory is Edward O. Wilson's concept of biophilia (1984). Biophilia is the inherent emotional connection between people and other living beings (Wilson 1984, 3; Kellert & Wilson 1993, 31). The theory states that there is a positive impact when this connection is registered within a person (Hordyk et al. 2015, 75). Biophilia is just one of three central theories explaining the importance of contact with green space (Hordyk et al. 2015, 75). Stress reduction theory and attention restoration theory are the other two. The former is the idea that contact with nature reduces physiological states of stress. The latter states that time in nature can have a positive impact on cognition (Hordyk et al. 2015, 75).

There is much research that reinforces these theories, and it applies to people of varying demographics (e.g. age and culture) across various kinds of green place (e.g. urban parks or secluded state parks) (Heerwagen 2009). For example, research shows that there are a variety of restorative effects as a result of exposure to green space (Hartig et al. 1991; Heerwagen 2009; Kaplan & Kaplan 1998). Exposure to green space has been shown to have tremendous developmental and social integrational effects on elderly adults and young children (Kahn, Jr. & Kellert 2002; Kweon, et al. 1998). Importantly, while researching immigrant families, it was found that access to green space provided opportunities for family-bonding and maintaining connection with their countries of origin (Hordyk et al. 2015, 76-77). The research also found that immigrant families frequently settled in subpar housing. As a result, families tended to spend as much time in parklike green spaces as possible. This helped their social and physical development (Hordyk et al. 2015, 76-80). Finally, integrating green space into urban areas has the potential to revitalize the city and increase its inhabitability (Beatley 2011). These last two studies are particularly relevant to my research because of the urban reality of the Tree Streets Neighborhood and the prevalence of New Mainers residing there.

Historically, America's urban parks are founded upon the principle that a healthy life requires access to the country and nature. Nestled in the heart of cities and urban centers, parks are meant to be a substitute for rural living by providing exposure to open skies, fresh air, and natural features, such as trees and water (Cranz 1982, 5). Jane Jacobs identifies neighborhood parks as a unique form of park that are intended for local use through their roles as "local public yards" (1961, 91). Implied in the original justification for parks is the idea that they are beneficial for the surrounding residents and neighborhoods (Cranz 1982; Jacobs 1961, 89). Jacobs offers an alternative view by arguing that parks require the input of residents to fulfill

their intended purpose. The argument is that people have to actually use parks and give them meaning for them to be successful. Otherwise, the lack of utilization results in failure and abandonment (Jacobs 1961, 89). Here the social and physical construction of urban public space meet. The physical space can be incredibly nice, but if people do not utilize it, the benefits go to waste. In reverse, a park may have fallen into disrepair, but if residents and locals utilize and rehabilitate it, then it can still fulfill its intended purpose.

Public Urban Space

Parks are a kind of public urban space. Public urban space is more easily defined by what it is not, than by what it is. Public urban space encompasses all “surface” that is not privately owned (Lehtovuori 2010, 36). Conceptualization of public urban space includes both the physical and the social (Lehtovuori 2010, 36). I would like to focus first on the social constructions of such spaces, specifically public urban parks

Discussing the contemporary conceptions of the social construction of public urban space, Panu Lehtovuori refers to public urban space as both a meeting place and a game or dance (2010, 41). The idea of a meeting place frames public urban space simply as a format for people to interact in. The game and dance metaphor contextualizes public urban space as a game arena where residents perform the “dance” of social interactions.

Now, to focus on the physical construction of public urban space. The physical is contemporarily conceived of as a stage or room (Lehtovuori 2010, 38-39). The stage conceptualization is used by planners to construct the space by trying to tailor it to the actors (e.g. residents). The room is implicitly more private, but similar to the stage conceptualization. While a public, outdoor space like a park may be viewed as a stage, an indoor public area, such as a local eatery, may be conceptualized as a room (Lehtovuori 2010, 38-39).

The physical and social aspects of space coincide, and it is in this meeting that space becomes total. One term for this is space syntax. Put simply, space syntax is the understanding that the social and physical inform each other in the creation of public urban space (Lehtovuori 2010, 59). Another conceptualization for this is a framework presented by Lehtovuori based upon Henri Lefebvre's work. The framework consists of the interactions between perceived space, conceived space, and lived space (Lehtovuori 2010, 55-57). Perceived space is public urban space as encountered by the senses. Conceived space is the actual makeup of city. Lived space is the social makeup, such as memories and stigmas that define urban public space (lehtovuori 2010, 56).

Kennedy Park is a good example to further explain these concepts. The perceived space of Kennedy Park is made up of the sensory experiences park goers have. The perceived space is unique to each user, and it is informed by their personal and cultural identities. Therefore, for example, New Mainers likely view the perceived space of Kennedy Park differently than generational Tree Street residents. The conceived space of Kennedy Park is all of the physical components that are strategically planned and placed, such as the basketball courts, the bandstand, and even the police department overlooking the park. Finally, the lived space can be thought of as the result of the conceived and perceived space. The lived space of Kennedy Park is the social atmosphere that exists in the physical park (conceived space) and is created through interacting perceptions of the park (perceived space).

In the interacting perceptions of place it becomes clear that places are constantly being created. This idea is the foundation of the politics of public place, which describes how reigning individual and cultural values define the physical and social constructions of public place (Stokowski 2002, 374). Public place has long been established as a site of political contestation,

and is greatly explored by human geographers (Harvey 2003; 2006). To focus specifically on public parks, users' perceived space of the park informs how they want the conceived space to be constructed. There is constant conflict over how the park should be. This may manifest explicitly in town hall meetings, or discursively through the ways people do or do not use a park. This is most frequently true in diverse neighborhoods, where people come from various backgrounds that lead to conflicting views on how and when parks should be used. However, such neighborhoods also present the best opportunities to work through such conflict. Parks are common spaces wherein people can interact, and hopefully find solutions to competing conceptions of the park (Stokowski 2002, 495-496).

Lewiston and Kennedy Park are no exception to this phenomenon. Since the early 2000s Lewiston has become home to an increasing population of refugees, asylum seekers, and immigrants from Africa. The perpetual contestation of place plays out in Kennedy Park, and in turn, is constantly a force behind the physical and social construction of the place.

Space and Place

As I research processes of attachment among residents, it is necessary to lay a theoretical groundwork for the concept of place. Originally focused within the field of geography, the study of space and place expanded to empirical qualitative and quantitative research in the latter half of the 20th century (Relph 1976; Tuan 1975; 1977). With this evolution, place research began to focus on how people's experiences within a respective area delineated it from space to place. Space and place are conceived of as "basic components" of the world everyone inhabits. However, the difference is often unclear or ambiguous (Tuan 1976, 3). Space is described as "intangible" and "amorphous," an area without meaning (Relph 1976, 2). Place, then, is space that experience confers meaning upon. Such experience involves both sensory contact, such as

sight and sound, as well as social and emotional contact, like memories and associations (Tuan 1975, 152). These experiences establish an association with a particular space, thereby creating place. It is easy to conceptualize it like this: uncharted waters in the middle of the ocean is simple space, whereas Kennedy Park is place. There is a physical component to the uncharted waters, but no one to experience it and confer meaning upon it. On the other hand, Kennedy Park has both a physical and social construction in which people interact, experience, and create associations. Both are valid areas that exist, but one is space and the other is place.

Susan R. Van Patten and Daniel R. Williams have generalized three aspects of place that differentiate between space and place, and identify trends in existing place scholarship. The three aspects are material form, scale, and relational aspect (Van Patten & Williams 2008, 448). Scale refers to the relative size of the place, such as home, neighborhood, city, region, and so on (Lewicka 2011; Tuan 1975). The relational aspect includes concepts of attachment like sense of place, and refers to the making of place through experiential relationships. Material form is the actual physical space, both built and natural, that constitutes place (Van Patten & Williams 2008, 448-449). Place is material form (space) that is given meaning through experience based relationships.

A contemporary understanding of space identifies individual, collective, and cultural processes as responsible for creating place (Altman & Low 1992, 5). This particular framework guides my understanding of place, and it helps contextualize why place is important. Experience based relationships delineate place from space, and they also lead to processes of attachment to place. In other words, while place is conferred meaning through relational processes, once a place is created out of space, it in turn confers meaning upon those that inhabit it (Kyle & Chick

2007, 212). The relationship between people and place is reciprocal, and one way this can be conceptualized is through sense of place.

Sense of Place and Related Subconcepts

Place based research is expansive and has been described as both interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary. Researchers follow the traditions of their respective disciplines, while still maintaining collaboration and cooperation across disciplines (Lewicka 2011; Trentelman 2009). The multitude of approaches has led to an array of place literature, which is often criticized as being “messy”. This critique arises partially due to overlapping, but inconsistent use of place related concepts (Trentelman 2009, 196-197). For example, environmental psychologists use place attachment, while sociologists focus on community attachment, also known as community sentiment (Hummon 1992; Trentelman 2009). Often these overarching concepts are exploring similar questions regarding satisfaction with place, attachment to place, and the identities and meanings conferred upon people and place by the other. Another such subsuming concept is sense of place.

Sense of place is an overarching concept that operationalizes associations and attachments to place (Jorgensen & Stedman 2001; Kyle & Chick 2007; Relph 1976; Shamai 1991; Stedman 2003; Trentelman 2009, 197). Sense of place is inclusive of various forms of associations with place. Sense of place, unlike place attachment, does not imply a positive relationship to place (Trentelman 2009, 201). A subconcept of sense of place that underscores this is place satisfaction. Residents may be satisfied with place, but not attached; or residents may be attached to place, but not satisfied (Stedman 2003, 672). Furthermore, sense of place involves subjective interpretations of place founded in place based experience. Therefore, sense

of place arises out of the conjoining of residents' understandings of and feelings about place (Hummon 1992, 262).

Shamai states that sense of place is too broad to fit within a simple definition, but he does provide a scale for understanding sense of place (1991, 348-350). The scale ranges from the lowest, not having any sense of place, to the highest, sacrifice for a place. In between are belonging to a place, attachment to a place, identifying with the place goals, and involvement in a place. Processes of attachment develop one's level of sense of place, and the level can increase or decrease over time (Shamai 1991, 349-350).

To better operationalize sense of place, I utilize the sub-concepts outlined by Carla Koons Trentelman: place attachment, place dependence, and place identity (2009). I also employ the subconcept of place satisfaction (Stedman 2003, 672). I use these in order to connect my conceptualization of sense of place and HNPC's practical questions about why people live in the Tree Streets Neighborhood and whether they will remain. The relative intensity of place attachment, place dependence, place identity, place satisfaction, or any combination of the four are indicators of a resident's level of sense of place (Trentelman 2009, 200). Using these concepts to gauge where residents fall on Shmuel Shamai's scale is helpful for evaluating Tree Street residents' sense of place, and assessing whether they are likely to leave.

Place Attachment

Place attachment, the overarching concept used by environmental psychologists, is rooted in the idea that there are intense psychological links between people and the places they inhabit. Psychological links between people and place are often the result of intense experiences and/or long term exposure to place (Relph 1976, 1; Trentelman 2009, 200). The word attachment implies affect, and the word place emphasizes the actual environment to which people are

attached (Altman & Low 1992, 5). It is generally accepted that the effect of the place is positive (Trentelman 2009, 200). Place attachment is therefore a positive connection to place. In general it may be too reductionist to deem place attachment as solely a positive sense of place (Trentelman 2009, 200). It is a deeply complex concept, but as a subconcept of sense of place, place attachment can be understood more narrowly as an indication of a positive attachment.

Place Dependence

Place dependence explores residents' reliance on a specific place (Stokols & Shumaker 1981, 457; Trentelman 2009, 200). Stokols and Shumaker describe place dependence as a subjective quality of residents' relationships to place (1981, 457). Very simply, when someone is place dependent they are understood as having a strong association or reliance with the place. The inverse, place independence, is when someone is understood as having a weak association with or no reliance on a place (Stokols & Shumaker 1981, 457). For my purposes, place dependence would mean reliance on Kennedy Park because it is irreplaceable, or because it offers residents options not matched by other parks. Unlike place attachment, place dependence does not inherently indicate a positive or negative attachment to place. The existing scholarship clarifies that place dependence can occur at any scale, including the neighborhood (Stokols & Shumaker 1981, 457). Finally, Daniel Stokols and Sally A. Shumaker note the defining factors of place dependence: the quality of the inhabited place as compared to the quality of alternative options (1981, 458). Tree Street residents who are place dependent upon Kennedy Park are likely to have a deeper sense of place than those who identify as place independent from Kennedy Park.

Place Identity

Place identity is a critical subconcept of sense of place because it helps researchers recognize the shortcomings of using sense of place as a predictor for residents' behavior. Identity is a complex structure that is informed by the lived experiences of a person's gender, socioeconomic status, cultural background, and so on (Proshansky 1978, 155). Place identity recognizes that inhabiting place is only one component of an intricate combination of lived experiences that inform someone's identity. However, as is evident from its name, place identity is concerned with place being an integral part of the combination of experiences that create personal being or personal identity (Trentelman 2009, 200). More specifically, place identity refers to the ways individuals consciously and unconsciously interact with the physical space around them due to their identity. For example, residents' personal preferences, values, and goals that are informed through their lived experiences may affect their relationship to place (Proshansky 1978, 155). The level at which Kennedy Park informs Tree Street residents' identities is a critical component of understanding residents' sense of place. Residents who feel their identities have been informed in part by Kennedy Park are more likely to have a deeper sense of place in the Tree Streets Neighborhood than those who do not.

Place Satisfaction

Levels of place satisfaction amongst residents evaluates their contentment with the physical and social features of the place they inhabit. It is easy to conflate attachment and satisfaction, but scholars differentiate between the two. This is because, as I mentioned, one can be satisfied and not attached or attached and not satisfied (Mesch & Manor 1998; Stedman 2003). However, Gustavo S. Mesch and Orit Manor assert that higher levels of place satisfaction are shown to correlate with higher levels of positive attachment and higher likelihoods of

remaining in the neighborhood (1998, 509). Understanding Tree Street residents' place satisfaction is necessary for my research because sense of place goes beyond positive attachment. Place satisfaction helps me look holistically at residents' sense of place. Moreover, while a resident's place satisfaction does not tell me if they are positively attached or not, it is an ingredient in being able to determine whether or not they are likely to stay.

Assessing how and why place attachment, place dependence, place identity, and/or place satisfaction are present among residents of the Tree Streets Neighborhood as a result of Kennedy Park is central for two reasons. The first is that it helps me understand residents' sense of place. The second is that they can inform the kinds of place-based interventions in and around Kennedy Park that may impact their sense of place.

Conceptually, sense of place is both an outcome and a complex predictor of residents' relationship to a particular place. Sense of place is the outcome of the lived experiences, social construction, and physical makeup of someone's surrounding environment. In theory, the healthier a neighborhood is the deeper and more positive residents' sense of place is. HNPC emphasizes safe places to exercise and play, as well as places where residents can access social support and nurture social connections (*Healthy Neighborhoods Networks Structure* 2018). Kennedy Park has the potential to be a place that fosters these physical and social interactions for Tree Street residents. In neighborhoods where such places are present, positive sense of place is more likely to be an outcome than in neighborhoods where such places are not present. Therefore, a resident's sense of place can be a predictor of whether they will continue living in their neighborhood. If the HNPC can understand how to construct Kennedy Park, both physically and socially, in a way that maximizes positive sense of place as an outcome among residents,

then they will be on their way to successfully creating a thriving and sustainable healthy neighborhood in the Tree Streets.

Processes of Attachment in Urban Neighborhoods

Leila Scannell and Robert Gifford established a tripartite organizing framework for conceptualizing place attachment (2010). While the article that establishes this organizing framework is explicitly about place attachment, the framework is also applicable for conceptualizing sense of place (Scannell & Gifford 2010, 3). First, in my analysis place attachment is a subcomponent of sense of place. Second, as I have discussed, sense of place is a broader way of analyzing relationships to place that considers both the positive and the negative. The framework consists of person, place, and process (Scannell & Gifford 2010, 2).

Person

The first component of the framework, person, is relatively straightforward. Person is subdivided into cultural/group and individual (Scannell & Gifford 2010, 2). In the case of my research, person includes generational Mainers, New Mainers, and the distinct identities (e.g. gender identity, religious identity, ethnic identity, and age) of each resident. Many of the residents in the Tree Streets Neighborhood are from families who have lived in Lewiston for generations. These generational Mainers live amongst New Mainers. New Mainers are refugees, asylum seekers, and immigrants who have recently arrived in Maine, specifically in Lewiston in this case. The overwhelming majority of New Mainers are originally from East Africa. The existing scholarship is divided on how attachment to place is affected by a person's identity as a newcomer or as a local. However, academia tends to focus on newcomers as seasonal visitors or people moving not under duress (Lewicka 2011, 214-215). In Lewiston's case the newcomers, the New Mainers, are generally arriving in the United States and then travelling to Lewiston due

to exigent circumstances in their countries of origin. Even if Lewiston is their second or third stop after arriving in the United States, their arrival is still fundamentally different than that of a vacationer or an American moving internally within their home country. Maria Lewicka notes that regardless of the results or opinions regarding level of attachment to place, newcomers can be expected to undergo different processes of attachment than locals (2011, 215). Processes of attachment are explored in depth later in the chapter, but it is likely that there are differences in the processes through which New Mainers and locals attach to the Tree Streets Neighborhood.

Place

Place is subdivided into social and physical (Scannell & Gifford 2010, 2). With regards to my research, place is both the social interactions (e.g. face-to-face, governance, policing), as well as the tangible, built, and designed components that define Kennedy Park (Scannell & Gifford 2010, 2). Place also has to do with the scale at which sense of place is being researched. There are several different scales through which sense of place can be studied. Yi-Fu Tuan outlines the scales as places within the home, city, neighborhood and region, and nation-state (1975).

The relevant scale for my focus is the neighborhood. The respective features that define a particular neighborhood vary. In some instances the defining component is the racial demographics of its residents and in others it is the socioeconomic status of residents. Some neighborhoods are defined by uniform housing or by street name patterns. Often there is a combination of features that lead to an area being designated as a neighborhood. The markers of neighborhood, although validated, are somewhat arbitrary and not necessarily defined by those who actually reside in the neighborhood, such as city officials, planners, and academics. In fact, residents are not always aware when their streets become a designated part of a neighborhood (Tuan 1975, 158). Indeed, in the case of the unofficial Tree Streets Neighborhood there are little

to no official markers outside of the street names and abundance of HUD assisted housing developments (Burns; Lewiston, ME). For the purposes of my research, the Tree Streets Neighborhood is defined by the boundaries set forth by previous academic research, the HNPC, and CNI. Studies indicate that the neighborhood traditionally evokes less attachment than the smaller home or larger city scales (Lewicka 2011, 212). Lewicka indicates that this is likely the result of ambiguous neighborhood boundaries. The lack of clearly defined boundaries makes it harder for researchers to identify attachments (2011, 213).

It is worth noting that Lewicka's review of relevant literature indicates that existing studies are inconclusive, and that there is still much research to do to learn about the role the neighborhood plays in creating sense of place. For example, there are conflicting results regarding the impact open and closed neighborhoods have on attachment to place. Researchers refer to a neighborhood's levels of diversity, inclusiveness, and homogeneity through the terms open and closed (Lewicka 2011, 210). Some research indicates that more traditional, rural, closed places have higher rates of place attachment (Lewicka 2011, 210). Georjeanna Wilson and Mark Baldassare also found that larger population size, density, and ethnic diversity have a negative effect on attachment (Lewicka 2011, 210). However, other studies have shown the opposite, suggesting that there are other factors, such as social capital, landscape, and service access, that can influence attachment to place (Lewicka 2011, 210).

Process

The third component of the framework, process, is more complex. Process is the means through which people actually create a relationship to place. Generally this has to do with interactions and the specific environments in which they are embedded (Scannell & Gifford 2010, 3). Scannell and Gifford break process down into affect, cognition, and behavior (2010, 2).

Affect refers to emotional connections, cognition has to do with specific associations with specific places, and behavior concerns how actions, such as maintaining close or distant proximity, conveys an attachment (Scannell & Gifford 2010, 3-4). While it is easy to identify the people, place, and scale of my research, Tree Street residents, Kennedy Park, and neighborhood respectively, it is not so simple to identify the existing processes of attachment. Researchers studying sense of place can choose place and preferred scale. From there they can figure out who the people are through means such as observation and housing records that easily identify users of place.

Process, however, is not similarly visible. Processes of attachment occur within the day-to-day interactions between people and between people and place that exist within the broader discourse. Therefore, while attachment may be reflected in the physical landscape (e.g. religious symbols, streets named after local families), the actual processes that create attachment are present in the social constructions of and social relationships to place. Scholars have developed various typologies of processes of attachment (Cross 2015; Low 1992; Milligan 1998).

Similar to Scannell and Gifford's research, Melinda J. Milligan identifies two "interwoven processes" of attachment. The first is interactional past, and the second is interactional potential (Milligan 1998, 8). Place becomes meaningful through interactional past when important memories are associated with a particular place because they occurred there (Milligan 1998, 8-9). In other words, there is a shared history between the place and the person. The other process, interactional potential, regards the physical construction of the place. The specific and definitive physical features of site inform and create perceptions of what actually can happen within the physical space (Milligan 1998, 9). In other words, interactional potential is

about the impact “expectations” as a result of the physical space have on the process of attachment (Milligan 1998, 9).

Some academics have taken the conceptualization of processes of attachment even further. While Scannell and Gifford’s and Milligan’s research break the process down to be about broad categories like emotions, actions, and expectations, other researchers, like Setha M. Low and Jennifer E. Cross, have been more specific about categorizing and identifying processes of attachment. To be clear, Low and Cross are also writing about processes of place attachment, but for reasons already explained, their research applies to the overarching concept of sense of place as well.

Low asserts that place is created in part through cultural processes. Therefore, her typology focuses on cultural processes of attachment (Low 1992, 166). In order to understand cultural attachment, Low developed six symbolic links between people and place (Cross 2015, 4; Low 1992, 165-166).

The first link is genealogical, which is created through language and cultural practices that create historical identification and links place and people, particularly family (Low 1992, 167-169). Low writes, “Genealogical place attachment refers to the linkage of people and land through the historical identification of place and family or community” (1992, 167).

Genealogical attachment is a long term process based in cultural ties and tradition (Low 1992). Next is loss or destruction. This link is created through the trauma of losing a place of cultural significance.

Loss of place occurs for various reasons including gentrification, resettlement, disaster, and war (Low 1992, 169). The third link is economics. An economic link is based in either

ownership of land or in having some stake in a particular area, such as owning a business (Low 1992, 170). This attachment is based in a utilitarian relationship (Low 1992).

A cosmological attachment is the fourth link. It is based in a specific place being foundational to a culture's conception of the world (Low 1992, 170). Low writes, "Broadly defined, cosmological place attachment refers to a culture's religious and mythological conceptions of the world and the structural correspondence of these ideas with the landscape" (1992, 170). In other words, place is the physical evidence of a culture's religious or mythological conception of the world. It is most prominent among indigenous communities. The fifth link is pilgrimage, and it is similar to cosmology. Attachment through pilgrimage is based on traveling to a culturally important place that evokes social, moral, and cosmological meaning (Low 1992, 173). Low asserts that pilgrimage attachment goes beyond just travel, and includes acts like rituals and trainings in preparation for the trip (Low 1992).

Low's final link is narrative. She defines narrative as stories, origin myths, family histories, or political accounts, that link culture to place. Low identifies narrative imbued with place naming and language as a vehicle that connects people to land (1992, 174). Low teaches that narrative attachment can occur through hearing the narratives, and without actually being present in place (Low 1992). Low categorizes her typology into three groups: social (genealogical), material (loss or destruction, economics), and ideological (cosmology, pilgrimage, narrative) (1992, 175).

Influenced by the foundations set by Low and Milligan, Cross establishes a set of seven interactional processes of attachment. Cross's processes are based upon the idea that people create meaning and establish bonds with place through regular interactions and actions (2015, 9). Cross's first interactional process is sensory. This is based in the idea that individuals perceive

place uniquely, and that perception is further informed by individuals' respective cultures (Cross 2015, 9). Furthermore, Cross asserts that as sensory experiences in place change, so can the attachment to place. Finally, sensory attachment in restorative environments, primarily natural or green places, is more likely to lead to positive place attachment (2015, 9).

Next is narrative. Cross asserts that narrative attachment is formed via learning about place through hearing and telling stories, and can be used to exclude others (2015, 12). While similar to Low's narrative attachment, Cross's conception of narrative attachment is unique. She writes that narrative cannot replace actually experiencing a place in person; but, it can enhance attachment or serve as a substitute for people unable to physically be there (2015, 13). This narrative attachment is complementary to other processes of attachment.

The third process is historical, and this is similar to Low's genealogical link. Cross extends Low's genealogical attachment by combining personal (biographical), genealogical, and ancestral attachment (2015, 14-15). Low writes:

While Low named this process genealogical, I prefer the term *historical process*, in recognition that the broadest definition includes the process of history being created at the individual biographical level, not just cultural or genealogical levels which not all people experience... Historical attachment is the process of accumulating experience in a place and creating meaning about those experiences that tie both ordinary and significant life events to a particular place as well as to the history of place (2015, 14).

Historical attachment is more inclusive than genealogical attachment. Furthermore, historical attachment, while still time dependent, can occur within the span of a lifetime as opposed to being rooted in generations of cultural attachment to place.

Cross's fourth process, spiritual, describes a deep connection to place in the soul or spirit. It is not religious in nature, but simply delineates attachment from the physical world to something internal (Cross 2015, 16). Cross writes, "While a person can have a long historical attachment to a place, that person may or may not experience a deep sense of belonging, which I

have named spiritual attachment. The *spiritual process* of attachment is the enduring sense of deep belonging in a particular place” (2015, 16). Spiritual attachment may be hard for residents to articulate, but it is the most stable in that it is not easily influenced by social relationships (Cross 2015, 17). Fifth is ideological process, which is based in the morality and ethics of engaging in place (Cross 2015, 18). Cross asserts, “In contrast to spiritual processes, which ‘just happen’ and are not chosen, ideological attachments are founded on an ethical code which dictates good and bad relationships between people and places (2015, 18). Ideological attachment results from conscious thought about how one should interact with place (Cross 2015).

Cross’s second to last process is commodifying. This process generally happens on an individual level, and occurs through choosing place for its beneficial features (Cross 2015, 19-20). Commodifying attachment can easily decline over time as place changes. This attachment is based in one’s ability to choose place. Lastly, Cross lays out material dependence. Attachment to place through material dependence results from reliance on social aspects (e.g. family and friends), as well as physical aspects (e.g. jobs and parks) of a place (Cross 2015, 21).

Both Low and Cross’s typologies of processes of attachment are useful and relevant. Low’s work is based on cultural processes. Cross’s work is more explicitly based on interactional processes. However, with their foundation in Low’s typology, Cross’s processes build on and frequently subsume the cultural processes outlined by Low. As is made clear from the existing scholarship, both physical and social constructions of place play a role in processes of attachment (Cross 2015; Lewicka 2011; Low 1992; Milligan 1998; Scannell & Gifford 2010; Stedman 2003). While Milligan’s interactional past and potential, Low’s cultural processes, and Cross’s interactional processes are generally based upon social constructions such as

interpersonal contact, narrative, and family, they are all reliant upon these social interactions happening within a particular physical place. How the social and physical constructions of Kennedy Park affect processes of attachment can play a crucial role in informing HNPC's plans regarding Kennedy Park. I utilize Low and Cross's process typologies to identify what changes will most influence processes of attachment in ways that will lead to positive attachment and positive sense of place.

CHAPTER II: METHODS & DATA

To collect data I conducted in-depth interviews and spent time in the Tree Streets Neighborhood, Kennedy Park, and surrounding community organizations to observe patterns of park use and interact with park users.

Data Collection & Sampling

Interviewee Recruitment

Participant identification began in December 2018 and concluded in late February 2019. Participants had to be residents of the Tree Streets Neighborhood as outlined by the Healthy Neighborhoods Planning Council. Furthermore, participants had to identify as either avid park users or as actively avoiding using or going near Kennedy Park. My goal was to identify participants from diverse backgrounds who ranged in age, gender identity, ethnic identity, religious identity, and length of residence. In order to identify and contact potential participants I relied on community leaders and the networks of community organizations. This included Healthy Neighborhoods, St. Mary's Nutrition Center, the Root Cellar, Lewiston Goodwill Take 2, and key contacts in the New Mainer community. After the initial round of outreach, there was a snowball effect as I was able to continue finding future participants through participants I had already interviewed. This approach was not random, and it was meant to ensure broad variability in the demographics of people I interviewed. My approach was not intended to be statistically representative of the Tree Streets Neighborhood.



Figure 2: Tree Streets Neighborhood as outlined by HNPC (HNPC Update 2018)

Conducting Interviews

In-depth participant interviews took place through January and February 2019. In total, twenty participants were interviewed over the course of fourteen interviews. Three group interviews, with two participants each, were conducted to increase the comfort of the participants. Similarly, one interview was conducted and recorded by a community leader to maximize the participant’s comfort. I met with participants at places of their choosing across

Lewiston. This included various community organizations, the Lewiston Public Library, Bates College, and a participant's apartment.

Interviews ranged in length from twenty to sixty minutes. In order to follow the IRB approval guidelines, I began by briefing the participants and then having them sign the necessary consent forms (listed in Appendix A). Then, participants were asked to draw a map of Kennedy Park (listed in Appendix B). This was followed by a series of open-ended questions about their drawing. Participants were then asked a series of questions designed to understand their backgrounds and identities. After this, participants were asked questions meant to elicit their sense of place and the kinds of processes of attachment they experience. Although I followed a general script (listed in Appendix C), each interview was unique based upon the participant, their drawings, and their responses to preceding question. Each participant was given a \$20 gift card to compensate and thank them for their time.

Observation

In addition to in-depth participant interviews I spent time observing in Kennedy Park, and at surrounding community organizations. The majority of the observation data was collected in February and March 2019. While observing I approached several park users and Lewiston residents and ask them two questions, "What do you love about Kennedy Park?" and "What can the city do to make it a better place?" Instead of recording, I took notes during these "fly-by" interviews so that the data could be included in my results.

Data Analysis

In order to fully understand and analyze the participant data collected from in-depth interviews, I transcribed each interview (Appendix D). Unfortunately, one interview recording was erased due to a technical error and could not be transcribed. The transcripts were then

uploaded to NVivo, a software used to code qualitative data. As a result of miscommunication, three participants were not Tree Street Residents. Their transcripts were analyzed, but not coded through NVivo. Sixteen total transcripts were coded through NVivo. The purpose of this kind of coding is to systematically organize and analyze qualitative data. It allows me to identify previously hidden patterns and themes that emerge through the coding process. Quotes were pulled from the transcripts and coded through a series of categorized nodes (listed in Appendix E). The initial categories of nodes were developed based upon the research's theoretical and conceptual grounding in sense of place literature. These nodes are process of attachment, place of process, and sense of place.

There are fourteen process of attachment nodes. With the exception of one of Low's processes of attachment, there is one node for each process outlined by Cross and Low. The processes outlined by Cross are commodifying, historical, ideological, material dependence, narrative, sensory, and spiritual. The processes outlined by Low are cosmological, economics, genealogical, loss or destruction, narrative, and pilgrimage. Loss or destruction had two nodes. One node is for residents who experience attachment through feelings of loss or destruction of Lewiston and their neighborhood. The other node is for residents who experience attachment through finding a new home after losing or leaving previous homes.

Place of process nodes identify the trends regarding where residents experience processes of attachment. There are seven place of process nodes. First, Lisbon Street. This area includes Lisbon Street and the immediate surrounding areas such as Canal Street and the Tree Streets that extend down past Kennedy Park, but it excludes the park itself. Next is Kennedy Park. Of course this includes the park space, but also incorporates the immediate surrounding neighborhood on Spruce Street, Knox Street, Bates Street, Park Street, and Pine Street. The third place of process

node is Lewiston-at-large. Data coded under this node indicates that residents experienced processes of attachment in areas outside of the Kennedy Park, the Tree Streets, or downtown Lewiston. The fourth node is Lewiston-Auburn, and indicates processes of attachment in the twin cities. The fifth node, outside Lewiston, is reserved for processes of attachment that occur anywhere other than Lewiston. Tree Streets Neighborhood is the sixth node. This node also includes Kennedy Park, but expands for processes of attachment that happen anywhere throughout the neighborhood. The last node, downtown Lewiston, is for processes that are connected to many places across the Tree Streets Neighborhood, Kennedy Park, and the areas including and around Lisbon Street. The variety of place of process nodes is necessary because boundaries such as the Tree Streets Neighborhood or downtown Lewiston are ambiguous and interpreted differently from person-to-person. The various nodes allow the data to be coded uniformly.

In total there are seven sense of place nodes, and each corresponds with a specific sense of place subcategory. The first node, place attachment, marks data that indicates residents have a positive attachment to the Tree Streets. The second and third nodes are for residents who indicate levels of place dependence. Data coded under place dependence indicates a high level of reliance and/or a feeling of irreplaceability regarding the Tree Streets or Kennedy Park. On the other hand, data coded under place dependence (independence) indicates that residents were not particularly reliant on Kennedy Park or the Tree Streets Neighborhood. The next node, place identity, accounts for data that indicates residents' identity is informed by or impacted by how they interact with the Tree Streets and Kennedy Park. Place identity's second node, place identity (Tree Streets+other), codes data from participants when other places in conjunction with the Tree Streets inform their identity and/or impact how they interact with the Tree Streets. The last set of

sense of place nodes are more straightforward and deal with place satisfaction. These nodes are place satisfaction- satisfied and place satisfaction- unsatisfied. These nodes simply contain the data that indicate whether residents are satisfied with Kennedy Park and their neighborhood.

In addition to being informed by the project's theoretical and conceptual grounding in sense of place literature, node development was influenced by trends that began to emerge as the transcripts were coded. These nodes included demographic and direct recommendation nodes. There are three direct recommendations nodes, one for Kennedy Park, one for Lewiston in general, and one specifically for policing.

In total there are thirteen demographic nodes. Five code participants' age: ≤ 12 , 13-21, 22-35, 35-50, and > 50 . One demographic node is reserved for participants who graduated from nearby liberal arts colleges. There are three nodes for participants' history and length of residence in Maine. The New Mainer node is for participants who are refugees or asylum seekers. The generational Mainer node is for participants whose families have a long history in Maine. The first/second generational Mainer node is for participants who either moved to Maine from elsewhere in the United States or are the children of such residents. Two nodes identify participants' gender identity. Finally, there are two nodes for participants' race: white person and person of color.

Before moving on to direct recommendation nodes, it is necessary to recognize a shortcoming of the demographic nodes that code participants' race. By having only a white person node and a person of color node, I am perpetuating what Juan F. Perea coined the Black/White Paradigm of Race. In short, this paradigm states that within the contemporary United States people are relegated to being considered either black or white. As a result, other identities are invalidated and either grouped in with other identities or erased entirely (Perea

1997). This is not my intention. Rather, the dual codes recognize that the way white Tree Street residents and Tree Street residents who are people of color experience their neighborhood is impacted by how members of the dominant culture -- including their neighbors, the police, the governing infrastructure, etc. -- perceive their identity. In order to account for this, I accept a certain amount of generalization. My intention is not to indicate that all residents who are people of color or who are white have specific or the same kinds of experiences. Moreover, since my study is not representative and distinct racial identities were generally not represented in more than one participant, it would provide no insight to create demographic codes for all racial identities represented among participants.

Data was coded under multiple nodes, but this generally only occurred across categories. This means that a text segment may be coded three times -- once for process of attachment, once for place of process, and once for sense of place. This overlap is how I identified patterns that helped answer my research question. However, only in certain exceptions was data coded twice within the individual node categories of process of attachment, place of process, and sense of place. In other words, data was generally coded at most once under process of attachment, place of process, and sense of place. There were a few instances where excerpts may have been coded twice within a category due to overlap in the nodes. For example, some excerpts may have been coded as both Cross's historical and Low's genealogical process of attachment. Although different processes, both cover familial attachment to place. By limiting the coding in the way, patterns about where certain processes of attachment occur, and the kinds of sense of place they lead to emerge. Through NVivo I created tables to analyze and represent the data.

Like nonresident transcripts, data gathered through in-person observation and fly-by interviews were not coded through NVivo either. Nonresident transcripts, fly-by, and in-person

observation data were reviewed separately from in-depth interview data. However, they were analyzed through the same lenses to provide insight into how nonresidents, homeless folks, and general park users engage with Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood.

Three final notes. First, there is often overlap between processes of attachment. This is most often evident with historical attachment due to its grounding in experience. For example, sometimes ideological attachments are rooted in experience. This is coded as ideological, not historical. Therefore, sometimes it may seem like there is overlap. That is because there is. In the interest of being able to categorize the results in a useful way, they are grouped into distinct processes as previously described. Second, I have tried to remain true to participants' speaking patterns and tones. Therefore, occasionally there may be quotes with grammatical errors or improper English. This is not a mistake, but an attempt to portray participants as accurately and honestly as possible. I did remove instances where participants stuttered or repeated phrases like "um" and "uh" so that they do not break up the flow. Third, participants are anonymized to protect their identity (listed in Appendix F).

CHAPTER III: RESULTS

Introduction

In this chapter I lay out what participant responses and observation data reveal about processes of attachment and sense of place in Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood. The results contain specifics about the relationships residents have with the neighborhood, and how or if Kennedy Park impacts this. Understanding the presence and influence of these processes and senses of place should help inform changes to Kennedy Park's physical and social environment. This chapter incorporates and expands upon data received from in-depth resident interviews, "fly-by" interviews and in-person observation, and in-depth interviews with non-residents.

Participant Demographics

The identities and demographics of participants range from a variety of backgrounds. Of the in-depth interview participants, ten are adults and seven are youth in high school or younger. Eight of the participants are New Mainers, two are generational Mainers (i.e. residents whose familial lineage is based in Lewiston or Maine-at-large), and seven are either the first or second generation of their family to live in Maine. Eight identify as male and nine identify as female. Religious backgrounds range from spiritual to pagan to catholic to "anti-religious". Participants' ethnic identities run a similarly diverse gamut. Represented among the participants are Tree Streets Neighborhood residents who are graduates of nearby liberal arts colleges, leaders and employees of local community organizations, children attending the surrounding public schools, residents who have spent their whole lives in Lewiston and central Maine, and residents who came to the neighborhood as refugees or asylum seekers. Along with this diverse array of

backgrounds and identities comes varying experiences, viewpoints, and relationship with Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood.

General Overview

This section contains three tables that visualize macro patterns in the data. Table I highlights the trends regarding where processes of attachment occur. Table II shows the kinds of sense of place people have in relation to where they experience processes of attachment. Table III shows the overall relationship between processes of attachment and sense of place among participants. Tables IV, V, and VI depict participant demographics in relation to place of processes, participant demographics in relation to processes of attachment, and participant demographics in correlation to sense of place (listed in Appendix G). These tables are useful for understanding patterns regarding participants' demographic identities and their relationships to Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood. In all of the tables, the units are the number of references from participant transcripts that were coded under the nodes represented in the columns and rows. The tables are organized so that the columns and rows appear numerically in descending order based upon total references.

While these tables are useful for visualizing and understanding big picture trends, they do not paint a complete picture. One reason for this is that some processes of attachment cannot be attributed to occurring in a specific physical place. Similarly, sometimes processes of attachment can be attributed to occurring in more than one place or as leading to more than one kind of sense of place. Therefore, to supplement the insights provided by the tables, it is necessary to take a deep dive into the specifics of participant responses.

Processes of Attachment in the Tree Streets Neighborhood and Beyond

There are three ways to evaluate the data in light of the research questions. As a refresher, the research questions are how does Kennedy Park currently influence Tree Streets Neighborhood residents' sense of place? And, in what ways can ongoing HNPC and choice related initiatives transform Kennedy Park's built and social environment so that the park fosters a deeper sense of place and positive attachment among all Tree Street residents? The first way is to look at the relationship between place and processes of attachment. Through the coding process, the processes of attachment as defined by Cross and Low are connected to specific places depending on where participants indicate they occur. Table I details where participants indicate they experienced what kinds of processes of attachment. The columns show where the processes of attachment occurred, while the rows show specific processes of attachment.

Table 1: Correlation between place of process and processes of attachment

	Kennedy Park	Tree Streets Neighborhood	Lewiston-at-Large	Downtown Lewiston	Lisbon Street	Lewiston-Auburn	Outside of Lewiston	Total
Cross-Historical	55	25	11	8	1	2	1	103
Cross-Material Dependence	11	19	16	6	0	1	1	54
Cross-Sensory	35	6	1	1	1	0	0	44
Cross-Ideological	18	15	1	3	1	0	0	38
Cross-Narrative	6	9	1	1	0	0	0	17
Low-Loss or Destruction	10	5	2	0	0	0	0	17
Cross-Commodifying	8	3	1	1	1	0	0	14
Low-Loss or Destruction (Replacement)	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	5
Low-Economics	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Low-Narrative	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Low-Pilgrimage	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Low-Cosmological	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Low-Genealogical	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cross-Spiritual	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	147	83	34	21	4	3	2	

As Table I makes evident, some processes of attachment occurred among participants much more frequently than others. For example, there are 103 references connecting historical processes of attachments to place. On the other hand, there are zero references connecting spiritual, genealogical, or cosmological processes of attachment to place. Similarly, participants experience processes of attachment more often in certain places as compared to others. Most commonly, participants undergo processes of attachment in or in relation to Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood. The disparity in references among places where processes of attachment occur is a result of the focus and aim of the interview being to identify areas in Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets where processes of attachment commonly occur. The overwhelming presence of processes occurring in Kennedy Park does not necessarily indicate that they occur there at the exclusion of other places. However, it is significant that some processes of attachment are considerably more dominant than others, and that some processes are not present or tied to place at all.

Among participants, Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood are the most commonly referenced places in terms of where processes of attachment occur. Within these places, historical, material dependence, sensory, and ideological attachments are the most referenced processes of attachment.

Historical Attachment

The dominant presence of historical attachments is rooted in participants' experiences. Recall from Chapter I that historical attachment occurs through personal experience, family history, and/or cultural history. Although it is often the result of spending extended amounts of time in a place, it is not reliant upon an extensive familial or cultural connection and can take place within a lifetime. Cross writes, "Historical attachment is the processes of accumulating

experience in a place and creating meaning about those experiences that tie both ordinary and significant life events to a particular place as well as to the history of a place” (2015, 14). There are various kinds of experiences present among participants that lead to historical attachment. These experiences can be categorized as familial, cultural, or ordinary, albeit fundamental experiences that create meaning. Participant #10, a long time Tree Street resident born out of state, shared a story that highlights one ordinary experience that led to historical attachment:

Years ago when my son was little I got into a fight with a teenager there because I supposedly said somebody was something or other. It was - back then there were a lot more trees, there weren't as many patrols, so I'm walking through at 8 o'clock at night, which I knew was a dumb idea, but I needed to get back to Lisbon Street where I was staying with a friend. We cut through the park and she is like, "Hey you!" and just starts off. I was 21, she was 15. I'm smart enough to know that I don't want to go to jail for a teenage with an attitude problem. So, I didn't hit her, but she hit me a couple of times. I've got an invisible scar over my eyebrow from it. And the thing I remember the most from the situation was um, she looks at me and she goes, "What the hell is wrong with you?" and I said to her, "If you think that getting punched a couple of times is the worst thing I have been through in my life - you need a wakeup call." And she's just kind of like "What?" Um, yeah, the park used to be a lot different than it is now. I miss the trees, I miss the, you know, I miss the trees. I don't miss the people that were there all the time.

For participant #10, an altercation over a decade old has cemented a historical attachment to the paths in Kennedy Park. Similarly, participant #1, a graduate of a nearby liberal arts college and leader of a local community organization, shared several stories that highlight components of his historical attachment. The first was about initially moving into the neighborhood on a street that borders Kennedy Park:

So when I first moved into the neighborhood I was much more self-conscious and nervous about the kinds of interactions I would have with people, or, I felt more uneasy about my safety and all of that. But, that definitely changed after a number of experiences I had. When I was unloading my - when I was moving into my apartment on Spruce Street and I was going down getting something out of my car like locking my car, then moving it and not leaving my car unlocked for a second while I wasn't watching it. And this guy who has since passed, but he was a regular, he used to hang out, basically hang out at like Trinity [Jubilee Center], Speaker's Variety, Kennedy Park, and he lived over on Park Street, and he came waddling along. I had no idea who he was, he just came up

to me and asked me what I was doing and I explained I was moving in, and he welcomed me to the neighborhood.

The second story participant #1 shared is from later on during his residency in the neighborhood. He offered this one as a foil to the first:

In the beginning unloading my car, feeling very unsafe, I guess in contrast to that I remember in walking around downtown in a snowstorm and, walking around downtown and Kennedy Park in like a giant snowstorm where it's just like tons of snow and the city is kind of shut down and everything is quiet and I was just by myself and I remember playing on the swing set and I just like swung on the swing and then like sort of launched myself off the swing and just fell like into the snow and I was just lying face down in the snow and it was very comfortable so I just decided to like lay there for a while. It's probably like 11:30 at night or something so it was completely black. No one was around as far as I can tell and I'm just laying face down in the snow, and I think a lot of folks, particularly anyone - well I think a lot of folks in general - whether or not they know Kennedy Park - would say just lying down in the middle of the night face down on the ground in Kennedy Park is not like a safe thing to do. Someone could take advantage of you. So eventually someone came walking along and saw me there, and I didn't know they were there, but they noticed me and they asked if I was okay. I said I was fine, I was just being weird and lying in the snow because I enjoyed it, but thanks for checking on me, and that was it.... So I've met lots of, I've met lots of really interesting, friendly people in Kennedy Park. I've met a lot of people who are struggling and stressed out and sometimes angry in Kennedy Park.

These three stories highlight some of the different kinds of personal experiences participants have as Tree Street residents in and around Kennedy Park that lead to historical attachment. For participant #10 her personal experience was negative, but participant #1 shared stories about positive experiences and connections. However, historical attachment is not always about experiences interacting with others in Kennedy Park. As participant #1's second story begins to reveal, sometimes historical attachments are born simply from spending time in place.

Participant #4's historical attachment to place is grounded in spending time in Kennedy Park. Participant #4 is a New Mainer who has been a Tree Street resident for two years and works at a local community organization. He shared this, "... In my mind, Kennedy Park, it's first of all like place to go rest, to play, to see people, to get the air - that's what's coming to my mind.... First thing it's an easy place to rest or a park, it's a park for me. And when I mean by

park I mean a place to play, to rest, but also a place where anything can happen. Drugs, people can fight.” This may seem like sensory attachment, and indeed there is some overlap. However, it is coded as historical because since moving to Lewiston, Participant #4 has created a historical attachment to Kennedy Park through his habit of utilizing it for rest. Moreover, experiencing how other people spend time in the park has impacted his attachment as well. His daily experiences in Kennedy Park have constructed meaning for him.

Participants in high school or younger offered similar insights into their historical attachment. Their experiences are grounded in coming to Kennedy Park to play, for example, at the basketball courts or hanging out with their friends. Whether these experiences were positive or negative varied from participant to participant. Participant #12, a local middle school student, spent time in Kennedy Park with her friends, but now avoids the park due to feeling unsafe as a result of witnessing too many fights and negative interactions (i.e. drug abuse and alcohol consumption). On the other hand, her younger brother, participant #11, still enjoys spending time with his friends in Kennedy Park because past positive experiences outweighed any negative experiences. Similarly, participant #6, a 29 year old mother, shared this insight, “I have been able to actually go up to people and be like ‘Can you bring that somewhere else, there’s kids around’ and I have never had anybody like ‘NO!’ or anything, you know what I mean? It just depends on your approach in my opinion.”

As these participant responses make clear, historical attachments occurring in Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood are the result of both long term and short term experiences. As a couple participants explained, Kennedy Park is central to the Tree Streets Neighborhood. It is a place where people from all corners of the neighborhood come and interact. As participant #1 said, “Geographically it’s kind of centered in the neighborhood, and it

offers lots of opportunities for interaction. So people are bringing whatever they are dealing with to the park and then bumping into other people and then stuff plays out and some of it's good and some of it's not so good." This leads to lots of historical attachments for lots of residents, but the nature of the historical attachment generally varies from participant to participant. This is because experience of place is unique for each participant. It is impacted by their personal identities, in addition to their familial and cultural identities. However, the factors that determine positive or negative experience frequently share commonalities. Positive experiences are generally rooted in pleasant interactions, like those highlighted by participant #1. Or they are founded in experiences of satisfaction with the physical space, which Participant #6 exhibited in recalling fun times spent at the pool in her youth. Negative historical attachment is frequently correlated with experiencing feelings of vulnerability or discomfort, such as what participant #12 shared; or, it is correlated with experiences resulting in dissatisfaction with the physical space.

Material Dependence Attachment

Material dependence attachment is rooted in participants' reliance upon Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood. Material dependence attachments are the result of individual, personal, and/or cultural reliance upon social or material place features (Cross 2015, 10). Such material features provide basic needs like housing, employment, and access to green space. Likewise, the social features also provide basic needs like proximity to family, friends, and places to socialize (e.g. community organizations, parks, coffee shops). Material dependence attachment occurring in Kennedy Park manifests itself in many ways amongst participants.

Participant #6 exhibited a basic material dependence process. She shared, "... when I was really struggling in life with my kids and I didn't have transportation, it [Kennedy Park] was close and I couldn't bring them to the beach, however, I could bring them to the park.... I used to

go to the park all the time because I didn't have transportation that was our place to go." Unable to afford transportation elsewhere, Kennedy Park provided a place for her and her kids to spend time outside and with friends.

This trend of participants relying on Kennedy Park as a public, central location to spend time is common. Participant #4 added:

... First of all it's a good place when somebody - the closest place for me if I want to hangout and I want to refresh my brain. So I can just go to the Kennedy Park. Secondly, sometimes when I need to meet people that I haven't met for a while, I know many people go to Kennedy Park to sit over there, to watch children playing, and around there I can meet a lot of immigrants who go to Trinity Jubilee who go to food pantry to get food. So yeah, it impacts me when I need to see people besides going to churches or other meetings.

Participant #5, a New Mainer in his fifties who has spent less than a year in America and the Tree Streets neighborhood, shared a similar sentiment:

Yea, I can say that according to me, Kennedy Park is like um, what can I say? It's like the belt when you put on your clothes and put your pants you know that the belt it is tight and if not you cannot run. For me it's like the belt that is keeping everything together - everybody in the neighborhood Tree [Tree Streets Neighborhood] together. I met many friends of mine now there. So I will just go there and spend time, "Oh you two are here - so!" Then we start talking. It's not easy when we walk on the street to say someone, "Please can you..." and then you start a conversation. But there it's like easier. You can start and then - so now I have American white man friends from that I met there and uh, African, so when they see I'm black then we come with me French - and I do speak many languages so I can interact with many of them so it's a place where you can meet many people. And for me it's a place that gather everybody. It's where you can feel like a family, even though I don't know your home. But there we feel that we live together.

This sentiment regarding the centrality and importance of Kennedy Park is not unique to New Mainers. Participant #9, a middle-aged, white, generational Mainer, voiced this, "... It's a great place for public gatherings. We have stuff like the community unity barbecue that we do every summer... and if you want to get a big group of people together outdoors in Lewiston that's - at least in the summer and fall - that's the place to do it. So it's great we got it."

These participants provide insight into the sense that Kennedy Park is a unique asset for Tree Streets Neighborhood residents. It is central, public, and a pleasant area for gatherings, especially when the weather is warm. Also common among participants is reliance upon Kennedy Park as a means to quickly access other nearby areas. In particular, participants go to and from their homes to nearby businesses, such as those on Lisbon Street. For example, Participant #9 said that unless there is an event, she only frequents Kennedy Park on her way to Lisbon Street. Participant #10 shared that she walks through daily, but just as means to get to work.

In contrast, similar material dependence attachments were less present among younger participants. While they often voiced that they used Kennedy Park as a place to socialize and play, just as often they mentioned Paradis Park (nearby and in the Tree Streets), after school programs at local community organizations, or playgrounds at public schools thereby indicating that they do not experience material dependence attachment in Kennedy Park. Moreover, it is clear that even among adult participants, material dependence attachments to Kennedy Park occur almost exclusively during the summer when the park is most accessible due to warm weather and longer days.

Several participants voiced material dependence attachments of a different kind. For example, several participants who vary in age, but are all New Mainers said that they would continue living in or return to the Tree Streets Neighborhood because that is where their family is. Participant #3, expressed a material dependence attachment by sharing this:

I, at age 66, when I decided to move to a location had to take - consider my age, the fact that I'm retired, and the fact that my monetary subsistence may dwindle as inflation occurs and it's occurring. But anyways, so I got to consider the bus route, I had to consider the library, I had to consider where city hall is, the food pantry and soup kitchen at the Trinity Jubilee Center, and then I considered the park [Kennedy Park]. There was

also a nutritional center, St. Mary's Nutritional Center, which is uh, which I probably use every month as a subsistence to my budget...

This testimony highlights not just the park, but all of the social resources in the area that residents rely on. Another participant expressed a similar reliance as a New Mainer. Participant #5 shared:

The city is there providing for me with my renting. I came with no money and no resources, but there's - I found a kind of humanity here in this city. I don't know if it could be found anywhere else. I do not know. I don't have a way of comparing, but I don't want to leave and check it's not good and come back. So, the only thing that could make me leave is a job if I - or studies if I got a scholarship for in a university outside of here. I have to go and then I probably in a couple of weeks I will get my work permit and then if I got a job as a pastor somewhere or something, anything out of Lewiston that would make me move out and go. But apart of that, I prefer to stay here. I found the city um, quiet, clean, quiet, calm, and really a place to stay.

While this testimony is focused on the resources the city provides him as an asylum seeker, it also indicates that he has found both community and support in the Tree Streets Neighborhood.

One important takeaway from the prevalence of participants' material dependence attachment is that Kennedy Park is unparalleled within the Tree Streets Neighborhood. It offers the unique opportunity to bring everyone from the Tree Streets Neighborhood together in one area. While people may depend on the neighborhood for various reasons and residents may prefer other parks, Kennedy Park is the only place of its size that is so accessible and so nearby. Furthermore, the park is surrounded by crucial resources like food pantries, a health clinic, and the Lewiston Public Library.

Ideological and Sensory Attachment

As such, it is understandable that residents experienced ideological attachment in Kennedy Park through their identity as Tree Street residents. The established presence of ideological attachment is rooted in participants' commitment to Kennedy Park and their neighborhood. Ideological attachments to Kennedy Park vary in focus among participants, but

are all rooted in a commitment to valuing and taking care of the park. Ideological attachments in Kennedy Park tend to be based in either feelings of gratitude and reliance (and sometimes dissatisfaction with the hope of improving the park), or the belief that there are negative, but false stigmas swirling around the park. Therefore, ideological attachments among participants often lead to strong opinions about how to better the physical and social construction of Kennedy Park. For some, this means active involvement in Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood.

Embodying the first sentiment, participant #15, a 22 year old New Mainer man, in response to a question about what he would change about the park, said:

I can't change people, but I can show people how great it is to be in like together, you know? Because Kennedy Park used to be like - and just the thing is just to show people like in Kennedy Park, you don't have to - you don't need crime over there. So it's a space sometime after a while you can come over there take a rest, just like to think about everything like usually watch birds and trees... it's great. So great and I think change is not really a good work for me. But to bring people together.

In the short time that participant #15 has lived in the Tree Streets he has come to a personal understanding about the benefits of having Kennedy Park as a resource, and the role the park should play in the neighborhood. However, participant #15 also shared a sentiment that embodied the other ideological grounding:

The police is so much over there. And people in these see like there is so much cops around. They keep thinking like something bad is over there. I think they just have to stop doing this. They just have - they don't have to come over there - like turning around, because people can't have fun like that. They will be afraid, "Why, what is the problem? or, "What is going on?" And this kind of question can be in their mind. And nobody can like can be happy like that if your mind is thinking about what is the problem. I know you can't be focused on your rest - you just want to leave because you don't want to be in trouble.

Participant #15 is testifying to the idea that the mere presence of police not only makes people uncomfortable and unable to enjoy Kennedy Park, but also perpetuates a certain negative stigma.

Residents, park goers, and outsiders see the police and assume that because they are there, there must be something illicit or dangerous going on. This sentiment was mentioned by several participants in regards to Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood as a whole. For example, participant #17, a young woman in middle school who is also a New Mainer, mentioned that she would prefer unarmed security guards to the police. She recognizes the need to keep people safe, but feels the policing is inadequate and adds to an unsafe environment.

Other participants expressed ideological attachments as well. Participant #16, a New Mainer high school student, said, “I think like the basketball court and the pool are cool. Cause like not everyone can afford to go to the YWCA to go swimming.” While this shows a certain material dependence, this particular participant expressed that she does not frequent Kennedy Park much because she generally tries to avoid it. Thus, this statement reflects her intentional thoughts about how the place should serve all residents.

Other ideological attachments expressed included Participant #6’s thoughts on how to approach trouble makers in the park. She said, “I feel if I were to approach them in a negative way like, ‘Bring that somewhere else!’ it wouldn’t work, you know? So in my opinion it’s all about the approach you take and perspective too is important.” Participant #6’s ideological attachment shows that it is not only about physical space, but the social environment as well. Echoing this, participant #1 emphasized that people are crucial to Kennedy Park, and that the updated benches are exclusionary:

The one thing that I think is notable, I don’t think it’s good, but you know the new benches that have gone in are designed with an armrest on either end and in the middle? Are you familiar with that design? Like the intention of that design to discourage homeless folks from sleeping on the bench. That doesn’t solve homelessness that just gives them one less place to sleep.

Ideological attachments occurring in Kennedy Park range in scope and focus. However, they all concern making Kennedy Park a better place, and keeping it as inclusive, accessible, and safe as possible. This includes homeless residents who rely on the park in addition to those with homes and apartments in the Tree Streets.

Finally, for some participants Kennedy Park is a symbol of freedom. Participant #5, a recently settled New Mainer, shared:

This two places - the memorials - places I don't know really the exact name for they're like stairs that built and they wrote the name of those who passed away before us for the sake of the state, this land, the country. Uh, this for me, and is still for me like a place I can go and get inspiration to see how people could have been devoted - they gave their lives for those will be coming after them. Meaning now. To feel safe, to feel as we are - at home, right now. And no one can bother another one, no one can disturb, no one can steal that feeling of being at home no more.

In Lewiston, a city historically and presently of immigrants, Kennedy Park features an American flag and a Civil War monument. As participant #5 makes clear, these symbols represent and inform his beliefs about the rights people should have in place. He feels that connection there in Kennedy Park.

Although this is certainly an ideological approach to place, his perceived feeling of security and safety in this area of the park could also be classified as sensory attachment. Sensory attachment is the result of individual experiencing of place through the five senses, although it is generally influenced by familial and cultural history (Cross 2015, 9). Participant #6, a woman who identifies as Mexican-American, spoke about her own sensory attachment by saying, "It's more diverse from when I was growing up. When I was growing up I felt like a - I felt like a alien. I didn't fit in - I was very different than everybody else. Now I look around I'm like 'Wow, look at all this diversity - look at it!' You know, it's just interesting." For her, witnessing the diversification of the population causes her to feel closer to Kennedy Park and the

Tree Streets Neighborhood. Other instances of sensory attachment revolve around spending time enjoying and observing in the park. For example, participant #5, a New Mainer, shared:

So I like green space. I come from somewhere where there is forest. Many forest, and you can hide yourself behind the house or in front of the house. We have trees [in Kennedy Park] so that space attracted me. So I said this is a good space where I could come and spend my time. I found that there are benches somewhere under the trees and at that time it was sunny so I could come and stay and yea also spaces where people can play. So family could spend the time and the ground was very green - not like now, it's so snow, but that time [summer] it was very green. So it attracted me from the first moment [he arrived in Lewiston].

Conversely, some participants spoke about feeling uncomfortable due to the presence of drug use, alcohol, police patrols, and the Lewiston Police Department next to the basketball courts. While sensory attachment is typically thought of as place perceived through sight and sound, feelings of security also constitute sensory attachment. For participants who perceive the park through their senses as pleasant, enjoyable, and safe, sensory attachment is positive. However, for participants who feel a sense of insecurity, danger, discontent, or even perceive the park as being too loud or unattractive, sensory attachment is negative.

More Processes

Of course participants' responses indicate that there are processes of attachment present in either Kennedy Park, the Tree Streets Neighborhood, or both, that are beyond historical, material dependence, ideological, and sensory. In both the park and the neighborhood, participants' responses indicate that they experience loss or destruction, commodifying, and Low's narrative attachment. In Kennedy Park loss or destruction (replacement) and pilgrimage are present. In the Tree Streets Neighborhood economics and Low's narrative are present. Their lack of abundance does not mean that they are irrelevant or unimportant. However, it does mean that they are not the processes through which participants primarily form their sense of place.

Participant responses illuminate that they experience processes of attachment beyond the confines of Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood. Yet, these processes still impact their sense of place within the neighborhood. In general, participants do not understand the Tree Streets Neighborhood through the same spatial dimensions as this research does. In other words, residents are not necessarily conscious of or concerned with the imaginary boundaries or border lines that separate the Tree Streets Neighborhood from other parts of Lewiston. For example, Participant #14, a New Mainer and Lewiston High School student asked whether her home on Bartlett St., was included within the bounds of the Tree Streets Neighborhood. It is. Similarly, Participant #7, a neighborhood newcomer and recent graduate from a liberal arts college in a nearby town, was unsure whether the different Lewiston apartments he has lived in have all been in the Tree Streets Neighborhood. As it turns out, only his current residence is considered part of the Tree Streets Neighborhood. In other cases, participants were unsure of whether certain parks and community organizations and resources were considered part of the neighborhood. All of this is to say that processes of attachment that occur elsewhere traverse the neighborhood boundaries to impact their sense of place in the Tree Streets.

Understanding Residents' Sense of Place through Location and Process

Sense of Place through Location

The second way to evaluate the data in light of the research questions is to examine where sense of space occurs spatially. The coding process allows data indicating place of process to be connected to subconcepts of sense of place. Table II details where participants indicated they experience processes of attachment in correlation to the kinds of sense of place they feel. The columns show the subconcepts of sense of place, while the rows show specific places where processes of attachment occur. As with all the tables, the data totals are organized numerical in

descending order from top-to-bottom and left-to-right. I will write about where sense of place occurs in conjunction with the results associated with Table III.

Table 2: Correlation between location and sense of place

	Place Satisfaction (Unsatisfied)	Place Identity	Place Satisfaction	Place Dependence	Place Attachment	Place Identity (Tree Streets Neighborhood + Other)	Place Dependence (Independence)	Total
Kennedy Park	37	14	28	7	12	3	2	103
Tree Streets Neighborhood	14	21	6	14	6	0	0	61
Lewiston-at-Large	2	8	3	4	4	10	5	36
Downtown Lewiston	5	0	3	3	1	0	1	13
Outside of Lewiston	0	2	0	1	0	1	1	5
Lisbon Street	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Lewiston-Auburn	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
Total	59	47	40	29	23	14	10	

Sense of Place through Processes of Attachment

The third way to evaluate the data in light of the research questions is to look at the relationship between processes of attachment and sense of place. Coding through NVivo enables the creation of direct connections between processes of attachment and sense of place. Table III details the subconcepts of sense of place present among participants in relation to the processes of attachment they experienced. The columns represent the subconcepts of sense of place. The rows depict the processes of attachment. In keeping the formatting uniform and easy to interpret, the data totals are organized numerically in descending order from top-to-bottom and left-to-right.

Table 3: Correlation between process of attachment and sense of place

	Place Satisfaction (Unsatisfied)	Place Identity	Place Satisfaction	Place Attachment	Place Dependence	Place Identity (Tree Streets Neighborhood + Other)	Place Dependence (Independence)	Total
Cross- Historical	9	27	17	14	2	3	2	74
Cross- Material Dependence	2	3	4	4	23	6	6	48
Cross- Ideological	22	10	5	3	3	0	0	43
Cross- Sensory	17	3	12	3	0	0	0	35
Low- Loss or Destruction	11	4	0	1	0	0	1	17
Cross- Commodifying	5	2	6	1	1	0	0	15
Cross- Narrative	4	4	1	0	0	0	0	9
Low- Loss or Destruction (Replacement)	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	4
Low- Pilgrimage	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Low- Genealogical	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Low- Cosmological	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cross- Spiritual	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Low- Narrative	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Low- Economics	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	70	53	45	29	29	11	9	

Place Attachment

Fostering place attachment among Tree Streets Neighborhood residents is an implicit goal of the HNPC. As tables II and III indicate, however, place attachment is not the prevailing subcategory of sense of place among participants. When it is present, place attachment among participants is rooted in childhood memories, feelings of support and welcome, or a deep sense of belonging. Most commonly participants feel place attachment through historical processes in Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood. For example, Participant #6 said, “The pool area has always been cool to me because one, when I was younger I lived in this neighborhood

and I loved it. You know, I looked forward to it, my babysitter would bring us over, we'd have like the summer programs and the food and the activities." As a near lifelong resident, these happy memories from her childhood have cemented a positive connection to Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood. Participant #13, a New Mainer who is a Lewiston High School student, shared a similar thoughts grounded in the neighborhood:

The Trinity Church, I used to go there for like homework help, so it's like memory I guess to me. And a joy. And it's always been there helping me when I needed them and like with homework. And I also added the Bates Hospital [B Street Health Center] because they help people and my family - well, my mother goes there for medicine and stuff and checkups. Instead of going to the actually hospital, she goes there and they're very helpful to her.

In addition to positive past experiences leading to place attachment through historical attachment, this insight also indicates how material dependence attachment leads to place attachment. Typically, material dependence only results in place attachment if the participant feels their needs are met as participant #13 does.

Another participant who expressed a sense of place attachment is Participant #15. He is a New Mainer and recently settled young man. He developed place attachment through the neighborhood's welcoming atmosphere:

I left my country, yeah, but you came here you meet, I met like these people - like it's the same - it's really my house. You know? Back in Congo it's like the same - I just met here because everyone is so happy and they always have a smile. I don't know why they can say they are always smiling and say hi to everyone.

Although not a long term resident, his sense of place attachment came about through the intensity of experiencing the welcoming atmosphere of the Tree Streets neighborhood. Another New Mainer, participant #4 shared a similar sentiment:

I'm not born in Lewiston, but when I came to the United States I can say Lewiston is my town because I live in New York just for two days, so two days in the hotels, and then I came here. So I can consider Lewiston is my town, the first place I did rent an apartment. Yeah. So it's like my motherland, my village.... I love Lewiston. Unless something

happen, which may force me [to move], but I love Lewiston and I also love my home country so, now I have two mother, motherlands. I will combining both Congo and Lewiston, Maine.

As participants #4 and #15, both asylum seekers, make clear, the intensity of finding a new, welcoming home after fleeing old ones creates a sense of place attachment. Despite lack of time spent in the neighborhood, participants who are recently settled New Mainers generally have a positive attachment to the neighborhood. For some New Mainer participants, the intensity of experiencing loss of their home and finding a new one is enough to develop place attachment. However, among participants who are generational Mainers, or New Mainer children who have spent most of their lives in the neighborhood, their sense of place attachment is born from long term experiences and positive memories. Moreover, for participants who are generational or first/second generation Mainers, generally place attachment takes longer to develop. Their experiences are not as intense as New Mainers'. Thus, ensuring a welcoming and safe atmosphere for New Mainers may be enough to develop place attachment. However, for others, changes to Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood will have to focus on fostering experiences leading to positive long term connections.

Place attachment was not common among fly-by interviewees and nonresident participants. However, in each group there was one participant that did express place attachment. Participant #18, a 54 year old generational Mainer and director at a local community organization, has worked nearby Kennedy Park for much of her professional life. She shared that despite having career opportunities to leave Lewiston, primarily to go to Portland, she has never done so. Her reasoning is that Lewiston embodies neither the pastoral, rural farming communities of Maine nor the wealthy coastal communities. Lewiston reminds Participant #18 of her home town Mechanic Falls, which faced a similar economic collapse as Lewiston. She

believes Lewiston embodies the same socioeconomic issues that are typically forgotten. While not necessarily a positive connection, it has endeared the city to her and kept her working alongside Kennedy Park. To be sure, there are elements of place identity and place dependence mixed in here as well. However, it most clearly signals a deep place attachment built through historical, economic, ideological, and loss and destruction processes of attachment in the Tree Streets Neighborhood and beyond.

Similar to participant #18, one older homeless man also experienced place attachment. He referred to himself as a “camper”, and shared that he had traveled across country multiple times by bike. However, he always returned to Lewiston. His ancestors originally immigrated to the city from Canada to work in the mills. He said he would not change a thing about Kennedy Park, and loved the increasing diversity. For him, the influx in immigrants is the natural next step following his own ancestors. Through genealogical, historical, and ideological processes of attachment, mostly focused in Kennedy Park and the surrounding Tree Streets, he has a deep sense of place attachment.

Place attachment occurs across the Tree Streets Neighborhood and Kennedy Park. Place attachment occurs through a variety of processes. However, place attachment is always based in positive experiences and associations such as childhood memories, having needs met, and being welcomed.

Place Dependence (and Independence)

Place dependence is about equal with place attachment in terms of number of references from participants. Table II shows that place dependence was referenced six more times than place attachment in terms of connection to place. Table III show that place dependence was referenced the exact same number of times as place attachment in terms of correlation to

processes of attachment. As expected, material dependence is the process most correlated to place dependence. In fact, the only other correlated processes are historical and commodifying with two and one references respectively. Like place attachment, place dependence is most commonly connected to Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood.

Participant #15 shared a sentiment embodying place dependence through material dependence in Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood:

I used to work with public ground [Lewiston's Public Works Department] and we used to come over there always cleaning that. Because it's important. Kennedy Park is also one space. It's not like the little one, it's one of the biggest space. Like what characterize our Lewiston. So it's important, and the government always take care of that.... It's so important. So, I know the city of Lewiston is like taking care of Kennedy Park like a treasure.

Not only is he articulating a reliance, but he is indicating that Kennedy Park is unique and irreplaceable. There is no other resource or green space like it in the neighborhood, and the area would be markedly different without it. Participant #3 offered his own perspective on place dependence:

[I] go to Kennedy Park and there's the food kitchens right there. The food pantry's right there, and at 66 [years old] I get tired of eating my own cooking. So if I want to go to the soup kitchen, Trinity Jubilee Soup Kitchen, for a free meal. And I can go to the library if I want. And then if I want I can go down to the bus terminal, which is like two blocks off the park. Everything is location, location, location.

His place dependence is plain to see. He is reliant upon all of the resources in and around Kennedy Park. He chose to live in the Tree Streets Neighborhood for easy access to these resources due to lack of access to transportation and financial means.

Two participants, both middle aged women, developed a sense of place dependence through living in Raise-Op Cooperative Housing. When asked about where she saw herself living in the future, participant #10 shared this:

That's a tough question. It changes every other day. So, because of my place in the Raise-Op sometimes I see myself being there 10 years because it's like I own my

apartment. So I can really make it home. It's not just that I'm renting here. It's more permanent. And sometimes it's in the school bus I convert to an RV driving the country. It changes.

Her place dependence is not set upon the idea that no other place can offer what the Tree Streets Neighborhood does. She explicitly expresses that she considers leaving. However, her place in the Raise-Op Cooperative Housing offers her a resource unparalleled by other places.

Younger participants' place dependence was centered around community organizations that offer summer and after school programs, as well as family. Although many expressed that they frequent Kennedy Park, another park in the neighborhood, Paradis Park, was also mentioned by several youth participants as a favorite destination. Their place dependence is driven by lack of mobility, reliance on being nearby to family, and preferred social destinations, as opposed to a conscious reliance on the neighborhood or consideration that this place is superior to other options.

Place dependence is particularly recurrent among fly-by interview participants, but not nonresident participants. Among the former group, many participants indicated both physical and social reliance on Kennedy Park. Homeless interviewees said that it provides them with a place to socialize and stay. In doing so, they are able to create community. One couple shared this, "Living in Maine, in a small community in Lewiston - during summer everyone hangs out." They referred to it as a destitute and poor community, but said they can go down to Kennedy Park where everybody helps each other out. Among the latter group, one interviewee, participant #19, expressed place dependence. Participant #19 is a young mother and recently arrived New Mainer. Although not a Tree Street resident, she lives within walking distance of the park. Her feeling of place dependence is very similar to that of other participants. Again, this shows that

processes of attachment and sense of place extend beyond the constructed boundaries of the Tree Streets Neighborhood.

The inverse of place dependence, place independence, was also present among participants. Although the least common sense of place both in relation to place and processes of attachment, its presence is still important. Feelings of place independence likely indicate that participants will leave in the future. For example, participants #8, #11, #12, and #13, students in local public schools, indicated that they would like to be somewhere else rather than Lewiston in five years. While it may be natural for children to want to leave their homes and experience the world, they did not indicate that they would ultimately like to return due to a sense of belonging.

Feelings of place independence also manifested in a different way. Participants spoke about preferring to spend time in other places, especially in relation to Kennedy Park. For example, Thorncrag bird sanctuary was frequently mentioned as a preferred destination over Kennedy Park. While still in Lewiston, this shows that for these participants Kennedy Park is not a sufficient source of access to nature or green space. Participant #1 shared:

I think I stop in Kennedy Park a lot less than I used to. I'd say it's usually, I'm usually passing through. Either on a walk or a run and I might - I might stop and observe something. Yeah, when I used to go for something it would be for to play basketball or it would be the farmer's market started in Kennedy Park. There's still a farmer's market on Tuesdays, but it's, I don't know, there's other farmer's markets to go to now so I don't really go to that one anymore. I used to go to Kennedy Park to play Frisbee. I used to go to Kennedy Park and just put a blanket down and like read or eat lunch. I went sometimes to play with kids that I might have been watching for someone. So those things come up less I guess because I have other places to do those things, and I think because I live a little bit further from it.

This testimony shows not just a preference for other places, but a diminishing enjoyment. For participant #1, as he gained access to other spaces the appeal of Kennedy Park fell away.

Place Identity

Place identity is the second most referenced subcategory of sense of place, both in connection to specific places and processes of attachment. This means that regardless of participants' positive or negative feelings, their identity is impacted by or impacts how they experience Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood. In other words, participants exhibiting place identity expressed that Kennedy Park informs how they understand themselves. They identify with and are connected to Kennedy Park. Historical and ideological attachments are the two most common processes leading to a sense of place identity.

For many of the New Mainer participants, place identity was present but relatively weak. It was articulated frequently during interviews when several said that they consider Lewiston their hometown, either because it was the first place they had been welcomed or because it was the place they had lived the longest. Furthermore, how New Mainer participants interact with Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood is directly impacted by their identities as refugees or asylum seekers.

For participants who are generational Mainers, lifelong residents, or children born here, place identity is much stronger. 66 year old participant #3 expressed this while talking about his drawing of Kennedy Park, "Okay, well um, I've included Kennedy Park which is a focal point for my life. And Trinity Church is a focal point because I was baptized at Trinity Church, and I'm 66 years old." He went on:

I walk around my neighborhood. I'll walk up Pine Street, I'll walk up Bartlett Street, Birch Street, Spruce Street, down to Knox Street. I'll go to Oak Street. I walk any place in my city because I believe no American should walk in intimidation in this country.... See, but I treat people with respect, I treat their children with respect because I live in the inner city and when a Somali or an immigrant kid meets me, I make the best representation of an American where I can. I'm not going, I'm not going to treat him any different than I would treat my own children.

Clearly participant #3's identity is strongly informed by his history in the neighborhood and sense of nationality and national pride. However, his identity as an American impacts his understanding of his place in the Tree Streets. He went on to say:

I run for politics, and every election I'm out there. I'm kind of like the swing vote. People, if they, if someone votes for me it throws the other guy out. But anyways, [Ben] Chin, like Chin was supposed to win the election. Well I was - I pulled so many votes out of his liberal campaign that you know [Shane] Bouchard won.... Well I'm hoping, I'm hoping to win the next election to be mayor of the city of Lewiston. I - it's been my dream for 30 years and I'm the type of individual I'm going to tell you the way it is. If you don't like it, don't vote for me and I've lost elections for saying it in a way - Lewiston's a very, a very cliquy town.

Participant #3's testimony highlights how one's identity is informed by place, while simultaneously informing how they interact with and in place. The desire to be part of local government comes though his identity as a lifelong resident, but his identity as a politician instructs how he relates to the neighborhood and those around him.

In coding participants' responses, it became clear that many participants had a sense of place identity that was built in the Tree Streets Neighborhood in conjunction with other places. In other words, their place identity was not solely informed through the Tree Streets, but the neighborhood was still an inseparable component. This kind of sense of place was predominantly present among participants who are New Mainers and presented an intertwined relationship between their identities as refugees or asylum seekers and Tree Street residents. However, it was also exhibited in other participants new to the area. For example participant #7, originally from Baltimore, shared this:

I've been there [the basketball courts in Kennedy Park] a few times and it always surprises me because I imagine people in Baltimore to be like the best basketball players on the face of this planet. I didn't expect to be able to go to KP [Kennedy Park], and I'm not good myself, but be able to go to KP and see boys who I would consider - who are just as good. You know, they could hold their own in Baltimore.... Like I said, the benches made me think about like when I'd go to Montebello Lake, um, which is, is that East Baltimore? That's East Baltimore. I would either go out there to work out, I know

my Aunt likes to sell water there, um I would sit on the benches and just read from time to time.

Participant #7 also spoke extensively about the lack of climbable trees in Kennedy Park. He described this as a result of his Caribbean background. So for this young man, his identity as someone from Baltimore and roots in the Caribbean informed how he interacts with and understands Kennedy Park. His identity is not necessarily being informed by the park, but his identity is informing his relationship to the park and the neighborhood

Nonresident participants' sense of place identity is relevant not because Kennedy Park or the Tree Streets Neighborhood has contributed to their identity, but because their identity impacts how they interact with the area. For example, participant #20, a 19 year old generational Mainer born in Lewiston and raised in Auburn, has particular views about policing and safety within the park. Similarly, participant #18's identity as a generational Mainer from a similar city has impacted her understanding and relationship to Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood. While not necessarily helpful for informing changes that should be made to the area, these insights are helpful for understanding how nonresidents view and interact with the area. In other words, their responses reflect widespread stigmas surrounding the park. Such stigmas impact sense of place among residents and nonresidents alike.

Place identity was strong among fly-by interview participants. As many of them are or have been homeless, they have spent the most time of any participants in Kennedy Park and on the streets of the Tree Streets Neighborhood. Among those that I interviewed, there was a sense of collective identity grounded in being residents who hang out in Kennedy Park. For some, there is a racial component to it. For example, one man shared that he is 56 years old and has lived in Lewiston his whole life. He stated that in 2005 the Somalis came in and began to take over the park, displacing those that had been there before them. He was not alone in expressing

this sentiment. This man, and others like him, indicated that Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets are a crucial part of their identity. With the influx of New Mainers, they understand this as being challenged. Through the othering of New Mainers, they strengthen their sense of place identity by framing Kennedy Park as their place that is being overtaken by outsiders and foreigners. This sense of loss added another component to their identity as people fighting to get their place back.

Place Satisfaction (and Dissatisfaction)

The final subcategory of sense of place, place satisfaction, was the third most referenced subcategory in regards to both processes of attachment and place of process. However, the inverse, place dissatisfaction, was the highest referenced subcategory in both cases as well. Both place satisfaction and dissatisfaction were most common through processes occurring in Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood. Place satisfaction was most closely correlated to sensory and historical attachments. Place dissatisfaction was most closely correlated to ideological, sensory, and loss or destruction attachments. The overwhelming presence of both place satisfaction and place dissatisfaction may seem contradictory, but participants can feel satisfied about one neighborhood or park component and dissatisfied about others.

Place satisfaction amongst participants was grounded in an appreciation for utilizing and experiencing the social and physical resources of Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood. For example, in describing her drawing of Kennedy Park, participant #6 said:

So I put the skate park because I think it's just really cool to have. I always - like when I used to go to the park a lot, I used to always watch the people in there do their cool little tricks and I think it's important to give them something to do.... Things are changing and, um, for the better in my opinion. More different people coming here, different things, different cultures, and you know I just like to see the growth. I think it's important.

She went on to discuss the importance of the park and features like the basketball court because they give residents without other options, especially children, a place to play, socialize, and have fun. Participant #3 expressed satisfaction in a different way by saying:

I guess, you know, sometimes you're better off changing nothing, you know? The grass always looks greener on the other side, but sometimes you're better off staying where you're at because you know or you get comfortable where you're at and you know what the problems areas are.

In his opinion, as bad as some may perceive things to be, the problems and issues are understood and there is still a lot that is great. Among the adult participants, place satisfaction ranged from being based in happiness with the social resources to enjoyment of the park to being pleased with physical renovations and improvements (i.e. sidewalk repairs, the renovation of the bandstand). For the younger participants, satisfaction was evident in their expressions of endearment towards particular areas of Kennedy Park such as the basketball courts and pool. New Mainers also expressed a satisfaction in having found a safe and welcoming new home.

Place satisfaction was common among fly-by interviewees as well. These participants frequently expressed that Kennedy Park is a beautiful place to spend time, an excellent communal resource, and one fly-by participant remarked that they enjoy the holiday decorations and feel that Lewiston's upkeep of Kennedy Park has improved drastically. Unfortunately, even more common was place dissatisfaction. There were several causes for fly-by participants' sense of place dissatisfaction. For many, the fighting and substance abuse is too much. However, others expressed discontentment with increased police presence and rule enforcement. Further, many of these participants expressed annoyance with New Mainers. Other than complaints regarding New Mainers, place dissatisfaction among fly-by interviewees was very similar to that among in-depth participants.

Place dissatisfaction among in-depth participants was largely grounded in the notions that there is a lack of necessary resources, physical places are inadequate, recent changes have been for the worse, and policing is discriminatory and/or insufficient. Participant #6, the same participant who also expressed place satisfaction, expressed place dissatisfaction related to many of these notions. She shared:

I would make it more benches and stuff like that. Um, not benches, picnic tables. 'Cause it sucks sometimes, you know, sitting on the ground, and sometimes maybe even the cleanup. 'Cause there's times when I've been there and there is trash everywhere. I mean, I know the city does what they can, but.

She went on:

The only thing I don't really like, that in my opinion I felt was just, I guess not fair, is when the hotspots happened and just random people were getting approached [by police] on the streets and I didn't think - I don't see that happening in any other neighborhoods, you know? Yeah, there's been times where there was just police walking around with police dogs or just going around just talking to people and patting them down and it's like I don't know. I know there is some crime here, but I just don't think that's the right way to go about things. And I feel like if you're going to do it in downtown, why don't you do it anywhere else 'cause I can tell you right now this isn't the only place in Lewiston where there is crime. But why, because we're - this is a low income area, you know? Mostly low income neighborhood, you know, and so diverse. I feel like it's targeted, you know?

These feelings regarding the lack of resources and unfair policing are not unique to participant #6. New Mainers, generational Mainers, and young participants all expressed similar sentiments. However, there are two types of dissatisfaction when it comes to policing. There are those, like participant #6, who feel that the policing is excessive and targeted. However, others, like participant #3, want more policing. According to himself, this is something participant #3 has been advocating for, for years.

Younger participants, particularly the young women, feel unsafe in Kennedy Park due to violence and substance abuse. Participant #4, a young New Mainer man, shared some of these anxieties. He said:

I did mention this substance use because here [referring to the top of Kennedy Park by St. Mary's Nutrition Center] there are a lot of people who smoke, alcohol, etc. They usually sit here, like along this small street. Yeah, they drink alcohol, they do smokes. So this is usually here. Here is a place I don't know for some reason I usually, here, I usually have been seeing people fighting around here. I don't know maybe they do that here because the police is down here. I don't know, but for most of the fighting I have been watching, people disputing, it was around here.

While many participants were connected in their dissatisfaction with policing and safety, their approaches differed. Some, like participant #3 want more active policing. Others, like participants #16 and #17 feel that the police add to the insecurity and that there needs to be an alternative.

The expressions of place dissatisfaction were often shared through suggestions.

Particularly when it came to resources and the physical components of the park. To return briefly to participant #6, she said:

I just would really like to see more resources in the neighborhood. Um, you know, I have been here for a very, very long time. I know so many different people that live here with different stories, different experiences, and sometimes people just need the right resources to help them and I'd like to see that happen. And I feel like once that happens, like you'll start seeing a lot more change. Even more programs like Take2, and more shelters. Stuff like that, which I totally see coming in.

Again, participant #6 was not alone in her sentiments. The younger participants in particular expressed that dissatisfaction with playground equipment and programming kept them away from Kennedy Park. Other newer and more substantial playgrounds are more appealing.

Participant #10 expressed her dissatisfaction through feelings of loss and recommendations for how to restore the park. She said:

The park used to be a lot different than it is now. I miss the trees, I miss, you know, I miss the trees. I don't miss the people that were there all the time. There's still a lot of people that hang out there a lot that really need to find other things to do with their lives, but you'd think because the police station is right there it would be safe. It really isn't. Which is sad because it could be a really decent place to be.

In addition to missing the trees, participant #10 expressed the need for benches and water fountains, especially during hot summer days. She also expressed a commonly held opinion among participants that the playground was inadequate. Similarly, participant #9 emphasized the need for a public bathroom. There are none easily accessible in the park or the neighborhood, except for one in the Lewiston Public Library. The dissatisfaction regarding lack of access to water and restrooms was expressed explicitly by both in-depth participants and fly-by interviewees. While place dissatisfaction is the most referenced subcategory of sense of place, it is not without critical thought on the behalf of the participants. Their critiques are full of amazing and wonderful suggestions.

Conclusion

As the results show, Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood are complicated places, inhabited by an increasingly diverse group of residents. Although it is unfortunate that place dissatisfaction is so pervasive, it highlights the social and physical areas that change needs to be centered around.

As was true with where processes of attachment occur, it is clear that sense of place, both in terms of processes of attachment and place of processes, is impacted by experiences occurring outside of Kennedy Park and Tree Streets Neighborhood. The immediate focus and change should begin in the park and Tree Streets. However, for residents to fully develop positive attachments to place, Lewiston as a whole must be a place where they experience processes that lead to positive senses of place.

CHAPTER IV: DISCUSSION

Introduction

From the beginning, this research has been grounded in trying to answer two critical questions. How does Kennedy Park influence Tree Streets Neighborhood residents' sense of place? In what ways can ongoing HNPC and choice-related initiatives transform Kennedy Park's built and social environment so that the park fosters a deeper sense of place and positive attachment among all residents? As I conducted interviews, spent time carrying out in-person observation, and then began to review and analyze the data, it became increasingly clear that there are no easy answers to either of these questions. The relationship between Kennedy Park and Tree Street residents is complicated; and it is difficult to evaluate because Kennedy Park as a physical and social construction can never be separated from its place in the Tree Streets Neighborhood, or, for that matter, greater Lewiston. Likewise, there are many possible areas and issues that HNPC can target to maintain and enhance Kennedy Park for all Tree Street residents. It is hard to determine what issues are most pressing, what areas need the most attention, and what changes will lead to stronger, more positive sense of place for the most residents.

Fortunately, previous scholarship and research, as explored in Chapter I, provides context for what the results reveal about Kennedy Park and how they should be approached. It is well researched and established that exposure and access to green space is not just beneficial, but critical for residents' overall health (Beatley, 2011; Hartig et al. 1991; Heerwagen 2009; Hordyk et al. 2015; Kahn, Jr. & Kellert, 2002; Kaplan & Kaplan 1989; Kellert & Wilson, 1993; Sullivan et al. 2004; Wilson, 1984) . Further, my conceptual framework that made this research possible is based on the abundance of place-based research, both in regards to sense of place and

processes of attachment. This is to say that the existing scholarship informs this research, makes it possible, and also justifies its importance.

Expectations vs. Results

Going into in-depth interviews and in-person observation, I had certain expectations about what the results would show. Expectations ranged from focusing on the impact of scale to what the relevant processes of attachment and dominant subconcepts of sense of place would be. Some of the expectations were met, while others were not. Regardless, the results are eye opening.

Neighborhood Scale

At the start, I assumed that residents would have a clear understanding of the constructed boundaries of Kennedy Park. This is not the case. Participant responses make it clear that experiences in Lewiston beyond the Tree Streets Neighborhood impact their sense of place as Tree Street residents. Not only this, but participants were often unaware of what parts of Lewiston are considered part of the Tree Streets Neighborhood.

Although contradictory to my expectations, this is not shocking. Lewicka (2011) writes that the neighborhood scale traditionally evokes less attachment than place based research at the home or city scales. Unfortunately, I did not have the means to conduct a comparative study of sense of place at varying scales in Lewiston. I do not know if the participants feel less attachment on the neighborhood scale relative to other levels, but it is clear that experiences at other scales impact their sense of place at the neighborhood level. In other words, participants had a hard time delineating from experiences, processes, and sense of place occurring at other scales from those occurring at the neighborhood scale.

Processes of Attachment

Past research has established trends regarding processes of attachment among local residents and newcomers. In particular, I expected to find that New Mainers would differ from other residents in terms of the processes of attachment that they experienced. This assumption was grounded in Lewicka's (2011) research showing that newcomers are likely to undergo different processes of attachment than locals. Furthermore, since the processes of attachment as outlined by Low (1992) and Cross (2015) are often impacted by familial and cultural influence, it was assumed that the processes of attachment experienced by participants would vary depending on their demographic backgrounds and identities (e.g. age, gender, religion, race).

However, this generally was not the case. For instance, while some demographics referenced historical attachment more than other demographics, this was largely a result of more participants being of one demographic than the other. Looking specifically at gender, female participants referenced historical attachment three more times than male participants. However, there were eight male participants and nine female participants, likely accounting for the disparity. Historical, material dependence, sensory, and ideological attachments are almost universally the most referenced processes regardless of demographic.

I also had expectations for the kinds of processes of attachment that would be present among participants. Loss and destruction and genealogical are two processes I expected to be highly referenced. In the end, genealogical attachments were never referenced. It turned out that even among generational Mainers, their families had not lived in the Tree Streets Neighborhood long enough to create such an attachment. Similarly, loss and destruction was present, but not in the way I expected. Instead of being highly present among New Mainers who fled their countries

of origin, it was prominent among participants who feel that the park has negatively changed over the years.

Finally, where processes of attachment occur is also inconsistent with my expectations. I expected processes to be solely focused in Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood. However, while reviewing the results it was necessary to adjust my coding framework to include other places in Lewiston and even beyond the city as well. Since participants struggled to delineate between experiences at the neighborhood scale versus others, this impacted where they indicated processes of attachment occur. Still, Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood are the two most referenced places. Given that the interview questions and overall study was designed to focus specifically on Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood, this tilt makes sense. In other words, Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood dominating the place of process references is a result of the study's focus, and is not necessarily an indication that participants experience processes of attachment at higher rates here than in other places. The presence of processes of attachment in other areas indicates that this research is just a start. Work must be done to make residents feel more at home within the entire city of Lewiston. Ongoing HNPC and Choice-related initiatives will benefit from research into how the neighborhood connects to other important places within Lewiston, especially those mentioned by participants.

Sense of Place

Relative to expectations regarding the neighborhood scale and processes of attachment, I had few expectations about the subconcepts of sense of place present among participants. In fact, outside of material dependence being highly correlated to place dependence (which it was), I had no assumptions about specific processes of attachment leading to specific subconcepts of sense of place. However, similar to my expectations regarding processes of attachment, I presumed

that sense of place would vary depending on participants' demographics, specifically in regard to New Mainers, generational Mainers, and first/second generation Mainers. For these three groups, place dissatisfaction, place identity, and place satisfaction were the most referenced subconcepts of sense of place. Like with processes of attachment, some subconcepts of sense of place are more referenced than others, but this is attributable to more people of certain demographics being interviewed than others. Being able to determine the most and least common subconcepts of sense of place among residents would require a more quantitative research instrument (e.g. a survey) and a more systematic sampling approach.

Contextualizing the Results & Addressing the Research Questions

In Chapter I, I explored Shamai's scale for evaluating sense of place. The scale ranges from no sense of place, belonging to place, attachment to a place, identifying with the place goals, involvement in place, and sacrifice for place (Shamai 1991, 349-350). Participants in this study occupy the spectrum of Shamai's scale. In general, participants fall somewhere between the two extremes. It is unreasonable and unrealistic for HNPC and myself to assume that CNI initiatives can cause residents to become so attached that they would make intense personal sacrifices for the Tree Streets Neighborhood. This is extreme. However, to reference participant #3's belief that no American should walk in intimidation, no Tree Street resident should feel the need to avoid Kennedy Park.

It is an ambitious and worthwhile goal to try and create a neighborhood where residents are attached to the point where they are actively involved or actively want to be involved and invested in Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood. To reach this goal, Kennedy Park must remain a resource for those without other options, but it should also be a space that appeals to all residents. Kennedy Park is not a consolation for those without another choice. It should be

thought of and treated as a valuable and irreplaceable community resource regardless of park users' incomes or socioeconomic status.

Recall that Cranz (1982) writes about three levels of attitude towards urban parks. The third level -- that every aspect of a park presents an opportunity to affect the community through influencing social interactions of park users -- argues that focusing on the physical components of Kennedy Park (e.g. pool, skate park, bandstand, basketball court, playground) is an efficient way to effect change in the social environment of Kennedy Park. In other words, the social environment of Kennedy Park is directly correlated to the physical environment where social interactions take place. Thus, it is necessary to focus on renovating and constructing the physical environment so that it is conducive to creating positive attachments through physical and social experiences. This is evident in participant responses. For example, several participants articulated the necessity of improving the playground and providing access to restrooms and clean drinking water. These improvements would not only lead to a more enjoyable park experience, but also result in better and more pleasant social experiences. Overall, this means residents are more likely to experience positive attachment to the Tree Streets Neighborhood as they have access to a park that fulfills their social-psychological needs.

Another necessary physical change is the return of trees in Kennedy Park. Participant #10 in particular lamented the loss of the park's trees for the sake of police surveillance. While safety is important, removing the key features that make Kennedy Park a green space counteracts the purpose of an urban park. As Chapter I explores in depth, access and exposure to green space is crucial. Not only is this necessary for creating a pleasant and welcoming environment where people want to spend time, but it is also necessary for residents' health (Beatley, 2011; Hartig et

al. 1991; Heerwagen 2009; Hordyk et al. 2015; Kahn, Jr. & Kellert, 2002; Kaplan & Kaplan 1989; Kellert & Wilson, 1993; Sullivan et al. 2004; Wilson, 1984).

Participants also indicated that there is a need for changes that extend beyond the physical boundaries of the park, such as the nature of police surveillance in Kennedy Park. In this instance, the change does not lie in the physical construction of the park, but in changing how police operate in Kennedy Park and interact with park users. An example of this might include enacting social programs intended to ingratiate police to Tree Streets Neighborhood residents as opposed to initiatives like Operation Hotspot (which a participant criticized), in which police target residents under the assumption or suspicion of wrongdoing. This change is likely to cause park goers to feel safe and more welcome, as opposed to feeling like they will be considered criminals just for going to Kennedy Park.

In Chapter I, I reference Jacobs's (1961) work which states that people are critical to the success of a park. Participant responses and in-depth observation have shown that Kennedy Park is no exception. Participants' responses covered the gamut of feelings of discontent. I heard complaints about too much policing, ineffective policing, cleanliness, upkeep, lack of facilities, inadequate playgrounds, and the removal of trees. Yet, participants said that they continued to frequent the park. Some do so because it is on their way to work, others because their families spend time there, and still others because they simply enjoy being there. The sense of place *dissatisfaction* is dominant and nearly universal among participants, but there is a continued reliance upon and appreciation of Kennedy Park. Despite the lack of resources, participants indicate that residents keep Kennedy Park alive and vital.

To counteract place dissatisfaction and increase positive sense of place in the Tree Streets Neighborhood, HNPC must incorporate physical and social changes into their transformation

plan. A good place to begin is with the recommendations suggested by participants: improve and expand the playground, maintain the pool, basketball courts, and skate park, plant more trees, sponsor community events, and change the way the park is policed. Police surveillance tactics must be altered so that they do not target residents, but rather make them feel safe. Given the park's role in informing participants' place identity, such changes in the park will impact their sense of place in the Tree Streets Neighborhood.

Kennedy Park is an unparalleled resource, and as participant #15 said, a true Lewiston treasure. Regardless of my research and the eventual outcome of the transformation plan, it will remain the valued resource it has always been. However, HNPC and the city of Lewiston have a unique opportunity to turn Kennedy Park into a universal treasure that fosters positive place attachment among all Tree Streets Neighborhood residents by fulfilling residents' social-psychological needs (i.e. safe places for exercise and play, and places to nurture and access social connections and social support) (*Healthy Neighborhoods Network Structure* 2018).

Limitations

Methodological

This research is intentionally qualitative. The goal was to identify the kinds of sense of place present among participants, as well as the processes and places through which sense of place develops. In doing so, I provide insight into the kinds of changes, both social and physical, that HNPC should effectuate within the Tree Streets Neighborhood and Kennedy Park. However, this is not to say that quantitative research would not be relevant or useful. By carrying out a qualitative study, I am unable to make any statistically representative or generalizable claims about the Tree Streets Neighborhood, its residents, or Kennedy Park.

Personal & Other

In addition to methodological limitations, I also faced personal barriers. First, my identity impacted how I carried out my research. Some participants, especially young New Mainer women, were wary of me due to my identity as a white man, a nonresident, and a Bates Student. Although I conducted group interviews and met with participants in places of their choosing to navigate this, it would have been more fruitful if I had been able to cultivate personal relationships with all participants. If this had happened, participants would have been more willing to open up to me. Moreover, it is likely that during group interviews the participants were influenced by listening to the other person's responses.

Another barrier I faced was language. There are many New Mainers, especially in the older generations that do not speak English. Although I could have accessed an interpreter, I decided to stick with participants I could communicate with by myself. If I was proficient in other languages (e.g. French, Arabic, Somali), then I could have reached out to residents unable to interview in English. The language barrier also presented a problem in terms of getting parental consent forms signed. I was only able to interview participants under the age of 18 with guardians who are literate in English. Furthermore, while doing in-person observations it was difficult to carry out fly-by interview with New Mainers due to the language barrier.

Finally, time was another big limitation. In September 2018, March 2019 seemed like the distant future. However, the seven months flew by. With more time, this study could have taken a deeper dive by speaking with more residents and spending more time with the data. The interview, transcription, and coding processes are incredibly time consuming. The more time spent on one, the less time left for the others. It was incredibly important not to short change any aspect of the research in order to gain a complete understanding and provide a full analysis.

Future Research

Lewiston, the Tree Streets Neighborhood, and Kennedy Park

Now that I have established a baseline of knowledge grounded in qualitative research, quantitative research allowing for statistically representative claims about sense of place and processes of attachment in Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood is a necessary next step. This would allow HNPC to understand how prevalent processes of attachment and subconcepts of sense of place are across the Tree Streets Neighborhood. Moreover, generalizable claims could be made about sense of place and processes of attachment by residents' demographics and location. Such insights would enable HNPC to holistically understand what places and what issues are most in need of attention in order to better foster positive sense of place among all Tree Street residents.

Further research that explores sense of place at different scales in Lewiston is key. As discussed, understanding sense of place at the home and city scales would greatly supplement this research that is focusing on the neighborhood scale. Given what my results show and the arbitrary nature of the boundaries that define the Tree Streets Neighborhood, it is clear that Tree Street residents' sense of place cannot be understood in a vacuum. They have feelings, associations, dependences, and attachments all over Lewiston that impact how they feel about the Tree Streets Neighborhood. Additional research that explores sense of place at these other scales will provide a more comprehensive understanding of residents' sense of place.

Beyond Lewiston

Sense of place research, and place based research in general, are well established areas of scholarship. However, I do have suggestions for future sense of place research. The predominant theories and frameworks explore sense of place and place attachment only through the frames of

what is present among residents. That is to say, concepts like place attachment, place dependence, place identity, and place satisfaction are useful for understanding when these kinds of sense of place are present. On the other hand, these concepts are not as useful for reading between the lines. In other words, there is an implication that when people have none of these concepts in relationship to place, they are devoid of attachment to or sense of place. In my experience with this research, however, if a participant does not feel any of these subconcepts of sense of place it is because they have other feelings, associations, and attachments to place that do not fit within the existing, dominant framework. All of this is to say, it would be worthwhile for future sense of place research to establish concepts that account for a wider variety of sense of place.

Lastly, given that issues surrounding immigration and refugee resettlement are increasingly pressing as the climate continues to change, future research should look at sense of place among such recently resettled people. While sense of place research regarding newcomers is not new, the climate crisis combined with the rise in xenophobic far-right movements across the globe has established a new frame from which to study this. Through locally focused community-engaged research projects like this one, researchers can make recommendations regarding how places should be socially and physically constructed to foster positive sense of place and counteract xenophobia in order to welcome incoming residents fleeing the impacts of climate change.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the research and writing process I was frequently asked, “Cool, but what does sense of place in the Tree Streets Neighborhood have to do with the environment?” I would think back to all of the courses where I read William Cronon’s “The Trouble with Wilderness,” and respond with the sentiment that our collective understanding of what constitutes “The Environment” needs to be expanded (1995). What we think of as “The Environment” should include all of the places that people live in on a daily basis, even if they are in urban settings like the Tree Streets Neighborhood. I say this not to shame or blame those without the same access to education that I have; but to say that from the beginning, this work has been grounded in the belief that all people have a fundamental right to live in homes and neighborhoods that are a part of healthy and safe environments, both socially and physically.

By thoroughly reviewing sense of place literature, I was able to construct a conceptual framework through which to evaluate Tree Street residents’ sense of place as impacted by Kennedy Park. This framework was grounded in the concepts of place attachment, place dependence, place identity, and place satisfaction, as well as the processes of attachment as outlined by Low (1992) and Cross (2015). In doing so, I was able to identify what processes of attachment and subconcepts of sense of place are present among participants. Additionally, I was able to link spatial locations to processes of attachment and subconcepts of sense of place in order to better understand how and where participants are developing these attachments.

Through the process of conducting in-depth interviews and in-person observation, participants expressed several wishes, needs, and recommendations regarding Kennedy Park. These were analyzed for insights into their sense of place and processes of attachment, but they should also be considered straight on. By this I mean that these suggestions reflect the

substantive changes that participants actually want to see in their own neighborhood. They include the installation of both a water fountain and public restrooms in Kennedy Park, changes in policing so that residents feel safe without feeling targeted, updated and improved playground equipment, maintenance of the pool, skateboard park, and basketball courts, the return of trees and shade to Kennedy Park, and informational resources about the history of Lewiston, immigration, and New Mainers. Lastly, participant #10 recommended this, “Stop being afraid of low income residents - We’re not scary people.”

In terms of processes of attachment, sense of place, and spatial locations where processes occur, my thesis offers several insights. First, the dominant processes of attachment are historical, material dependence, ideological, and sensory. This indicates that changes to Kennedy Park meant to foster positive sense of place in the Tree Streets Neighborhood should primarily aim to create social and physical environments conducive to positive personal experiences through access to green space and usable physical components (e.g. playground, bandstand, basketball court), treat Kennedy Park with the reverence that it deserves, and generally work to meet residents’ needs whether social-psychological or otherwise.

Secondly, the overwhelming sense of place dissatisfaction among participants indicates that listening to them and following their suggestions for the neighborhood is a good way to begin fostering positive sense of place. In other words, implementing and abiding by residents’ ideas will begin to replace place dissatisfaction with place satisfaction. While place satisfaction is not the equivalent of place attachment, it is a step in the right direction. Furthermore, since the next most referenced subconcept of sense of place among participants is place identity, it is clear that Kennedy Park is a key part of how participants understand themselves and informs how they

interact with the Tree Streets Neighborhood. As such, working to increase their satisfaction with a place they strongly identify with is a great step towards fostering positive sense of place.

Next, processes of attachment among participants most commonly occur in Kennedy Park and the Tree Streets Neighborhood. As already explained, this is likely the result of the focus of this study, as opposed to an indication that processes of attachment do not happen elsewhere. However, this highlights two important points. First, Kennedy Park is one of the right places, if not the right place, to begin trying to foster positive sense of place in the Tree Streets Neighborhood. Second, future research and future work must focus beyond the imaginary boundaries of the Tree Streets Neighborhood to fully understand sense of place and processes of attachment among residents.

Finally, participants' responses highlight issues with policing, substance abuse, and conflict between generational residents and New Mainers in Kennedy Park. While incredibly important, solutions to these three issues are beyond the scope of my research. Fostering positive sense of place will require researching specifically how policing, the presence of substance abuse, and inter resident conflict in Kennedy Park impacts Tree Street residents' sense of place. The changes most likely to lead to positive attachment will not be punitive, but restorative, reformative, informative, and healing.

APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANT BRIEFING & CONSENT FORMS

Briefing Form

Bates College Department of Environmental Studies

Title of the Study: Sense of Place in Kennedy Park: The Role of Urban Green Space in the Tree Streets Neighborhood

Researcher Name(s): Dylan Metsch-Ampel (dmetscha@bates.edu); faculty advisor Professor Francis Eanes (feanes@bates.edu)

Thank you for participating in this research study. We are conducting this study to explore the impact Kennedy Park has on residents of the Tree Streets Neighborhood. We are interested in the role Kennedy Park plays in the neighborhood - and how or whether it plays a part in keeping residents in the neighborhood. Our main research questions are how does Kennedy Park influence Tree Street residents' sense of place? In what ways can ongoing HNPC- and Choice-related initiatives transform Kennedy Park's built and social environment so that the park fosters a deeper sense of place and positive attachment among all Tree Street residents?

While participating in this study, you will be asked a series of interview questions. At the beginning you will be asked to draw a picture of Kennedy Park. While and after drawing, you will be asked a series of questions about your picture. Then you will be asked some questions about your identity, followed by questions designed to understand how Kennedy Park impacts you as a Tree Street resident. We expect to find that Kennedy Park impacts residents' lives in a variety of ways depending on their home's location, identity, life experiences, etc.

If you are interested in learning more about this study, please feel free to ask us questions in person, or contact us using the email address(es) above. If you would like to learn more about sense of place, we recommend the following:

Lewicka, Maria. "Place attachment: How far have we come in the last 40 years?" *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, vol. 31, no. 3, 2011, pp. 207-230, doi: [10.1016/j.jenvp.2010.10.001](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2010.10.001).

Trentelman, Carla Koons. "Place Attachment and Community Attachment: A Primer Grounded in the Lived Experience of a Community Sociologist." *Society & Natural Resources: An International Journal*, vol. 22, no. 3, 2009, pp. 191-210, doi: [10.1080/08941920802191712](https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920802191712).

If you have any concerns about your rights as a participant in this study, please contact the Bates College Institutional Review Board (irb@bates.edu).

Thank you again for participating!

Consent Form
Bates College Department/Program of Environmental Studies

Title of the Study: Sense of Place in Kennedy Park: The Role of Urban Green Space in the Tree Streets Neighborhood

Researcher Name(s): Dylan Metsch-Ampel (dmetscha@bates.edu); faculty advisor Professor Francis Eanes (feanes@bates.edu)

The general purpose of this research is to evaluate the impact Kennedy Park has on Tree Street residents' sense of place. Participants in this study will be asked to answer a series of interview questions and draw a picture of Kennedy Park. Findings from this study will be used to advance undergraduate thesis research. The research and findings will be publicly presented at the Mount David Summit in March 2019.

I hereby give my consent to participate in this research study. I acknowledge that the researcher has provided me with:

- A. An explanation of the study's general purpose and procedure.
- B. Answers to any questions I have asked about the study procedure.

I understand that:

- A. My participation in this study will take approximately 60 - 90 minutes.
- B. The probability and magnitude of harm/discomfort anticipated as a result of participating in this study are not greater than those ordinarily encountered in daily life or during the performance of routine physical or psychological examinations or tests.
- C. The potential benefits of this study include presenting a set of recommendations to Healthy Neighborhoods regarding changes that should or should not be made to Kennedy Park.
- D. I will be compensated for participating in this study with a \$20 gift card.
- E. My participation is voluntary, and I may withdraw my consent and discontinue participation in the study at any time. My refusal to participate will not result in any penalty or disadvantage.
- F. My responses in this study will be kept confidential, to the extent permitted by law. The data will be stored in a secure location (a password-protected computer), will be available to Dylan Metsch-Ampel and Dr. Eanes, and research reports will present findings without any personally identifying information.

Name (printed): _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Additional Consent Form for Recordings of Interviews

Title of the Study: Sense of Place in Kennedy Park: The Role of Urban Green Space in the Tree Streets Neighborhood

In addition to agreeing to participate, I consent to having the interview audio recorded. I understand that the recording of my interview will be transcribed by the researcher(s). Transcripts of my interview may be reproduced in whole or in part for use in presentations or written products that result from this study, but will not be linked to my name. My name, voice, and picture will not be used in presentations or in written products resulting from the study, unless I give my explicit permission.

- A. I consent to having the interview audio recorded.

Name (printed): _____
Signature _____ Date _____

- B. I consent to having my name associated with my responses. (If I do not sign, my name will not be used.)

Signature _____ Date _____

- C. Lastly, I consent to use of my voice in presentations or in written products resulting from the study. (If I do not sign, my voice will not be used.)

Signature _____ Date _____

Or:

- A. I consent to having my child's interview audio recorded.

Name of child (printed): _____

Name of parent (printed): _____

Parent Signature _____ Date _____

- B. I consent to having my child's name associated with their responses. (If I do not sign, my child's name will not be used.)

Name of child (printed): _____

Name of parent (printed): _____

Parent Signature _____ Date _____

C. Lastly, I consent to use of my child's voice in presentations or in written products resulting from the study. (If I do not sign, my child's voice will not be used.)

Name of child (printed): _____

Name of parent (printed): _____

Parent Signature _____ Date _____

Parental Consent Form
Bates College Department/Program of Environmental Studies

Title of the Study: Sense of Place in Kennedy Park: The Role of Urban Green Space in the Tree Streets Neighborhood

Researcher Name(s): Dylan Metsch-Ampel (dmetscha@bates.edu); faculty advisor Professor Francis Eanes (feanes@bates.edu)

The general purpose of this research is to evaluate the impact Kennedy Park has on Tree Street residents' sense of place. Participants in this study will be asked to answer a series of interview questions and draw a picture of Kennedy Park.

While participating in this study, your child will be asked to draw a picture of Kennedy Park while keeping in mind where they consider "home" and "their place". Then they will be asked a series of interview questions. The whole interview will take between 60 and 90 minutes.

Findings from this study will be used to advance undergraduate thesis research. The research and findings will be publicly presented at the Mount David Summit in March 2019.

I hereby give my consent for my child to participate in this research study. I acknowledge that the researcher has provided me with:

- A. An explanation of the study's purpose and procedure.
- B. Answers to any questions I have asked about the study procedure.

I understand that:

- A. My child's participation in this study will take approximately 60 – 90 minutes.
- B. The probability and amount of harm/discomfort anticipated as a result of my child participating in this study are not greater than those ordinarily encountered in daily life.
- C. The potential benefits of this study include presenting a set of recommendations to Healthy Neighborhoods regarding changes that should or should not be made to Kennedy Park.
- D. My child will be compensated for participating in this study with a \$20 gift card.
- E. My decision to allow my child to participate is voluntary, and I may withdraw my consent and discontinue my child's participation in the study at any time. My refusal to participate will not result in any penalty or disadvantage for me or my child.
- F. In addition to my written consent, my child will give verbal agreement to participate in the research. My child will be able to discontinue their participation at any time, without penalty, and this will be explained to them before they agree.
- G. My child's responses in this study will be kept confidential, to the extent permitted by law. The data will be stored in a secure location (password-protected computer), will be available to Dylan Metsch-Ampel and Dr. Eanes, and research reports will present findings without any personally identifying information.

Name of child (printed): _____

Name of parent (printed): _____

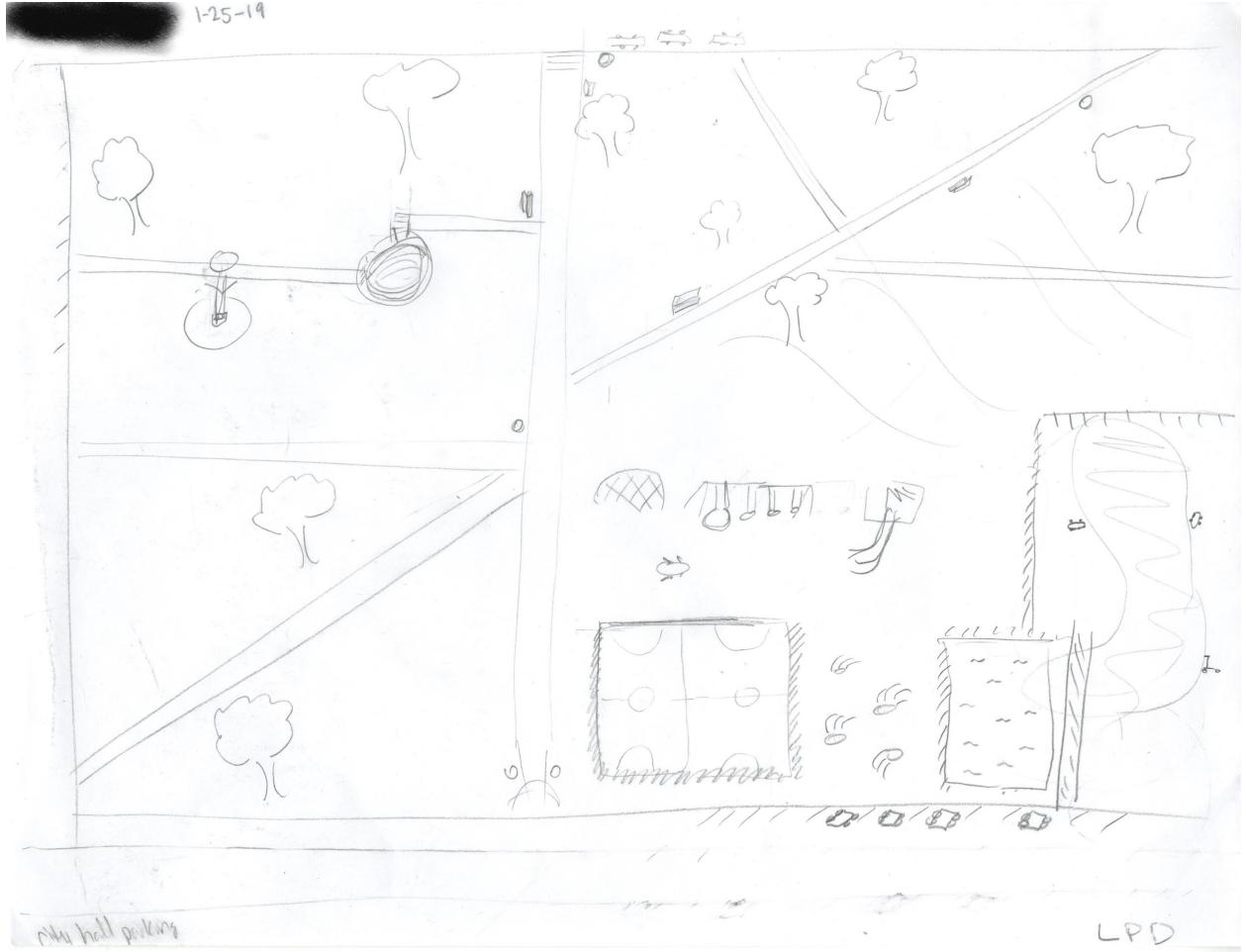
Parent signature: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX B: PARTICIPANTS' CONCEPTUAL MAPS

Participant #1:



Participant #2:



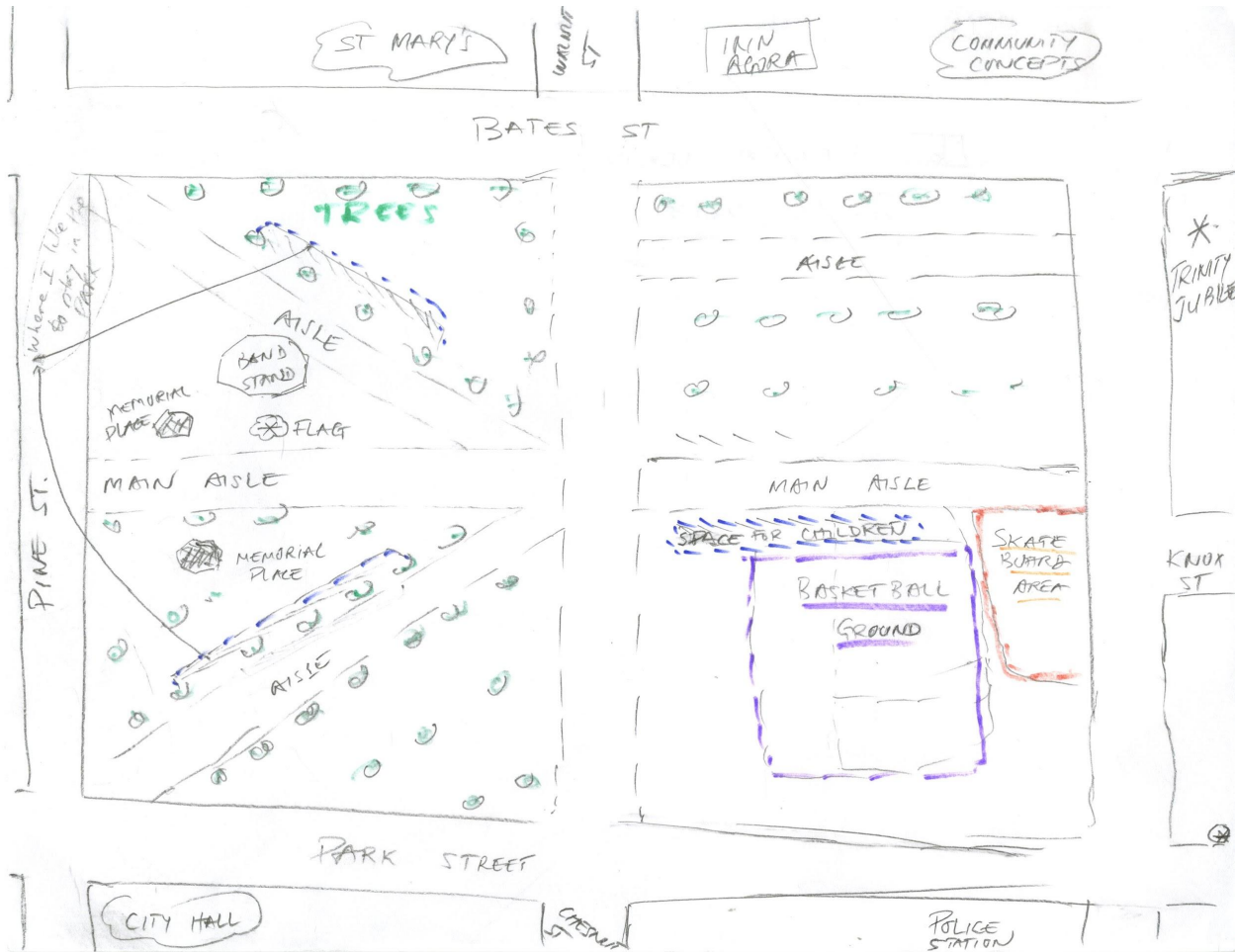
Participant #3:



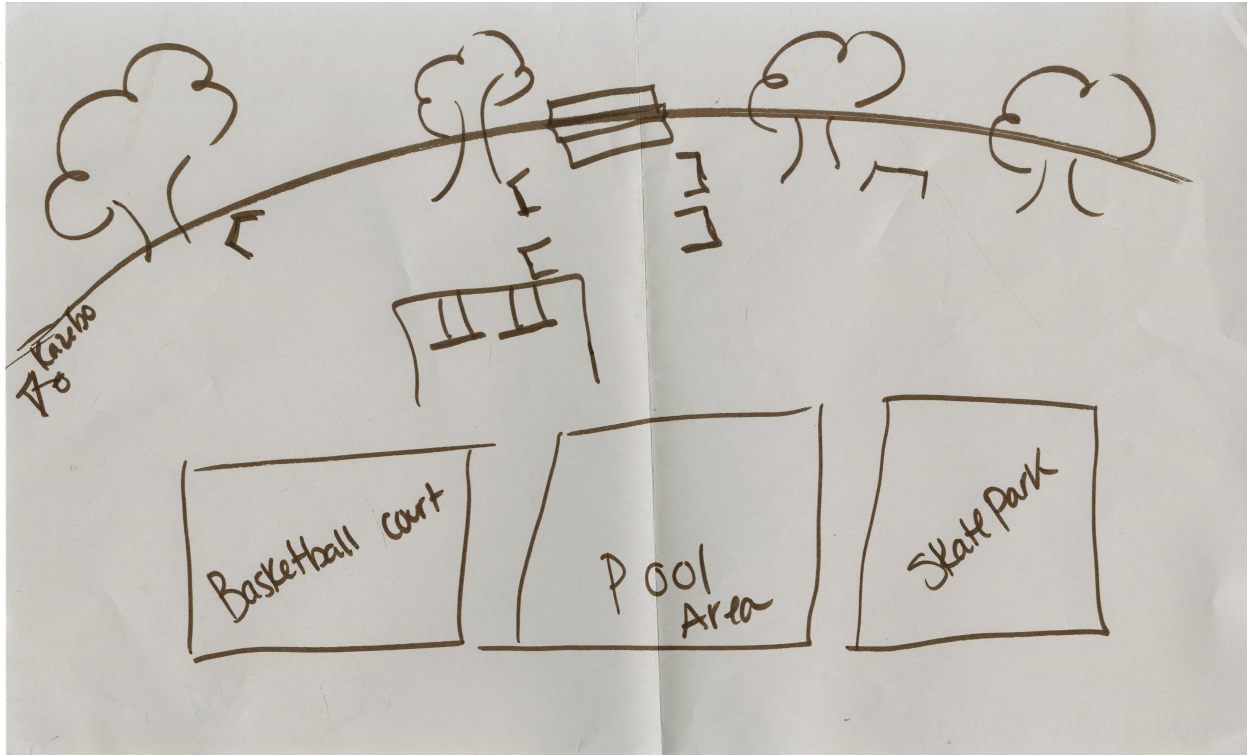
Participant #4:



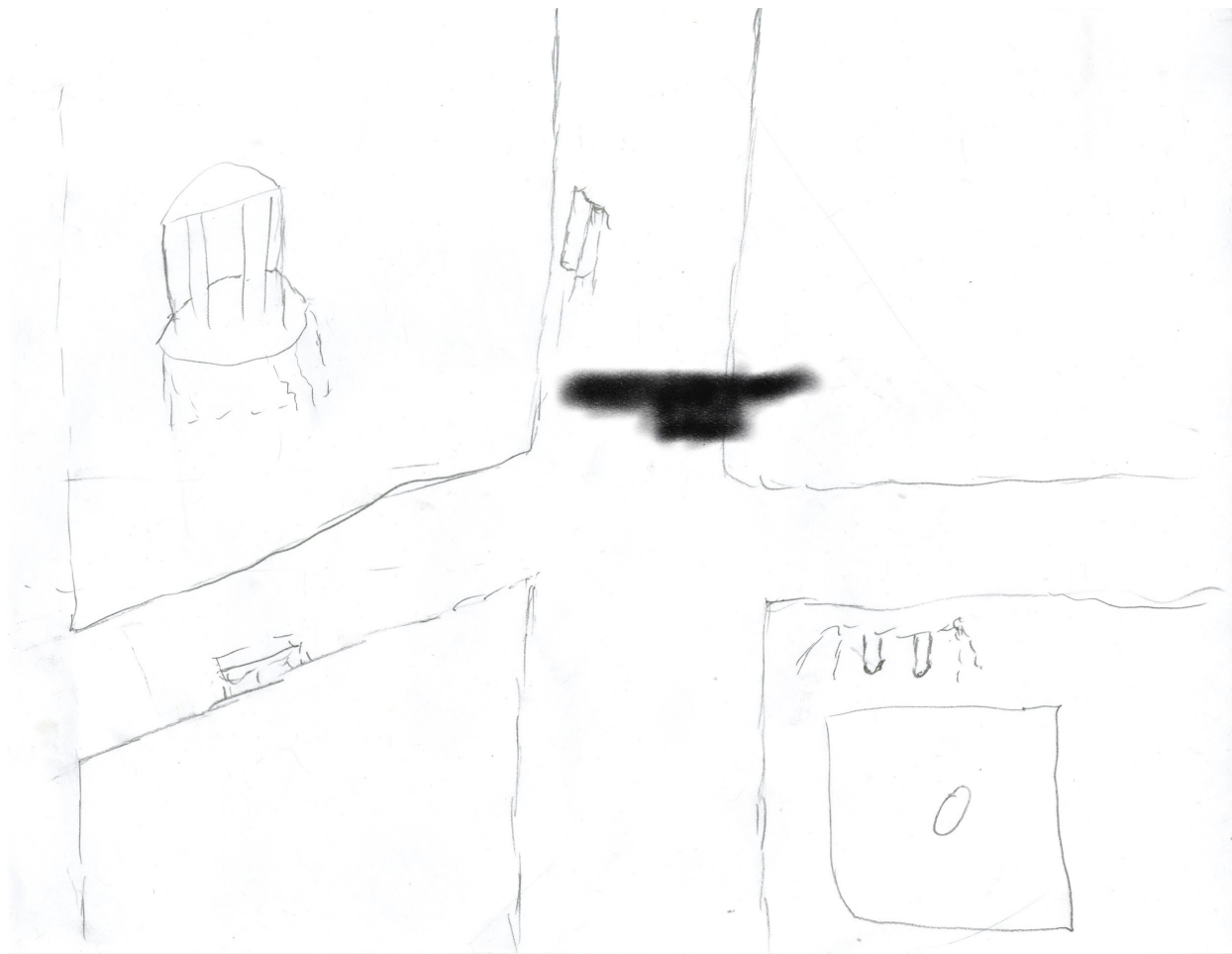
Participant #5:



Participant #6:



Participant #7:



Participant #8:



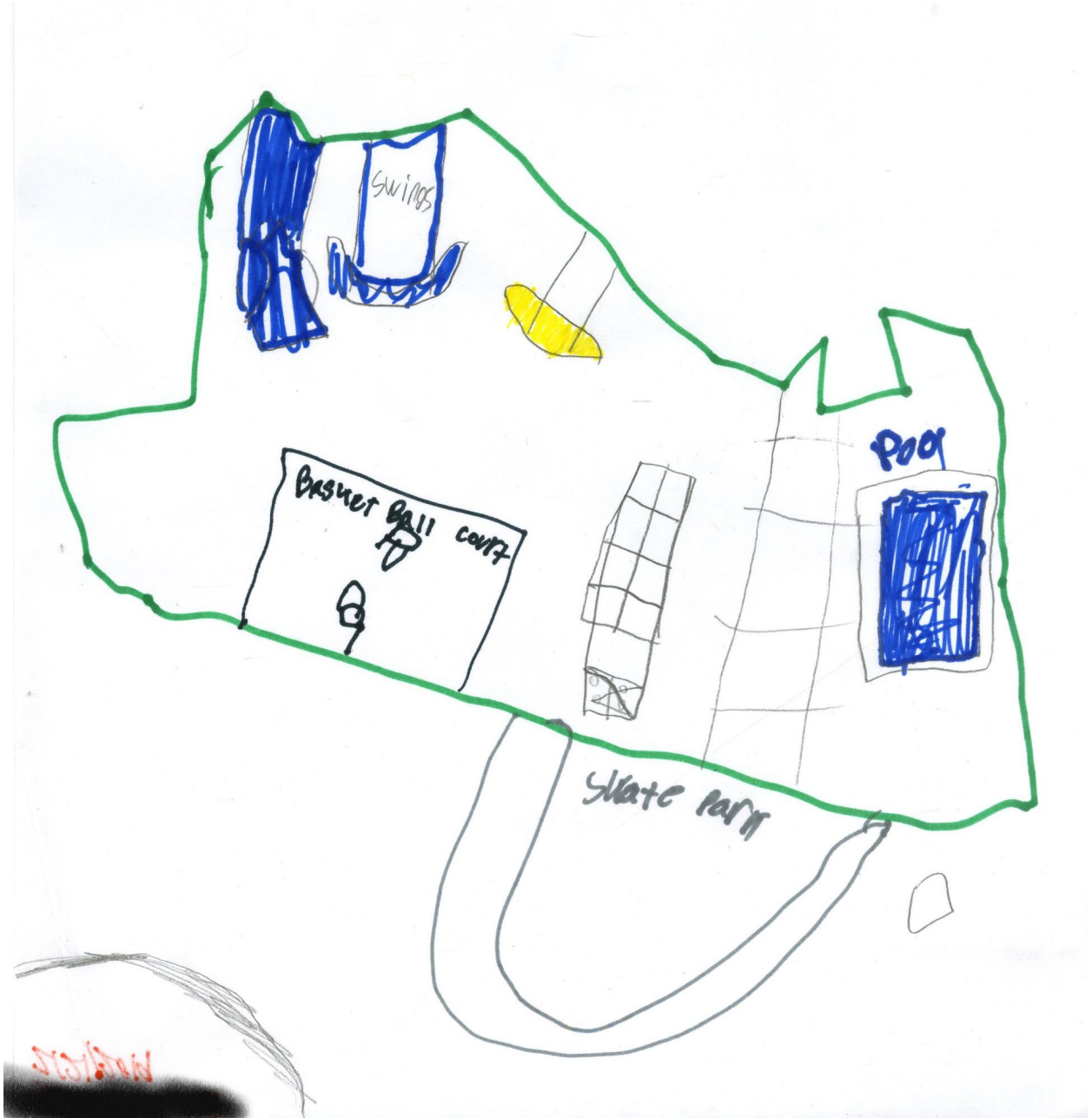
Participant #9:



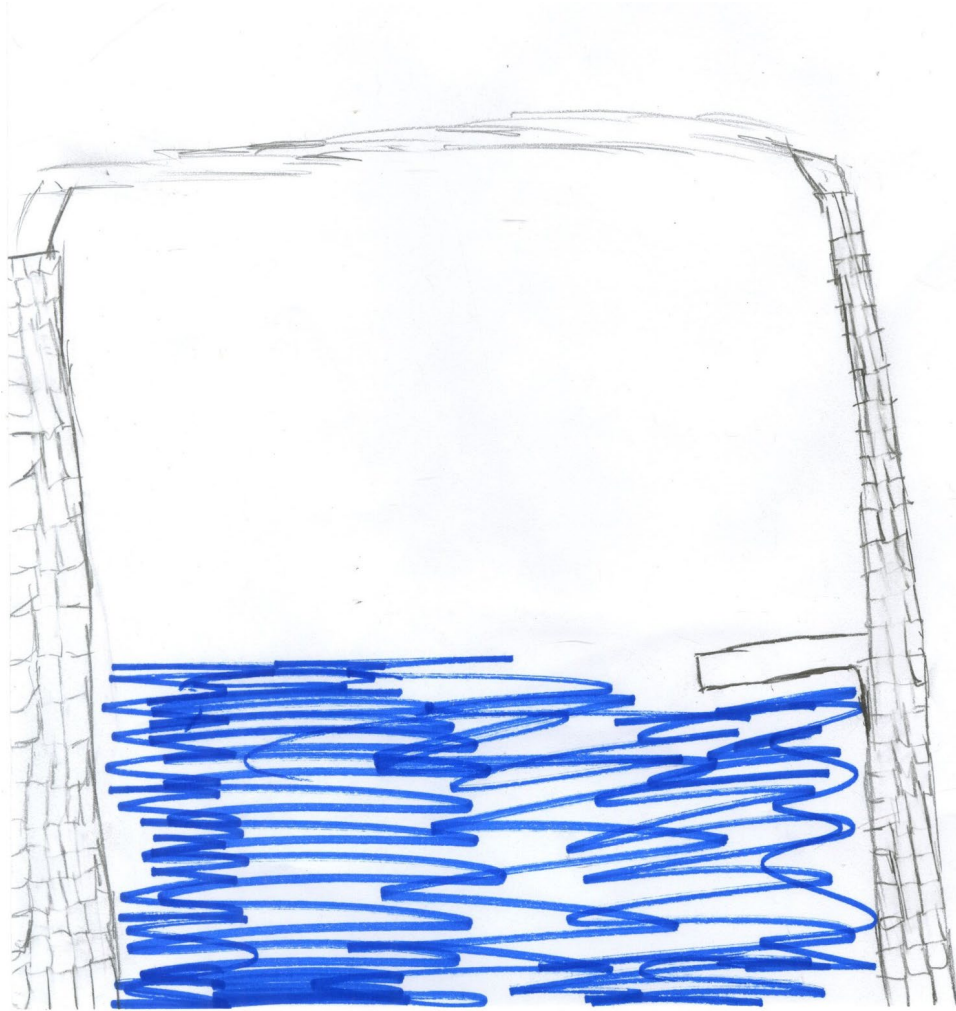
Participant #10:



Participant #11:



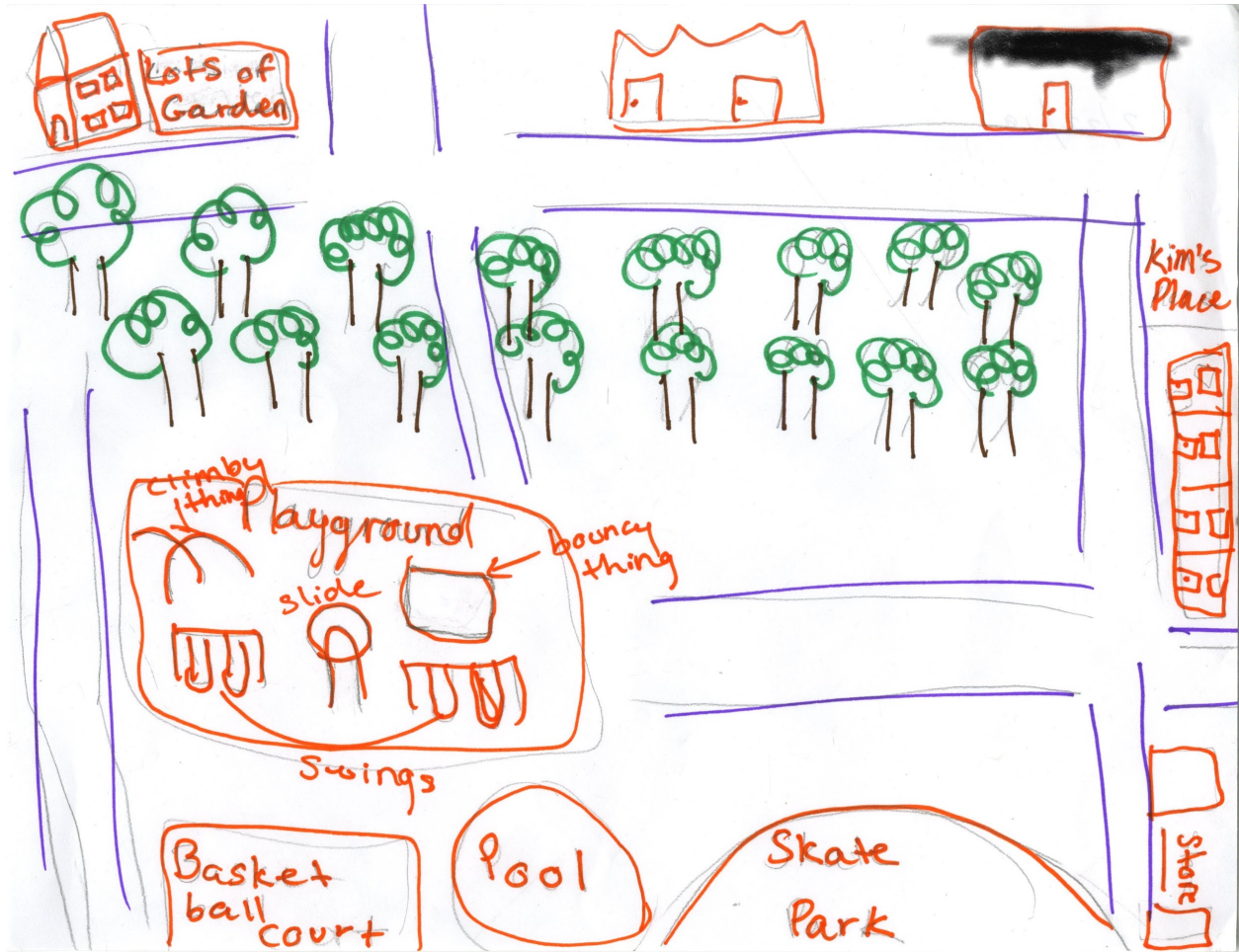
Participant #12:



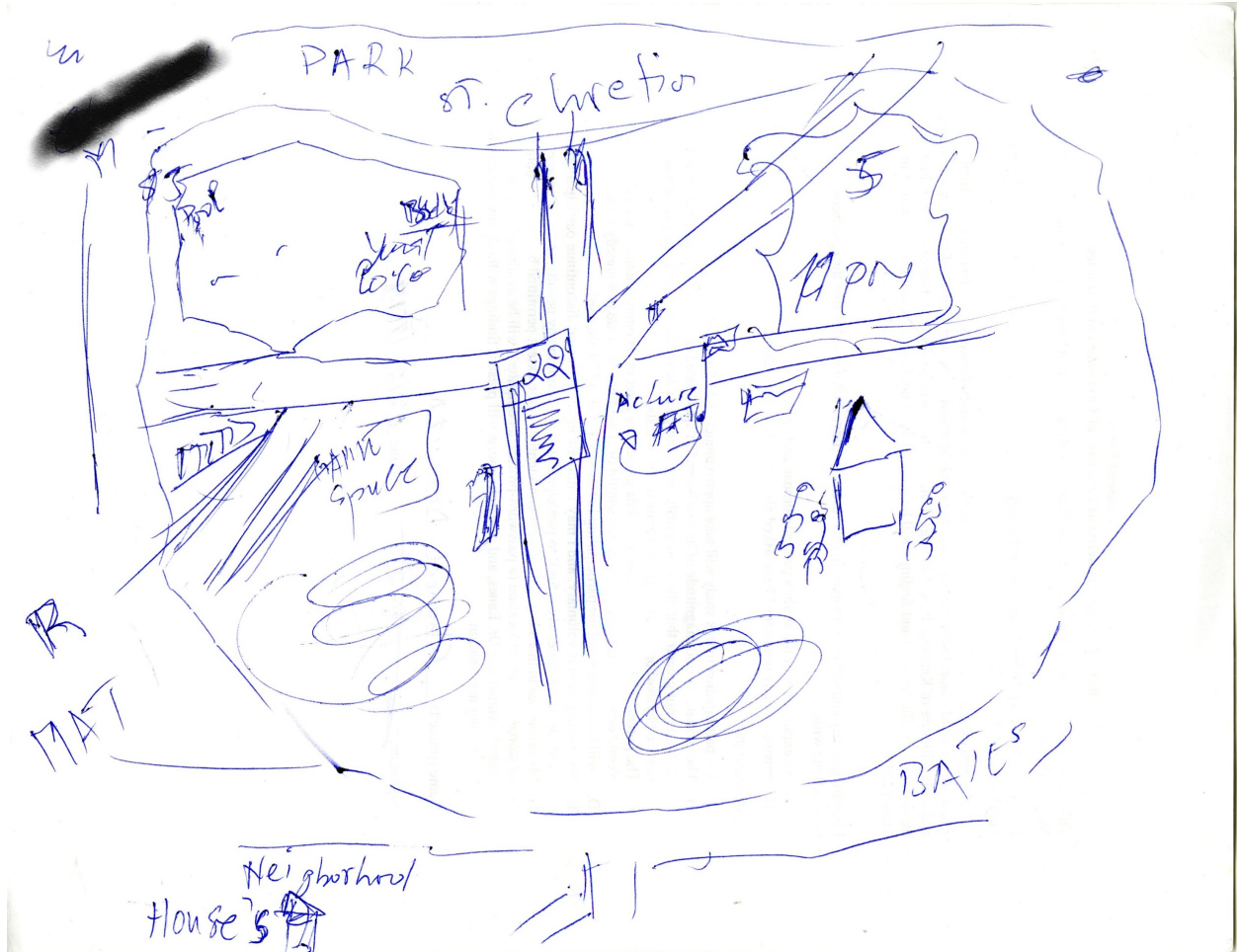
Participant #13:



Participant #14:



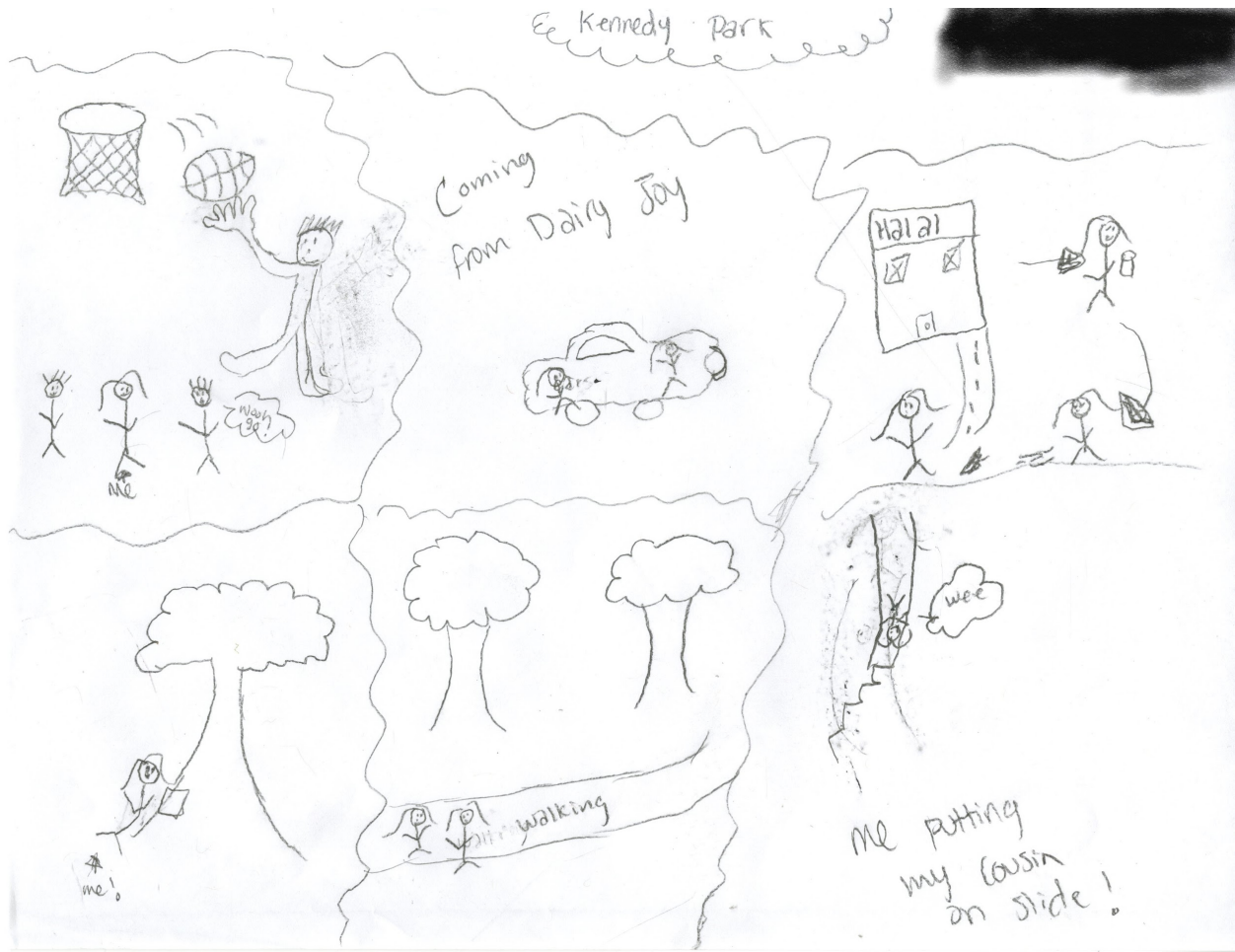
Participant #15:



Participant #16:



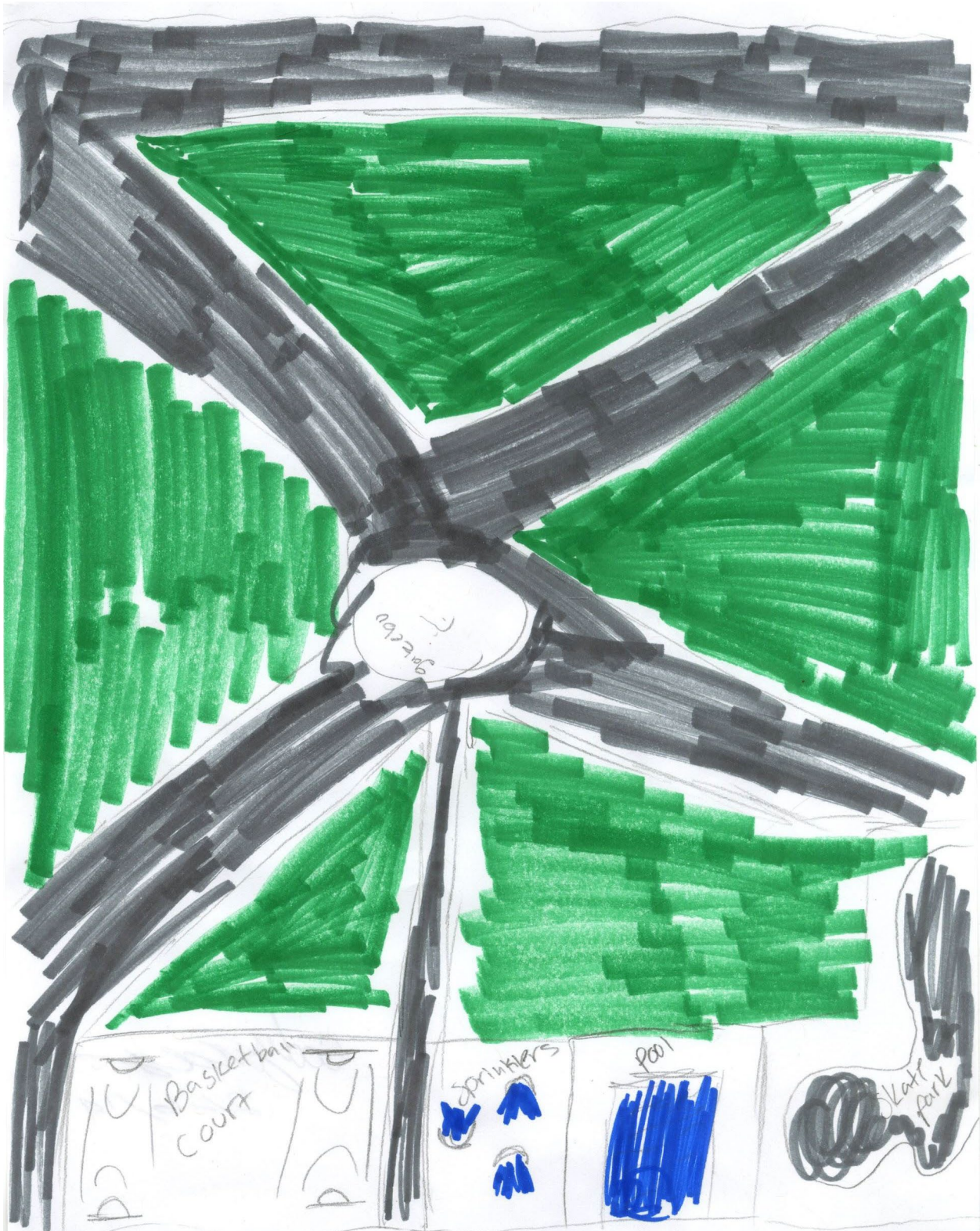
Participant #17:



Participant #19 (nonresident):



Participant #20 (nonresident):



APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW SHEET

Map Exercise

- Please draw a map of Kennedy Park. While doing so, think of all of the things that are important where you're from. Draw what matters in that place. You can include anything: any view, any angle, any scale, any symbols. What is important is that you represent things that are significant to you. Draw with the idea of "home" in mind. Think about how that is associated with Kennedy Park.
 - What's included in your map?
 - Why?
 - Is this your hometown?
 - Where's your home on the map?
 - What do you consider "your place"?
 - Do you avoid Kennedy Park?

General

- What's your name?

Demographic

- What is your gender identity?
- What is your ethnic identity?
- What is your religious identity?
 - Are you religious?
- How old are you?

Sense of Place & Processes of Attachment Questions

- What are your go-to places to experience nature?
- Where do you go to be social or meet new people?
- Do you own any property in the Tree Streets neighborhood?
- How long have you lived in the Tree Streets Neighborhood?
- Where did you or your family live before coming to the Tree Streets?
- Where are you from?
- Are you a refugee or an asylum seeker?
- What is an average day like?
- Does Kennedy Park impact how you feel about the Neighborhood?
 - In what ways?
- When I say "Kennedy Park" what comes to mind?
- When and why do you go to Kennedy Park? What area(s) of Kennedy Park do you frequent?
- How have you noticed Kennedy Park to change?
- What would you change about Kennedy Park? Keep the same?
- Where do you see yourself living in 5 years? 10?
- How should the City of Lewiston handle/govern Kennedy Park?
- Is there anything else that you would like to add/like me to know?

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

Participant #1:

Interviewer: *Introductions & map prompt.*

Participant #1: In relation meaning my home should also be seen on the map?

Interviewer: Your home can also be on the map. I'm not saying - it's really anything that you want.

Participant #1: Okay

Interviewer: And so as you're [drawing] just think about what you would consider your home, um or where you consider most at home. Where do you consider most "your place?"

Participant #1: Mhm.

I used to live directly next to Kennedy Park - for um, lived there for about three years - from 2005 to 2008.

Interviewer: And you're a [college] grad?

Participant #1: Mhm.

Interviewer: What year did you graduate?

Participant #1: 2005

Interviewer: Oh right, and did you live off campus as a senior?

Participant #1: Nope, I lived in [campus housing] when I was a senior. I moved, I lived at [address] just for the summer after I graduated and then um, and then yeah just at the end of the summer moved in with a friend. Um, on [street] right above [store]. Lived there for a while, and that was - that building was supposed to be a housing co-op. [Housing organization], which was an affordable housing development organization, had renovated that property and was marketing as a housing co-op. I just moved in because someone lived there and needed a roommate. So they invited me to and then they told me "yeah, this is supposed to be a housing co-op and I'm supposed to be an owner, but they haven't figured out how to make it work yet." So that's where we got exposed to the concept - and it never materialized, but we took that idea and then started our own housing coop over on [street]. *To himself.* What am I doing? *about his drawing. But uh, Kennedy Park was pretty different when I first moved into the neighborhood. I don't know if you - have you researched at least the physical changes to it?

Interviewer: Somewhat, yeah.

Participant #1: Mhm.

Interviewer: I'll ask you about that um...

Participant #1: Is it okay to talk while I draw or should I just draw?

Interviewer: You can talk, I'm just not going to ask any questions - but I'm listening and it's always very useful.

Explains the aspects of the research.

Participant #1: Um, but so you know where the skate park is was where the basketball court was?

Interviewer: Oh really?

Participant #1: Yep, and it was ragged. It was falling apart. Um, you didn't - you know there would be the occasional game there, but it wasn't used very much. You would just see a couple kids out there, or a parent with their child, or occasionally adults would play, but it was nothing like - once they put the new courts in - I mean those things are used all day long. And it used to be we could go - I mean - um, when you'd play a game on the court before occasionally someone might show up that would want to play with you, but um usually you could play a game by yourself if you were so inclined. And uh, you know now it's pretty - it's hard to play without um, it's hard to just play by yourself. If you go with just your friend and you have a ball, then eventually other people are going to invite you to play in their game or challenge you to a game or try to get involved - you know. Something like that, which is really sort of great and exciting and I love that interaction, but it's sometimes it's a lot more than you want to get into with you know with the 30 minutes you have to go do something that you want to be just relaxing and get exercise so um, like I remember we used to go and play like group games - like 4 on 4 or something - and we'd play you know men and women - and then like some people you know teenagers would come along and say "can we join your game?" and we'd be like, "sure." And then they start playing and then they start trash talking, and they start saying sexist stuff, and like "oh don't pass to the" you know "don't pass to the girl" or like "ah man.." they just start making an issue out of like gender or things that it's like we don't want to deal with this. Obviously that's not going to be fun for the women that we came to play with and when we play on our own we don't have to deal with that. So we try to address it and sometimes like we'd address it and it'd be fine - and other times it would keep coming up, and then we're just like alright, enough, enough. Um, let's see. So, that was the tradeoff I guess - much better equipment, but also much more utilized and you know - I'm happy, I'm glad that the neighborhood does have a much nicer court that is obviously a huge piece of a lot of people's lives. Get to use it as much as they do.

Interviewer: *explains why they are shuffling material.*

Participant #1: Um, but that was pretty much it. There was the basketball court and the pool was always there. Um, and I mean there was a different playground that was kind of falling apart. I mean literally they waited until kids were like falling through the play equipment and like injuring themselves before they replaced it. Um, so that whole quadrant basically had a huge renovation. And then they just renovated the gazebo. That was the latest improvement in Kennedy Park. They've slowly been replacing the benches, um, the signage in Kennedy Park is new. The one thing that I think is notable, I don't think it's good, but you know the new benches that have gone in are designed with an armrest on either end and in the middle. Are you familiar with that design? Like the intention of that design to discourage homeless folks from sleeping on the bench, and you know that doesn't solve homelessness that just gives them one less place to sleep. Um, so where are we? Got the gazebo. I - when they were renovating the gazebo - I was hoping that they would re-establish it right at the entrance to the park near Walnut Street 'cause

one of the issues was the ramp, the cost to build a ramp and all that stuff and I was thinking that they could build it at grade with Walnut so like from Walnut you could either walk around the Gazebo and it would be like grated, or you could just walk straight and you would end up on the Gazebo, and then on Walnut Street like when you look down Walnut Street like right dead center you would see this beautiful gazebo, and then it would look out over you know the park. Um, but they decided to build it in place, in large part because of the sensitivity of the roof and it's a historic structure - it's where JFK spoke and the only thing that was actually - many parts of it had been changed overtime - and the roof was the only historic part, but at this point as far as I can tell they basically rebuilt the roof. I mean maybe the old roof is under - is like encapsulated in it. I don't know how - it's really unclear to me how much of the original structure they actually kept - which is the whole reason they didn't move it to begin with. Because they were like "Oh, the roof's going to fall apart if we try to move it." So I don't know - I wasn't a part of that conversation really in terms of the restoration of it. So I don't know what guided their logic. I think it looks good and maybe there were flaws with the relocation that I didn't think, but I thought it would be, I just - for such an important historic site, I think it's kind of too bad that it's a bit hidden in the park.

Let's see. Um, there are - there used to be a water fountain - I don't know if you have seen photos of that. I do have one that I found - there's this [Facebook page] called the "I was born in Lewiston and I remember when" and someone posted a picture of a water fountain. That's where the - whatever they call it - the nameless soldier is - that civil war soldier - that's you know *taps the drawing* right in this corner. It used to be like the classic water fountain.

Interviewer: *Explains that they saw a drawing/rendering.*

Participant #1: Cool, um, I think something like that right in the center of the park would be cool. Or it seems like something needs to be in the center - I mean I'm sure the police don't want something in the center because they want to drive through the park as easily as possible. I mean the view from any angle really looking into the park with three canopy is beautiful anyway - but it's just something that I think would be neat to have again.

Um, but so yeah, back in the day, back in 2005, um, I remember that the park, I mean kind of like the basketball court - it was not - there were people in the park, but it wasn't like it is today in terms of the number of people that hang out there. It was a lot more quiet, um, people there were fewer and further between, um, which just meant kind of like the basketball court, you kind of - if you wanted to do something in the park, you often had a lot of space to do it. Um, and you might meet someone, but often times you could kind of keep to yourself. But now there is just like tons of stuff going on in the park, and if you go there you're likely gonna interact with folks. Um, okay. Let's see *about drawing.*

Just one shade of green? *Asking about markers.*

Interviewer: *laughs* I think so.

Participant #1: So when I first moved into the neighborhood I was um, you know much more self-conscious and you know nervous about the kinds of interactions I would have with people or, you know, I felt more uneasy about my safety and all of that. [That] definitely changed after a number of experiences I had. When I was unloading my - when I was moving into my apartment on [street], and I was going down getting something out of my car like locking my car, then

moving it in and you know not leaving my car unlocked for a second while I wasn't watching it, and this guy named [name], who has since passed, but he was a regular, he used to hang out, basically hang out at like Trinity, Speaker's Variety, Kennedy Park and he lived over on [street], um and he came waddling along. I had no idea who he was, he just came up to me and asked me what I was doing, and I explained I was moving in, and um, he welcomed me to the neighborhood. So that was like my first stranger - you know - like first unsolicited interaction and I've had some weird inter - you know - discomfoting interactions in Kennedy Park too, but a majority have been positive for me. I know that's not the case for everyone.

Interviewer: Can you elaborate on that?

Participant #1: Uh sure.

Interviewer: If you're comfortable.

Participant #1: yeah, um, on my own experience or other people's?

Interviewer: Um, I guess your own - both - but I guess your own experience first.

Participant #1: Well so, um, another story so like yeah in the beginning unloading my car, feeling very unsafe, um, I guess uh a contrast to that is I remember walking around downtown in a snowstorm and, walking around downtown and Kennedy Park in like a giant snowstorm where it's just like tons of snow and the city is kind of shut down and everything is quite and I was just by myself and I remember playing on the swing set and I just like swung on the swing and then like sort of launched myself off the swing and just fell like into the snow and I was just lying like face down in the snow and it was very comfortable. So I just decided to like lay there for a while. Um, it's probably like 11:30 at night or something so it was completely black, no one around as far as I can tell and I'm just laying face down in the snow and uh, I think a lot of folks, particularly anyone - well I think a lot of folks in general - whether or not they know Kennedy Park - would say just lying down in the middle of the night face down on the ground in Kennedy Park is not like a safe thing to do. Someone could take advantage of you. So um, eventual - someone came walking along and saw me there - um, and I didn't know they were there, but um, they noticed me and they asked if I was okay. I said I was fine, I was just being weird and lying in the snow because I enjoyed it, but thanks for checking on me, and that was it. Which to me is just an illustration of like what you might expect to happen to someone who puts themselves in that situation and what actually happened. So you know I've had lots of - you know I've met lots of really interesting friendly people in Kennedy Park - I've met a lot of people who are struggling and stressed out and sometimes angry in Kennedy Park. Um, [name] was a great guy. There used to be a guy named [name], who he used to work at [College], and he got, he worked in dining services, I knew him, you know he worked there when I was a student there. He got fired um, and uh he started, he was unemployed for a time, and then he started working at McDonald's. But I would - he'd usually hangout on the benches usually in this quadrant, you know - there's different - everyone's got their own section of Kennedy Park, and so [name] would usually be here or maybe on these benches and I'd be walking through here a lot going to and from work or Lisbon Street or something, and um, so I'd see uh I'd see [name] and sometimes we'd just sit down and we'd talk. Sometimes we'd get lunch together, and we'd also - he liked to play tennis - so we'd also go play tennis together. He was um, it was funny 'cause he would be really enthusiastic about it - and he'd talk a big game - and you'd play and he'd be terrible like - we would not play a point - the objective was to just keep the ball like in play you

know in bounds at all like in play - um, but it was you know it was fun and we both enjoyed it. [Name] he was he had a lot going on. He had a lot of trauma from his childhood, and sometimes we'd talk about that and he had a lot of you know - conflicting identities that he was trying to reconcile between. Like growing up Jewish, but also kind of being born again evangelical and trying to reconcile those - I also think you know his - he was questioning a lot of stuff about his sexual identity, and he was you know an older guy - I don't think he had a lot of people to like talk about this stuff with. Um, so and we usually didn't - we might talk about it but not in like a - it'd be more in stories about his day, like "Oh I read this in the bible" and he was excited about that or "I went to this..." I remember he - there used to be tent revivals in Kennedy Park - um, so you know, they're usually pretty conservative group. I mean I guess I don't know if there is such a thing as progressively Christian tent revivals, but they'd set up a tent - it'd usually be around here, it would just be for like a week - they'd be like there, up at the podium just preaching their version of the gospel to whoever - whatever come and sit down. Um, I talk to, when they were first setting up I talked to one of them and he said some scary, scary stuff about how um, some Christ hating homosexuals run the city council and were making it difficult for them to get a permit or something like that and uh anyway. [Name] went to visit the revival and he wore like a - I think he wore like a Jewish Shawl, he might have been wearing a yarmulke as well - and he was like - he was genuinely interested in the tent revival - but he showed up like that and then they started harassing him. Made him feel unwelcome and unsafe, um, so that's just an example of the kind of stuff we'd talk about. Um, and one day I saw him and um, he was he kind of had this - you know I asked him how he was doing and he's like "Oh I'm doing okay" and he was kind of being a bit coy, like he wasn't being very direct with me, but he was kind of laughing to himself like seemed like he had some secret that he kind of wanted to let me know he had, but he wasn't interested in telling me. And he wasn't proposing that we go play tennis or anything and he was just yeah - kind of excited about his secret and [name], he passed a way not too much later, and he had - a story came out, I think [college] ran the story - um, did [college] run the story? I feel like they did. I mean it's kind of funny because they leave the part out about how they fired him, but [name] had been institutionalized as young child at I think at the - what was it called? - [Institute]. Are you familiar with - there's a *hesitates* there's like a conservation area called [name] that's over in [town] that area - I don't know if you've been there. They have great cross country skiing and nature trails, and organic - they have like an organic farm, and all this stuff - um, and they *inaudible* *talking about drawing* the skate parks not too colorful - they used to be an institution for people with mental you know living with mental disability and they were a very abusive institution and were shut down. And I'm pretty sure - this is all true - and I'm pretty sure this is where [name] was if you fact check it - perhaps he was at a different institution, but I think this was the case. Um, he was at this or a similar institution where he was abused and there was like a class action suit. So he got a lot of money um from this class action - I don't remember the timing of it - um, I mean I feel like it was around the time - I think that the class action - I think the suit took a long time to get settled - but [name] you know he lived alone - he lived somewhere on [street] I think I never saw his place, but you know he lived - he flipped - he worked in [college] dining services and the he worked at McDonald's until he died - he was just working pretty um, uh in the hierarchy of jobs you can do at McDonald's he was kind of at the bottom you know prepping food and stuff like that. He got this huge settlement from this thing and he donated - he made some huge donation to [college]. And I think he made it um, so this is another thing you have to fact check - in my mind I want to say he gave it to like a specific fund, like a scholarship fund, something that's specifically about like helping students who need

help with tuition or books or something like that. I could be wrong, but I feel like it was a targeted donation, but I think it was just such a, a yeah, such an interesting final gesture after all of the you know work he did - just as a working class guy - um, after all he had already given to [college] of his labor, um, he uh decided to give a lot of money to them as well. When he passed away. So in my - I don't know for a fact - but in my mind that's what he was chuckling about to himself when I saw him that day, was like he had learned about the settlement and was going to do this thing - and he knew it was going to be like a surprise and he was kind of excited to surprise people.

about the drawing put some benches in here - I won't do every bench. I presume, there's a second, is this the whole thing or like at some point you'll have some questions?

Interviewer: No I'll have some questions.

Participant #1: Okay, okay so I won't take forever here.

Interviewer: No rush.

I'm sure you have other things to move onto, but...

Participant #1: I've got some - yeah - I've got a couple things, but it's basically the end of the day so it's alright.

So, when the skate, at some point, now I'm trying to remember - I'm pretty sure either Tony Hawk did come to the skate park or he was scheduled to come and then cancelled. I forget which it was, but I definitely remember there was the expectation he was going to come and check it out when it first opened.

Now if I had a lighter shade of green, that is what I would use for the top of this thing *about the bandstand.*

Did you know that Robert F. Kennedy was at Bates for a little while?

Interviewer: *explains that they did know.*

Participant #1: Did you know that already, or did you know that through researching the Kennedy connection?

Interviewer: My uncle was in the Navy and was stationed in the Bath and lived in Lewiston for a little - so I think he told me when I decided to come to Bates.

Participant #1: Cool.

Interviewer: No pressure with the drawing - there is no right or wrong or anything.

Participant #1: Oh, I'm not feeling pressure.

So obviously like people are a pretty important part of Kennedy Park. It'll take a while to draw all the people. [Name], I don't know if you've met [name], but he he's in a [vehicle], he hangs out in Kennedy Park a lot and feeds the birds and just talks to people. He often has, he has a number of [garment], some of them say like [description of garment] - at any rate - he's often even - you know - trying to evangelize people. He'll feed the birds, he'll get you, you know make some joke, get your attention and then be like "So..." and then launch into your religious

beliefs. And so I've had numerous *laughs* intense theological arguments with him when I'm just trying to go to like buy bread, and I'm just on my way through Kennedy Park "Hey [name]." And he's like "Hey!" and he'll pull up in his [vehicle] then you know by the time we get to here we're at like, I'm like raising my voice and I'm like, "That's not..." *laughs* "You can't tell people that [name]! That's not right! That's not the way - if G-d believes that then why is..." you know? Just another, just another stroll through Kennedy Park.

Alright, I'm gonna, I'm gonna - I think that's good.

Interviewer: *they ask him to sign and date.*

Participant #1: I'll color - so this is where I live over on [street]. I don't know - do you know where I live?

Interviewer: No.

Participant #1: Okay, it's [address]. And it was the first building in the [community organization]. We have three buildings now. Um, and it's where I moved - I moved there in 2008 shortly after um, the uh well immediately after moving out of [street]. I moved to the building where I live today. So that's *sighs* [street] *inaudible but about drawing.* I've condensed space a little bit -um, so you said just sign my name and date it?

Interviewer: Yeah - that'd be perfect. Sweet, thank you. *Transitions to questions.* * Asks name.*

Participant #1: My name is [name].

Interviewer: *Gender identity.*

Participant #1: He/him/his, male.

Interviewer: *Ethnic identity.*

Participant #1: I am white and uh Scottish and German.

Interviewer: Religious identity?

Participant #1: Unitarian Universalist.

Interviewer: Are you observant?

Participant #1: I don't know what that means.

Interviewer: Like

Laughs.

So I'm Jewish, I consider myself reform, I went to Hebrew school through 12th grade, but I don't take part in Hillel at all - there's no right or wrong answer - but just anyway you would, or you can decline to answer.

Participant #1: But observant, observant meaning practicing the traditions or like believing in the traditions of that religious or?

Interviewer: I mean for me like, sorry to keep using myself as an example, but I consider myself observant to the extent that Judaism is important to me in the community and connections I've made and the history, my family's history. But beyond that I don't like go to services.

Is that helpful?

Participant #1: I think so - um, I mean Unitarian Universalist - do you know what Unitarian Universalist is? I mean it's pretty open to begin with. So I feel like to be observant at that is different than to be observant in other religions. Um, so I grew up um, I attended a Dutch reform you know Protestant Church in like middle school and high school, um, so that's like my Christian origin and I'd say I'm not observant - I identify with that as part of my history - I don't identify with that as far as like my belief system or my approach to theology or philosophy any longer. I now attend the [house of worship] - and I still go to service - I'm actively involved there - I'm a worship associate - I've led services, I've done sermons and things like that um, and you know Unitarian Universalism is - doesn't prescribe a belief in you know what makes the universe run, it just prescribes seven principles of how we worship and how we relate to the universe and existence and all of that. Which is basically to be respectful of the interdependence of living things in the universe, to believe in freedom and pursue truth, and be open to new ideas, and to be actively challenging your own beliefs about the universe as that is our set of principles rather than saying, "So and so created this and we must worship him." People can do that too, but that's just not prescribed by the church. Um, so yeah.

[Name] walks in.

Interviewer: *Asks age.*

Participant #1: I'm [age].

Can I ask how old you would guess I am?

Interviewer: So I actually did the math 'cause you said you graduated in 2005.

Both laugh.

Participant #1: Oh 'cause I said I graduated in 2005.

Laughs.

Interviewer: I would have guessed [age]. So you've been living in the Tree Streets since 2005 - so that's 14 years?

[Participant#1] confirms.

Yeah, okay cool. And so before coming to [college] where were you from?

Participant #1: [City outside of Maine].

Interviewer: Okay, um, how frequently do you go down to Kennedy Park?

Participant #1: I mean I walk through Kennedy Park, just, basically every day. You know at least once a day if not more.

Interviewer: *specific parts/areas of the park that he frequents.*

Participant #1: Um, I think I stop in Kennedy Park a lot less than I used to. I'd say it's usually - I'm usually passing through. Either on a walk or um, a run and I might - I might stop and observe something. Yeah when I used to go for something it would be for to play basketball or it would be uh the farmer's market started in Kennedy Park, um there's still a farmer's market on Tuesdays but it's uh - I don't know there's other farmer's markets to go to now so I don't really go to that one anymore. I used to go to Kennedy Park to a play Frisbee - I used to go to Kennedy Park and just you know put a blanket down and like read or eat lunch, um, I went sometimes to play with kids that I might have been watching for someone. So those things come up less I guess because I have other places to do those things. And I think because I live a little bit further from it. But, I do, passing through it - often times it's a matter of convenience, but I also enjoy moving through Kennedy Park - so if I'm out for a run that isn't going anywhere in particular - you know it's just a loop - or if I'm going to Lisbon Street or something there - I pretty much always make a point - or from work if I need to - we need to go to deposit money at the credit union or something like that I usually make a point to walk through the park because I enjoy it.

Interviewer: Does Kennedy Park impact how you feel about the Tree Streets Neighborhood?

Participant #1: It does.

Interviewer: How so?

Participant #1: Well it's just a defining - you know it's definitely like an anchor feature of the neighborhood. It's a major - I think through the Healthy Neighborhoods process it comes up - like people have very intense feelings about it. It's a place where there is a lot of interaction and because there is conflict in the neighborhood you know, in many cases that conflict plays out in the park. Um, and it's, but it's also a place with lots of great resources - it's a place where you can just go to relax - it's a place where you can go to swim or skateboard or play basketball - it's a place where many people go to uh just sit and talk and like reconvene. So like I said [name] would be there and I would just like go sit on a bench and talk to him. Uh I used to go and talk to [name] a lot when he was there. [Name], I'm usually - I usually don't get too comfortable when I talk to [name] because I want an out *laughs* I don't want my conversations with [name] to last too long - um, but uh so it's just this obvious - you know phys - geographically it's kind of you know centered in the neighborhood - and um, it offers lots of opportunity for interaction. So people are bringing whatever they are dealing with to the park and then bumping into other people and then stuff plays out and some of it's good and some of it's not so good.

Interviewer: Can you speak to the changes - as much about the physical changes - but also how it has affected how you feel about the park?

Participant #1: Sorry, can you ask the question again?

Interviewer: *They reword it so the question makes more sense.*

Participant #1: Yeah, well so it's been physically improved and I think it has a - there's just more and more people that use it. And in terms of the feel of the park itself - how it's changed or not changed - I think would be pretty hard for me to put my finger on. There's, living in the neighborhood - you know there's a lot of people that are close together and there's just a lot of different stories here. It's kind of remarkable how different people's experiences of the neighborhood could be even though we might be walking down the streets, or you know, going to many of the same places. Um, because of who we are and how other people treat us, or

because of our relationships with other folks or both, we can just exist in a very different world in the same neighborhood. I think being a white guy who you know probably reads as somewhat privileged like I think there is - I probably look like a less vulnerable target - then you know a child might look or particularly women, or people of color - so, there's lot of things that don't happen to me in terms of harassment, it might be harassment by catcallers or harassment by law enforcement, or you know whomever, or other adults, there's just a lot of things that I don't experience when I walk the neighborhood, but other people might experience that again because of their body type or their gender or their skin color, um, or because they know because they've grown up in a relationship with these other folks that are you know, looking for trouble or who they have a conflict with. So when I walk by they don't have anything to say to me, but when another person walks by they have something to say to them. So my experience of that route can be very different than theirs. I think Kennedy Park is one of those places, I think streets, kind of any - Walnut Street is similar, I've heard some folks say they kind of avoid Walnut Street because of interactions they've had there. For me, Walnut Street like - anywhere where there are lots of people out and about I think it's fun to at least walk through. But again, I'm also in many cases insulated from, from things that happen that would make other people feel unsafe in those situations.

Interviewer: Um, that's great. If you could what would you change about the Park?

Participant #1: Um, well I think it's really sad that anyone does have to feel unsafe in the park and would you know, if there is a way to end that, that wasn't a fascist solution of just like you know *laughs* imposing. I mean some people say like we need more rules or police presence or whatever. But that can also change who feels comfortable there - so you know - if I could use magic or there was like the right policy to implement you know I think the park should be a place where anyone can go and feel safe and enjoy it, and not feel entitled or compelled to, to attack anyone or harass anyone, or you know abuse drugs or alcohol or you know mistreat their kids you know any of that stuff. But of course a lot of that stuff is like, that's not specific to Kennedy Park. Those are just symptoms of other cultural problems we have in society with the way we treat people, and it's just kind of manifesting there. Um, so that's sort of what I'd start with. The park itself I think is great um, [name] and I are working on ideas for things we'd like to see and recommend in the transformation plan. One idea that she had that I agree with a lot, I thought was really good, was to develop a outdoor gym, like outdoor physical exercise equipment, that's near a playground in a public park. Like could be er - I mean - yeah like a children's playground in a public park. So adults could have their kids like playing but they could also be using the outdoor exercise equipment to stay fit. Um, I thought that was a cool idea. Uh you know I think that there is lots of small - I'd like to see a new, ornate decorative water fountain in the park. Um, so there's lots of fun small things like that, that we could do, but as it is I think at this point we've redeveloped a pretty, a pretty great park. I think the pool needs to be open a lot more. The city keeps cutting back, to save money, it keeps cutting hours that the pool is open. Um, and there is just some severely hot days that you know the pool is just closed, which just seems really silly. So, I think there's lot of small improvements like that, that we could make.

Interviewer: Is there anything that you wouldn't want to see changed?

Participant #1: Well I mean I wouldn't want to see anything that I like there taken away. Um, I mean everything there is - the pool is great, the skate park is amazing, the water park I think is

cool too - I mean, I'd accept a better water park, you know, if they built like a lazy river that kids could like float in and you know a giant mushroom with water shooting out of it. They could do more extravagant stuff. I guess I'd say I think it's important that there remain just some open green space. So I wouldn't want to see the park developed to the point where none of that was left. Um, yeah.

Interviewer: Where do you see yourself in five years? Not in terms of - like physically?

Participant #1: Like where do I live in five years?

Interviewer: Yeah.

Participant #1: Um, probably still at the same home that I'm at now.

Interviewer: 10 years?

Participant #1: Um, I guess I don't see myself - I don't know where I'll be in 10 years. I, I, I'm open to still living in that home, but life, circumstances could change things and require - I mean I think, I'll definitely be pretty close to this neighborhood. If life circumstances require that I live somewhere else, that could happen. But I think next five years is quite likely that I'll be in the same home. Sure.

Interviewer: When you want to go somewhere to be social where do you go, and similarly if you are looking to get outside where do you go?

Participant #1: When I want to meet people for the first time, or meet people that I already know?

Interviewer: Either.

Participant #1: Um, *sighs* um, *hesitates* I don't know. I'm not - it's rare that I say I want to go meet someone new and go do it. I enjoy meeting new people, but it's not usually like the basis for a decision. It's more - 'cause I feel like I'm involved in lots of things that just bring me - like, work, doing the work with the [community organization] and um, being involved in other community development projects, just naturally brings me into contact with lots of folks so I meet people through that. Um, and just through my existing friend network. When I was involved in the [community organization], I met - that's how I met my roommate and moved into the neighborhood - and met a lot of great people through that organization. Are you familiar with [community organization]? That as a group - that was sort of the predecessor of Healthy Neighborhoods. Healthy Neighborhoods is more like a coalition of residents and organizations and it's a bit more development focused. [Community organization] was like a, started as like a protest group that was um - the city had proposed to build a four lane boulevard diagonally through the neighborhood - beginning at the public theater and going up to B Street Health Clinic, and [community organization]...

Interviewer: Oh I have heard this, yes.

Participant #1: They protested that, there's another - and that was really my entrance into the neighborhood was like that story - um, and they invited me, I didn't seek it out, I was invited to - just as someone with video making skills to like document what they were doing, and then I met [name] who was part of the group. I moved in with him on [street], and then kept recording, and then five years later made a documentary about it so... If you're interested in that, it's called

[title]. And um, it's on - if you go to the same page where [title] was - you'll find [title] there. It's also - there's a DVD of it at the Library. Um, I need to use the restroom real quick.

Interviewer: Go for it, we're also must done. *Asks [name] how she spells her name.* *Chats with [name].*

Interviewer: *circles back to where [Participant#1] goes if he wants to get outside and access nature.*

Participant #1: Um, so uh Thorncrag Bird Sanctuary is a regular go to spot. Um, right now there is a lot of construction going on behind the high school, but they've got some trails back there that are nice. Um, and uh both paved and there are natural trails as well. Um, the riverside trail um, over you know by Sunny Side Park and the cemetery. Have you been there?

Interviewer: Yeah - like the river walk?

Participant #1: Yeah - the river - well um, there is sort of two river walks. When people say "river walk" they usually mean the one like downtown, where you can you know go to Auburn on the pedestrian bridge and that's great.

Interviewer: Yeah the one - it's kind of close to Bates - right past the cemetery down there - and there's basketball courts there?

Participant #1: Yes that one. Um so, that's a lot of fun. I mean obviously there are lots of other places further beyond Maine, but I guess those would be the regular neighborhood spots. And I guess I'd also add one thing that I really like to do that I mean you're still - we're still technically in the city, but it's still it kind feels like you're in nature - is when there is a big snowstorm - my wife and I and some of our housemates um will go cross country skiing in the storm just through the neighborhood and you know there is no cars um, and so we'll go down the street. We'll ski through Kennedy Park, we'll ski down to the bridge, you know down to the pedestrian bridge, down to the river, uh and everything is like really quiet - and you get in many ways kind of a similar - you don't necessarily get the air quality that you would in a forest, but you get a lot of the peacefulness that you would from going to the woods and doing that.

Interviewer: That's awesome. My last question is, if I were to ask you where you were from, what would you say?

Participant #1: I think it - it depends on where we are. *Laughs.* So because in Maine - Maine's got a way of making you feel like you're not from there. There's a very entrenched, you're not a Mainer unless your grandparents were born here or something like that. So, I mean, Lewiston is my home - I don't feel like I'm from Lewiston even though I've lived half my life here and it's the longest I've ever lived in one place. I moved around a lot before - you know um, before living in [city outside of Maine] for like the end of middle school through high school. So if I'm anywhere else you know outside of - it all depends on where I am and who is asking. So by - which is funny because if someone grew up in - I think many people from Lewiston no matter where they are can just say they're from Lewiston - for me it's not like that. I guess I'm from [city outside of Maine] and um, to anyone - I guess in Maine or outside of, outside of Lewiston I'm from Lewiston *laughs* um, but yeah if people in Lewiston ask me where I'm from, I'm either from [street] or I'm from [city outside of Maine] I guess.

Interviewer: Awesome, thank you.

Participant #1: You are welcome.

Participant #2:

Transcript Unavailable.

Participant #3:

Participant #3: Okay, here we go. Kennedy Park is here, okay? Walking up, you're coming up Walnut Street - This is Pine Street - Walnut Street And um, then you get to Blake Street, Pierce Street, Bartlett Street I live on the corner of [streets]. Three houses up. Okay? And that's - Okay, This is community concepts. Well you know where that is, right? Then they got their housing project here. Okay?

Interviewer: Do you want to add color or anything? No pressure, it's your map.

Participant #3: No as long as you can understand it. That's the main thing.

Interviewer: Can you take me through what you included in your map?

Participant #3: Okay, well um, I've included Kennedy Park which is a focal point for my life. And Trinity Church is a focal point because I was baptized at Trinity Church - and I'm [age] years old. Now um, the street going right through the park is Walnut Street and you go up three blocks and I live on the corner of [streets] right in the heart of the Tree Street development area, which is included in Healthy Neighborhoods. So, I'm just trying to show you a focal point of what exists um, for me. Um, I at [age] uh, when I decided to move to a location had to take - consider my age, the fact that I'm retired, and the fact that um, my monetary subsistence um, may, may you know may dwindle as inflation occurs and it's occurring. But anyways, so I got to consider the bus route, I had to consider the library, I had to consider where city hall is, the food pantry and soup kitchen at the Trinity Jubilee Center, and then I considered the Park. There was also a nutritional center, St. Mary's nutritional center, which is uh, which I probably use every month as a subsistence to my budget. So that area, that Tree Street, Tree Street area I have lived in for 18 years, and it's a vital, it's my hub.

Interviewer: Is Lewiston your hometown?

Participant #3: Lewiston is not. Well, I have my folks were divorced - so I grew up partially in Lewiston, going to Lewiston schools. I went to [school] in Auburn and uh, my folks got divorced and then um, I went back to, I went to [school] and then I went to [middle school] - I went to [high school] and then I transferred back to [high school]. I went to [school], I went to [school] in Auburn and by the time I graduated from school - I had been to 7 different - from high school I had be through 7 schools. But I end up class president at [high school] and Boy's State, Daughters of the American Revolution, had four scholarships to um... I had a scholarship to Norwich, Husson, Bliss College, and um the Community College in the area. So, but um, I went to [university] for a short while, but uh my number was up and off to the military I went as we had a draft back then. And I uh went to Boot Camp in [year] at [city outside of Maine].

Interviewer: Of the places on the map is there any place you would describe as your place?

Participant #3: I consider all of them, the ones that I enumerated earlier, you know. Um, I actually can get free Wi-Fi. I run an [online publication], it's doing quite well. Read from Chile to China and I'm picking up new countries reading it, every month so it seems. My big break was about two months ago, when China, someone clicked on from China, but anyways, um, I can get free Wi-Fi from Trinity Church if I want. I can get free Wi-Fi from um, the library. And I used to be able to go down to Forage Market and get free Wi-Fi as well. So, this is a economic

savings to me and I've never owned a piece of Wi-Fi, paid for Wi-Fi, and now I'm a - I must admit, just on LinkedIn I'm going on 10,000 followers, uh connections, and uh Facebook - maxed out at 5 [thousand] - and then my online free website which is wordpress.com - it's free, I'm not paying for that either - um, I can't tell you how many followers I have on that because I really haven't looked. So.

Interviewer: Is there anywhere on the map that you would consider your place that you didn't include?

Participant #3: Not really because I consider the whole Tree Street area my place.

Interviewer: *Name.*

Participant #3: [Name], I'm [home address]

Interviewer: *Gender identity.*

Participant #3: I'm male.

Interviewer: *Ethnic identity.*

Participant #3: French and Irish.

Interviewer: *Religious identity.*

Participant #3: Well, I'm open on religion. I like to experience life and I believe there is only one G-d with many different names and I tell you this culture is so fff - tied up in religion it's almost disgraceful.

Interviewer: Do you consider yourself, like how religious are you? Do you consider yourself observant?

Participant #3: Oh I pray every night. I mean yeah I do, but like St. Augustine said - it does not take a Church to pray. You know? I sometimes say the Rosary, which is left over from my Catholicism, Catholic schools and, I'll be walking down the street doing those. I'm a firm believe that there is a divine intervention. However, the Earth's labels - has way too many deities.

Interviewer: *age.*

Participant #3: I'm [age].

Interviewer: *Transitions to interview questions.*

What are your go to places if you want to get outside and experience nature?

Participant #3: I walk around my neighborhood. I'll walk up Pine Street, I'll walk up Bartlett Street, Birch Street, you know Spruce Street, down to Knox Street you know. I'll go to Oak Street. I walk any place in my city because I believe that nobody, no American should walk in intimidation in this country.

Interviewer: Where do you go to be social or to meet new people?

Participant #3: Uh to meet new people? Well, I go to different functions held by the community if I can find out about them. I run for politics, and every election I'm out there. I'm kind of like the swing vote. People, if they, if someone votes for me it throws the other guy out. But anyways [Ben] Chin, like Chin was supposed to win the election. Well I was - I pulled so many votes out of his liberal campaign that you know [Shane] Bouchard won. And another candidate won. I'm that spoiler person, and I like - you know I can go any place and be open. Like why I was open to you. I'm open to everybody. I speak three different language. I speak Somali *speaks Somali.* What's your name? *translates* Je m'appelle Monsieur [name] -French - and *in Spanish* me llamo [name] - you know the Portuguese and Spanish - they're kind of alike. So if you speak, you know if you can speak a little bit - like me I say "dos ninos Cuban Hispanic" which means I have two Cuban sons. So me hablo español pequito - you know a small - see but I treat people with respect. I treat their children with respect because I live in the inner city and when a Somali or an immigrant kid meets me, I make the best representation of an American where I can. I'm not going, I'm not going to treat him any different than I would treat my own children.

Interviewer: Do you own any property in the Tree Streets?

Participant #3: No I don't. I wouldn't own property in Lewiston. Tax rate.

Interviewer: Too high?

Participant #3: Very high and it's always increasing.

I could give you the facts and figures on that too. Like this year I'm expecting a \$7 million increase in Lewiston property taxes. However, it may not come off as property taxes they come as waste water runoff tax, and maybe a registration increases, water and sewer increases, so it, there's ways of masking that tax increase. But um I'm looking - I've already put out on my website like that Lewiston is going to be hit with about - I surmise over \$7 million increase and um, and that was after last year's 10 million increase due to the new school.

Interviewer: The high school? The renovations to the high school?

Participant #3: No the new, yeah, but it's K through, Pre-K through 8th grade - that new school that they built.

Interviewer: How long have you lived in the Tree Streets Neighborhood?

Participant #3: I've lived on um, in the Tree Streets Neighborhood for 18 years.

Interviewer: In the same place?

Participant #3: Uh, same street.

Interviewer: How many different apartments?

Participant #3: Two different apartment buildings. The first one was due to the um, 20, um, 2008, 2009 recession due to mortgage collapse. Which was done by Bill Clinton. He signed off on the Glass-Steagall Act that was put into place by FDR, which didn't, that law was put there in 1932 not to allow bundling of mortgages to be used as security. The year Bill Clinton wrote that off and his administration and they started bundling and then started...

Interviewer: *Explain repetition of their questions.*

Where did you or your family live before coming to the Tree Streets?

Participant #3: Um, well I pretty much lived in the same area, however, um having been laid off due to the outsourcing of jobs I had to retool. I used to be a purchasing agent, after qualifying for a Maine State instructor's license. And I was a purchasing agent, and I did that, but due to imports coming over from Mexico, stool and dye, the expecting of the dye by a company shoe shops and that, I got laid off and I had to retrain. I retrained as a trailer truck driver, and I went long hauls. So I did that for the last part of my working career, and what an adventure. I felt like Lewis and Clark at times. We had such a vast - you know when you do a cross country - like Winslow, Maine to Portland, Oregon via Denver, the Eisenhower Tunnel, the Jersey Pike, Brunswick, you know. I ended up in - I took a wrong turn, and then up at Liberty Park in Jersey City, New Jersey and I'm riding along I said "What the heck is that green thing?" and I says "Oh my god, that's the statue of Liberty, but it's the back of the statue of liberty." Which is on the Jersey Side, and then I get to Liberty Park and it says no trucks. I'm in a tractor trailer - I'm over 70 foot long having to turn around in the park and get out of there.

Interviewer: I know that park, that's not a fun place to be stuck.

Participant #3: I know yeah.

Interviewer: If someone were to ask you, "Where are you from?" What would you say?

Participant #3: Um, I'd say Lewiston-Auburn, Maine. Oh yeah, most definitely. I was born here.

Interviewer: What's an average day like for you?

Participant #3: My average day starts at 4:00 in the morning and will probably quit at 8:00 tonight.

Interviewer: Can you fill me in on what you would do in between?

Participant #3: Well uh, I get up, I'll clean up and then I'll listen to National Public Radio, which I despise, but I listen to it just to see what they're up to. And uh, because they're very slanted opinion wise and they're always bashing the president like he's done nothing good in his entire life. Okay. Anyways um, then I'll get up - I, I uh might be putting material together for my next article for my [online publication]. Then I get, 8 o'clock, I go to a club which is right around the corner called [name], it's a club. You have to buy a membership once a year, and they have free Wi-Fi there. I'll get breakfast, have a coffee, and use their free Wi-Fi to publish my article so that they're out by 9 o'clock. So individuals getting to work can jump on their computer and read them. I also keep my articles down to 15 minute reads because that's the average attention span of anybody who is reading these days.

I'll um go home and make lunch. And then I might take a walk in the neighborhood. At [age] I sometimes take a nap, or sometimes I'll be working, if I can find a local job, or if someone needs my help they pay me and um I work, and uh so then I go home. I have a girlfriend who keeps me very happy *chuckles* and um, but anyways, and then I'm usually in bed by 6 o'clock.

Interviewer: Full day.

Participant #3: Full day, yeah. 6 o'clock, I might watch TV until 8:00pm and by then I'm out.

Interviewer: Does Kennedy Park impact how you feel about the neighborhood?

Participant #3: Oh most definitely.

Interviewer: In what ways?

Participant #3: Well, the best way for me to put it is I wrote... there was an, in 19 *sighs* 2013 we were supposed to have a big snow storm. I got my cross country skis out, and I live on [street] the heart of the city, I refer to it as the jungle, you know um, Sinclair Lewis, the stockyards. Um, but anyway I call it the heart of the city um, so I um, I - there wasn't much snow, but it was cold, cold, so I put on my skis and I went to uh Mount uh Basilica, the Basilica, then I went down over the, down to the uh fire station, which I call fire house large, and then um I almost stumbled over a mogul, I hit a curb stone and almost fell on my face. Then I went to a chairlift, which - the by Kennedy Park. And um, I sat on one of their chairlifts, which was a park bench, and then I um, and then I, since I was the only one out there in that weather, because it was like 13 below, and I was the only one out there, and I stuck my uh pole in the ground and declared this [name based on his own name]. After myself because it was so desolate nobody else was out - it was like a ghost town and here I am. Like a explorer, and I stuck - then I went home to sit by my uh wood stove, which was operated by electricity.

So, yeah. Lewiston is like a muse to me. It's a beautiful town, it's just got some really rotten elements in it, and drugs, and the alcohol. When you live in it you see it, every day after day. And then you see it, what's happening to some of the young women in the area - being farmed out for crack and used and usury and then um, being a political figure I've been jumping all over the Lewiston PD in regards to patrolling the area. I've been asking the Lewiston PD to come patrol that area um, for almost 30 years be- and then last year we had two deaths. A lady was stabbed to death, and a guy got beat up in the Park. And uh then we had 40 shots that went off, and uh you know they shot out windows and all this was drug related. I run a organization, and these people don't want to get involved in the drug scene. So what they do is they give me the information, the addresses, and whatever - the license plates - and then I write it in an article and then I'll send it off to the community based policing, which is Paul Phillipon, and we've gone around. The thing is with some organizations they don't like outside interference because they refer to it as agitation or maybe it just creates a work load for them.

Interviewer: When I say "Kennedy Park" what comes to mind?

Participant #3: I don't know. I find it a safe place. I know the individuals in the city, and you know it's a tough area, it's a real tough area. But I lived there so long that I know the hoodlums because I watch them grow up. And they know who I am because they know who I am, and I help people out. Like I'll have Somalis or immigrants who speak different language come to me out of trust and ask me to help them decipher a letter. What does it say? And to tell you the truth, I'll - and then I got people who - young men that I call sons - they're Portuguese - they moved in about a year ago and I warned them to the excesses of the American women. I says, "Be careful you don't get one of them pregnant because you'll end up paying child support for the rest of your life and you'll get nowhere." And um, and I tell them, I says, "Don't get hooked into the drugs because that might violate your chance for citizenship in the United States." So I, I call them - you know the French call me "Papa" because I'm older and I help them out. And then the uh - you know I call my Portuguese - they're my sons, and they give me all of their bottles and cans and - but I'm the type of person that I put out a Christmas Tree this winter outside and I

didn't call it a Christmas Tree. I called it a wishing tree, so that, that it wasn't an insult to the Muslims, and I says "Hey look!" I ask the kids in the neighborhood, "Hey decorate it! All you gotta do is hang something on it, doesn't make a different what you hang on it, just hang something on it and make a wish. It's a wishing tree." And it's funny to see, you know the New Mainers, it's funny to see the New Mainers having their picture taken by a Wishing Tree. And um, I'm the type of person to go out of my way to help them out. And believe me when I walk through the neighborhood, they protect me. I hate to say that, but it's true. They protect me. I was getting into an argument with a individual in front of my house, and my uh about six of my young sons from Portugal, probably not from Portugal, but from well whatever they're Portuguese - Rwanda or something like that, but anyways, they um, they came out and asked the guy if there was a problem, and he beat feet. So, you know you are what - you get what you know - what you sow you reap. So I try to be a good farmer.

Interviewer: When and why do you go to Kennedy Park?

Participant #3: Well, once again, it's the people I know. You know I have a lot of friends there that I have been meeting there for 18 years. You know um, one of the areas I hang out is the um, in fact, I hang out by the City Hall because they've got benches there, and they've got the Dutch Elm trees. So of course they're dying from Dutch elm disease, but those trees have been there for 125 years. I sometimes you know come here to Bates and sit under the trees because I call them the Giants because these trees will outlive me and um, and have outlived, are older, are 125 years old. So um, go to Kennedy Park and there's the food kitchens right there. The um Food Pantry is right there, and, you know at [age] I get tired of eating my own cooking, so if I want to go to the soup kitchen, Trinity Jubilee Soup Kitchen, for a free meal - and I can go to the library if I want. And then if I want I can go down to the bus terminal, which is like two blocks off of the park. Everything is location, location, location.

Interviewer: Are there any other parts of the park that you frequently go to?

Participant #3: Oh yeah. They have the sprinkle pool, they have the pool, when I was younger I used to swim in the pool. And um, you know I used to - you know sometimes they serve lunch there, and one day I played Frisbee with, one Sunday I was playing Frisbee with some Bates students.

Interviewer: Oh nice.

Participant #3: Yeah it was pretty nice - you know - you have to have an open mind and don't walk in intimidation. And um, you know that's one thing about the newer generation. I think they're teaching fear through TV you know, distrust, distrust everything. Distrust everyone, you know, it's - I know you don't have to be out there - but, you cannot distrust everybody otherwise you're not going to meet nobody, and you're out - you're going to be longer. And I think our media is teaching distrust to everything, they've devel - they divided society up. Man versus Woman - Me Too - uh Republican Democrat - it's, and then the list goes on. You're Somali, but I'm Bantu. Uh there's two groups, actually two groups, three groups of Somalis in town. There's the Bantu Somalis, they're a little shorter and a little girthier. Then there's the regular Somalis, they're lean. And then there's the French people from Djibouti, which was a French colony. So you got three, three different groups, and at times they war amongst themselves. So, we've turned into a nation of division, and until there is some big catalyst, like World War II was a catalyst for all American races to participate in one catalyst event, which was World War II,

believe me - being in the military - I don't care who is watching my back as long as he's on my side and watching out for me as I would be watching out for him.

Interviewer: How have you - how have you notice Kennedy Park change?

Participant #3: Well, um, vandalism is up. When I was uh I've been going to that park since 1963 - and um, so that would make me [age] back then. And um, I remember there used to be a fountain right in the middle of the park that you could drink out of. Then they - back up by city hall in the corner up on Pine Street, the beginning of Pine Street, there was like a bird bath, you know and then it was a pretty nice place. It was easy going. They used to have open swimming pools. They also swam in the morning, not just in the afternoon like they do now. And at one time Lewiston [swimming pool] was free for one year, the city charged for swimming, even though the city administrator took a \$3,000 pay raise that year - on a salary of \$130,000 plus. But yet they were charging - now you've got to remember the Tree Street area is the poorest area, a lot of people think just the state of Maine, it's not. It's the poorest area in New England, and having run an [online publication] - who would know better than me? Because I fact check. And um maybe that's why my readership is up all over the place. But anyways - every once and awhile they'll have events. Another thing is getting information out of event in the Park. You know I miss events that are occurring in the Park and I live in the inner city two, three blocks away from the park. How do you do that? How do you not get the information out to the inner - to the people? You know sometimes that might be a way of dividing people. You know - I know there is a lot of liberal organizations that participate in the park. I'm a republican, they know I'm a republican, but I'm an actually registered independent, but I do lean republican. But I'm a conservative, and um, you know our society is teaching young people - I don't know it's kind of like mixed messages. Like okay, um, you know trust these foreigners, you know trust the new immigrants, but, and yet at times they'll tell you be aware of all the men. He's an eccentric. We're living in mixed message times, you know - I think everybody, I think understands what I'm trying to say is that, you know if you stand for everything, you stand for nothing. And we've lost, we've lost our identity as a nation and we're losing it. That's what scary to older Americans. Now you got to remember that the average age of a Mainer is now 43 years old. So um, now you got to be careful of how you spend their money. Most 43 year olds have kids going to Bates, and they got mortgages, and now they got kids in college and now they got a pay a lot going. So you got to be very careful how you tax the individual. Because everything is getting ridiculous financially.

Interviewer: What would you change about Kennedy Park if you could change anything?

Participant #3: Well, um, since we've had that murder of that individual beat who I knew, and I knew him as he grew up. He was a rough *inaudible* got into his beer - he liked to do his thing - and it's - the younger generation you have, is getting - it's like a contest down there - it's like getting to be territorial and um, I think it's the - I don't think - it's a product of the area. And I mean product of the area is the fact that you have Somali or the New Mainers growing up in extreme poverty. You know, they don't have, they get an apartment, they get here, they have no silverware, they got no bedding, they go no blanket, they got no beds. Um, when I was attached to Trinity Episcopal Church back when Sears Roebuck was here - I would um, I would go to Sears because Sears had a program that a person, a person *hesitates* a person, a person could have um, could take a mattress home from Sears and Roebucks and um, and they could try it out. If the person didn't like it they had to bring it back, but the store couldn't sell it so they donated

it to Trinity Church. Well, I would get in touch with Sears and acquire the mattresses and then I would dispense them to the New Mainers, but now Sears and Roebucks left and there is no big box store in Lewiston anymore. You can't even buy a white shirt in Lewiston. The reason is for that is only 34% of businesses and residents are paying all the taxes of a \$120 million plus budget. And what big box store is going to come to Lewiston when they know they're going to have to pick up part of their share of the taxes. It's very complicated.

Interviewer: Is there anything you'd keep the same about Kennedy Park? Or prevent from changing?

Participant #3: I would change the policing. I would change the policing. I think it requires a 24 hours when it's operating, it should be 24 hours. They do have curfews on it now, but they're not enforced. See um, due to budget restraints the department, the police department is down to 10 officers as to 1980s and um, even though they have it under camera - you wonder whose manning the camera.

What would I change about it?

Interviewer: Or anything you'd keep the same?

Participant #3: Oh keep the same. I guess you know sometimes you're better off changing nothing you know? You know the grass always looks greener on the other side, but sometimes you're better off staying where you're at because you know or you get comfortable where you're at and you know what the problem areas are. So if I change anything, or keep anything the same - I'd do more policing of that area.

Interviewer: Where do you see yourself in five years?

Participant #3: Um, well I'm hoping *laughs* I'm hoping to win the next election to be mayor of the city of Lewiston. Um, you know I - it's been my dream for 30 years and I'm type of individual I'm gonna tell you the way it is - if you don't like it don't vote for me. And I've lost elections for saying it in a way - Lewiston's a very, a very cliquy town. It's very special interest town. Matter of fact the school department is the seventh largest employer in the state, which is scary if you think about it. I don't know five years - uh five years oh my god I'll be 71 years old - I don't know I'd like to be where Angus King is - maybe take his place as an independent - take his place and um, you know I've always thought of myself as [name], United States Senator, but um you know, dreams uh, often don't come true for most people, but just don't give up on your dreams.

Interviewer: Do you think you'll be living in the Tree Streets still?

Participant #3: That is a good question. Um, I was looking at the Hartley building which is being built across - it's a subsidized housing - and I may decide to move into uh you know across from the library. I'd like to stay in, you know, I'd like to stay in the area 'cause I like it. Depends, you know, it depends how troubling it is, and what medical issues I might have.

Interviewer: How would you like to see the city of Lewiston handle Kennedy Park or govern Kennedy Park?

Participant #3: Well, um, an increased police presence. Um, I think it could also use a few more um, organized um, activities for the children. I mean organized - I also would like to see a work

program for younger individuals. You know maybe you could even get a grant or something in regards to giving a child a job no matter what age if he doesn't know how to work or *inaudible* you know, how do we instill um, values of self-worth - maybe monetary, and that way they're working, they're working for the community - um, and they're getting uh a gain from it through wages that they can go out and buy popcorn or whatever they so desire. And you know, you have people with no um, with nothing to do. That's when they get into trouble. Like there's a great, great, there's a great, big vast - what the, the foreign children have been going up into the higher neighborhoods and stealing bicycles. I'm sure some of Bates bicycles have been stolen as well - but that's because they don't have any bicycles. And um, maybe I can remedy that by putting you know soliciting bicycles for the youth - you know it's, it's, the whole problem in that area is - to me - poverty. Poverty. And that's what a lot of kids growing up in poverty. You know, they see what's going on in high school. They know who's got the money, and who's wearing the new bling and you know - you know and then another thing is too is that with the newcomers in that area just don't, they you know, because of language because of educational lacking, um, they, they're trapped. And as they get older, they realize how trapped they are. A lot of them, I also notice that a lot of businesses are dumping onto the Somalis - you know they'll sell property. I knew an ex-mayor that sold the Somalis a Mosque, which later the code enforcement was going to shut down. So, that's another thing is you know, look at all the storefronts on Lisbon Street run by foreigners, and um, thing is, is that they're getting, they're getting caught up in their own poverty which they will be into and the only ones that will make it out maybe are some of their children. They get the education.

Interviewer: Is there anything else that you'd like to add - not to that question - just in general.

Participant #3: Now, Lewiston, is um *hesitates* Lewiston, like I said, what the problem is with Lewiston is, is that, is it has a square mile that is the highest poverty level in New England. And until Lewiston gets an economy, or businesses in here where you don't need a Bates College education - or a - you know um - another thing is that I'm for apprenticeships. I think that an individual should have their basics down by the 9th grade, and then they pick a subject and they are sent off as an apprenticeship. What is your like? Photography? Well, okay, we're going to gear the program around you and the mathematics, and what you have - millimeters - and uh different things - Oh you're a mechanic? You want to be a mechanic? You know - maybe we should move into industrial arts a little more.

Interviewer: *Ends.*

Participant #4:

Interviewer: *Thanks and background.* *Map prompt.*

Participant #4: Draw first, and then?

Interviewer: Basically you're drawing the map of Kennedy Park and just think about the things that are important to you. *Continues with prompt.*

Participant #4: Okay. *Draws.* Alright so.

Interviewer: Cool

Participant #4: I don't know - this okay?

Interviewer: Yeah! It's totally up to you.

Participant #4: Mhm.

Interviewer: No pressure time wise, just whenever you're happy.

Participant #4: *Continues to draw.*

Interviewer: *Transitions to map questions.*

What did you include? Can you take me through the map?

Participant #4: Okay, so um I did include the glass - this glass.

Interviewer: Like the bandstand?

Participant #4: The glass, the glass - the grass?

Interviewer: Oh - grass okay

Participant #4: How you say? Oh grass okay, should be grass okay.

Yeah, I did include the grass. I did also include um, the basket place. I also did the, the little hallway or little street. It come from Walnut Street and it interrupted here and it resume from here. I did include that. I did include the church. Yeah.

Interviewer: Why did you include these things?

Participant #4: Okay, mm because mm *hesitates* *as he draws* Howard Street. Mhm. yeah okay, what's your question? Okay, so just to try to respond to your question because you told me to put some signs and to tell you what are meaningful like for what are we putting. I don't know if I answer your question. So, I put this grass is because, um usually when I want to rest a little bit, to rest or to read - uh to listen to music, I usually sit here around this grass that is close to Pine Street. There is a church here and there are, there is, there are some grass here. So it is something that I really like when I go to Kennedy Park. I want maybe to read or just to lay down here and read so. That is why I did put it. I did also put the church here. This church are across the entrance of city hall because this place usually looks quiet and calm. So I usually like to be here when I don't want to lay down and I want to read or when I am with like friends and we need to talk. So I usually sit here. And I did put the basket because sometimes I go to play basket

sometimes over there, but isn't often. So that is why I did put the basket field. I did also put this, I did mention this substance use because here there are a lot of people who smoke, alcohol, etc. They usually sit here, like along this small street. Yeah they drink alcohol, they do smokes. So this is usually here. Here is a place I don't know for some reason I usually, here, I usually have been seeing people fighting around here. I don't know maybe they do that here because the police is down here. I don't know, but for most of the fighting I have been watching, people disputing, it was around here.

Interviewer: And so that's along Bates Street?

Participant #4: Mmm, yes along Bates Street. Even here there is a little street here. Mhm. here. So people usually fight here. Yeah. I don't know where the last murder did happen, I'm not sure, but for most of the fights I have been assisting, watching, happening around here. People very drunk, disputing, yeah swearing each other.

Does that answer your question?

Interviewer: Yeah, totally. Um, is this your hometown?

Participant #4: What do you mean by hometown?

Interviewer: Mmm. *Thinking.*

Participant #4: I'm not born in Lewiston, but when I came to the United States I can say Lewiston is my town because I live it in New York for [short amount of time] in hotels, and then I came here. So I can consider Lewiston is my town, the first place I did rent an apartment. Yeah. So it's like, my motherland, my village.

This answer your question?

Interviewer: Yeah. Where would you say your home is? Did you include it on the map?

Participant #4: Yes, my home is right here. On the corner between [street] and [street]

Interviewer: And what do you consider your place?

Participant #4: Pardon me?

Interviewer: Like is there any place on the map you would consider your place?

Participant #4: My place? What do you mean by my place? Where do I live or where...?

Interviewer: Like you feel you belong or is important to you?

Participant #4: Yeah, I think this place because I do live here.

Interviewer: Yeah, and by this place you mean the apartment?

Participant #4: Yes. I do live here and I've been here for two years.

I've been in the United States for [number] years, and in this place for [number] years.

Interviewer: Okay, awesome

Takes map. *Has [Participant #4] sign and date the map.*

Participant #4: You may see, I did mention substance use because usually they sit here.

Interviewer: *Transitions to identity questions.* *Name.*

Participant #4: Yeah sure, my name is [name].

Interviewer: *Gender identity.*

Participant #4: Um, I'm a male *laughs.*

Interviewer: *Ethnic identity.*

Participant #4: Uh, okay good question. I am African, no black African, and from the [country]. I am a Bantu, Bantu - I don't know if you say that. Yeah. I'm a Bantu and from the [country]. And my tribe its call it [name] too. So my country is [name] with [letter] and my tribe is [name] as well.

Interviewer: How do you spell it? You're saying your tribe?

Participant #4: Yes, my tribe

Interviewer: And how do you spell it? Spelled the same way?

Participant #4: Uh okay, no [name] is [spelling of Tribe].

Interviewer: Okay, country [name] [spelling]. Tribe [spelling].

Participant #4: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay, thank you. And uh what's your religious identity?

Participant #4: You're welcome. Religious? I'm, okay good question. I am Christian, but not a conservative Christian. I am a little bit liberal. Like I can attend Muslim church or Baha'i faith church, or *inaudible* so, um, sometime I don't believe to some Christians principles. So I'm like a very open Christian. I'm like a lean Christian. Yeah lean Christian. But I am open to other religions.

Interviewer: So you are open and less conservative. Do you consider yourself religious though?

Participant #4: Like very religious?

Interviewer: Yeah.

Participant #4: No.

Interviewer: *Age.*

Participant #4: I am [age]. I will turn [age] next [month].

Chats about [month] birthdays, meeting interviewer's family and friend.

Interviewer: *Transitions to sense of place questions.* What are your go to places to experience nature?

Participant #4: Where?

Interviewer: Yeah. Where or what?

Participant #4: Okay, so just to explore the nature?

Interviewer: Yeah, to get outside.

Participant #4: Sometime I go to Kennedy Park. Sometimes I go to, I did discover a place somewhere here around Lewiston. I don't know the name of the place in my mind, but do you know the name so I can google it. I can find out the name if I google the place.

Interviewer: Is it Thorncrag?

Participant #4: What?

Interviewer: Is it like a bird sanctuary?

Participant #4: Yes!

Interviewer: Is it Thorncrag?

Participant #4: Yes exactly! I love that place and um, yeah. So these are the places I usually go. Except some places I did go just once, like the Zoo of the Gray. Sometimes I go to the beach, but just for the nature is that place the sanctuary and Kennedy Park.

Interviewer: And um, where do you go to be social or to meet new people.

Participant #4: Okay, church, churches.

Interviewer: Church? Okay.

Participant #4: Churches, funeral services, yeah.

Interviewer: Do you own any property in the Tree Streets Neighborhood?

Participant #4: No I don't.

Interviewer: You rent?

Participant #4: I rent yeah.

Interviewer: And how long have you lived in the Tree Streets Neighborhood?

Participant #4: Okay, quick question. Is [street] included in Tree Streets?

Interviewer: No

Participant #4: It's not, okay, because I used to live in [street] before I move here. So, um *inaudible* [number] years.

Interviewer: And how long were you on [street]?

Participant #4: [Number] year. So I've been here for [number] years in the United States - Maine.

Interviewer: Where did you live before coming to the Tree Streets?

Participant #4: Uh okay, I did live on [street] which is close to Tree Streets

Interviewer: And before that?

Participant #4: I was in [country].

Interviewer: Are you a refugee or an asylum seeker?

Participant #4: Asylum Seeker.

Interviewer: And what's an average day like for you?

Participant #4: Average data, of what?

Interviewer: Average day? Like how do you spend a normal day?

Participant #4: Ah okay. Average day? Oh, I think work.

Interviewer: Work?

Participant #4: Yeah.

Interviewer: So what does that include?

Participant #4: Like usually I wake up, like I wake up around 7 o'clock and I go to work at 9 o'clock. I come back at home, I finish my work sometimes at 7 o'clock or 5 o'clock. After that I go to meet couple people who usually need my help. Um, I'm meeting them do what I can for them and then come back at home, reading, or working with computer, with phone, and I do sleep I don't even watch TV so..

Interviewer: And you're working at [community organization]?

Participant #4: Yes, I do work at the [community organization]. Yes but I don't work over there every day so, I have three days over there. And the rest of days sometimes I do some uh - how do you call it - site *inaudible* site uh *struggles with a translation.*

Interviewer: What's that?

Participant #4: Site, like, in that work *inaudible.*

Interviewer: Site like?

Participant #4: Side. S-I-D-E

Interviewer: Oh um, like side job?

Participant #4: Yes.

Interviewer: And what do you do there?

Participant #4: yeah sometimes I do uh it's multiple jobs, different ones. Sometimes I do work as a DSP, Direct Support Professional, taking care, supporting people with mental health. Sometimes also I do some consulting, like workshops or consulting for some institutions.

Interviewer: Does Kennedy Park impact how you feel about the Tree Streets neighborhood?

Participant #4: Uh yes, it does.

Interviewer: How so?

Participant #4: Okay. Um, first of all is a good place when somebody, the closest place for me if I want to hangout and I want to refresh my brain. So I can just go to the Kennedy Park. That one, secondly, sometimes when I need to meet people that I haven't met for a while, I know many people go to Kennedy Park to sit over there, to uh watch children playing, and around there I can meet a lot of immigrants who go to Trinity Jubilee who go to food pantry to get food, so yeah it impact me when I need to see people beside going to churches or other meetings. So that impacts me. Also, is a place usually around night it doesn't feel safe to walk around there. I know like usually Friday nights and middle night, except Friday nights, during the weekend you can a lot of people even around 1:00 am or middle of night putting the music. I'm sorry to say that, but I know that reality most of them are black people. So they put music over there, dancing, sometime people fight, drinking, yeah. That would, yes even last summer it was the case around this place. So it impact me - I don't feel safe around this time to be around that place and also sometime to see people fighting over there like the murder were to happen it months ago it was around that place so it doesn't feel safe for me and many like um, drug users. Uh I can assume many of them are drug users so they take marijuana over there - even at a time when marijuana was not legal I was seeing people taking marijuana over there in front of people so um, it's really impacting me. So it's that a good place, maybe you can have a workshop - we can have a rally - you can have an event. But it, sometimes it's also like a scaring - you may need to go there for some reason, but when you think about the risk maybe overnight, evening, people fight so it's *inaudible* to go there. So, it creates like a conflict in our minds. Go there enjoy, but be careful of my safety. Does that answer your question?

Interviewer: When I say "Kennedy Park" what do you think?

Participant #4: Okay, um. *hesitates* If it's in terms, in my mind, Kennedy Park, um, it's first of all like place uh to go to rest, to play, to see people, to get the air. That's what's coming into my mind. I usually use it as a reference when I to direct somebody to, or I'm around Kennedy Park so. First thing it's an easy place to rest or a park, it's a park for me. And when I mean by park I mean a place to play, to rest, but also a place where anything can happen. Drug, people can fight.

Interviewer: When do you go to Kennedy Park?

Participant #4: When I usually go there?

Interviewer: Yeah.

Participant #4: Usually the weekend. Usually the weekend, and sometimes when I finish my work at 5 o'clock. During the summer even 5:00pm is very clear so I go there, even 6 o'clock, 7 o'clock.

Interviewer: And what areas of the park do you usually go to?

Participant #4: Pardon me?

Interviewer: What areas of the park do you usually go to?

Participant #4: Uh okay, these places that I just show you where there are grass. I usually sit over there and uh across, in front of, across of general assistance city hall. There is church over there. Sometimes - I usually sit over there. Also, when you come from Walnut Street you, after Bates, there is some seats over there. Sometimes I do sit there. But usually grass and the other place, and sometimes also the basketball place.

Interviewer: How have you noticed Kennedy Park changing?

Participant #4: Pardon me?

Interviewer: How have you noticed Kennedy Park change?

Participant #4: Um, so change um, I don't know if I would be accurate answering your question. But for me, um...

Interviewer: It's okay if you haven't. You can say it hasn't.

Participant #4: Yeah, I know just after the murder I did not see that Kennedy Park to change at all. Kennedy Park did become a little bit desert...

Interviewer: Deserted?

Participant #4: Yeah, deserted. It was a little bit during this time. But before that time, and after for me I'm thinking Kennedy Park still be the same because sometimes people fighting, people putting loud music, dancing, drinking, smoking, so since I've been here in Maine it was the same thing. So um, compartment wise it still be the same except as I told you after the murder. Uh where the police the cop were around there so it was a little bit different. But after that still be uh the same, yeah in my opinion, even now the number of people made it decrease a little bit. But for me I haven't noticed a big change.

Interviewer: What would you change about Kennedy Park?

Participant #4: Okay, what would I like to change? Yeah, okay. I'm think you can not prohibit people to be there. They have the civil laws, but I think um *hesitates* people should not drink alcohol around Kennedy Park or smoke marijuana because it is not even good for children to see people drinking alcohol, marijuana. I think people are free to sit there yeah, but not to drink alcohol, and marijuana and to fight. Yeah I think that is one thing I would love to see around Kennedy Park. And I would also love to see the possibility to have like a place people can play like pool. Put the pools over there. I would love to have this kind of stuff. People can play. I would also um, I know Lewiston public work does a good job over there cleaning Kennedy Park so it's usually clean. I would like also to see the restroom because there is no restroom over there. Yeah so sometimes people when they need to use the restroom they go to general assistance. When it's closed it's very hard for them so I would to see the restroom over there. Pool as well. I already said that. Also, I would love to see um, maybe people putting something a little bit indicative over there. Like a table, tabling, people can table like brochures to read. Even somebody can go there just for some *inaudible*, like can take brochures and read about sexual assault, about any topic, housing. Sometime people when they go there they don't bring something. But if they find an occasion to read, take a quick brochure. So I think that would be great to have in and around Kennedy Park. I know people do a good job by selling the natural food over there. Immigrants do that. So it's something that I would like to see around Kennedy Park, and uh I haven't noticed it a lot of outlets to charge the phone. I don't know - yeah I've seen, but would love to multiply them.

Interviewer: To see more?

Participant #4: Yes, to see more. That people can charge their phone or their computer over there. That would be great things. And also music I don't know. I don't think music is a great

idea. But if *hesitates* um, also I don't know if it may work, but you know there is a place over there if we can put uh the image which means, which may be very meaningful for people. Like the image of the history - like a Museum - something which can talk about Maine - Maine, the resources that we have in Maine. Or maybe also about immigrants, their home country, something as reference. Anything meaningful when somebody is around Kennedy Park can go and see because Museum in schools is there, but some people do not go to Museums, so they can just go around Kennedy Park to see, to read, there are a couple *inaudible* that I would love to update this so people can read to learn more about immigrants, or history of Maine, and Lewiston. So I think that would be great. I am thinking also to have the video, like a place where they can do every night a video for home. Like people can sit over there when it gets dark, watch the music, put the big screen TV, people can watch music during the night or watch movie, something like that. Yeah, that is what I would love to see as a change in Kennedy Park and as I was saying - I don't know if there are cameras over there - I don't know uh the end of the murder what happened, but as far as I heard it was I don't know if the police didn't have the image of the scene of what happened. So I don't know, but I think that if Kennedy Park should have the cameras so if something happen they can be a record of that. And if people fight even from the police they can be able to come down so, I remember two times I was the one who called the cop to come when people were fighting over there. And sometimes other people even they see fighting and they don't call them. Yeah I think that is the case and yeah - I see a lot of people drunk, laid down, it doesn't give a good image for children to see someone drunk over there, somebody down, and we need the ambulance to come pick up the person. It doesn't give a good idea. I'm think people are afraid to sit over there...

Interviewer: Is there anything about Kennedy Park that you would like to keep the same?

Participant #4: Yeah - the basketball field I like. Mmm, what else? The church, the road where you have the church. I like there. And people go there to sell food, uh the farmer's [market] I like that. Mmm we have lights, right? So, I prefer that we have lights. It's good. And I think we need to make the pool, how do you call it where people swim?

Interviewer: Yeah, the pool.

Participant #4: The pool, yes there. To keep it clean as well. I know we have the pool over there, but I would like to keep it clean. And it doesn't seem to be clean. Mmm something to keep? Yeah that's all.

Interviewer: Where do you see yourself living in five years?

Participant #4: Hmm, just um - in Lewiston and um, I don't know if it should be downtown or not downtown, but I will be living here in Lewiston.

Interviewer: What about 10 years?

Participant #4: 10 years? Yeah uh obviously I don't have the intent to move. I love Lewiston, unless something happen, which may force me, but I love Lewiston and I also love my home country so, now I have two mother, motherlands. I will combining both [country] and Lewiston, Maine.

Interviewer: That's awesome. How should the city of Lewiston handle or govern Kennedy Park?

Participant #4: I think it's okay. I know police when you call them they are ready to come down, which is good. Just we should have cameras and we have the stuff that I told to make it more vibrant, more attractive, and also to make sure people do not drink over there. Yeah, so it's something we should make sure even - maybe we don't have the cop, but we could have like a security agent who can come and make sure that everything look okay here in Kennedy Park. And so even treating our self - you know sometime the presence of the cop is not good. It, it means something maybe bad sometimes. Yeah, but I'm think a security guys can be there around there making sure okay, children are playing safely, I'm think yeah. The way it is, is okay. Yeah, I don't know if I did answer your question or not. Yes so they govern it okay.

Interviewer: *Anything you'd like to add or like the interviewer to know?*

Participant #4: Yeah, yeah I don't know, but I think just if my recommendation around Kennedy Park is good that would be great. To change the image of Kennedy Park I do remember, I think I told you last week when we met that it happened - I was inviting people to come down, we had a rally - *inaudible.* *Imitating dialogue.* "Can you come?" "Okay, I would be more than happy to be there, where will be the rally?" "Kennedy Park." "Oh." They change their mind, "I don't go to Kennedy Park anymore." So, I would like to see how we can erase this view of Kennedy Park, the current view of Kennedy Park. So if we can change it by making it better enough that would be great.

Interviewer: All good - can I stop recording?

Participant #4: Yeah, sure.

Interviewer: Awesome.

Participant #5:

Interviewer: *Introduction to the project.* *Gives gift card.* *Asks if Participant #5 has any questions.*

Participant #5: *Inaudible.*

Interviewer: *Map prompt.*

Participant #5: Okay, I don't know how to call this place where circular building people can sometimes people are playing guitars or that.

Interviewer: The bandstand?

Participant #5: The bandstand - yeah. You said bands?

Interviewer: Bandstand.

Participant #5: And there's two places I remember where memorial places for those who died for the state or the country - there is one right there and these are like alleys - and there is a basketball ground and a skateboard area. So. Surrounding by Bates Street and I can't remember this street.

Interviewer: Is it Birch maybe?

Participant #5: Yep - oh no, Birch is the other side. That one, I don't remember.

Interviewer: That's okay.

Participant #5: *inaudible.* Community Concepts - that's it.

Interviewer: *Asks if Participant #5 would like to add color.*

Participant #5: Okay - *inaudible.* Put all the - green those are trees and that's not exactly the way they are, but... So, and there are many trees in this area. Not trees - these *inaudible* here. And then some space for the children - *inaudible talking about the map.* You can go through this lane and there is a little space in between - there is two areas to come up through this side - you can go through there - *inaudible* yeah - that's okay *inaudible.* Okay - thanks.

Interviewer: *Asks Participant #5 to date and sign picture.* So before I take this I am going to ask you a couple of questions about it so you can hold on to it. Can you take me through what you included on the map?

Participant #5: Um, I landed in America in [date] through [airport] in [state] and spent almost a month then I came to Maine. So, I landed in Portland on July 4, Independence day, and spent two days and the third day *inaudible* came to pick me and brought me to Lewiston. I came here on [date], last year. And uh we're living on [street] - somewhere there. And when we start wandering to visit the city the first that that attracted me was the park. So I like green space - I came from somewhere where there is forest - many forest and you can hide yourself behind the house or in front of the house - we have trees so that space attracted me. On the spot when I say it - so I said this is a good space where I could come and spend my time. I found that there are um benches somewhere under the trees and at that time it was sunny so could come and stay and

yeah also spaces where people can play. So family could spend the time and the ground was very green - not like now it's so snow, but that time it was very green. So it attracted me at the very first moment. And then I heard the sad story, a sad story that um someone was assaulted and murdered on that space and that made the relationship between communities and even um, the *inaudible* of that public green space a little bit compromised. So people were afraid to come again and spend time 'cause of what happened there. So, a couple of weeks later I learned that there - a friend of mine, [name], was the one who send me an email telling me that there was a project that will be held called "Peace in the Park" so there need people - those who can devote themselves - give their time - go there and spend time with people making them feel um, I mean secure, safe by staying in the Park. So I *inaudible* myself and said this is something that we have to do. Help people feel at home anywhere they are because that place is a somewhere that everybody can feel at home - even though you are homeless - you can feel at home in the park - so I *inaudible* myself, we were talking about [name] and after that we started going there - I scheduled myself for every [weekly time and date]. So that's it. We spent all the rest of the time up to late November going there with everybody's own turn, but I gave my own [week day] afternoon for that. So, that is what I was doing. Going there, talking to people, uh greeting them talking to them - how do they feel, and trying to, to make them enjoy the stay in the park. And also being ready to prevent any, any high temper humor that could be around. Then we go there and help them to cool down. And it work - I know that many people share their testimony and say since those yellow t-shirt guys start coming here and we feel more safe than before. I'm happy that I have done that.

Interviewer: Where on the map - is there anywhere on the map that you feel most at home?

Participant #5: I can say that everywhere especially under the trees *laughs* under the trees, but um this two places - the memorials - places I don't know really the exact name for they're like stairs that built and they wrote the name of those who passed away before us for the sake of the state, this land, the country. Uh this was for me, and is still for me like a place I can go and get inspiration to see how people could have been devoted - they gave their lives for those will be coming after them. Meaning now. To feel safe, to feel as we are - at home, right now. And no one can bother another one - no one can disturb, no one can steal that feeling of being at home no more. So those two places, so usually when I walk about the park I have to go there every time I go there and stay and read some names, not all of them, and like help myself to be more - for those, for others - to be resource of blessings to other and to be a bless of security, of safety for others. These are two places that I like - and of course where the flag is because that is the sign of the country. I usually go there and say thank you America *laughs.*

Interviewer: *Asks name.*

Participant #5: My name is [name]. [Name] is the French of [name] so [name]. [Name] English. And [last name] is [spelling]. My father's name is [name] [spelling]. So it's difficult for as African to say what's the first name and last name because my name is [whole name]. But [name] is the name I was given when I was baptized in the church, and [name] is the name my father gave me when I was born. So meaning like I have two names. I do not have a middle name - I'm [whole name] and my father's name is [name]. But sometimes I write only last name [name] [name] and first name [name]. So - to make it easier, because people tend to forget my [name] - the middle one is being omitted - but for me it's not a middle one - it's really my name. That's what I...

Interviewer: *Asks gender.*

Participant #5: Sorry?

Interviewer: What's your gender identity?

Participant #5: Um, I'm a man.

Interviewer: *Ethnic identity.*

Participant #5: Um, I'm from [country] - we have um, I'm from [country] where we have more than [number] tribes, different tribes. But we group them into two main ethnic groups - uh the [tribal name] with [letter] and the [tribal name] - those who speak [language], and the [tribal name] and the [tribal name]. That depends on the four main languages - national languages that we have. So my ethnic group - I can say that I am [ethnicity]. [Spelling].

But when you go inside the [country] you will find that it's split into small, small, small different tribes. So...

Interviewer: *Religious identity.*

Participant #5: I am a Christian. I am Christian, and Christianity is also many small things - I am Evangelical Christian.

Interviewer: Are you religious?

Participant #5: Yes I am - I am a pastor.

Interviewer: Oh okay!

Participant #5: I am a pastor, and beside medical doctor in my country - general practitioner in my country.

Interviewer: Do you have a church here?

Participant #5: I joined a church called [church name] [address] It's where I go - I am not the pastor of the church I am a member in the church, but they do give me some respect. They say - call me Pastor [name]. I say thank you, but I am not the pastor. I have a pastor called *inaudible* for that church, yeah.

Interviewer: *Age.*

Participant #5: I will be turning [age] in [amount of time].

Interviewer: Oh happy birthday!

Participant #5: No, less than [amount of time]! [Date]. So [age] on [date].

Interviewer: Happy birthday.

Participant #5: Thank you very much.

Interviewer: *Transition to sense of place questions.* So if you want to get outside and be under the trees or nature where do you usually go?

Participant #5: Apart from that park?

Interviewer: Just in general.

Participant #5: Um, well I found that uh Simard-Payne Park down there. I usually to go there, the only reason because it is near the river - my village is surrounded by little streams so I like seeing rivers and I mean um, the nature, nature is something that gives me inspiration. Here it's good, but it's we found many people and sometime you cannot stay quiet if you want to read or meditate or even play. It's not really an easy I mean adequate place. But going there for having fun is a very good place. Even though I'm playing basketball - I will watch younger people playing and try to encourage them - "Go ahead!! Ay ay!" There is silent and here is a little bit noisy. Sometime, not every time.

Interviewer: Where do you go if you want to meet new people, or be social, see your friends? Where would you go?

Participant #5: Oh yeah, there.

Interviewer: Kennedy Park?

Participant #5: Kennedy Park, it's like on the middle of the neighborhood and then everybody can come there - it's easy...

Interviewer: Do you own any property in the Tree Streets?

Participant #5: Oh no

Interviewer: Where do you live?

Participant #5: I am not just near the [community location] on [address]. I just moved in less than two weeks. I was living on [street], the crossing of [streets] where I just moved out.

Interviewer: How long have you lived in the Tree Streets Neighborhood?

Participant #5: Mmm I've lived in four different places here in Lewiston. First when I arrived I was in [street] for a couple, maybe 3 or 4 weeks. Then we moved I have to live with a friend of mine down there in [address]. I spent almost six weeks there. And then when I start looking for an apartment to be rented by general assistance it took so long. The landlord took long time to make it ready for me, but I have to leave where I was living behind my friend. So another friend of mine said welcome to my house and I was going to [town in Maine] with [name], the director of the [community organization]. He was, he is a very kind man and very supportive. He said come to live while you are waiting for your new apartment to be ready and I thought that it take one week, but it went up to 2 months. So 8 weeks going to and from, heading to and from [town in Maine] every morning we have been coming here and in the afternoon or the night we are back - up to the date that this apartment on [street] was ready and I go there. So, meaning that I'm a citizen of not only Lewiston, but of Androscoggin County because I also live in [town in Maine].

Interviewer: You've been in America only since [month]?

Participant #5: Yeah, [month] to America and [month] to Maine.

Interviewer: So [month] to America and...

Participant #5: And since [date] in Maine.

Interviewer: And that was in [year]?

Participant #5: Yeah, [year].

Interviewer: [Clarifying question about length of residence in America]?

Participant #5: [Response].

Interviewer: Wow - amazing.

Are you a refugee or asylum seeker?

Participant #5: I am an asylum seeker. I was an asylum seeker in other country in [region] and then when I came I applied also here. But my family is still in [region].

Interviewer: Well, welcome.

Participant #5: Thank you.

Interviewer: What's an average day like for you?

Participant #5: The average?

Interviewer: Like how do you spend each day?

Participant #5: Oh, um, first this prayer. When I wake up - first prayer. I do not have, it's different when I was working. Now I do not have a really a schedule which is the same every single day. So depending on any activity I have - this today and then that will make me work anytime I want. But I have some days that I have to do somethings. Like [date] and [date] I do volunteer at the [community organization]. So every [date] and [date] at [time] I have to be there - so after prayer I am taking a shower, quick breakfast, and then I have to run. After my time volunteer. I will figure out anything I have to do. Usually I like to read and have my books on my computer or sometime I come here *as in Lewiston Public Library* or a friend of mine can ask me to accompany him somewhere or they know I am a pastor they usually rely on me, help me, and so *inaudible* and then when was sunny I could spend outside, but now it's cold. I have to go a little earlier home to warm myself.

Interviewer: How does Kennedy Park impact how you feel about the neighborhood?

Participant #5: Yeah, I can say that according to me Kennedy Park is like um, what can I say? It's like the belt when you put on your clothes and put your pants you know that the belt it is tight and if not you cannot run. For me it's like the belt that is keeping everything together - everybody in the Neighborhood Tree together. It is where we *inaudible* - I met many friends of mine now there. So I will just go there and spend time "Oh you two are here - oh so!" Then we start talking. It's not easy when we walk on the street to say someone, "Please can you..." and then you start a conversation. But there it's like easier. You can start and then - so now I have American white man friends from that I met there and uh African, so when they see I'm black then we come with me French - and I do speak many languages so I can interact with many of them so it's a place where you can meet many people - and for me it's a place that gather everybody. It's where you can feel like a family, even though I don't know your home. But there we feel that we live together. That's it.

Interviewer: How many languages do you speak?

Participant #5: Um, not counting the dialects. I speak seven.

Interviewer: What are they?

Participant #5: French first, then English, then Portuguese - these are three um international languages. And I have international languages which are Swahili, Lingala, and Hausa - Hausa is the second main African languages - spoken North Cameroon, North Nigeria, Niger, West Chad, and some other countries in West Africa - so I speak also Hausa - I can say not to speak, but I understand better that I speak because it's not easy to speak Hausa. And um, what else? Kongo - my - Kikongo - my - is also an African language - it's spoken in more than 3 countries. Seven languages, but three international which are French, English, and Portuguese.

Interviewer: Amazing, wow. Um, when I say "Kennedy Park" what do you think of?

Participant #5: Kennedy Park - it's a place to go and it's a place to protect and yeah. That's what I think. It's a place to go and place to protect. I want it to be protected as great or deep as possible. Everybody has to do his serve to protect - sometimes when I cross the - now it's the winter there's no people there. But sometime I was doing um, a personal volunteering - going there and just picking those drop - the empty bottles or cans - that people can go and just, and pick and just dump them. I want that place to be clean and safe for everybody because I don't - we don't have another place. We don't - I don't know all of the city of Lewiston, but I think there's no place like Kennedy Park.

Interviewer: When and why do you go to Kennedy Park?

Participant #5: When and why do I go? When, um, I didn't yet complete a whole year you see, but I can exclude the winter time *laughs* it's not a good time to go there. But sorry - one day I say with this snow maybe they could try and do skate, maybe I don't know. I've never been in the skis area. Is it possible for people skiing here or not? I don't know, but I can exclude the winter time. And then uh the other times are good times, but especially for me the afternoon. Morning I'm busy, but afternoon it's time to go there and take a rest and think and relax myself and meet people. Why - as I said it's a place to go and meet each other, find new friends, and yeah.

Interviewer: What areas of the park do you usually go to?

Participant #5: Um, I avoid this place of the basketball ground when I have to relax myself. I usually go to this area here looking at the bandstand and the flag. I like to look at the flag and sometimes I come around here this area also - these are my favorite two places, but there's time also I want to come here and then go into the ground, basketball ground and then shout a little bit - encourage the younger and then tell them "yeah you have to do that!" and then "Go ahead!" It makes me feel a little bit younger.

Interviewer: When you avoid the basketball court, why do you avoid it?

Participant #5: Um, first of all um, I'm not a good basketball player. I am a futbol player. I still play futbol, but there is not futbol ground there. One day I was there discussing with a young man and I told him I can beat you in futbol. He said, "No way you are old." I say, "No, you see you think that I am old." Did you know that I walk every single day more than 7 kilometer, every single day? I have in my phone a pedometer - I want to see how many kilometers I walk that day. So that makes me keep my body, my heart strong. So, if I want to run I can run. Maybe you

could run longer than me, but I can run faster than you. So that's what I told him and if you put a balón - a futbol - on the ground you could see how fast I am by dodging and kicking the ball. So, I usually avoid those noise, sometimes - sometimes I say let me go there, but I say no. I'm not involved with in playing. I prefer stay a little bit in the background *inaudible.*

Interviewer: Have you noticed Kennedy Park change since you've been here?

Participant #5: Yes, I noticed the work they did this side of Pine Street and Park Street. The public *inaudible* change it many, I mean on the ground - and many, many the main entrance here - they rebuild it very well. And it's more beautiful and more safe for pedestrian. And it change also because there is snow on the ground - it's not green, now it's white. So that's the second change.

Interviewer: What would you like to change about Kennedy Park?

Participant #5: I think one thing I would want to have there is covered roof - I mean some place - when it rains where people can stay. There is only one place that is there - the bandstand you have a roof. One day I was crossing the park during the rain and I saw people like together, confined like trying to avoid being wet. We need more spaces, someone who is working and then maybe doesn't have money to hire a taxi and then his home is still a little bit far. Crossing the park can stay and hide himself until the rain stops. So this one, it's not really - it's not - it doesn't match a lot with the park, but I think that it's important also to have even two or three places where people can hide themselves when it rains. And um, I don't know if it would be allowed to have like a small, can I call it like a small shop or something? Where you can find something to eat. Sometimes you come from work and you want to spend a little bit time there, but you don't have - you need to run first to home - look for something to eat and then come back - not easy for everybody. But you can say I go there because even though I want to spend some time I found something to eat. So why not thinking about I don't know how you can call it. But somewhere you can find a small hamburger or coke, or just a small stand with small things - the necessary - even a bottle of water. Why not? So those are things I was thinking about. That if I were the one to decide, let's say let's do that and it will be a source of some money for the city because there are many people coming there. Families have to bring their own food sometime and that makes sometime, with children, they will dump everywhere. And then there is what happened - now I've seen that the police have started turning around with their car. But do this make it the Kennedy Park safer? Because I know that people are afraid of seeing policemen. So seeing policemen with their, in their officer I mean their garment - is it safer for people that come to play to stay and relax? I do not know really. I want like other kind of people that can stay in normal garment, not doing protection of the people of the park. That's all.

Interviewer: Is there anything that you would want to keep the same? That you wouldn't want to change?

Participant #5: Mmm - yeah. First of all the ground as it is, is okay. Never cut the trees because even squirrel are the one that lives, that live there. They are at home with those trees. And - what else? Even the basketball ground and the skateboard - I think that it's okay the way it is.

Interviewer: Where do you see yourself living in five years?

Participant #5: Ooo - that's a big question. I have many projects. Depending on what will happen and the lord will provide for those. I like as I am a general practitioner in my country - it is not

easy to get involved in practicing here as a medical doctor. Maybe I could do first *inaudible* and go slowly up to medical assistant and nursing and maybe Physician assistant. I don't know, but I like working in the preventative area of a health. I want to do um, undertake a master's degree in public health and if I do that and get hired and get a job any organization here in Lewiston - I could stay. I like the city - it's I can say it's the first city where I was welcomed as someone in America. Where I spend time just visiting friends - but here I was welcomed as someone. Come here stay! The city is there providing for me with my renting. I came with no money and no resources, but there's - I found a kind of humanity here in this city. I don't know if it could be found anywhere else. I do not know. I don't have a way of comparing - but I don't want to go leave and check it's not good and come back. So, the only thing that could make me leave is a job if I - or studies if I got a scholarship for in a university outside of here. I have to go and then I probably in a couple of weeks I will get my work permit and then if I got a job as a pastor somewhere or something, anything out of Lewiston that would make me move out and go. But a part of that, I prefer to stay here. I found the city um, quiet, clean, quiet, calm, and really a place to stay.

Interviewer: Would you want to leave the Tree Streets Neighborhood or do you like being there?

Participant #5: I really like being there - even when the city told me you have to leave I said "No." I'm just nearby here. Where I live is here - it's outside of the Neighborhood Tree off of this park Kennedy. I would want one day to come back in this area but who knows?

Interviewer: How do you think the city of Lewiston should handle or govern Kennedy Park?

Participant #5: If I have to meet the mayor or the community counselors. Yeah. It's not - I think that it's not easy to prevent any bad event coming. Sometimes things, bad things can come suddenly. No one can plan, but if there is any way to prevent they have to do that. As I said, um, I've seen now police official turning around with their car. But I would prefer well trained people, like police officers, but not in their garment, wearing as everybody. They could be coming *inaudible* and being involved with playing basketball with the younger people and you can come as a family, but his role is like um taking care of others. But um, not letting it know by everybody that, that one is the one who is peaking at me if I shout if I... no, you can come as someone who comes to the park and stay and then that is the one - I mean taking things in control in the moment as the role we tried to start doing as the Peace in the Park Project but we're not police so we can't go there and try to calm them. And one of the things they told us if you see that it becomes dangerous you have to run away and call the police now. So see - but someone who has a right to say, "You are under arrest right now." But he's waiting like a civilian not police. That would be safer if the city can do that. And then I know that there are people come every morning for the public work that what they do they gather all the bags of *inaudible about garbage* but I think that it's during the evening, or afternoon or evening that people are the most numerous in the park. Like it's that time that we should have a small group that would come just after people are starting leaving and then make it clean. Not waiting the next morning - that is what I would want to be done. The same evening just as I said sometime as I walk I see many stuff just dropped everyone and I would pick it up and dump it - on my way. I would not go everywhere - if there is a small team every single evening that could come and then clean. The morning those that come with their cars just come and pack their bags and then continue - this would be, according to me that would be better.

Interviewer: *Anything else you would like interviewer to know or to add.*

Participant #5: Yeah - um, I want the park to be a little bit funnier.

Interviewer: Funnier? How so?

Participant #5: Yeah - um, it seems that it's like we call it in French monotone. I don't know if the word exists in English. It's the same things every day, every day, I want it to change. You can come and change, put some colors on the trees or something small funny things - and then every - even once a month - something else *fumbles over some different thoughts* we have a bandstand, call a band. Why not? In the evenings that we play and then people will enjoy themselves. Those who like to dance they will dance and then everything will make it, make the park a little more attractive knowing that last month it was this party and now there is another thing. But I see that this done only down there at the many great events in the Simard-Payne Park where *inaudible* but here I want it to be like something not very big, but even small, but attractive. That what I could...

Interviewer: Thank you so much.

Participant #6:

Interviewer: Okay, so basically my research is looking at the impact Kennedy Park has on residents of the Tree Streets Neighborhood as healthy neighborhoods, community concepts, and the city of Lewiston work with the transformation grant. And then at the end of - in April/May - I'll finish my thesis and I'll make a set of recommendations to [name] - I'll give them to [name] - and say these are things that should or should not be included in the transformation plan or these are things that should or should not change about Kennedy Park because they positively impact people's sense of place. They make people want to live in the neighborhood.

Participant #6: Exactly.

Interviewer: Some kinds of research with holds information from participants. Mine doesn't. So, if you have any questions, anything seems confusing - feel free to ask at any point. I'm not like withholding information intentionally by any means.

Participant #6: Alright.

Interviewer: Okay, so the first thing I'm going to ask you to do after the signing of the forms is to please draw a map of KP. And while doing so think of all the things that are important to you where you're from. Draw what matters in that place. You can include anything, any scale, any angle, any view, any symbol. Draw with the idea of home in mind, and think about how home is associated with Kennedy Park.

Participant #6: Okay, well my artistic skills aren't very great so please forgive me.

Interviewer: No, that's so fine. I'll show you - this is one that we got - so by no means do they have to be, you know, artistic at all. So as you draw I'm just going to ask you a couple of questions if it's distracting I'll stop, just let me know.

Participant #6: Okay.

Interviewer: Of course I know your name, but just for the recorder can you state your name?

Participant #6: [Name}.

Interviewer: And what's our gender identity?

Participant #6: Female.

Interviewer: Ethnic identity?

Participant #6: Mexican-American.

Interviewer: Oh, also I should say. Any of these questions you're uncomfortable with you don't have to answer them.

Participant #6: Okay

Interviewer: Religious identity?

Participant #6: I'm just spiritual.

Interviewer: Do you consider yourself religious?

Participant #6: I grew up Catholic. Now that I'm older I feel like there is a higher power, but I don't practice a religion because in my opinion I feel like it separates peoples. But that's yeah - I consider myself spiritual.

Interviewer: And how old are you?

Participant #6: [Age].

Interviewer: [Age]?

Participant #6: Yeah, until next month, well [month] that'll be [age].

Interviewer: Coming up!

Participant #6: Yes it is! *Inaudible comments about the drawing.* The Gazebo - I don't know if I spelled that right. I don't really know... Does it need to be detailed or anything?

Interviewer: It's totally like up to you - I have no requirements.

Participant #6: Okay, well that's the best I've got at the moment, but I may add as I you know...

Interviewer: Absolutely. Okay so, uh can you take me through what you included in your map and why you included it?

Participant #6: So I put the skate park because I think it's just really cool to have. I always like when I used to go to the park a lot I used to always watch the people in there do their cool little tricks and I think it's important to give them something to do. The pool area - has always been cool to me because one, when I was younger I lived in this neighborhood and I loved it - you know I looked forward to it, my babysitter would bring us over we'd have like the summer programs and the food and the activities. But also when I was really struggling in life with my kids and I didn't have transportation. You know it was close and I couldn't bring them to the beach, however, I could bring them to the park. Like it's just, it's good to have to give the youth something to have and not leave them out from fun just because of where they live or the lack of transportation and so on. Um, and then the basketball court it just feels like it's important you know? It gives them something to do. I see people there having fun all the time. You hear a lot of bad of Kennedy Park but it's not really as bad as people make it out to seem and if you take the time to get to know them you know you just you'll meet a lot of good people so... And then I put the swing set, this is the play area so of course that's fun for the kids. I like that there's benches where people can just kind of sit around and talk. The trees I love. The gazebo is really cool. I'm sure you could do a lot of different things there. But yeah, so that's basically what I wrote and thought was important.

Interviewer: Nice. Is this your hometown?

Participant #6: Yes, basically. I'm from [state], but I've been in Maine since I was three.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant #6: I've been in and out of the neighborhood for most of my life. Um, but yeah it's home to me. You know? This is home.

Interviewer: Is there anywhere on the map that you consider your home?

Participant #6: Anywhere, right here? I mean, like yeah I consider it my home, it's my neighborhood so you know I respect it and I want to see good things stay and continue to grow.

Interviewer: If you want to get outside and you want to experience nature where do you go?

Participant #6: Thorncrag.

Interviewer: Thorncrag? Okay.

Participant #6: I go to Thorncrag or I go different places outside of Lewiston, different trails so.

Interviewer: And when you want to be social and meet new people where do you go?

Participant #6: Depends on if I want to be social or not. Just kidding. Um, I walk around. I do that or I used to do that a lot. I don't so much anymore just 'cause now I have a car. But if I do usually, I just. You know it depends I guess who it's with, if I'm looking to meet new people or I don't know.

Interviewer: Okay, do you own property in the Tree Streets?

Participant #6: No.

Interviewer: Okay, and how long have you lived in the Tree Streets?

Participant #6: Most of my life since I was like three - off and on.

Interviewer: What street?

Participant #6: I lived on [street] Street, I lived on [street] Street, I lived on [street] Street, I lived on [street] Street, I lived on [street] Street, and now I live on [street] Street.

Interviewer: [Street], [street], [street], what was that?

Participant #6: [Street].

Interviewer: [Street]. And what was that?

Participant #6: [Street].

Interviewer: Don't worry this isn't going to be on, no one's going to, no one's going to be seeing your history, this is just interesting for me. And you live now on [street] Street?

Participant #6: No, I live now on [street] Street.

Interviewer: Oh [street] Street now, sorry.

Participant #6: Yep.

Interviewer: And how long have you lived here.

Participant #6: On [street] Street or just in general?

Interviewer: Well yeah, both I guess.

Participant #6: Okay, well so [street] Street I was there when I was three years old. Then we went from [street] Street to, no I'm sorry it was [street] Street. So I lived on [street] Street twice, wow! I didn't even think of that. So I lived on [street] Street when we first got here and then we went to [street] Street, then we went to Tall Pines, which is not in the Tree Streets. And then we went to, we got a house, we lost the house, because my mom became single and had to support four kids so we came back to [street] Street and I have been in the downtown area ever since.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant #6: That's when I was like 14.

Interviewer: So you came back at 14?

Participant #6: Back when I was like 14

Interviewer: And you haven't left since? So about [number] years, okay.

Participant #6: Right, exactly.

Interviewer: Wow, okay amazing. Where did your fam - some of these questions are going to seem a little repetitive, but I'm going to go through the script anyway.

Participant #6: That's okay, yep.

Interviewer: Where did you and/or your family live before the Tree Streets?

Participant #6: Before the Tree Streets we lived, so we came from [state], um and then we went to [town in Maine] where the [farm] is, which is actually why we came to Maine. At the time there were a lot of Mexicans, you know working there for [farm] and my Aunt was here. My mom was escaping an abusive relationship so she just like where am I going to go? My aunt is like, "Come here, I'll get you a job." So we came to Maine and until my mom was able to save up some money, get some assistance and stuff. Then we came to the downtowns.

Interviewer: What's an average day like for you?

Participant #6: Average day for me is busy. I'm very busy. I have two kids. I'm a single mom. I come to work, go home take care of the kids. I have another job too, so.

Interviewer: What's your other job?

Participant #6: I'm a BHP - behavioral health professional - I work with kids who are Autistic and developmental disabilities and such.

Interviewer: How old are your kids?

Participant #6: My kids are [age] and [age]. [Age] year old girl, [age] year old boy.

Interviewer: [Age] year old girl? [Age] year old boy?

Participant #6: Yep.

Interviewer: Would they be interested in talking to me?

Participant #6: Yeah, possibly.

Interviewer: Would you let them?

Participant #6: Yeah - I would.

Interviewer: Okay, I would love to set that up.

Participant #6: Yeah, sure!

Interviewer: 'Cause I need - I do need to talk to some children. That'd be awesome. I'll get back to the interview and I'll follow-up on that.

Participant #6: Sure - yep.

Interviewer: Does Kennedy Park impact how you feel about the neighborhood?

Participant #6: Not really. I used to go to the Park all the time because I didn't have transportation that was our place to go. Sometimes we'd walk to Sunnyside Park all the way by the hospital - I'm not sure if you know where that is - we'd go there sometimes but mostly it was there [KP] and you know a lot of people do have a lot of like wrong information in my opinion. You know people will say that it's so bad - that people are always fighting - and I mean yeah sometimes there is that. But in my experiences I have been able to actually go up to people and be like, "Can you guys bring that somewhere else? There's kids around." And I have never had anybody like "NO!" or anything you know what I mean? It just depends on your approach in my opinion. So no, I mean.

Interviewer: What is it that you're usually seeing that you ask people to take elsewhere?

Participant #6: Like people just arguing, people just things escalating. Sometimes there's drinking and you know if there is drinking and people getting loud and stuff I've been able to say like, "Okay, you know there's kids around? Can you please bring that somewhere else?" It's like "Oh sorry!" You know? And they'll take it somewhere else. I feel like if I were to approach them in a negative way like, "Bring that somewhere else!" It wouldn't, you know? So in my opinion it's all about the approach you take and perspective too is important.

Interviewer: When I say "Kennedy Park" what comes to mind?

Participant #6: Kennedy Park - I picture just a bunch of people. I picture the pool. I picture the basketball, like the games that they have, they set up little games in the summertime, little tournaments and stuff like that so it's really cool to watch and yeah.

Interviewer: When and why do you go to Kennedy Park?

Participant #6: In the summertime I go there just if we want take a walk around the block, we'll hang out at the park, we'll meet up with friends that live locally. And it's mostly just in the summertime. I don't - not in the winter, it's cold and plus there's not really anything to do, so.

Interviewer: When you do go, where in the park do you usually spend most of your time?

Participant #6: The kids will go on the playground or the pool. I am usually back around where the trees are, on the benches just sitting down. I used to do a lot of picnics there too 'cause it was just fun.

Interviewer: How have you noticed Kennedy Park change?

Participant #6: It's more diverse from when I was growing up. When I was growing up I felt like a - I felt just like a alien - *laughs* I didn't fit in - I was very different than everybody else. Now I look around I'm like, "Wow look at all this diversity - look at it!" You know? It's just interesting.

Interviewer: How does that impact how you feel about the park?

Participant #6: It makes me feel good 'cause it just shows me that things are changing and for the better in my opinion. More different people coming here, different things, different cultures, and you know I just like to see the growth. I think it's important.

Interviewer: If you could what would you change about Kennedy Park?

Participant #6: If I could I would make it more like more benches and stuff like that. Not benches, picnic tables. 'Cause it sucks sometimes you know sitting on the ground, and sometimes maybe even the cleanup. 'Cause there's times when I've been there and there is trash everywhere. I mean I know the city does what they can, but.

Interviewer: If - given the changes that are likely coming or just things change over time - is there anything that you would want to stay the same or to keep the same?

Participant #6: Keep the pool, keep the skate park, and definitely keep the basketball court.

Interviewer: Where do you see yourself living in five years?

Participant #6: In five years? I'm not really sure. I've thought about moving out of Lewiston just because, just something new. But who knows I might just stay. I'm undecided.

Interviewer: What about ten years?

Participant #6: Ten years? I don't know! My daughter's going to be like [age], my son's going to be like [age]. I don't know! I don't know! Who knows? I might travel the world *laughs*

Interviewer: Yeah! I hope so.

Participant #6: And tell everybody to come to Lewiston!

Interviewer: Yeah *laughs.* How should the city of Lewiston handle or govern Kennedy Park?

Participant #6: I don't know. I guess talk to people, you know? You got to talk to people. You got to get to know the people in the community. I'm not really sure that people that actually work down here take the time, take the time to get to know the people here and like really figure out what's going on and even the people that you know at least in my experience that you know maybe have caused trouble in the past have expressed, "Yeah I want it to be different." So I think conversation is important.

Interviewer: How do you feel about the policing effort or how the park is policed?

Participant #6: I haven't really seen anything wrong. The only thing I don't really like that in my opinion I felt was just I guess not fair is when the hotspots happened and just random people were getting approached on the street and I didn't think - I don't see that happening in any other neighborhoods, you know?

Interviewer: Can you say a little bit more about that?

Participant #6: Yeah. Just, you know, there's been times you know where there was just police walking around with police dogs or just going around just talking to people and patting them down and it's like I don't know - I know there is some crime here, but I don't, I don't know. I just don't think that's the right way to go about things, and I feel like if you're going to do it in downtown why don't you do it anywhere else? 'Cause I can tell you right now this isn't the only place in Lewiston where there is crime. But why? Because we're - this is a low income, you know, mostly low income neighborhood, you know and so diverse. I feel like it's targeted you know?

Interviewer: It sounds reminiscent of stop and frisk a little bit.

Participant #6: Yeah, Yeah.

Interviewer: Is there anything else that you would like to add or that you would like me to know?

Participant #6: I just would really like to see more resources in the neighborhood. You know I've been here for very, very long. I know so many different people that live here with different stories, different experiences, and sometimes people just need the right resources to help them. And I'd like to see that happen. And I feel like once that happens like you'll start seeing a lot more change - even more programs like [community organization], and more shelters, just stuff like that, which I totally see coming in...

Interviewer: Well those are all of the questions I have. So that's awesome, thank you so much. I'm going to stop recording.

Participant #6: No problem.

Participant #7:

Interviewer: *Reads the first prompt regarding the drawing of Kennedy Park map.*

Participant #7: Hmm, alright.

Interviewer: And it's not an art test at all.

Participant #7: So it's just - huh, I'm just going to draw how I think it looks - I'm not sure about the symbolism alright, how would I do this? This is definitely not going to be exact. Alright. *Inaudible.* Some structure here. Don't exactly know - remember what it looks like. , what else there's some basketball court here. And a skate park - I don't know how that looks. There are swings right here. There are some other toys here that I can't quite draw. They did renovations over here - and this is actually, this path right here is more diagonal. There are trees in various different places - but I don't exactly know exactly where to put them - try and put this new sidewalk. I remember what it used to look like here, but they changed the end like where it meets the street - can't draw that - police station would be here. Let's see the community center here - wait you said I'm supposed to try and keep like when I draw things try to remember what's like my sense of place?

Interviewer: Yeah, like your sense of - your idea of home - like where...

Participant #7: Okay - I guess and that...

Interviewer: There's no right or wrong.

Participant #7: Alright, there are benches along the side of here. Back home I used to always go well not always - I'd go to the park sometimes - and just read, people watch.

Interviewer: Where is back home?

Participant #7: Uh, [city outside of Maine]. [Pronounces city's name phonetically]. Yeah there are other benches alongside here and on this side too. I am not the best artist. Swings - yeah I guess that's what I have right now.

Interviewer: Sure.

Participant #7: Did I answer the question?

Interviewer: I mean this is totally up to you. This is your vision. I have - I'm not going to...

Participant #7: That's, that's what I have.

Interviewer: Sweet. You want to add color?

Participant #7: Col...

Interviewer: There's no right or wrong answer - It's totally up to you.

Participant #7: Nah - well alright...

Interviewer: You don't have to - like I'm not trying to sway you one way or the other - just...

Participant #7: Mark - ah - if there was colored pencil maybe.

Interviewer: Okay, interesting!

Participant #7: I'll leave it at as it is.

Interviewer: I'm going to leave the map in front of you just to ask a couple questions. Can you just take me through what you included on the map? And why you included it?

Participant #7: Why? Well this is the basketball court, not really well drawn. I've be there a few times and it always surprises me because I imagine people in [city he is from] to be like the best basketball players on the face of this planet. I didn't expect to be able to go to KP, and I'm not good myself, but be able to go to KP and see boys who I would consider who are just as good. You know? They could hold their own in [city]. Like I'm not really an NBA fan, but when I watch like the games on TV I'm just like this is, I know some people who from, from the streets who can play and keep up and who are better than some of the people we play on TV, but they just don't have a chance - and so that made me think about that. Well soccer is really more my sport *laughs.* Like I said, the benches made me think about like when I'd go to lake], which is - is that [region of city]? That's [region of city], and I would either go out there to work out - I know my Aunt likes to sell water there. I would sit on the benches and just read from time to time. There are other things here that I'm not including like the trees, but like so my father always had side jobs growing up. One of the things we had to do was climb a bunch a trees to help him cut them down, and that was one of the ways that he made money on the side. I've learned that climbing trees is like a super Caribbean thing to do because you have to climb the trees often to get the fruits, and stuff like that. So my father has been doing this his entire life. This thing, *laughs* I'm not sure what to call it but there always seem to be people on - sometimes they do like community events that are centered around this thing. What else? Swings are cool - I don't really skate *both laugh*, or no not skate - that's not the word - skateboard, I don't skateboard, so I don't really know what it looks like inside of there. There's also a pool over here that I've never really visited. Is there a flag somewhere here? There's like a flagpole somewhere here. Alright. Did I? Sorry I'm rambling *laughs.*

Interviewer: No, it's fine. Don't worry, don't worry.

Participant #7: I don't think I'm doing too good at this.

Interviewer: No - this is - you're - this is perfect. *Participant #7 laughs.* This is exactly what I am looking for. Is this your hometown?

Participant #7: No, no Lewiston is not my hometown.

Interviewer: Okay, what do you consider your hometown?

Participant #7: Ughhh *laughs* - I guess, I guess [city outside of Maine]. I guess, but like no matter where I go I'm always going to make the best out of any situation that presents itself. So, I prefer not to be in [city] for like... I guess my family is what keeps me away. Like they're the reason I would go back, but they're also the reason why I don't stay for long. But I think I'm just the type of person that no matter where I go I'm always going to just branch out establishing connections and make the best of the situation. Yeah.

Interviewer: Where is your home on the map? Or did you include your home on the map?

Participant #7: My home on the map? No, my home is not here. Ha! Maybe 1, 2, 3 it's either three or four blocks this way and the first block up - so I mean I could walk this - I could probably jog from my house and get here within what? Three minutes.

Interviewer: What street do you live on?

Participant #7: [Street].

Interviewer: [Street], okay - right right. What do you consider your place or is there any place on your drawing that you consider your place?

Participant #7: My place in the Kennedy Park? I don't know - anytime I'm going - anytime I pass - I'm typically passing through. I don't typically have this as a place where it is my destination 'cause like I said soccer is really my sport and this isn't really set up for soccer, but if it were I would be here a lot more often particularly in the spring, or the fall, and especially in the summer.

Interviewer: Do you avoid Kennedy Park?

Participant #7: No!

Interviewer: No? Okay.

Participant #7: It's just - no - it's not something that I avoid. I mean there are rumors and stuff that it's a dangerous place and you really shouldn't be there - but then I'm always like I'm from [city]. Like no place in Lewiston is dangerous to me *laughs* yeah.

Interviewer: For the recorder, of course I know your name, can you just state your name?

Participant #7: [Name]. There we go. So, the name thing is a hard question for me because I didn't learn that my name was [name] until I started going to school. That's not what my family calls me, and then because I'm like so involved with languages and stuff my name changes based on the language that I use and the relationship I have with that person. So that's why I hesitated with that *laughs.*

Interviewer: Sure - how many languages do you speak?

Participant #7: Confidently? Three.

Interviewer: Three? Okay - cool. What are they?

Participant #7: English would be my first, Spanish would be my second, and French would be my third.

Interviewer: Okay, cool. What's your gender identity?

Participant #7: Male *laughs.*

Interviewer: Okay, no right or wrong, ethnic identity?

Participant #7: Oof, I would consider myself - ugh Afro-Trini-American?

Interviewer: Afr- what, what was it?

Participant #7: Afro - like so Trinidad - American - Trinidadian American - Trinidadian-Afro-American? *Laughs.* I don't know.

Interviewer: No, okay cool. And what's your religious identity?

Participant #7: I am not religious at all. I might even be considered anti-religious

Interviewer: Okay, and how old are you?

Participant #7: I am [age] - just turned [age].

Interviewer: When was your birthday?

Participant #7: [Date].

Interviewer: Oh nice - Happy birthday. *Laughs.* Okay cool. So now I'm going to get a little bit into the like, the more, the questions that are designed a little bit more to elicit your sense of place. There is just a series of questions we'll just run through them.

Participant #7: Okay

Interviewer: Take your time answering them, do your thing. What are your go to place to experience nature?

Participant #7: Ooo - fishing, like so I could go to the Andro which is pretty close by - sometimes like so - a few times this summer and the summer before that - I've tried to go fishing other places in Maine. Sometimes I'll go to [city in Maine] like back to [college] and, which I think is a little bit more connected to nature. Where else? Yeah anytime I try to go like camping or fishing or, tree climbing just yeah anything I guess. Hold up. What was the original question?

Interviewer: What are your go to place to experience nature.

Participant #7: Yeah, I think fishing would probably be my thing.

Interviewer: And where do you go to be social or to meet new people?

Participant #7: Be social or meet new people? Bars are helpful for that. Sometimes you never know who you're going to meet or run into when you're trying to go fishing or if I'm just out and about on my bike, you know? Where else? A bunch of language events. So Bates sometimes has language events that I try to go to. The Franco center has language events. I try to have my own language event and try to bring people toward me. There is a woman who moved up here from the south who started this language cafe, and I've met some pretty cool peeps from there. Yeah sometimes I'll hear about either dance events that are through like Lewiston adult ed or like the adult education programs. Not only in Lewiston but surrounding Lewiston. Yeah - there are so many options for just trying to be social and I don't really have to leave the city.

Interviewer: Do you own property in the Tree Streets Neighborhood?

Participant #7: I rent - I have a car. *Both laugh.*

Interviewer: Okay, but you rent on [street]?

Participant #7: Yeah.

Interviewer: Okay, and how long have you lived in the Tree Streets Neighborhood?

Participant #7: So, so when I did Tree Street Youth the summer after my sophomore year - I was there for that summer. And then...

Interviewer: So you, like you interned and worked at Tree Street Youth as an undergrad while at [college]?

Participant #7: Yeah. That was my job title. I was an intern.

Interviewer: Wow, okay cool. That's really cool.

Participant #7: What, hmmm, that was [street] Street. I guess that's not in the Tree Streets. You said how long have I lived in the Tree Streets?

Interviewer: Yeah.

Participant #7: Oh buddy, when did I move? *Both laugh.* So [date] is when I moved to Lewiston. And that was on [street] Street. So really not that far from Bates. And then I moved right before I started working at the [school]. It was this fall, sometime this [season], [month]? I want to say [month] - [month]?

Interviewer: Okay, so less than a year?

Participant #7: [Month], [month] of [year]. Less than [time period] that I have actually technically been in the Tree Streets.

Interviewer: Where did you or your family live before coming to the Tree Streets?

Participant #7: So just me, so my brother came... well that was not when we were in the Tree Streets. So I lived, oh buddy, even when I'm on [street] Street it's just all so close. Often times I was going into the Tree Streets to pass by or walk or bike, you know? So I don't really - it's a technicality that I'm having difficulty - yeah let's see. So, I lived in [city] before coming to [college]. , once I graduated from [college] that summer I was in [city in Maine] with some friends. With actually [name's] family. She's a [college] alum. She was actually involved with helping to start [community organization]. Yeah and then I had an opportunity *laughs* to go to France. And things did just not work out there. So I came back. I went back to [city] and I couldn't stay there just because, I guess the relationship I have with my family and how it's just not emotionally, it's not an emotionally healthy place for me to be all the time. So I decided to come back to stay with [name's] mom and dad *laughs* until I found a job. And then I found a job at [restaurant], which was another horrible experience. Yeah, and if you talk to people *laughs.* Yeah like while I was there like 11 different people had just said, "Fuck this..."

Interviewer: Yeah, I feel like they're constantly hiring.

Participant #7: Yep, there is a reason for that. There's a lot of stuff behind the scenes that you don't see but. Ugh, anyway you said I could talk freely about Lewiston? *Laughs.*

Interviewer: Do it - do your thing.

Participant #7: Yeah, like they have such a good reputation for people who don't know, and who are not on the inside. But one, their prices went up so it's very...

Interviewer: It's so expensive.

Participant #7: Yeah. It's I think very intentionally excludes a certain type of person. Yeah. I don't think they're very honest in terms of distributing the tips and stuff. And I'm not the only one who says that. They have like, like there are people there who you know have to watch out for the boss when we had conversation about this shit. Yeah I just feel that if people knew *laughs* what happens. Some of the bullshit that happens, they would think differently about [restaurant]. But anyway another whole experience. I went to the [school] from there. And that wasn't as bad of an experience *laughs.* But I left the [school] for a reason, and now I'm at the [school]. And I don't think I'm going to be staying there for another year. The only reason I'm even there now is because I started a commitment and I feel that's important for me to finish that before I move onto the next thing. But I don't know what's next. I won't, I'm not going to go back to the [school] or the [school], or maybe not even just [schools] in Lewiston at all.

Interviewer: What did you study at [college]?

Participant #7: I studied Romance languages. So Spanish and French classes were like made up my major. I didn't take enough Italian for it to count, but that doesn't matter and I'm a dance minor as well.

Interviewer: Cool, awesome.

Participant #7: Wait you said, where was I before, where was I before?

Interviewer: Like where did you or your family live before coming to the Tree Streets?

Participant #7: Before coming to the Tree Streets?

Interviewer: But anything is good. Don't feel like you have to...

Participant #7: Yeah so, [city], [college], France, [city], back to Lewiston or from [city in Maine] to Lewiston. Yeah and if we go back further my father is from Trinidad. He is not from this country, but that is way, way back. Maybe more like historic than you need for this study *laughs.*

Interviewer: Okay, and where are you from - what would you say?

Participant #7: [City outside of Maine].

Interviewer: Is that where you went to High School? I'm just curious.

Participant #7: Yes - So I went to [high school], which is like this big fancy private school in [city outside of Maine] which is either like a suburb of [city outside of Maine] a suburb of [city outside of Maine]. Something like that.

Interviewer: Like the county?

Participant #7: The, the *laughs* right. The county. *Laughs.*

Interviewer: And are you a refugee or Asylum Seeker?

Participant #7: No.

Interviewer: I just ask everyone that.

Participant #7: But I had to think about that. I'm like "Nah, that's not my identity."

Interviewer: Can you take me through an average day? Like what's an average day like for you?

Participant #7: In Lewiston? The weekend?

Interviewer: Anything.

Participant #7: Alright, average day, I'm going to not talk about schools. Let's see on a Saturday - typically I have like stuff to do, so I might clean. I might try to, I'm always periodically just trying to sweep, mop, trying to organize my house. 'Cause I'm a neat freak like that. I might try and watch anime, definitely try to read, whether it is in Spanish, French, or something cool that somebody sent me in English. Normally on Saturday there is some sort of opportunity whether it's an athletic opportunity where I can play soccer or just get active, or maybe it's a language activity or maybe some friends want to get together and do trivia or something. There is always something social happening. Oh yeah on the weekends I like to cook a lot. And it's normally, I have to get creative because I don't have a lot of money. So it's just so like, "Alright what do I have here, let me see if I can make like a gourmet meal out of whatever is lying around."

Interviewer: Does Kennedy Park impact how you feel about the neighborhood? And in what ways?

Participant #7: In what ways does it impact how I feel about the neighborhood? , I mean I think a lot of times just Lewiston in general just has this negative reputation. And I'm not sure how much KP contributes to that. But it's definitely like a part of it. Like so one of my students is actually, her father was the one who had like his head bashed in with a brick or something. Yeah like I don't know. It makes me sad that things like that happen there, or that, I don't know like that was a catalyst for people to say that like, "Oh, these refugees are so dangerous and they need to come here and do the right thing." And somehow that like transfers to the language thing, "They need to learn English." And then like that's where I get emotion, because I'm like, "Don't tell me I have to speak English." Like maybe you should learn English yourself, you know? *Laughs.* Yeah I don't know. I think that at KP *sighs* bad things happen and it's, and KP has like a negative reputation but I think it's only that way because Lewiston in general has a negative reputation.

Interviewer: Interesting.

Participant #7: Yeah, but like I mean I don't have any problem with it. I guess I don't really spend as much time there as I could. Like I said I'm usually just passing through it to get to wherever.

Interviewer: When I say "Kennedy Park" what comes to mind?

Participant #7: Basketball, kids, you always see a bunch of, there is always passing through it, you always see a bunch of women just sitting on like blankets and stuff. Like Muslim women in the full garb who are just chilling, talking. You also see kids, little kids just running around. Yeah sometimes you see people passing through on bikes. Sometimes I'm passing through you see people swimming. Yep it's just I guess what comes to mind is what I see. The trees, which are *laughs* which you can't climb *laughs.* Not the right type to be able to climb easily. I think if I could climb trees there I might be there a little more often. *Laughs.*

Interviewer: Do you go to other parks to play soccer and like...?

Participant #7: Simard Payne. Or I've been trying to get in with like, sometimes I see people *inaudible* they'll play like on the Bates field. I think I've passed by once or twice and tried to give them my information so I can know when people convene, but I haven't been able to get into stuff like that. So I might ask like, "Is this pickup? How often do you guys do this?" And you know sometimes somebody comes over and just gives me like the lowdown. Like, "Oh can you put me on the mailing list or let me know?" Yeah.

Interviewer: I can give your information out to some people.

Participant #7: yeah, that would be cool 'cause as long as I can get like a notification it just gives me another opportunity to just be outside meet new people and just try and stay fit. I'm with that.

Interviewer: Did you play at [college]? Just curious?

Participant #7: No, I did not want to play because it takes so much time just to do that one sport. But I had so many interests that I wanted to be involved in.

Interviewer: When and why do you go to Kennedy Park? What areas of Kennedy Park do you usually go to?

Participant #7: It's not a big area. *Laughs.* I feel like if I'm at Kennedy Park I'm at Kennedy Park. Like I'm not at a certain area. Alright, typically so I make it a habit to try and like to bike or walk because it's a way for me to stay healthy, but also it's like a green thing to do and I'm not spending as much money on gas. So typically, I'm passing through to either get to my second job at the [community organization] or passing through to get to Sonder and Dram or Forage or Bear Bones or something down there. Yeah like I'm not, it's just not typically like my destination. It's just I happen to be passing through.

Interviewer: How have you noticed Kennedy Park change?

Participant #7: The renovations. *Laughs.* Which were, it was annoying because when trying to walk down the sidewalk you couldn't. You had to cross over the street. I remember something they did at this corner and I can't remember what exactly it looks like, but it used to be like circular, but I couldn't just drive my bike straight through. I think now like I had, now it's easier to bike at this little corner here. I think, yeah those are like the changes I have seen. Other than that.

Interviewer: How would you change Kennedy Park?

Participant #7: Oh.

Interviewer: Or what would you change about Kennedy Park?

Participant #7: What would I change?

Interviewer: Or how. Either question.

Participant #7: It would be nice if the, like the fields were more suitable for like soccer. Like or if they like, and it doesn't have to be an official size but, if they made something like small - like the basketball court - over here, or here, or wherever, and the gate was raised so you could prevent the ball from flying into the street and causing that sort of issue. It'd be cool. That's what

I would change. I want soccer space. I guess you could plant trees that are climbable, but that comes with its own issue. People could get hurt especially little kids and I understand that.

Interviewer: What would you keep the same?

Participant #7: What would I keep the same? Hmm, well I don't know if I would change anything. I don't know if I have a strong opinion on it. What would I keep the same? I don't know. I don't have an answer to that. *Laughs.*

Interviewer: Sure, that's fine. Where do you see yourself living in five years?

Participant #7: I don't know, don't know. So, I'm never the type of person who has like a 5 year plan, like because then if I have a plan, then it kind of, it kind of puts me into a box and I don't think I'm the kind of person that would be as open to any opportunity that presents itself. And I want to be that person. So you know if there is an opportunity in five years in Costa Rica, I'm going to Costa Rica. If it's in California then I am going to California. Yeah like I think I'm the type of person who is willing to just like try things if I get an opportunity. *Laughs.*

Interviewer: So maybe the answer is the same, but where do you see yourself in 10 years?

Participant #7: In ten years? Ten years, I'm [age] now. Maybe I'll have children by then. Who knows with who? *Laughs.* Who knows where I'll be? Alright I do know that in 10 years I want to be speaking more Spanish, not or Spanish and French. It just like I don't, I want my everyday not to be so English-centric. And I think the best way to do that is to have a family where you know that's the norm. Like you know past girlfriends I've always joked like if my children want to communicate with me they're going to have to learn multiple languages. *Laughs.* Like oh man. I could see like a future girl or boy of mine just being annoyed like, "Oh my god, my dad's talking Spanish in front of my friends again." And like I could, I would definitely be that dude, that guy. *Laughs.*

Interviewer: How should the city of Lewiston handle or govern Kennedy Park?

Participant #7: Handle or govern Kennedy Park? The first thing that comes to my mind was the they had like the, what's the word? A curfew, because, in response to that heightened level of violence. And I thought, "Yeah that seems like the right thing to do. That's logical. I can't be upset about that." But people were upset about that. I guess that sounds logical. *Inaudible.* Let's get our act together so that the cops don't have to feel like as if they're on high alert. How should they govern it? Ugh, I'm not like a political expert, but I think that response, I'm like, "Alright that's logical - I can't be upset." How should, I don't have the best answer for that.

Interviewer: That's fine. Is there anything else that you would like to add or that you would like me to know?

Participant #7: About KP or?

Interviewer: In general. Any thoughts after the interview or about KP in particular?

Participant #7: Nah. I don't have anything,

Interviewer: That's awesome.

Participant #7: I'm really bad with like just coming up with stuff. When people ask me specific questions I'm like, "Alright I can answer that."

Interviewer: No this is, this is, was all perfect. That's all I have.

Participant #7: Sweet!

Participant #8:

Interviewer: *Asks Participant #8 to draw KP.*

Participant #8: *Inaudible.* This is the pole. There's like another place connected to the pole, like the sprinklers, and there's like the gate right...

Interviewer: Can you talk a little bit louder? Sorry...

Participant #8: Ad there is a gate right here, like around it. So, and there was a like a skateboard place right here. And like there was like a little gate around it, and there's the place you come in and there's another place you come in right here. Through here like beside it, and this is the, this is like the place you come in from like house of pizza. Like you come from and then you look left to it. You left to your side you're going to see grass place that's where I first play, my first time playing at Kennedy Park. It was that place, and we would play tag and I would ride a bike and my sister would use her phone.

Interviewer: So let me just ask before you keep going, are you going to add more... is this like, so this is the skate park? So this is the basketball court?

Participant #8: No, I forgot the basketball court *drawing* the basically court is right here.

Interviewer: Okay. *Asks clarify questions about drawing.*

Participant #8: This is the skate park, this is the pool, this is the skate park, and this is um, the basketball court. And there's like another grassy place right here.

Interviewer: Are you finished with the drawing? You can be, no pressure. Would you like to add color?

Participant #8: Yeah.

Interviewer: Yeah? Go ahead, and then I'll ask you some questions afterwards. So you don't have to, you can fill me in later.

Participant #8: Mmm, I forgot. There is like a path around here and goes it goes like that, and it goes like that, and it cuts through right there and it goes like that and there's, there's a line between it. Like you can go through the skate park and there's a store normally around right here and right around the basketball court, right there. Done.

Interviewer: Done? Do you want to add color anywhere else, or you're good?

Participant #8: No. *Inaudible.*

Interviewer: *Talks about marking the drawing for their own records and asks some clarifying questions.*

Participant #8: There's another store right there, and Poirier's would like normally come right here and there would be a path right there goes through this. *Inaudible.*

Interviewer: You want to draw that? You don't have to. It's up to you.

Participant #8: *Inaudible.* There would be like flowers around here next to like when you're coming from the library to Kennedy Park.

Interviewer: Cool. All good? Okay, I'm just going to... *Continues to mark map and ask clarifying questions.* Okay. Can you tell me why you included these things?

Participant #8: Because like this is like the second park I ever went to inside Lewiston and yeah it was pretty cool. Like there was like one big park that is that has a pool, a skate park, a skate park, and a basketball court and like in a place that you can play soccer. Like, like a place that you can play like soccer, football, like any sport like basketball yeah...

Interviewer: But why did you include these things on your map?

Participant #8: Because these are like the uh, like when you see the park like these are the first things you're going to see.

Interviewer: Is this your hometown?

Participant #8: Huh?

Interviewer: Is this your hometown? Lewiston?

Participant #8: I wasn't born here.

Interviewer: No?

Participant #8: Do you consider it your hometown?

Participant #8: Yeah, because I was here this was my second state I ever went to.

Interviewer: Okay, where were you before this?

Participant #8: I was at, I was at this place named [name] and it was fun there.

Interviewer: Where is that?

Participant #8: I don't - I think - I don't remember.

Interviewer: What's it called?

Participant #8: [Name].

Interviewer: Is that in America?

Participant #8: No.

Interviewer: So you do consider Lewiston your hometown?

Participant #8: Yeah because I was here half of my life.

Interviewer: Is your home on the map.

Participant #8: Home? What map?

Interviewer: On this map?

Participant #8: No.

Interviewer: Do you consider any of these places “your place?” Like places you feel most comfortable?

Participant #8: Like I would like, I don’t go them at the winter, fall, and I would sometimes go there at spring but I always go there like we would me and my friends we would like go to the store and I would sometimes hang around with my nephews and my niece because they were like we would go to places like indoor parks like airpark and we would go to restaurants and we would eat there.

Interviewer: *Asks name.*

Participant #8: My name is [name].

Interviewer: *Asks gender identity.*

Participant #8: Male.

Interviewer: *Asks ethnic identity.*

Participant #8: What is that?

Interviewer: Like do you consider, like I consider myself, I’m white, Eastern European.

Participant #8: I’m African-American.

Interviewer: *Asks religious identity.*

Participant #8: My religion? Is *hesitates/stutters* Muslim.

Interviewer: Are you religious?

Participant #8: Huh?

Interviewer: Are you religious?

Participant #8: What is that?

Interviewer: Do you consider yourself religious? Like do you practice Islam?

Participant #8: Yeah my mom... my like my, my, my brother’s wife would like always tell us to go pray and all that. Like she loves being Muslim and yeah.

Interviewer: And how do you feel about it?

Participant #8: I feel amazing about it because it’s my culture, no, yeah my culture.

Interviewer: *Asks age.*

Participant #8: I’m [age].

Interviewer: Cool. *Asks about where he goes to experience nature.*

Participant #8: I would go to that park down there.

Interviewer: What’s that? What park is that?

Participant #8: Paradis Park. But like it used to be “Blackey’s” then they and then now people call it the “Hog.”

Interviewer: The what?

Participant #8: The Hog?

Interviewer: The Hog? Can you spell that?

Participant #8: H-O-G

Interviewer: It used to be called Blackey’s?

Participant #8: No, yeah, no. I don’t know. Like some people would call it Blackey’s, some people would call it the Hog, and people like would call it um...

Interviewer: But its real name is Paradis Park?

Participant #8: Yeah. They changed it

Interviewer: *Asks about hanging out with friends and meeting new people.*

Participant #8: Me? I would like, I would like go with my friends and meet new people because like I don’t like feel comfortable like by myself like nobody knowing like going up to them.

Interviewer: But like where in town would you go?

Participant #8: Nowhere in town, anywhere.

Interviewer: Anywhere?

Participant #8: Yeah.

Interviewer: How long have you lived in... So you live on [street] Street?

Participant #8: Yeah, I live right there.

Interviewer: How long have you lived on [street] Street?

Participant #8: Like five years.

Interviewer: And where did you live before that?

Participant #8: I used to live, what do you call it? I forgot the place, next to like [restaurant].

Interviewer: On [street] Street?

Participant #8: No, it *inaudible.* I don’t remember. I forgot I think.

Interviewer: Okay. Where did you or your family live before coming to the Tree Streets?

Participant #8: Tree Street? What?

Interviewer: Like where did you or your family live before coming to [street] Street.

Participant #8: We used to live like down there. We used to go to different schools, but my dad’s, like my dad’s, my dad’s friend like was like a translator like he would be a translator and

he would like work at like [organization] and he would like talk to people and translate for people that like don't know English. My dad like we didn't know English that much but my dad like took us to a new school at [school] and I met new people and I become popular there.

Interviewer: Um, where are you from? Like if someone were to ask you where you were from what would you say?

Participant #8: Like Africa.

Interviewer: What's an average day like for you? What is a normal day like for you? Take me through beginning to end.

Participant #8: Like first I wake up. My mom would like bring [food] because she works at [restaurant] and she would bring [food] and we would like, she would put them on the table for us then we wake up, we eat it, we eat, then I would just go back to sleep. Then when I wake up I eat again then I go to the living room and I play Fortnite and play with my friends and then sometimes I would like I would go to social media and text my friends. Yeah that's it. Then we would, me and my friends would go somewhere and meet new people.

Interviewer: Where is somewhere?

Participant #8: Where's somewhere? Like sometimes we would go to [school], sometimes we would go to that Knox Park.

Interviewer: Knox Park?

Participant #8: Yeah, and sometimes we would go to Kennedy Park.

Interviewer: When I say "Kennedy Park" what do you think of?

Participant #8: Like what?

Interviewer: When you hear "Kennedy Park" what comes to mind?

Participant #8: Like I would go there to check if there was people there. I would go there and check out who is there then if like there's people I would like go and play basketball.

Interviewer: Have you noticed Kennedy Park change?

Participant #8: Yeah.

Interviewer: How so?

Participant #8: Like they change by laws, and they change by like they would change like they would cut down trees and they would like, you know the basketball court? They would like change its tar. Like now the tar is black and white, but the other the old tar would be like wait what? Gray tar, but now it's like black and white.

Interviewer: What would you change about Kennedy Park?

Participant #8: I would change that... nothing. Like I feel comfortable and I don't like making change.

Interviewer: Would you want anything to stay the same? What wouldn't you want to change?

Participant #8: Like I wouldn't change the basketball court, but I would wait, I would change like when you're coming from Poirier's there is like a lot of people like I don't, if I was the boss of Kennedy Park I would change like around to like people with like wheelchairs to go down and I would change like dogs pooping on the floor.

Interviewer: In five years where do you want to be living?

Participant #8: Five years? So I would be living in [state].

Interviewer: [State]? Why is that?

Participant #8: 'Cause we're moving there.

Interviewer: Oh you are? So you know that's what you're doing.

Participant #8: Yeah.

Interviewer: When are you moving?

Participant #8: I'm a move, probably, I don't know like. I might move like my dad when my dad comes when he is going to like he's like trying to go to Africa right now. When he comes back he is going to like, we're going to move like the little kids are going to go like, like me, my big brother, me and the older people in my family are going to go to, let's, go to Minnesota. And my mom, wait my dad, my little sister, and my little brother are going to go to Africa. They're going like, my dad is making this big house for them and they're going to live there for two months and they're going to go to Minnesota because like *inaudible* he just like wants to.

Interviewer: Let me ask you, if it was up to you where would you be living in five years?

Participant #8: New York.

Interviewer: New York? The city? New York City?

Participant #8: No, change it. Dubai!

Interviewer: Why Dubai?

Participant #8: 'Cause it's an amazing place.

Interviewer: Cool. Have you been there before?

Participant #8: *Indicates no.*

Interviewer: How do you think Lewiston should control or like govern Kennedy Park? What rules do you think they should like set in place or take away?

Participant #8: They should take away the like how, how like Kennedy Park shuts down at 10 o'clock and opens back at five o'clock because there was too many fights and all that. Like there was too many violence.

Interviewer: *Asks if there is anything else that Participant #8 would like to add.*

Participant #9:

Interviewer: *Reads Participant #9 the map prompt.* Can I just ask, what street do you live on?

Participant #9: [Street]. I'm probably missing one path. And I don't remember where the, hah, where the little path that comes from the Gazebo.

Sings. *Small talk as Participant #9 draws.*

Interviewer: *Asks about her phone number.*

Participant #9: [Phone number]. *To herself* Is there anything else I'm missing? I don't think so. That's actually part of the park.

Interviewer: *Asks about what's included in the map.*

Participant #9: Walking paths, benches, trees, the Gazebo, the little I think, actually I'm not sure the paved courtyard is still there, I know there was some redoing done this past summer and it might not be there. Huh. Basketball court and children's playground.

Interviewer: Why did you include these things?

Participant #9: 'Cause they're there, 'cause they're big. I mean I don't use the ball court and the playground but they're pretty hard to miss.

Interviewer: Is Lewiston your hometown?

Participant #9: I live here.

Interviewer: If someone were to ask you, "What's your hometown?" What would you say?

Participant #9: I'd say so.

Interviewer: Lewiston?

Participant #9: Yeah.

Interviewer: Did you include your home on the map?

Participant #9: No, it's, it's not right off the park. So no.

Interviewer: Do you consider any place you included your place?

Participant #9: I pass through often enough.

Interviewer: Is the park a place you avoid?

Participant #9: Not really. I don't go out of my way to not go there.

Interviewer: *Asks name.*

Participant #9: [Name].

Interviewer: *Gender identity.*

Participant #9: Female.

Interviewer: *Ethnic identity.*

Participant #9: Caucasian.

Interviewer: *Religious identity.*

Participant #9: Pagan.

Interviewer: Are you religious?

Participant #9: I practice, yeah.

Interviewer: *Age.*

Participant #9: [Age].

Interviewer: Thank you. *Transitions to the series of sense of place questions.* What are your go to place to experience nature?

Participant #9: In the summer there is our summer garden that is right next door to the house.

Interviewer: On [street] Street?

Participant #9: Yep, excuse me, and I just walk around a lot so it's kind of wherever I happen to find it.

Interviewer: Where do you go if you want to be social or if you want to meet new people?

Participant #9: Jeez, meet new people. I've tried to get my friends to go out to things, but they don't seem to want to. So I couldn't really say. Sorry. I do like sitting with a cup of coffee and a bit of people watching at [restaurant]. And sometimes I'll cut through the park, yeah.

Interviewer: Do you own property in the Tree Streets Neighborhood?

Participant #9: Kind of. I'm part of a housing cooperative. So it's not renting but it's, kind of.

Interviewer: How long have you lived in the Tree Streets Neighborhood?

Participant #9: Oh, seven, eight years?

Interviewer: And has it all been on [street] Street?

Participant #9: No, I moved to [street] Street a little more than a year ago

Interviewer: And where were you before that?

Participant #9: [Street].

Interviewer: [Street]? And have you, is [street] and [street] the only streets that you've lived on?

Participant #9: Nope. I've also lived on [street] Street and [street] Street.

Interviewer: Where did you or your family... *Explains redundancy of questions.* So, where did you or your family live before coming to the Tree Streets?

Participant #9: Well I grew up in [Town], Maine [county in Maine], and after high school I, few years after high school, I moved to [town in Maine]. Then for a short time, my father was dying,

so I went out to be with him. I lived in [Town in Washington State], couple of months, moved back to Maine. Lived in [town in Maine] for a few years, and then I moved to Lewiston. Actually, first place I lived in Lewiston was on [street] Street, and that was for a few years and then I moved downtown.

Interviewer: Are you a refugee or Asylum Seeker?

Participant #9: No.

Interviewer: Can you tell me what an average day is like for you?

Participant #9: I usually leave the house around well around the time I did today, like noonish. Go out, roam around. A few days a week I go to the gym. I'll hit the library and the cafe down the street.

Interviewer: As in [restaurant]?

Participant #9: Yes. They know me by sight there. *Laughs.* And pick up bottles, go dumpster diving, whatever, run errands. Like I got a book to return and something I should drop off at [organization] sometime this week probably, I hope it's not too late, I don't think it is. Then at the end of whatever I'll head back home and I'm home by like six o'clock.

Interviewer: So you usually spend the whole day out?

Participant #9: Four or five hours, yeah.

Interviewer: Does Kennedy Park impact how you feel about the neighborhood?

Participant #9: A little. I know it has a reputation.

Interviewer: In what ways? How does it impact...?

Participant #9: Well *sighs* it's got *stutters* on the positive end it's a lovely place, geographically.

Interviewer: What do you mean geographically?

Participant #9: I mean it's a handsome looking park. We've got that gazebo spot, and we've got lovely shade in the summer, and there is a place for little kids to play and for people to have a ball game if they want to. And I didn't include it on the map because I realized I kind of, it kind of runs over the edge but there is also, and I'm not sure it is really considered part of the park, but there is the water park, and there is the skate park. Great things. On the other hand, somebody got killed there last year. *Laughs.* And it's kind of known as a place that it, well you want to avoid it at night. It can be a bit rough, and in my experience you just got to have some street sense about what and when to avoid, but it's a great place for public gatherings. We have stuff like the community unity barbecue that we do every summer. Well "we do", I'm not that involved, but and if you want to get a big group of people together outdoors in Lewiston that's, at least in the summer and fall that's the place to do it. So it's great that we've got it.

Interviewer: When I say "Kennedy Park" what comes to mind?

Participant #9: The green rectangle over that way. *Laughs.*

Interviewer: When and why do you go to Kennedy Park?

Participant #9: When? Ugh well usually especially in the winter it's just to go through. On the way out to down to Lisbon Street or on the way home from there. *Asks if interviewer is okay.*

Interviewer: *Respond yes.*

Participant #9: Unless there is something specific happening there and sometimes I'll stop on the way through, check the bins for bottles, that kind of thing.

Interviewer: What areas of the park do you frequent?

Participant #9: The middle, I guess.

Interviewer: Like the paths?

Participant #9: Yeah, like I said I'm usually passing through. Unless there is some particular event there. Like there concerts there this past summer, which was neat.

Interviewer: How have you noticed Kennedy Park change?

Participant #9: I haven't really. It's been pretty much the same except for the renovations in one corner over the summer. I think they, no, I think they relayed, no they didn't relay all the paths I think it was just the ones that are laid with stones or tiles or whichever it is. That are just in one corner.

Interviewer: What would you change about Kennedy Park?

Participant #9: I'd get some bathrooms there. I know they tried before and people I think people knocked them over, but yeah. I'd get bathrooms there.

Interviewer: So they put port-a-potties there before and people knocked them over?

Participant #9: Yeah, and I'm told that's what happened. There was an experiment with having an outhouse in the park and people screwed it up for everybody else. Because it is, if you're walking around town it's a spot in town where there's no public bathroom. So yeah I'd have a public bathroom there.

Interviewer: Is there anything you would want to keep the same?

Participant #9: Everything else. It sure seems fine to me.

Interviewer: Where do you see yourself living in five years?

Participant #9: Earth. *Laughs.* Other than that I don't know. I like where I am so I guess I could say where I am.

Interviewer: 10 years?

Participant #9: Possible? I don't know. I don't think that far ahead in the future.

Interviewer: Fair enough. How do you think the city of Lewiston should handle or govern Kennedy Park?

Participant #9: I take really hands off approach to any attempts to control most things. I don't know how well the curfew in the park has worked as far as preventing more fights. I think it closes at 10:00 pm now, and it closing at all is a new thing after Mr. Giusti died. I don't know

what if anything that's prevented. Or I don't think there has been any trouble over it 'cause I'm pretty sure I would have heard. There were spots around town where word spreads and I frequent one or two of them. So I would of heard something. My guess is then at least it hasn't been a problem. As far as I can tell doing things like increasing police presence in an area like my neighborhood. I'm talking about operation hotspot... doesn't do much good. It just raises tensions and gets people to demonize police more. Because it kind of bolsters the reputations of those places as a bad place to be. When they may not necessarily be that. And at the same time you then, you get those cops who like to you know abuse their authority.

Interviewer: You have personal experiences?

Participant #9: Yeah, I did. *Laughs.* Not in the park, but...

Interviewer: In the neighborhood?

Participant #9: Yeah. I get screamed at and threatened with arrest for sitting on the sidewalk.

Interviewer: I'm sorry to hear that.

Participant #9: Yeah. So am I. *Laughs.* I haven't seen that particular officer in quite some time and I'd overheard that he was going to retire so... So hopefully. Yeah.

Interviewer: *Done with questions. Checks if Participant #9 wants to add anything.*

Participant #9: I'm *hesitates* it is a great place to sit and watch people. I'm not much one for sitting still and staying in one place for very long, but, but it is. And there is all kinds of people there. On the other hand, I do have a friend who's black, this matters in reference to this particular anecdote, who doesn't go there and doesn't really want to at least partly because she's afraid that if she does she'll get people assuming she is a drug dealer. Which is part of the negative image. And I have sat down to rest in the park and discovered through overhearing conversations of the people right next to me that they're there to sell. And I don't, that doesn't bother me, but other people, you know, it does. That's just an observation. It's not a complaint or a suggestion or anything. It's just, yes, that is part of the reputation of pretty much any city park. It's not just Lewiston, you know? That's going to be there wherever, wherever it is.

Interviewer: *Asks about interviewing Participant #9's friend mentioned above.*

Participant #9: *Explains that friend is disabled and mobility impaired and doesn't get out much, but offers to put interviewer in touch.*

Participant #10:

Interviewer: *Reads map drawing prompt.* And you live on [street] Street?

Participant #10: I live on [street] Street. So it's a couple of blocks from Kennedy Park, but I've lived in the Tree Streets neighborhoods off and on for probably 17 years total. So Kennedy Park is really like the center of social for a lot of people, especially people that have nothing to do. If they're not at Kennedy Park they're at Poirier's Market or somewhere like that talking and hanging out. *Sighs.* So I have good history and bad history with Kennedy Park. Years ago when my son was little I got into a fight with a teenager there because I supposedly said somebody was something or other. It was, back then there were a lot more trees, there weren't as many patrols. So I'm walking through at 8 o'clock at night, which I knew was a dumb idea, but I needed to get back to [street] Street where I was staying with a friend. We cut through the park and she's like, "Hey you!" and just starts off. And I was [age] she was [age]. I'm smart enough to know that I don't want to go to jail for a [description] with an attitude problem. So I didn't hit her, but she hit me a couple of times. I've got an invisible scar over my eyebrow from it. And the thing I remember the most from the whole situation was, *laughs* she looks at me and she goes, "What the hell is wrong with you?" And I said to her, "If you think that getting punched a couple of times is the worst thing I have been through in my life, you need a wakeup call." And she's just kind of like, "What?" *Laughs.* Yeah. The park used to be a lot different than it is now. I miss the trees, I miss you know, I miss the trees. I don't miss the people that were there all the time. There's still a lot of people that hang out there a lot that really need to find other things to do with their lives, but you'd think because the police station is right there it would be safe. It really isn't. Which is sad because it could be a really decent place to be.

Interviewer: Do you avoid Kennedy Park?

Participant #10: I don't avoid it - but I don't engage the way I could. But it's just, it's not ideal. So one of the things I'm drawing on here is the benches, and the reason it's a big deal for me is because I do a lot of walking. Especially in the summer when it's 90 degrees outside. Once and a while I need to sit down. The problem is the people that hang out there all the time are on the benches all the time. There aren't any picnic tables, the ground is usually soggy from one thing or another. It's just, it's not *inaudible* it's not, you know, a favorite place to go and spend hours on end. It's not just not built for that which is kind of sad to me. The playground, it's nice that there was an attempt, but if you're going to have a park where people and their children hangout, playground needs to be bigger. There needs to be bigger equipment. There needs to be shade for those 90 degree days. I love the park, I have bad history, I don't spend as much time there as I could and there are reasons for that and it makes me kind of sad. Because it could do a lot of really good things for the community. *Talking about what she is drawing.* Gazebo, flag pole, there's a bench there, bench there, there's a couple on this side, couple along here. I don't like what they did in the park here. There used to be like stone inlay and like a whole circle of benches, trees. It was really nice and now it's just open no benches. This is basically big empty useless space right now. There is a walking path through there. Right now it's just a place to walk through, it's a shortcut to work for me. I like it to be a place where you could actually go with your kids and turn them loose and not have to worry, but we've got, there's people that congregate here and congregate here that they don't have technically open containers, but you know what is in that brown bag. Once in a while they're medicated in one way or another and

they get into fights. A lot of the Somali kids that live over here on Knox Street, the immigrant kids come over here to play. The problem is that the white people in the neighborhood have all their issues, “Where’s your mom?” “Why aren’t there parents out here watching you?” It’s a public park. They shouldn’t need parents to be out there watching them. But I can understand too, when your kids are running crazy, “Where’s mom?” The problem is the moms do come over and they sit over here and then these people talk loud, swear, things like that, that are not, not culturally appropriate for them. Muslim people don’t swear *laughs* they don’t yell. They’re very calm collected people. The people that hang out all day long in Kennedy Park, drinking, medicated, and causing drama, don’t have that kind of self-control. Some of them are great people. I met some of them they’re awesome. And some of them are kind of like “woo.” I love the park, but there is work we need to do. There’s only, I think, there’s more trees over here. There used to be a bunch of them here. There’s like a row here, and rows here, but there is none over here. There’s like one all by itself over here and I understand police need to be able to drive by and see what’s going on, but when you take away all the shade trees people don’t want to go and hangout in the blistering sun. I can talk all day so if you have questions... *Laughs.*

Interviewer: No, no I do. So once you’re done with the drawing I have a series of questions I’ll move onto.

Participant #10: So I’m just going to put a “B” on the benches.

Interviewer: I’ll know what they are.

Participant #10: And there is like a trash can there, a trash can there, there is like three trash cans. Which is another reason you see trash blowing around all the time because they’re not in convenient places. It’s just, you want people to use trash cans, put trash cans where people will use them. There used to be a water fountain here. I think it’s been shut down or it’s just a spigot for a hose now. Again, 90 degree day people are outside, kids are running around, water is the king. I mean, yes, it’s good to make money off of things, but it’s just filling a water bottle or getting a drink. It’s not that huge a deal.

Interviewer: *Explains about question* Are you good with the drawing?

Participant #10: Yeah.

Interviewer: No pressure, it’s totally up to you.

Participant #10: So one of the good things we have is Trinity here. They’ve got a fenced in area. And then there is the, the day care, but it’s “promise” they call it. It’s like, it’s daycare, but it’s like learning daycare for mostly low income kids. And then there is housing. The only issue we have with Trinity is that they do a lot of outreach to our unemployed, unhoused people and that’s not a bad thing, that’s a really good thing, but there’s no other resource for them. So a lot of them end up there and unfortunately a lot of the people that are homeless in Lewiston-Auburn are mentally ill or have issues with substances which means they’re right by a park where kids could be, should be playing. It’s not exactly the best environment, and the city police do not patrol the park the way most of us would like to see. I think that’s another reason we have the issues with the New Mainers and the longtime residents the way we do. Because there is nobody there to make sure that people behave themselves. I mean the whole issues, what happened with my friend who died was kids with BB guns. Somebody was driving and they were shooting out the window and he’d been drinking. And instead of having the common sense to wait until the next

day and go find parents, he'd been drinking, so he goes charging down Knox Street to find their parents and knock some sense into these little punks. No he shouldn't have been drinking, but they shouldn't have been shooting people with pellet guns either. I have a friend who works at Portland Glass and it was like last August they had over \$8,000 in glass repairs they were doing from pellets just in Lewiston/Auburn. That's a lot of broken windows. And I realize they're pellet guns, but still dangerous. You hit somebody in the eye they're going to lose the eye. You hit somebody in the wrong place you're going to really hurt them. It's just I wish the police department would change their focus. So they focus on big deals and ignore little things. A friend of mine came out to his car, he lives down on [street] Street right down by the [landmark] right here, we had a big thunderstorm. He comes out the next day and there's a bullet hole in the passenger door right behind his driver's seat. It must have happened sometime that night because he doesn't remember being shot at and didn't hear anything. He went to the police station. They've never done anything. No investigations, no dusting for prints, nothing, no looking to see if there is a slug in his car. None of it. If you ignore all the little things they have a chance to build into big things. I don't know if that's something I just learned as a parent or common sense, I don't know. But if you've got kids running around with pellet guns blowing out windows and nobody does anything about it they're going to keep doing things.

Interviewer: *Begins to intro questions.* Do you want to add color?

Participant #10: Maybe

Interviewer: This is your drawing, it totally up to you. Feel free to draw as I ask and whatever... So can you just take me through, tell me what's included on the map and why you included it?

Participant #10: So, my house is over here. And then there's the Promise Center and Take2, B Street Center is here.

Interviewer: Trinity? *correcting because she pointed at Trinity and said Take2.*

Participant #10: Trinity. They do a lot of great work and don't get anywhere near the amount of support they need. Community Concepts is here. They do a lot of good work. This is their housing development and then there is another one. Actually it's like this whole block here and this is all subsidized housing for elderly people. It's amazing, they do some really good work. And there's a bunch of parking back here for Community Concepts and the Basilica. Used to all be high school, centuries ago, St. Dominic's. And then they tore down the school and Community Concepts put their building there. There is a reason Community Concepts ended up with their building there. So when I first moved to this community years ago, I lived over here at [address] and there was a little corner store here and there was another one down the street here. [Local business], I go there all the time, really bad for my bank account *laughs* but the city came up with this idea. They were going to take and put a four lane highway through this neighborhood up to the Colisee. I live right there. I saw a picture in the newspaper of what they were planning to do and there were no crosswalks, four lane highway through the middle of a residential neighborhood. I had, so my [name] was 17, he was probably like 4. I'm like, "So, I'm supposed to get across this how? We teleport? We run in front of traffic?" Then I got to looking at all my friends who lived in the neighborhood what was going to happen to them. I had friends that their landlords were already upping rent, things like that. And I'm like, I ended up getting involved and going to a couple of town meetings and just being like, "What is your plan for this? Where are all of these people supposed to go?" We were at one at the multipurpose center and

the city planner, I think his name was Bennet at the time, was like, "Well there is Tall Pines." Well it was Tall Pines at the time - "There is Meadowview and all these other housing development. There's places for people to go." And I sit up I'm like, "Yeah, and have you looked at the waiting list for those places? They're two to four years, generally. Two years if you have an emergency, four years if you're just waiting." I said, "That's not a solution because landlords are pushing people out now." And he didn't have an answer. When it first came out they talked like it was all done, it was happening, there was nothing we could do about it. But between people in the neighborhood speaking up and what not the city had to stop. So Community Concepts was supposed to, they were going to tear down this building here and build a \$3 million building for Community Concepts right there. They were going to tear down subsidized rentals for disabled and elderly folks to build an office building for Community Concepts? Nah. So, because the high school was in really, really bad shape they were already building their new place over in Auburn, they bought that property, tore it down, and built there instead. Which is good because they're actually close to the park, closer to people that need them. It's just, the short sightedness and I think on some level the city too was like well if we tear down all this low income housing all these poor people we don't want in our town will have to leave - and all this decrepit housing we don't want to deal with will go away.

Interviewer: So let me steer you back to the park though really quickly. So can you just take me through what you included in here?

Participant #10: So I included the skate park because my son skateboards but won't skateboard in the skateboard park. I don't know whether it's him being anti-social, he doesn't know anybody there, or whether he just doesn't like the way it is set up. The swimming pool because it sounds like a great idea, but nobody that I know swims there. And I don't know whether that's just they don't want to pay the fee to swim or whether they don't want to swim with immigrants. I don't know. People are wacky. And then the basketball courts. Sometimes people are playing with and sometimes people aren't. My son and his friend [name] used to come here to play basketball when they were little, and my friend lived on [street] Street because that was all basketball courts and they were just down the street. They haven't played basketball for I don't know how long. Usually when you see kids in here playing basketball it's all New Mainers which is great, but I'd like to see some of the nonimmigrant kids come out and play with them. Here's the playground - wide open space, no shade, pathetic equipment. Which explains why there are hardly ever kids playing there and when they are they're fighting over who gets which swing and "Wait a second I want to play on that too." I included the water fountain that may or may not still be there because water fountains are important. Access to water is a thing. It's going to get worse, people just don't want to admit it. *Laughs.* I included the gazebo. I'm glad they finally rebuilt it. I remember it being shut down for years. It used to be like the hotspot for Kennedy Park where trouble started because drama people would be in there all day and nobody else could really use it. It was a lot of it was broken and falling apart. It took a long time to finally get all of the funding together to make it happen, and now it's beautiful and useful. So I like it. And there is a wheelchair ramp so everybody can get on the gazebo if they want to. The flagpole is still there which is great. I've got it in the wrong place, but that's alright. *Laughs.* I didn't include the little park over here, yeah it's over, wait a second *drawing* the park over here. There is another walk way through here. I am not paying attention. I didn't include the park over here because it is basically nonexistent now. I mean I miss the benches and the circle 'cause it was get off work, get off for lunch, walk over sit in the park, smoke a cigarette, eat my lunch,

and now I can't do that. I just have to see if there is a bench open. There used to be like, I'm not even kidding there must have been like 8 or 10 benches in that area. And a bunch of trees. They are all gone.

Interviewer: Is Lewiston your hometown?

Participant #10: No.

Interviewer: Is there any place on the map that you consider your place? Like you feel you belong? It's where you go.

Participant #10: Not really.

Interviewer: Including your home? Or excluding your home?

Participant #10: Basically home.

Interviewer: *Explains identity questions.* *Asks name.*

Participant #10: [Name].

Interviewer: What's your gender identity?

Participant #10: Female.

Interviewer: Ethnic identity?

Participant #10: Native American. We can't prove it, but that's what I identify as.

Interviewer: Religious identity?

Participant #10: Spiritual not religious.

Interviewer: Are you actively spiritual?

Participant #10: Yes.

Interviewer: And how old are you?

Participant #10: I'm [age].

Interviewer: *Explains sense of place questions and repetitiveness.* What are your go to places to experience nature?

Participant #10: When I can get out there Thorncrag. I like to go down to the River Walk.

Interviewer: Which river walk?

Participant #10: Railroad Park.

Interviewer: Is that the one by Auburn?

Participant #10: Yeah. So there is the walking bridge and the Lewiston side is like a walking track and the Auburn side which goes by the falls. I love - I like it there. Thorncrag is beautiful, but it's kind of a pain to get to.

Interviewer: Where do you go to be social or to meet new people?

Participant #10: I'm not afraid to talk to people so I walk around the streets and talk to people. I do a lot of work with [community organization] so I meet a lot of people through there too.

Interviewer: *Asks about [name].* *Small talk about [name] and [community organization].* Do you own property in the Tree Streets?

Participant #10: It's kind of an interesting situation. So I live in a co-op. It's cooperative housing. So technically I'm an owner, but according to Section 8 I'm a renter.

Interviewer: How long have you lived in the Tree Streets Neighborhood?

Participant #10: Off and on for about 17 years.

Interviewer: And where did you or your family live before coming to the Tree Streets or intermittently, you can explain?

Participant #10: So before the Tree Streets - originally back in 2000 I was coming from [state], before that [state], before that [state], and before that [state]. So I've been all over. We moved back to Lewiston three years ago from just across the river in Auburn. But Lewiston is where we first came. It's always kind of been my home away from [state].

Interviewer: Where are you from?

Participant #10: I was raised in *inaudible* [state].

Interviewer: So if I were to ask you your hometown you would say?

Participant #10: [State].

Interviewer: Are you a refugee or asylum seeker?

Participant #10: No.

Interviewer: Can you take me through an average day?

Participant #10: Drag my lazy butt out of bed at like 8:30 knowing I have to be at work at 10. Usually will get up, shower, brush teeth, maybe eat something. About nine o'clock bother to get dressed. Walk to down to work at [organization] on [street] Street, answer phones and do my job and then depending on the day, so like today I'm meeting with you and then at four I'm meeting at [community organization] and then when that's over I go home. But it is usually go to work go home. If I get out early enough sometimes I'll get on the bus and go up to Save-A-lot, my grocery store, and then come home or go over to Walmart. I've usually got just enough time on the bus to do one thing. So some weeks things are a little crazy so it's like every day I'll go to the grocery store one day, go to Walmart another day, go somewhere else another day. Which is a lot of running around. The bus takes forever to do anything, but it's what I can afford. So it is what I do.

Interviewer: Does Kennedy Park impact how you feel about the neighborhood?

Participant #10: It depends on the day. So some days if it is a beautiful, gorgeous day and if the parks not crazy it makes me feel better about the town because at least there is somewhere nice you can go and sit. If it's a beautiful day and the drama level is insane it kind of stresses me out about the downtown.

Interviewer: When I say Kennedy Park what comes to mind?

Participant #10: A place I wish I spent more time.

Interviewer: When and why do you go to Kennedy Park? And what areas of Kennedy Park do you frequent?

Participant #10: So almost daily I walk through Kennedy Park on the walking path just to get to work. When I go there on purpose it's usually wander around see what's going on. If I'm doing stuff with [community organization] it's talking to people asking about you know the latest thing we're doing. So when we were working on Medicaid expansion I was down there talking to people about, "Hey, this is what we're trying to do. Do you want to help us get it on the ballot?" Sometimes it's just wandering around talking to people. It's a good place to just go and wander around if you're trying to kill time.

Interviewer: How have you noticed Kennedy Park change?

Participant #10: So, from years ago when I was first talking about Kennedy Park and the drama level there it's calmed down a lot. There aren't as many fights as there used to be. There's not as much drama as there used to be. But there is still drama. I miss the trees. I miss having more basketball courts. Yes, I'm glad there is Skate Park. Kids need a place to do that, that's not on the sidewalks and not on the benches. But I remember a lot more people used to have their kids on the playground and they don't now. And I don't know whether that's because the demographic has changed so much with the New Mainers or whether it's just - it seems to me like there is less equipment there than there used to be. I don't know. Maybe I'm just...

Interviewer: What would you change about Kennedy Park?

Participant #10: I'd plant more trees. I'd move the playground. Whether it's over here or up here. I'd move the playground and make it bigger, better equipment. I'd add some picnic tables. I'd look into like a community patrol or something. So that when people are out there that are obviously open containers, being like, "Guys, you can either take that somewhere else or the police can come and cite you for open container." It needs to be a place where people are comfortable and when people are openly drinking or getting in fights it's not a place to be comfortable.

Interviewer: What would you keep the same?

Participant #10: I'd definitely keep the Gazebo and the flagpole. You know the stuff that's been there for a long time. The walking paths are good. They need to repave this one really, really badly. It's bad. But overall it's laid out really well except for the playground being tiny. But we need to bring, we need to bring the trees back. Whether that's planting fruit trees, which would be awesome. Well until they're falling of the trees and yeah, but you know?

Interviewer: Where do you see yourself living in five years?

Participant #10: That's a tough question. It changes every other day. So, because of my place in the [community housing organization] sometimes I see myself being there 10 years because it's like I own my apartment. So I can really make it home. It's not just that I'm renting here. It's more permanent. And sometimes it's in the school bus I convert to an RV driving the country. It changes.

Interviewer: So my next question is 10 years? So same answer?

Participant #10: Yeah.

Interviewer: How should the city of Lewiston Handle or Govern Kennedy Park?

Participant #10: There needs to be more active, maybe not patrolling... I don't want to say police off... I don't know. It's hard because if we have a police officer there all the time there are going to be people that are uncomfortable by that. Even people who aren't doing things are going to be uncomfortable. But there is too much going on there right now that isn't good. And I don't know whether that means we have a police officer who is wandering through the park, you know, once an hour every hour. I don't know, but there is more that can be done. We just need to figure out how. It needs, we need to make it a comfortable place again. And some of that starts with the community speaking up to community members and saying, "Dude take your fight elsewhere." Or, "Heck, don't fight." I don't know.

Interviewer: *Asks if there is anything else.*

Participant #10: There is a lot of potential there. We just have to learn how to tap it.

Interviewer: Any suggestions?

Participant #10: Stop being afraid of low income residents. We're not scary people. I'm running for [elected position] to prove we're not scary people. Well that and give not scary poor people a voice. This city for a long time has been older, white, wealthy people run which has meant a lot of things that were bad before have just gotten worse.

Participants #11 & #12:

Interviewer: * Map Prompt.*

Participants' Mother: *To kids, mainly Participant #12* Whatever stands out to you. It could be the pool, it could be the swings, it could be the skate park, it could be just the surrounding area, it could be our house in the corner with the park. Whatever you want.

Interviewer: There is no right or wrong with this stuff. It is totally your vision.

Participants' mother asks if she can take pictures. *Interviewer responds yes.*

Participant #12: I don't remember much about Kennedy Park.

Participants' Mother: I know we haven't been there in a little while.

Participant #11: I have.

Participants' Mother: I know you go with [name] and them. You have the pool, the kiddie sprinkler area, then it's the basketball court and then it's the skate park.

Participant #12: I think it's just the pool. *Inaudible.*

Participants' Mother: And then the little store on the corner is cool. We went there all the time.

Interviewer: Anything that comes to mind

Participants' Mother: That looks cool [Participant #11].

Participant #11: Thank you.

Participants' Mother: Welcome. It's so quiet in here. *Laughs.* I'm not used to it.

Small talk with Participants' Mother. *Discussing potential interviewees.* *Particularly people who avoid the park.*

Participants' Mother: Well, she tries to avoid it now. So, you'll have some feedback from her. *About [Participant #12].*

Participant #12: Yeah.

Participant #11: I don't.

Participants' Mother: *Laughs.* Two different perspectives. Three actually. I have the adult perspective. They have the kid perspective.

Participant #12: Pre-teen.

Participants' Mother chats with Participant #12.

Participant #11: Basketball court.

Participants' Mother chats with Participant #12.

Participants' Mother: You don't have to get that much into detail [name]. Like we can just...

Interviewer: Whatever she wants is fine. Yeah.

Participants' Mother: Alright. I just didn't know what your timing was.

Interviewer: No, whatever comes to Participant #12's mind...

Participant #11: I'm done.

Interviewer: Done?

Participant #11: Mhm.

Interviewer: Cool. Can I take this? Is that okay? *Has Participant #11 write his name and date on the back of his drawing.*

Participants' Mother: *To Participant #12.* It's fine just draw a pool. Like you can just put water, like blue for the water or something. You're overthinking it, you're always drawing. Cut it out.

Laughs.

Interviewer: There is absolutely no judgement I promise.

Participants' Mother: *To Participant #12.* Just get the markers and start filling stuff in if you want.

You adding onto it [name]? *To participant #11.*

Participant #11: *Confirms.*

Participants' Mother: Cool.

Participant #12: *Inaudible.* I think they still have the diving board, I'm not sure.

Participants' Mother: I'm sure, I didn't even know they had one. Did they?

Participant #12: They did

Inaudible conversation but about Participant #12 finishing her drawing. *Participant #11 talking asking about the dates of his break from school.*

Interviewer: What did you include in your map?

Participant #11: Skate park, a pool, basketball court, and the swings.

Interviewer: And why did you choose to include that?

Participant #11: 'Cause when I'm at Kennedy Park I usually go on the swings and the basketball court, but sometimes I go on the skate park, but, and I go to the pool, but the sprinklers yeah.

Interviewer: *To Participant #12.* What did you include?

Participant #12: Just the pool.

Interviewer: Why just the pool?

Participant #12: 'Cause when I was younger I didn't like going on the swings and stuff 'cause it wasn't much. So the pool is where I would mostly just see my friends where we would hang out.

Interviewer: Is this your hometown?

Participant #11: Mhm.

Participant #12: Yeah.

Interviewer: *To Participant #12.* You too?

Participant #12: Yeah.

Interviewer: Did you include your home on the map?

Participant #11: Just a second. *Begins to draw home.* *Participants' Mother and Participant #12 begin to laugh.*

Interviewer: No you don't have to add it! That's totally up to you. Whatever you want to do. That's not a test, it's not a trick question. Saying no is totally fine. Most people don't include it.

Participant #11: Mhm.

Participants' Mother: He didn't include it.

Interviewer: So, no, okay. *to Participant #12.* What about you?

Participant #12: Mmm-mm. *No.*

Interviewer: Is there anywhere on your drawing that you consider your place? Like you feel you belong?

Participant #11: Well not the swings because I hit my head there before. The basketball court.

Interviewer: Why?

Participant #11: 'Cause I love basketball. But football is my first.

Interviewer: And [Participant #12] what about you? Is there anywhere on there that you consider your place?

Someone comes into [community organization where interview is taking place] and Participants' Mother goes to greet them.

Participant #12: The basketball court because I like basketball too.

Interviewer: Yeah. What about on your map?

Participant #12: No.

Interviewer: *Asks for names.*

Participant #11: [Name].

Interviewer: Full name?

Participant #11: [Full name].

Interviewer: *To Participant #12.* And you?

Participant #12: My full-full name?

Interviewer: Whatever you want to say.

Participant #12: [Name].

Interviewer: Now we're going to switch the order. So [Participant #12] I am going to ask you first. What's your gender identity?

Participant #12: Girl.

Interviewer: And what about you?

Participant #11: A boy.

Interviewer: Ethnic identity?

Participant #12: I don't know what that is.

Participant #11: I don't...

Participants' Mother: Like your race.

Participant #11: I'm [nationality].

Participants' Mother: And what else?

Participant #11: [nationality], [nationality], Frog...

Interviewer: Frog? *Laughs and inaudible chatter.*

Participant #12: I'm [nationality] and...

Participant #11: *Whispering.* [nationality].

Participant #12: What else am I?

Participants' Mother: [Racial identity].

Participant #12: [Racial identity].

Participant #11: And [nationality]!

Participant #12: No we're not [nationality].

Participant #11: No - [nationality], [nationality]!

Participant #12 and Participants' Mother confirm that they are not [nationality]. *Woman who came in earlier interrupts to ask about locking a certain door.*

Interviewer: *Religious identity.*

Participant #12: Yeah. I don't know what that is.

Interviewer: Like are you religious? What is your religion?

Participants' Mother: Catholic, but we're spiritual.

Participant #11: We believe in G-d.

Interviewer: *To Participant #11 and Participant #12.* And that's how you both feel?

Both confirm.

Interviewer: [Participant #12] how old are you?

Participant #12: I'm [age].

Interviewer: [Participant #11]?

Participant #11: [Age]. *Laughs.* Half to [age].

Interviewer: *Birthdays.*

Participant #11: [Date]. Four months.

Interviewer: You turn [age] on [date]?

Participant #11: Mhm.

Participant #12: [Date].

Interviewer: *Sense of place question transition.* It's important - let each other answer fully. When you want to go and experience nature where do you go?

Participant #11: Onto a walk in the woods and we sometimes have picnics there and yeah.

Interviewer: What woods in particular?

Participant #11: I don't know the name.

Participants' Mother: We go to Thorncrag, we go to, we go everywhere all over the place.

Interviewer: And [Participant #12] what about you?

Participant #12: Wherever, Thorncrag and stuff. I don't really go out as much. But whenever I do I go to Thorncrag with my mom.

Interviewer: [Participant #11], where do you go if you want to hang out with your friends or meet new friends?

Participant #11: Nowhere

Interviewer: What do you mean?

Participant #11: School, School.

Participants' Mother: You could say Football.

Participant #11: Football.

Interviewer: Where do you practice football?

Participant #11: [School].

Participants' Mother: And? [School].

Participant #11: Used to, [school] and...

Participants' Mother: What about [community organization]?

Participant #11: [Community organization]? Yeah, [community organization].

Interviewer: [Community organization]?

Participant #11: Yeah, and [different community organization]/

Interviewer: [Clarifying question]?

Participant #11: [Community organization].

Interviewer: What position in football do you play?

Participant #11: Mmm

Participants' Mother: Front center.

Participant #11: Front center, and defense, offense.

Interviewer: All positions?

Participant #11: Yeah, all positions.

Interviewer: [Participant #12], what about you? When you want to be social or meet new friends or just hang out with your friends where do you go?

Participant #12: [Restaurant].

Participant #11: It's so yummy.

Participant #12: Or I don't know just, I don't know just around my neighborhood. We walk and stuff or school.

Interviewer: How long have you guys lived in the Tree Streets Neighborhood or in your current house?

Participant #11: 8 years.

Participants' Mother: Well, we've been in Lewiston for his whole life, but we've been where we're at almost three years.

Participant #11: Oh yeah.

Interviewer: And where were you guys before this?

Participants' Mother: [Street] Street. And before that [street] Street.

Interviewer: Oh right I remember that.

Participant #11: I was 5.

Interviewer: If I were to ask you “Where are you from?” What would you say? *To Participant #11.* Say I’m a kid your age, we meet on the basketball court and I’m like, “Oh hey, where are you from?” What do you say?

Participant #11: Maine, Lewiston.

Interviewer: [Participant #12], what about you?

Participant #12: Lewiston, Maine.

Interviewer: Are you guys refugees or Asylum seekers?

Participant #11: Huh?

Confirms no

Interviewer: Can you take me through an average day? What’s an average day like for you?

Participants' Mother: What do you do? You wake up, you go to school?

Participant #11: I go to school, get home, play.

Interviewer: Play what?

Participants' Mother: Homework.

Participant #11: Homework *sighs* and...

Participants' Mother: Chores.

Participant #11: Yeah, chores.

Participants' Mother: What else? What do you play? Tell him what you play.

Participant #11: Fork Knife!

Participant #12: FortNite.

Participants' Mother: FortNite.

Participant #11: *Laughs.* It’s called Fork Knife!

Participants' Mother: Nope. He is a little clown. He is just silly.

Interviewer: After you play FortNite, and your homework is done and your chores are done what do you do?

Participant #11: Go to sleep.

Interviewer: Full day! What about you [Participant #12]?

Participant #11: *Inaudible silly whisper.*

Participant #12: I wake up, I go to school, I come back home. I do my homework and chores and then I just go on my phone and then eat dinner and then go to bed.

Participant #11: Oh yeah eat dinner.

Interviewer: What do you do on your phone?

Participant #11: Not a lot of stuff.

Participant #12: I go on snapchat. *Laughs.* And download videos, just games.

Participants' Mother: Episode.

Participant #12: Oh yeah Episode.

Participant #11: Musically.

Participants' Mother: She writes stories on Episode. It's really cool.

Participant #12: I read them.

Participant #11: You should try it.

Interviewer: Does Kennedy Park impact how you feel about where you live?

Participant #11: Yeah.

Interviewer: How so?

Participant #11: I don't know. But I just like going there 'cause I meet a lot of new friends and there's a lot of friends that go there that I know.

Interviewer: What about you [Participant #12]?

Participant #12: Yeah, yeah a little bit.

Interviewer: How so?

Participant #12: Sometimes it could, like, it could be in a good way or a bad way sometimes, sometimes I feel a little uncomfortable. Or sometimes I could be excited because I'm going to see people I know, but then there is people I don't know.

Interviewer: What makes you uncomfortable?

Participant #12: Be... I think it's just naturally downtown. It kind of gives you a weird vibe sometimes, so even though I've lived here a long time it still sometimes uncomfortable for me.

Interviewer: What's that...? It's okay if you don't want to elaborate, but if you are comfortable can you say more about what makes you uncomfortable in particular?

Participant #12: Well, I'm trying to make it seem like it's not bad.

Interviewer: It's okay.

Participants' Mother: Yeah, just say how you feel just be respectful about it.

Interviewer: this will never come back to you. I'm going to make sure no one like, this will stay between the four of us.

Participant #12: Well, I think it's because since I have lived here a long time I've seen fights, or a lot of sometimes drunk people, people that have been on drugs and stuff, like since I've just seen some of that I think it just kind of scares me about going out on my own around Lewiston.

Interviewer: So is it focused on the park?

Participant #12: Yeah.

Interviewer: Or about Downtown Lewiston in general? Particularly about the park?

Participant #12: Basically just downtown, near the park and stuff.

Interviewer: Does the feeling of uncomfortability get stronger as you get closer to the park?

Participant #12: Yeah, sometimes.

Interviewer: Would you say you avoid Kennedy Park?

Participant #12: Yeah.

Interviewer: When I say "Kennedy Park" first thing that comes to your mind. 1 - 2 - 3 go!

Participant #11: President Kennedy.

Interviewer: Interesting, okay.

Participants' Mother: Interesting.

Interviewer: Anything else?

Participant #11: Mmm it makes me hungry.

Participants' Mother: *Laughs.*

Interviewer: Why is that?

Participant #11: 'Cause Kennedy sounds like water.

Participants' Mother and Participant #12: *Laughs.*

Interviewer: Might it be because of the businesses nearby? [Restaurant] and [restaurant]?

Participant #11: Yeah.

Interviewer: [Participant #12], when I say "Kennedy Park" what comes to mind?

Participant #12: Scary.

Interviewer: I know we just went through this I don't mean to make you focus on this, but is there anything you want to add to that?

Participant #12: No.

Interviewer: When and why do you go to Kennedy Park?

Participant #11: 'Cause it's fun and interesting.

Interviewer: When do you go?

Participant #11: Like...

Participants' Mother: Just in the summer.

Participant #11: Just in the summer.

Participants' Mother: There's nothing to do. They need to do winter stuff I feel like...

Participant #11: I don't like winter.

Interviewer: And what part of the park do you guys go to? Like what you drew on your map?

Participant #11: I go to pool, swings, basketball court, but not Skate Park.

Interviewer: *To Participant #12.* When and why do you go to Kennedy Park?

Participant #12: I think, I don't know I haven't been there in a long time.

Interviewer: It's okay you can say never.

Participant #12: Yes, never.

Interviewer: I won't ask you why. We already went through that. If you were to go what part of the park would you go to?

Participant #12: Probably the basketball court.

Participant #11: That's where all her friends go.

Interviewer: Have you noticed Kennedy Park change? How so? You're nodding your head. How so?

Participant #11: No

Interviewer: No?

Participant #11: No I said, when I was younger, it was just more fun, but now there is just a lot of bad things that I am trying to be careful of.

Interviewer: Like what?

Participant #11: Like what [Participant #12] said.

Interviewer: [Participant #12], what about you? Have you noticed Kennedy Park change?

Participant #12: Yeah a lot. Just because there is a lot more drama now than there used to be when I was younger.

Interviewer: Is that with people your age?

Participant #12: My age, they can be in high school or even adults.

Interviewer: What would you change about Kennedy Park if you could?

Participant #11: Mmm the fighting, bad words, yeah that's it.

Interviewer: What would you keep the same?

Participant #11: Mmm the swings and stuff except the slide. Oh I forgot about the slide. *Starts drawing.*

Interviewer: Why not the slide?

Participant #11: Because it's just too small. It's like this small

Participants' Mother's phone goes off. *She apologize.*

Interviewer: [Participant #12], what would you change about Kennedy Park?

Participant #12: Like my brother said the fighting or just the, sometimes the people, not necessarily the people, but sometimes the people. And just I don't know, had more community things to do there.

Interviewer: What would you keep the same?

Participant #12: The playground 'cause even though sometimes it could be like I don't know like a scary place, people still have a lot of memories there. It's kind of like, I don't know, me.

Interviewer: [Participant #11], where do you see yourself living in five years - you're [age] - where do you want to be?

Participant #11: Mexico eating some Tacos. *Laughs.*

Interviewer: Is that where you want to be living or you just want to be on a trip there?

Participant #11: Living. I want all my food.

Interviewer: And 10 years from now - you're [age]?

Participant #11: I want to live my life.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant #12 What about you? Five years from now you're [age] going on [age]. Where do you want to be?

Participant #12: California.

Participant #11: I was about to say that, but no.

Interviewer: 10 years - you're [age] where do you want to be?

Participant #12: New York.

Interviewer: New York City?

Participant #12: Yeah.

Participant #11: You're [age]?

Interviewer: I'm [age].

Participant #11: Oh.

Interviewer: How do you guys think the city of Lewiston should handle or govern Kennedy Park?

Participant #11: I want the government to change a lot of bad stuff, but he is just too busy on work. I mean what!

Participants' Mother: What are you talking about?

Participant #12: Not the president [Participant #11], the government.

Participant #11: Oh.

Interviewer: Like the city of Lewiston.

Participants' Mother: Like the police, like how they handle things.

Participant #11: I want to the police to like watch at Kennedy Park.

Interviewer: So you would like there to be more police there?

Participant #11: Yeah, watching. But they're across the street...

Interviewer: [Participant #12], what about you?

Participant #12: I think more so the police officers because even though they're like across the street, half the time they don't see what's going on. Which I think that's something that needs to be fixed because I don't know. Just things need to be handled because sometimes it's just worse.

Interviewer: So you guys would both like more police in the park?

Participant #11: Mhm.

Interviewer: *Asks if there is anything they would like to add.*

Participant #11: I'm tired.

Interviewer: You're almost done! Anything you want to add?

Participant #11: Uh...

Interviewer: Anything you want me to know about the interview, about Kennedy Park, about you, about how you feel about Lewiston?

Participant #11: About Lewiston. I just want it to be better someday. Uh huh!

Interviewer: [Participant #12], what about you? No? Okay.

Participants #13 & #14:

Interviewer: *Map prompt.* *Small talk about their ability to draw and the lack of necessity for good drawings.* *To Participant #14* Done?

Participant #14: Mhm.

Interviewer: Do you want to add color to it?

Participant #14: No.

Interviewer: *Asks to write name and date.*

Interviewer: *Asks if I'm pronouncing Participant #13's name correctly.* *To Participant #14.* Can you tell me what's included in your map?

Participant #14: [Participant #14], like I guess right when you enter the Park over here on the corner there is like a church place, and I used to go there when I was like younger. Well, I call it Kim's place, but it's like a church.

Interviewer: What do you call it? Sorry?

Participant #14: Kim's place 'cause he used to own it. And then there's like houses and then after there is like streets, more houses, and then there is a store that like in the summertime people like go and buy drinks and candy. And then like there is like another street. And then at the bottom there is a skate park and the pool and then right beside it is the basketball park and then the playground. Then there is like trees and like the fields. You can like play and run. And like up, well, up here at the top, I don't really know what this place is called, but like it was built there. And then there is like I think there is like a hotel or something that people can go and stay. And then right across the street is the nutrition place, Lot-of-garden, and they do like, like some of my friends used to work there in the summertime. And then yeah there is just like more houses and that's it. And the playground next to the pool and the basketball court.

Interviewer: Why did you include that stuff?

Participant #14: Should I say my name? *Because interviewer asked them to say their names for clarity when listening to the recording.*

Interviewer: Yeah, just in case.

Participant #14: I include the stuff because it's like, the stuff I remember and stuff like when I used to like go there when I was like young and like I would like go to these places where I just like remember seeing the places.

Interviewer: Is this your hometown?

Participant #14: [Participant #14], I guess. I mean I came here when I was really young. So I guess it's my hometown.

Interviewer: Where were you born?

Participant #14: [Country].

Interviewer: Did you come straight to Lewiston from [Country].

Participant #14: [Participant #14], no I lived in [state], [state], and then came to Lewiston. Yeah.

Interviewer: So you would consider it your hometown?

Participant #14: [Participant #14], *Hesitating.* Yes because I've lived here like the longest. Yeah.

Interviewer: Is your home on the map?

Participant #14: [Participant #14], no but like it's a few streets down. Like when I was younger it was just a few streets down.

Interviewer: Is there anywhere on your map that you consider your place? Like you belong there, you feel you go there a lot?

Participant #14: [Participant #14], I guess the playground or like the field near it 'cause like that's where like we would hangout and like play like with friends and stuff. Like play tag.

Interviewer: Do you avoid going to Kennedy Park?

Participant #14: [Participant #14], now... I don't know, kind of. 'Cause it's like *hesitating* I guess when I was like little it was known for people would go there and like fight and stuff. It was kind of like bad so I wouldn't like really go there.

Interviewer: *Asks name.*

Participant #14: [Name].

Interviewer: *Tells Participant #14 she can stop saying her name because Participant #13 is still drawing.* Can you tell me what your gender identity is?

Participant #14: What's do you mean, like, female?

Interviewer: Yeah. You identify as female?

Participant #14: Yeah, I identify as female.

Interviewer: *Ethnic identity.*

Participant #14: What does that mean?

Interviewer: Like what is your race? Where do you consider yourself to be from? Like for example, I am white and I am Eastern European and Jewish. That's like a part of my identity.

Participant #14: I am African-American and I guess [nationality] 'cause I was born there.

Interviewer: *Religious identity.*

Participant #14: Muslim.

Interviewer: Are you religious?

Participant #14: Yeah.

Interviewer: *Asks age.*

Participant #14: [Age].

Interviewer: *Wait until Participant #13 is done drawing.* *Asks if they are on break and where they go to school.* *Both go to [school].* *Asks what year.* *They are sophomores.* *Small talk.*

Participant #13: I think I am finished.

Interviewer: *Asks Participant #13 to sign and date drawing.* *Interrupted by someone coming into community organization asking for some of the adults.* *Asks Participant #13 to state her name.*

Participant #13: My name is [name].

Interviewer: What did you include in your map?

Participant #13: In my map I included the Bates hospital, my house sort of, and the trinity church, and Kennedy Park and a building next to the store.

Interviewer: Why did you include these things?

Participant #13: Where should I start? *Laughs.* The Trinity Church like I used to go there for like homework help, so it's like memory I guess to me. And like a joy. And it's always been there helping me when I needed them and like with homework. And I also added the Bates Hospital because they help people and like my family. Well my mother goes there for like medicine and stuff and checkups instead of like going to the actually hospital. She goes there and they're very helpful to her. Then I added the, I added Kennedy Park. In my picture I added the slide, but I'm not much of a good drawer.

Phone on the desk rings in the background. *Participant #14 silences it.*

I added a slide, and a few swings 'cause there is like a baby swing and there is another swing which you can go on too. And I added the basketball field 'cause sometimes when I go there I go to the basketball and play basketball with the other people and just join them for fun. And I added some trees 'cause there is lots of trees.

Interviewer: The Bates Hospital, where is that?

Participant #13: Where is it at?

Interviewer: Yeah.

Participant #13: It's like on Bates Street. Like over there sort of. If I was like in this direction...

Interviewer: Is it like B Street?

Participant #13: Yeah, the B Street Hospital. Oops.

Interviewer: No, that's okay! I just wanted to make sure. Is this your hometown?

Participant #13: I guess I would consider it my hometown 'cause I have been here for a while. But I've been in and out, but yeah.

Interviewer: Where were you born?

Participant #13: I was born in [country].

Interviewer: And is Lewiston the first place you came?

Participant #13: No.

Interviewer: Where did you go? Can you just give me a brief outline?

Participant #13: I've went to [state], [city], [state]. Then I went to, I came to Lewiston. Then I moved, then went back to [state]. [City], [state]. Then I went to Auburn, Maine. Then I came back to Lewiston. Then I went to [state], then I also went to, I forgot what it's called, but I like this other place out of town.

Interviewer: Every time you've lived in Lewiston have you lived in the Tree Streets or have you lived in other areas as well?

Participant #13: Other areas.

Interviewer: Okay, do you know the names of the other streets? It's okay if you don't.

Participant #13: [Street] Street, [street] obviously. [Street] like where the bridge is, that street, I don't remember what it's called *pointing* like on this street. Like where [school] is. I lived like up the hill and like yeah.

Interviewer: Is your home on the map?

Participant #13: Oh, yeah! Right there.

Interviewer: Is there any place on your map that you consider your place? Like you feel you belong?

Participant #13: I feel like I belong in Kennedy Park where the basketball field is, basketball court.

Interviewer: What about your home?

Participant #13: My home's on [street] Street 'cause that is where my home is.

Interviewer: No, but I mean do you feel like you belong there as well?

Participant #13: Yeah.

Interviewer: Yes and no?

Participant #13: Yeah.

Interviewer: 'Cause you move around a lot?

Participant #13: Yeah. *Laughs.*

Interviewer: When you lived in [state], did you live in [city]?

Participant #13: I lived in [city].

Interviewer: *Gender identity.*

Participant #13: Oh I did not say my name...

Interviewer: *Explains that it is okay since I am just talking to her and not her and Participant #14.*

Participant #13: My gender is a female.

Interviewer: *Ethnic identity.*

Participant #13: I guess I would describe myself as African-American.

Interviewer: *Religious identity.*

Participant #13: Muslim.

Interviewer: Are you religious?

Participant #13: I'm not that much religious, but I'm still sort of religious.

Interviewer: *Asks age.*

Participant #13: I'm [age].

Interviewer: *Explains and transitions to sense of place questions.* *Asks them to say their name first.*

Interviewer: What are your go to places to experience nature?

Participant #14: Is it like anywhere?

Interviewer: Anywhere. If you want to go and experience nature where do you go?

Participant #14: Lewiston?

Interviewer: *Confirms.*

Participant #14: Well, if I want to go I usually go there is like a park near the high school, oh I didn't say my name, [Participant #14]. There is a park near like the high school I use to like take my siblings and like yeah. I just do that.

Interviewer: Near Lewiston high school? What about you?

Participant #13: [Participant #13], I guess, if I wanted to experience nature I guess I would go to the park.

Interviewer: To Kenn... to?

Participant #13: I don't remember what it's called.

Interviewer: By the river?

Participant #13: Like, what street are we on?

Interviewer: Right here? I'm not sure, but like right around here?

Participant #13: Yeah.

Interviewer: So not Kennedy Park?

Participant #13: Yeah, down there. There is like a park down and there is a woods.

Interviewer: Oh Paradis Park?

Participant #13: Yeah.

Interviewer: Some people call it “The Hog”?

Participant #13 and Participant #14 laugh.

Participant #13: Yeah, the Hog.

Small chat about the Hog. *Asks if they know why it is called that.* *They say it’s like “The Hole” but they don’t know how to spell it.* *Explains why interviewer is asking.*

Interviewer: Is that what you’re talking about?

Participant #13: Yeah and it’s like a park like yeah I guess.

Interviewer: When you want to hang out with your friends or meet new friends where do you go?

Participant #14: [Participant #14], the same park. I just like take my friends with me, yeah.

Interviewer: What about you?

Participant #13: [Participant #13], I don’t usually go to Kennedy Park 'cause there is like, at the summer there is a whole population there is like many people there.

Interviewer: I forgot to ask you, do you avoid Kennedy Park?

Participant #13: Sometimes, but like yeah when it’s cold, but like when it’s warm sometimes I’d go. I guess I’d avoid it.

Interviewer: Why do you avoid it? Or when do you avoid it?

Participant #13: I don’t know. When I like see fight I like avoid it the next day and not go.

Interviewer: *To Participant #13* Did you answer where do you go to meet people or be social?

Participant #13: Yeah.

Interviewer: By the park, sorry, you meant by the high school? *Double checking with Participant #14.*

Interviewer: How long have you lived in the Tree Streets?

Participant #14: Well, is [street] a Tree Street?

Interviewer: I believe so, yeah.

Participant #14: I lived there for three years I think.

Interviewer: Okay, and what about you?

Participant #13: I have no clue. I’ve been in and out. This year, probably like two, three years.

Interviewer: Okay. So you moved back two or three years ago?

Participant #13: Yeah.

Interviewer: [Participant #14], where did you or your family live before coming to the Tree Streets? *Explains the reason for the repetition in the questions.* *Repeats the question.*

Participant #14: [Participant #14], we lived in like [state], I forgot the name, the *inaudible* or whatever, [state], yeah.

Interviewer: And before that?

Participant #14: [State], I don't know where in [state], but we lived there.

Interviewer: And before that you were in [country]?

Participant #14: Yeah.

Interviewer: And [Participant #13], where did you or your family live before coming to the Tree Streets?

Participant #13: We lived in [city], [state], [state], [city], Auburn, ME, Lewiston, ME, and it was [state].

Interviewer: And before that?

Participant #13: [Country].

Interviewer: [Participant #14], if someone were to ask you where are you from what would you say?

Participant #14: [Participant #14], I'd say [country].

Interviewer: [Country], okay, and [Participant #13], what would you say?

Participant #13: Yeah, I'd also say [country].

Interviewer: *Tells them they can stop saying their own names 'cause future questions will be prefaced with their names.* [Participant #14], are you a refugee or Asylum seeker?

Participant #14: I'm a refugee.

Interviewer: And [Participant #13]?

Participant #13: Asylum seeker? What's that?

Interviewer: *Explains difference between asylum seeker and refugee.*

Participant #13: Oh, I'm a refugee as well.

Interviewer: And, okay, [Participant #14], what is an average day like for you? Just take me through an average day.

Participant #14: Waking up going to school and then I go home go to the [community organization] and then I just go back home.

Interviewer: [Participant #13], what about you?

Participant #13: Do I have to say it? Or, it's just like the same thing.

Interviewer: Okay, that's fine, and [Participant #14], does Kennedy Park impact how you feel about the neighborhood?

Participant #14: What is like, can you like explain that more?

Interviewer: Sure, does it like, does knowing that Kennedy Park is there or you know thinking about Kennedy Park make you feel like, how, if Kennedy Park wasn't there would you feel differently about the neighborhood? You know?

Participant #14: I guess 'cause like I know like there is like a lot of bad stuff that happens, like there is a curfew now because of like the park and I guess I wouldn't, it'd be okay if the park was there because a lot of people go there to like hangout or just play and but then there is also like the bad stuff that people do there. Yeah.

Interviewer: So how would you say it makes you feel about the neighborhood?

Participant #14: It doesn't really make me feel anyway.

Interviewer: [Participant #13]?

Participant #13: I forgot the question.

Interviewer: That's okay. *Repeats the question.*

Participant #13: Not really.

Interviewer: Okay, [Participant #14], when I say, ready?

Participant #14: Mhm.

Interviewer: When I say "Kennedy Park" what comes to mind? 1 - 2 - 3 go!

Participant #14: The basketball court

Interviewer: *To Participant #13.* 1 - 2 - 3 go!

Participant #13: The swings!

Interviewer: Okay, why do, [Participant #14], why do you think those things come to mind?

Participant #14: Well like the summer a lot of people go to the basketball court and like play and then compete with each other. Yeah.

Interviewer: Do you play or do you watch?

Participant #14: I just watch.

Interviewer: You should play. Basketball is fun

Participant #14: I'm bad.

Interviewer: That's how you get better! *Laughs.* [Participant #13], how about you?

Participant #13: The swings. I don't know. Like usually during the summer there is like many kids. Not like as much kids, not as much as kids in the basketball field, but there is like many on

the swings and like waiting to go on the swings. So I guess. Yeah, and I used to be one of those kids so...

Interviewer: [Participant #14], actually we'll switch over this time. [Participant #13], when and why do you go to Kennedy Park?

Participant #13: When and why? I go there when I'm bored. Why? Because I don't know it entertains me.

Interviewer: Sure, and what areas of the park do you go to?

Participant #13: I usually go to the basketball court or the swings and push my siblings.

Interviewer: How many siblings do you have?

Participant #13: I have, younger?

Interviewer: All. Total?

Participant #13: 8! Seven, well I'm the eighth one.

Interviewer: You're the eight one. So you have?

Participant #13: Seven.

Interviewer: Seven older siblings?

Participant #13: I have 3 older siblings and 4 younger ones.

Interviewer: Ah. Oh oh okay I see what you're saying. Brothers and sisters?

Participant #13: Yeah.

Interviewer: [Participant #14], when and why do you go to Kennedy Park?

Participant #14: I usually go to Kennedy Park in like the summertime to bring my siblings just to like let them play.

Interviewer: How many siblings do you have?

Participant #14: I have three older and six younger.

Interviewer: So you're 10 [siblings]?

Participant #14: Yeah.

Interviewer: And what area of the park do you go to?

Participant #14: I usually stay in the playground or yeah the playground area but if like I see like one of my friends in like the basketball court I'll go there.

Interviewer: [Participant #13], have you noticed Kennedy Park change?

Participant #13: Yeah.

Interviewer: How?

Participant #13: There's a new fountain. *Laughs.* Water fountain.

Interviewer: New water fountain?

Participant #13: Yeah, used to not be there. Used to not be there.

Interviewer: [Participant #14]?

Participant #14: The Park has changed like when I was younger 'cause like the way that it is like way different. 'Cause like the swings and like the slides and stuff. Like when I was way different there was more of that and I think that they destroyed that and I think made a new playground area. So it's like way different.

Interviewer: Different in a good way? In a bad way? Just different?

Participant #14: Well it's like less like things to play with, to play on. So yeah, it changes.

Interviewer: [Participant #13], if you could what would you change about Kennedy Park?

Participant #13: If I could change anything I guess I'd change, well there is like the police station there and it just feels awkward 'cause I personally feel like the police are always watching us so I guess I'd remove the police station if I could change

Interviewer: Is there anything you would want to stay the same?

Participant #13: I'd love the basketball field to stay the same and like become larger so there is like more hoops.

Interviewer: [Participant #14]?

Participant #14: I'd change like how it's like not safe 'cause like in the nighttime people are like afraid to like walk through the park 'cause they don't know what's going to happen and then something like about the park. Or like I'd change the playground area or putting more equipment so there is more kids that can play on stuff and instead of having to wait for other kids to like finish.

Interviewer: And what would you want to stay the same?

Participant #14: Like yeah the basketball court?

Interviewer: [Participant #13], where do you see yourself living in 5 years? You're [age] you're my age. Where do you see yourself living?

Participant #13: Well I'd want to travel the world and like find new experiences and see newer place even though I love Lewiston, but like yeah.

Interviewer: 10 years - you're [age] - you're older than [name] - where are you living?

Participant #13: *Thinks about it.* California possibly. I want to go there.

Interviewer: [Participant #14], five years from now where are you living?

Participant #14: I think five years I'd still live in Lewiston.

Interviewer: 10 years?

Participant #14: I don't know about 10 years. I might like live out of state I think, but yeah.

Interviewer: [Participant #13], how should the city of Lewiston handle or govern Kennedy Park?

Participant #13: That's a hard question.

Interviewer: It is! There's no right or wrong answer. It's just your opinion.

Participant #13: How should the city handle it...?

Interviewer: Or like how should they police it even? Or should they police it at all?

Participant #13: Well at first they should like remove those cop cars and the police station like put it somewhere else 'cause I personally feel, like I said before, that I'm being watch, but I guess that's just my paranoia. But also they, well, they should also put at least one police man or woman there just to like watch the kids and stuff and keep them safe, like breakup fights if that happens and also like play along with them, but that's just my opinion.

Interviewer: [Participant #14]?

Participant #14: Yeah I like agree with her. I think there should be like a cop in like the park like just like preventing things from happening like if there is a fight or like someone is doing something bad or just like playing with the kids... Yeah.

Interviewer: *Asks if there is anything they'd like to add.*

Participant #13: Have you lived in Lewiston?

Interviewer: *Explains that he is from NJ, lived at Bates, and during the interview lived off campus.* *Describes apartment location.* *Ask if they went to [school] and walked there.* *Yes to both.* *They think they know where interviewer's apartment is.*

Participant #13: What are you studying at Bates?

Interviewer: *Environmental Studies and Rhetoric major.* Anything else?

Participant #13: No.

Interviewer: [Participant #14]?

Participant #14: I don't have anything.

Interviewer: Thanks you guys!

Participant #15:

Participant #15: Basketball field. *Inaudible.* Pool area. There is chair [bench]. There is a chair here. There is two chairs, one here, one here. Game space. That's all.

Interviewer: Alright, and like where is your house or where you live in relation to the park?

Participant #15: In about 5 mile.

Interviewer laughs. *Participant #15 lives right off of the park, not five miles away.* *Mistake due to language barrier.*

Interviewer: Okay, think about how that, how your home is associated with Kennedy Park.

Participant #15: My home? What do you mean?

Interviewer: How is it significant in relation to what you drew?

Participant #15: Ahh. Neighborhood.

Interviewer: So what is included in your map and why? Why did you include the things that you did?

Participant #15: So because are the way Kennedy Park is presented. You got the road, you can ride your, I don't which street it is. Wait... I don't remember. Yeah then the one, just Bates Street the other one on Pine Street *inaudible* on Pine Street. So we got this house where people used to come, for music and everything. Visit there in the summer, there is a lot of people here. And this chair, usually people come there for picture *inaudible* for picture because there is the United States flag here. Just right, think it's before this chair. Yeah. And here there is a basketball field. Right like *inaudible* people come to play basketball. Of course during the hot season, not the winter. And there is a pool party that you have to pay there a bit. I forget the price, I think that was why *inaudible* I don't remember, anyway. There is a pool party. And just by right here, on this road, this road, *inaudible* there is a lot of chair here where people also take, and there is a lot of space that I call game space.

Interviewer: Is this your hometown?

Participant #15: Yeah, yep.

Interviewer: What do you consider your place? Is there any place on this map that you drew that you would consider your place?

Participant #15: Yeah, I think everywhere. *Inaudible.* I feeling free walk everywhere. Like I don't have a specific place to say oh this one is my place. Everywhere like in Lewiston I mean is like my place.

Interviewer: Do you avoid Kennedy Park?

Participant #15: So, saying avoid is maybe so hard, like the word is so hard to use for Kennedy Park because I always, I always pass by there. Like usually in the morning when I used to bike, ride my bicycle to work. I always pass Kennedy Park. I don't really avoid that. It's like I'm trying to avoid like people, you know? So if I want to *inaudible* you know people, I don't have

to avoid it because all Kennedy Park *inaudible* definitely I would say I don't avoid Kennedy Park. I'm just very afraid.

Interviewer: What are some reasons you're afraid?

Participant #15: So recently I don't know when, I mean, just before Christmas there was this kind of event over there. People used to fight like using those kinds of weapons [pellet guns] like sometimes gun, shoot on someone, like I don't know, you know? So I was afraid. I mean I am still afraid because, because now Kennedy Park half the time during opening time and the moment that it close, from 5 [am] to in the evening. So they always put their *inaudible* I mean you know? There is something going on there you just have to think about it.

Interviewer: Do you ever go around Kennedy Park instead of going through?

Participant #15: I used to go around if like my, I mean, my subject, like being *inaudible* inside Kennedy Park, but is a little bit like around Kennedy Park. I can't do it. But I am not afraid to cross Kennedy Park.

Interviewer: And do you spend time hanging out there?

Participant #15: I used to yes, of course, the first time *inaudible* a lot of times. I used to go there with my *inaudible* or the, or some girl that is something I really love. That was so funny, yeah. I used to spend time over there, yeah.

Interviewer: What's your name?

Participant #15: You know. *Laughs.*

Interviewer: Can you say it for the recording?

Participant #15: [Name].

Interviewer: And what is your gender identity?

Participant #15: I'm a male. Listen my voice.

Interviewer: *Laughs.* And what is your ethnic identity?

Participant #15: My what?

Interviewer: Ethnic identity.

Participant #15: What do you mean?

Interviewer: Like ethnicity?

Participant #15: I don't know.

Interviewer: Where is your family from?

Participant #15: From *inaudible.*

Interviewer: And what is your religious identity?

Participant #15: I'm a Christian.

Interviewer: Are you religious?

Participant #15: Yes, I am.

Interviewer: and how old are you?

Participant #15: [Age] today.

Interviewer: Happy birthday.

Laughs.

Participant #15: Yeah, thank you.

Interviewer: Okay, just a few questions now. What are your go to places to experience nature?

Participant #15: I mean first I love to say, I love the snow so much. I love the snow so much and I love the summer. I mean, going on top of the mountains for me is better to go in the summer because I'm used to the sunny weather and you the know, the winter is great. I love the snow, I love watching the snow fall down, it's so great. I think going on top of the mountain is like amazing, and I think for my windows. You know. I live on the fourth floor, it's like great for me to see out almost everything going on. Like I can see firework, yeah, like I love doing that.

Interviewer: Where do you go to be social or to meet new people?

Participant #15: Ha, usually a church. *Inaudible.* Where I used to go help like other student. I used to read them, for them, find funding with them, and yeah.

Interviewer: Do you own any property in the Tree Streets Neighborhood?

Participant #15: Mmm no, not yet.

Interviewer: How long have you lived in the Tree Streets Neighborhood?

Participant #15: So I mean, I used to live a little bit far away from Kennedy Park. But from the last [summer] I think is like - yeah [number] [period of time] now. Like I'm living close to that.

Interviewer: Where did you live before coming to the Tree Streets?

Participant #15: Yeah on [street] Street, like the last street. Like I mean, I say between Auburn and Lewiston, you know? So it's like down over there close to the bridge. Yeah.

Interviewer: And where are you from?

Participant #15: I am from [country].

Interviewer: Are you a refugee or asylum seeker?

Participant #15: Do I have to answer that.

Interviewer: No you don't have to answer a question

Participant #15: Okay - okay, [immigrant status].

Interviewer: What is an average day like in your life?

Participant #15: My what?

Interviewer: What is an average day in your...

Participant #15: Average?

Interviewer: Yeah, just a normal usual day in your life.

Participant #15: Yeah, ha, yeah well, school, church, that's it. Yeah.

Interviewer: And does Kennedy Park impact how you feel about the neighborhood?

Participant #15: Yeah of course. Like I just as I say during the winter it's cold outside nobody or like or like the flu *inaudible*, you know? But during the summer you better go through Kennedy Park you will see almost like everyone is outside. You can see people playing soccer and girl during like all the girls stuff, or they're also playing soccer. So, and all the people used to play this kind of scrabble games, you know? It's like, I mean all the community just *inaudible.* I, I, I can call that the meeting point. Yes.

Interviewer: How does that change how you feel about Lewiston?

Participant #15: I don't really know how, what you mean by changing because I feel like it's like, it's, it's like my home. I don't really, I left my country, yeah, but you came here you meet, I met like these people. Like it's like the same, it's really like my house. You know? Back in [country] it's like the same. *Inaudible.* I just met here because everyone is so happy and they always have a smile. I don't know why they can say they are always smiling and say hi to everyone.

Interviewer: Okay, I'm going to say something and right away I'm going to say "1 - 2 - 3" and I'm going to say something and you say what immediately comes to mind. You ready?

Participant #15: Okay, I can try it.

Interviewer: 1 - 2 - 3, Kennedy Park!

Participant #15: Space.

Interviewer: Anything else?

Participant #15: Yeah, children.

Interviewer: So when and why do you go to Kennedy Park and what areas of Kennedy Park do you go to the most?

Participant #15: Yeah, right, so, I'm, I'll say I love the summer, also and during the winter nobody is there. I can't go there during the winter 'cause it's going to be boring you will talk with the snow. So the summer is the best moment to go there because you can meet everyone, and why because I love that. If I'm feeling like boring at home I can go there and meet some new friends. I don't have a specific place that I can sit down. That depends on my day. Okay, today I can sit like over here and the next day over there, and whatever. That's, I don't have any specific because Kennedy Park is great everywhere. So there is no specific place to say oh this place is better than this, no, I don't think so.

Interviewer: And if you're going to go to Kennedy Park would you usually go more just walking through like 10 minutes, 30 minutes, 1 hour, 2 hours, 5 hours?

Participant #15: Five hours is a lot.

Interviewer: Is it mostly just walking through?

Participant #15: No, no I don't do that. Like if I, if I have my bike I usually *inaudible* ride my bike and stay there. *Inaudible.* Can read, and try to make like some new friend. Like my soccer team we met only at Kennedy Park, so that was not 10 minutes to meet people and say hey, "Wanna play soccer, wanna be on my team?" You can't do that in 10 minutes or *inaudible* on a bike you would like I want some people to be on my team. So, yeah.

Interviewer: How have you noticed Kennedy Park changed?

Participant #15: Yeah, first when I came here that, that was so great. Like everyone, children, everyone was outside. And peoples always there until like 9pm, you know? That was amazing. But this all, *inaudible* people like people are trying to, *inaudible* yeah. This judgement, it's like I don't know. I hope this summer is going to be great because the last one was not very good. Yeah, yeah.

Interviewer: What would you change about Kennedy Park?

Participant #15: What would I change?

Interviewer: Yeah if you were able to change anything about the park?

Participant #15: Yeah, I don't know what really I would have to change because the thing is like I can't bring something without changing, I can't change people, but I can show people how great it is to be in like together, you know? Because Kennedy Park used to be like, and just the thing is just to show people like in Kennedy Park you don't have to, we don't need crime over there. So, it's a space sometime after a while you can come over there take a rest just like to think about everything like usually watch birds and trees and see *inaudible* it's great, so great and I think change is not really a good word for me. But to bring people together. Yeah.

Interviewer: I have three more questions. Where do you see yourself living in five years?

Participant #15: *Laughs.* Yeah that's funny *laughs* those questions always come back. So in five years, hmm I don't know. I think I will, I will still living in Lewiston, yeah. With my family, yes.

Interviewer: And what about in ten years?

Participant #15: In ten years? I don't know, only god knows in 10 years. Yeah.

Interviewer: How should the city of Lewiston handle or govern Kennedy Park?

Participant #15: Yeah, I think it's quite, the good this is this. I used to work with public ground and we used to come over there always cleaning that. Because it's important. Kennedy Park is also one space. It's not like the little one, it's one of the biggest space. Like what characterize our, Lewiston. So it's important, and the government always take care of that. That's why I told you there is time they set up over there. 5:00 am Kennedy Park is open in the evening because

they want that to be one of the best places for everyone. It's so important, so I know the city of Lewiston is like taking care of Kennedy Park like a treasure.

Interviewer: Is there anything they should do differently?

Participant #15: Yeah, I mean the police is so much over there. And people in these see like there is so much cops around. They keep thinking like something bad is over there. I think they just have to stop doing this. They just have, they don't have to come over there, like turning around, because people can't have fun like that. They will be afraid. *Inaudible.* "Why? What is the problem?" Or, "What is going on?" And this kind of question can be in their mind. And nobody can like can be happy like that if your mind is thinking about what is the problem. I know you can't be focus on your rest, you just want to leave because you don't want to be in trouble. So, that's why I think Kennedy Park can lose a lot of people. I think the police should find a way to be in there a little bit, like far, I don't say they have to go far away, but sometime people don't really need that.

Interviewer: Is there anything else that you would like to add, like to say?

Participant #15: I don't really have anything to add, but I don't really have anything. Yeah. I think I said everything I have to say.

Interviewer: Sounds great. Well thank you very much.

Participant #16 & #17:

Interviewer: *Map prompt.* *Small talk* *Participant #16 indicates that she feels a little weird that the interviewer is watching her draw.*

Participant #16: Done.

Interviewer: Done? Okay cool. *Asks Participant #16 to sign and date map.* Can you tell me what you included in your map?

Participant #16: So, I included like these groups of people 'cause when I go there, there is always groups of people just sitting, doing whatever. *Laughs.* And there's kids playing in the playground. When I'm walking through there is always a lot of people here smoking. And there's usually a police car just driving through so I added that. And the police station at the bottom. And I added the buildings on Knox [Street] just, I don't know why, just 'cause.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Participant #16: I did the gazebo, just 'cause I like hanging out there. I added trash cans but people don't really use them. That's why it's really messy even though we have them there. That's it.

Interviewer: Can I ask you, do you want to say any more about why you included these things?

Participant #16: Mmm I don't know.

Interviewer: It's okay, you don't have to.

Participant #16: K.

Interviewer: Okay, how do you spell your name?

Participant #16: [Name].

Interviewer: *To Participant #17.* And how do you spell your name?

Participant #17: [Name].

Interviewer: *Explains why questions will be prefaced with their names before speaking.* *Asks for no interruptions.* *Reads Participant #17 the debriefing form and gives it to her.* *Participant #17 explains that her grandma, not mother signed the slip, but her mom knew.* *Asks Participant #17's gift card preference.* *She chooses Walmart.* *Reads the map prompt for Participant #17.* [Participant #16], is this your hometown?

Participant #16: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay, where is your home on the map?

Participant #16: Like do I say the street?

Interviewer: Better question, did you include your home on the map?

Participant #16: No.

Interviewer: Is there anywhere on the map that you consider “your place” like you belong there?

Participant #16: My place? Not really, but like I added a place where I would usually go if I went like to the Park.

Interviewer: What place is that?

Participant #16: The Gazebo. *Inaudible.* Up here.

Interviewer: And do you avoid Kennedy Park?

Participant #16: Not really, but I don't go there often 'cause my mom doesn't like it 'cause she thinks, I don't know, she just doesn't like that area in general.

Interviewer: By area, what do you mean?

Participant #16: Like near the Knox Street, more further downtown area.

Interviewer: Why not?

Participant #16: She thinks, well there's a lot of people she considers a bad influence and she thinks it's dangerous.

Interviewer: *Asks name.*

Participant #16: [Name].

Interviewer: *Asks spelling for last name.*

Participant #16: [Name].

Interviewer: *Gender identity.*

Participant #16: Female.

Interviewer: *Ethnic identity.* Like where would you say you're from. Like I'm Eastern European.

Participant #16: I guess [country] I guess.

Interviewer: Religious identity?

Participant #16: Muslim.

Interviewer: Are you religious? Like do you actively practice?

Participant #16: Yeah sure.

Interviewer: *Asks age.*

Participant #16: 15... 16.

Interviewer: When is your birthday?

Participant #16: [Date].

Interviewer: *Interviewed lots of people w/February birthdays.* *Explains they're going to wait for Participant #17 to finish drawing.* *Small talk mostly about television.*

Participant #17: I think I'm done.

Interviewer: *Has her sign and date drawing.* Good?

Participant #17: Yeah.

Interviewer: Okay.

Participant #17: I'm bad at drawing, but...

Interviewer: These are easily the two nicest drawings that I've gotten, and I've done 19, 20 interviews, so... Easily the nicest that I've gotten. Okay, what is included in your map?

Participant #17: Usually sometimes in Kennedy Park I play basketball sometimes and this is just, sometimes there's like mini basketball games. This is me watching some boys play basketball, and then this sometimes in the summer time we usually go to [ice cream shop] and then we come back and all we do is go to Kennedy Park like every single day. This is like the Somali stores near Kennedy Park, and I go there sometimes to get drinks and stuff. This is, I forgot to add someone, but me and my cousin usually we go like sit under the tree and stuff like in the hotness to get some shade, and we just read and stuff. This is like that pathway right there in Kennedy Park. We just walk around the whole Kennedy Park like ten times, and this is me putting my baby cousin on the slide and stuff.

Interviewer: Why did you include this stuff?

Participant #17: I don't really know. This, that's just the first things that came to my mind.

Interviewer: Is this your hometown?

Participant #17: Yeah.

Interviewer: Did you include your home on the map?

Participant #17: No.

Interviewer: What do you consider "your place?"

Participant #17: This, this part where I'm under the tree, because I sit there like every single day.

Interviewer: Really quickly, [Participant #17], what's your address? Or street, you don't have to give me the address.

Participant #17: Oh, [address].

Interviewer: And [Participant #16], what about you?

Participant #16: [Address].

Interviewer: Okay, cool. *Asks name.*

Participant #17: [Name].

Interviewer: *Asks to spell her last name.*

Participant #17: [Name].

Interviewer: *Gender identity.*

Participant #17: Female.

Interviewer: *Ethnic identity.*

Participant #17: [Nationality].

Interviewer: *Religious identity.*

Participant #17: What is, what do you mean by that?

Interviewer: Like I'm Jewish.

Participant #17: I'm Muslim.

Interviewer: And are you religious?

Participant #17: Yeah.

Interviewer: *Asks age*

Participant #17: [Age].

Interviewer: Cool. *Transitions to sense of place questions.* What are your go to places to experience nature?

Participant #16: In the park or just in Lewiston?

Interviewer: You want to experience nature, where do you go? No it doesn't have to be limited to the park.

Participant #16: Well the woods that used to be near the high school. They tore them down, my Mom's garden, but that's in [town in Maine], or I could just go outside.

Interviewer: [Participant #17], what about you?

Participant #17: So, it doesn't have to be in Kennedy Park right? I usually just go to near the Auburn Bridge and just sit down and think to myself and stuff.

Interviewer: Which bridge, like down by Canal Street?

Participant #17: Yeah.

Interviewer: [Participant #16], when you want to be social or meet new people where do you go?

Participant #16: Okay, I don't think I'm really social or want to meet new people, but...

Interviewer: Can you talk a little louder?

Participant #16: Yeah. I'm not really social. *Laughs.* Or go out to meet new people, but I guess I would go to the playground, like the parks.

Interviewer: Any playground?

Participant #16: Usually [school], the [school] playground or the one near the [school] that they just fixed.

Interviewer: And [Participant #17], what about you?

Participant #16: Like she said I usually go to the playgrounds or I go to [community organization] sometimes.

Interviewer: and what playgrounds in particular?

Participant #16: Kennedy Park.

Interviewer: Kennedy Park. [Participant #16], how long have you lived in the Tree Streets Neighborhood?

Participant #16: 14 years.

Participant #17: 12.

Interviewer: 12 years?

Participant #17: Mhm.

Interviewer: Where did, [Participant #16], where did you or your family live before coming to the Tree Streets?

Participant #16: When we first came here we lived in [state].

Interviewer: And then you came to Lewiston?

Participant #16: Yeah, but before we lived in [public housing], near [supermarket]. Yeah that's where we went.

Interviewer: Okay, cool. And before [state]?

Participant #16: Yeah, before that [state].

Interviewer: What about before [state]?

Participant #16: And then [country] then [country], before that.

Interviewer: And [Participant #17], what about you?

Participant #17: [Country], then [state], and then here.

Interviewer: Lewiston?

Participant #17: Yeah.

Interviewer: And do you know are you refugees or asylum seekers?

Participant #16: I believe we're refugees.

Participant #17: Yeah, I think we're, I don't really know, but I believe, yeah we're refugees.

Interviewer: And okay, [Participant #16] can you tell me what's an average day like for you?

Participant #16: Okay, so I would wake up, get ready, go to school, come home, or like before I come home I go after school or the library, or come here to the [community organization]. And if I go home, then I do homework, cook food, and then watch TV. And, or I would go to the library, do homework there, maybe get a book, come home, cook food, and then watch TV.

Interviewer: [Participant #17], what about you?

Participant #17: Summer or winter?

Interviewer: That's a good question! Let's say one for each.

Participant #17: I'll just do winter first. Wake up, get ready, go to school. Come back. I just sit at home and then go take my cousins off their bus and babysit them until their mother comes, and then come back home. Use my phone and go to sleep, go to bed. And then on summer days I wake up do what I need to do, and then I go to the park, no wait, I go to my cousin's house and then I go come back, sometimes I go to [ice cream shop] or stuff, and then I go to park and come back and it's like nighttime by that time, and then I just sit, we just have family meetings stuff, and then I go to sleep.

Interviewer: and by the park you mean Kennedy Park?

Participant #17: Yeah.

Interviewer: [Participant #16], do you want to change or give me a winter and a day version, or do want to just stick with what you said?

Participant #16: Winter, I wake up, go to school, come home, homework - yeah that stuff. I don't go anywhere in the winter 'cause it's too cold.

Interviewer: And then summer version?

Participant #16: Summer, go to school maybe go to a friend's house, homework, maybe the library, here [community organization] and then home, cook, sleep.

Interviewer: Cool. Okay we'll switch the order. [Participant #17], does Kennedy Park impact how you feel about the neighborhood?

Participant #17: What do you mean by that?

Interviewer: If Kennedy Park didn't exist would it change how you feel about the neighborhood?

Participant #17: No, 'cause like I go to Kennedy Park most of the time, but I don't really hang out there like, I don't really like, that wouldn't impact me. Like if it was broken down and I usually go to other park sometimes. Like I switch it up so that it wouldn't impact me as much.

Interviewer: In the summer do you feel like you only go to Kennedy Park or do you feel like you go to other parks as well?

Participant #17: I go to different parks, but I mostly go to Kennedy Park.

Interviewer: And [Participant #16], what about you? Does Kennedy Park impact how you feel about the Tree Streets?

Participant #16: I like, for me, since my mom considers it a dangerous place, like it makes me feel like that I stay more towards the other side of the Tree Street area. But I also think that, I don't, I personally don't think that it's that bad. But I wouldn't want it to like disappear because then there would be nowhere for anybody to go just be boring down here.

Interviewer: Okay. Ready? Okay - when I say "Kennedy Park" what comes to mind, 1 - 2 -3 go!

Participant #17: Wait. *Laughs.* Trees, basketball, that's it. Walkways, stores, and that's it.

Interviewer: Okay, [Participant #16], 1 - 2 - 3 go!

Participant #16: Oh Lord! *Laughs.* The police station, maybe violence, also though the hangout spot for the people of Knox [Street]. I don't know. *Laughs.*

Interviewer: [Participant #17], when and why do you go to Kennedy Park and what areas do you go to?

Participant #17: When? I go there in the summertime and the reason why I go there is because my mom likes it. I don't really like it, but I just go there 'cause of my mom.

Interviewer: And what areas do you go to?

Participant #17: The basketball court mostly.

Interviewer: What about your tree?

Participant #17: Oh yeah, sometimes I go there too.

Interviewer: [Participant #16], what about you?

Participant #16: Question, what was the question?

Interviewer: When and why do you go to Kennedy Park and what areas do you go to?

Participant #16: I usually don't go there, but I would go there if my if my nephews and nieces, or my siblings want to go there I would take them. If I went there I would usually just sit on a bench, go on phone, or read, and watch the kids. I don't really do anything there.

Interviewer: [Participant #17], how have you noticed Kennedy Park change? Or have you noticed it change?

Participant #17: I have notice it change because when I first came here like, Kennedy Park was a place where I learned to walk. So, there was, it wasn't that violent, but now like the many, I think that many immigrants and stuff have come to Lewiston, like it has changed massively because like there is more violence, more fights, more hate and like all that and stuff. So...

Interviewer: [Participant #16], what about you?

Participant #16: I would agree with her. I feel like there is more violence but, and I feel like less people go there now 'cause it used to be, even during the winter, really full, but now it's really empty. So...

Interviewer: [Participant #17], if you could what would you change about Kennedy Park?

Participant #17: The violence. I would just say that people who want to like start fights and stuff should not be allowed there.

Interviewer: What would you keep the same?

Participant #17: And I would also change the slides and stuff, which they're really boring. I don't know how kids like them, but what would I save?

Interviewer: Keep the same or save, yeah.

Participant #17: The basketball courts. I like those.

Interviewer: [Participant #16], what about you?

Participant #16: I think I would change the violence too. But I would also change like, the cleanliness. Like, so that people actually use the trash cans there. And I think it would be better if it was smoke free zone for kids 'cause there is a lot of kids there during the summer. And yeah. And better equipment because it's boring.

Interviewer: What would you keep the same?

Participant #16: I think like the basketball court and the pool are cool. 'Cause like not everyone can afford to go to the YWCA to go swimming.

Interviewer: The what?

Participant #16: The YWCA.

Interviewer: Oh yeah, sure. *Asks about payment for membership at the YWCA.* Okay, we'll switch back. [Participant #16], five years from now where do you see yourself living?

Participant #16: Probably back here. Maybe in Lewiston or somewhere near it 'cause I think I would leave for a while, but then I would end up coming back to like a, for my parents and my family.

Interviewer: 10 years, where do you see yourself living?

Participant #16: Probably still here, honestly, I don't know. Like maybe I might leave, like elsewhere.

Interviewer: If you were here in 10 years, how would you feel?

Participant #16: I have no idea. *Whispers.* I don't know *Inaudible.*

Interviewer: Pass?

Participant #16: I don't know. *Laughs.*

Interviewer: [Participant #17], what about you? Five years from now where do you see yourself living?

Participant #17: In [state]. *Laughs.*

Interviewer: In [state], why as is that?

Participant #17: I don't know. 'Cause I would come back here to visit, but I wouldn't want to stay here 'cause I would think that there would be a big change. Like a really bad change too. 'cause it's, it's not, Kennedy Park is not really changing right now, but it, like it's starting to become a very dangerous place for kids.

Interviewer: And 10 years from now?

Participant #17: 10 years from now? What do you mean?

Interviewer: Where would you be living?

Participant #17: In [state]. *Laughs.*

Interviewer: In [state]? Is there a reason you're saying [state]?

Participant #17: Yeah, 'cause it's just my cousins live there. So...

Interviewer: You're cousins live there. Okay.

[Participant #16], how should the city of Lewiston handle or govern Kennedy Park?

Participant #16: *Thinking.*

Participant #17: Do you want me to answer first?

Participant #16: Sure, you go first.

Participant #17: Wait, restate the question?

Interviewer: How should the city of Lewiston handle or govern Kennedy Park?

Participant #17: There should be security. What do you mean by handle? Like... I think that there should be security and, let me think about this question for a second. I had something in my mind I just forgot it.

Interviewer: Okay, no take your time.

Participant #17: What do you mean by how should they handle it?

Interviewer: Like, how should it be policed, should they pass new laws, what should the city do to...

Participant #17: There should be security and there, they should pass a law stating that like no fights can happen, and the pool should be cleansed like every single day. I don't go in the pool, but yeah, it...

Interviewer: Do you, so security. That would be different than police?

Participant #17: Mhm.

Interviewer: Like what's your ideal form of security?

Participant #17: Big security, like bodyguards.

Interviewer: Like a private...

Participant #17: Yeah.

Interviewer: Do you picture them having weapons?

Participant #17: No. They can just fight 'cause they're big, but...

Interviewer: Okay, they're trained? [Participant #16], what about you?

Participant #16: Okay, well, how should they handle it? *Whispers to herself.* I feel like security would be important, but big body guards would scare people off because I would not want to be there. *Laughs.* Okay, feel like they should... Hmm, Okay.

Interviewer: You can say pass.

Participant #16: I can't think of anything. Like they should I guess fix it, but also like make sure that, I don't know, I think the fact that it's next to the police station is good I guess and they have patrols. I don't think they should have someone there 24/7 'cause that's creepy. So yeah. That's it.

Interviewer: *That's all the questions.* *Asks if there is anything they want to add or ask.* No? All good, thank you guys!

Participant #18 (nonresident):

Interviewer: *Map prompt.*

Participant #18: My husband says given my level of awareness of my surroundings it's generally a miracle that I make it home at night at all, so I hope you're not counting on this being to scale.

Interviewer: No. *Laughs.* Not at all.

Participant #18: Maybe even vaguely reflecting the composition.

Interviewer shows example of other drawing and explains it's conceptual not artistic.

Participant #18: *inaudible as she draws.* No, I'm taking a lot of liberty with this, but really what's most significant to me, this is interesting, I haven't thought about this before, is not necessarily what's in the park, what's around the park. So, I don't know what that's going to do, but it's really interesting that as a service provider what I'm seeing as I'm just doing this, Take2 shop, and then Community Concepts, realizing how many sort of agencies and providers are all around interspersed with, so I think this is Section 8 housing. Oh, oh what am I thinking about, this is St. Mary's Nutrition Center, this is really bad housing, this all subsidized housing and Trinity right there on the corner. And LPD, Simone's, where all the republicans go to crap talk about all the things republicans go to crap talk about except love and affection, high regard. City building, subsidized housing and then people, people, people. And dogs. Vaccinated, charming, pit bull mixes. There! That is my map of the park.

Interviewer: *Transitions to questions.* Can you go over what you included in the map and why you chose to include it?

Participant #18: Sure, again I'm not a particularly, like on Myers-Brigg stuff I have no sensing points at all. Or I'm very intuitive so I'm very big picture, so, I vaguely, I've been here all my, you know, a large part of my life. I know there is a pool and Skate Park on the far corner that bridges LPD, and the old Cupola [bandstand] was the closest thing I used to tell people to find us across from it 'cause our office was up here for many years and then moved away and then came back. So and then they moved it somewhere I think it's right there, but I could be totally wrong. Just to tell, my I know where the cupola is because I used to have trouble with kids smoking crack under the cupola during the lunch break. So, and just for you to know and let me know how much is important to your interview [describes function of community organization]. So the cupola is fascinating. I know that this is basically the layout of the paths 'cause I walk through it routinely, and there is the path that I walk a lot that is on the top. But really when it comes to the insides of the park, I don't spend very much time inside the park. I know there are trees, I know there are benches, I know there are people and dogs and children. Very much my focus is on what surrounds the park and again that's probably as a service delivery person and a housing person. So what I see are nonprofits or government agencies or CBOs. A couple of businesses which is interesting. This is a lot of fun to do, thank you. Not many businesses, just a couple of them. There is actually in this housing there's a little shop. I can't remember, it's no Mower's, that's the one, I can't remember. It's a little convenient store type place. So a couple of businesses, the city, Simone's, the police department, our other site, Community Concepts, Wisdom's Women, and us. So yeah. That's it.

Interviewer: Is this your hometown?

Participant #18: It is not, it is not. I grew up in [town in Maine], which is a tiny version of Lewiston about [number] miles outside of here.

Interviewer: Where is your home on this map?

Participant #18: My home is in [town in Maine] so, I yeah. I live out of town by about [measure of time].

Interviewer: Do you consider any of these spots your place?

Participant #18: Good question. I definitely, I definitely have a broad based sense, and honestly it's come up a lot in my, in the last 10 years or so. Actually, really honestly frequently throughout my professional life because even though I've been offered a lot of career opportunities, specifically to go to Portland, I have mostly, I've entirely turned them down because I find Lewiston so interesting. And I find Portland not only uninteresting, but sort of problematic in terms of the composition of Maine. Like I definitely feel an association with the part of Maine that this represents to me. So, which is neither the sort of the pastoral, rural community nor, you know, as a kid I come from two families of very long ties within Maine and as a young person, I often tell people that, it was kind of a joke, but it wasn't really. We never went to the coast as a family, very, very seldom. And my father would occasionally joke that if I wanted to meet people from Connecticut and Massachusetts and New York that had bought up all the property and denied Mainers access to it I could go to Massachusetts and New York, but I would not do it, and it was a joke, but there was teeth there in that comment. What's interesting to me, it's interesting, so when I was a young, maybe a tween, when I was 10, 11, 12, there was only one mill in [home town], went out of business. So very much a little version of what happened in Lewiston over a period of time, and what I really wanted to write my capstone project or thesis in as my undergraduate degree is the way that, I didn't, I ended up doing it on something else, but was really interesting to watch how the economic engine of the mill provided so much structure. How the socioeconomics provided other kinds of structure to people's lives and once that was removed you had this vacuum of identity that was filled with some really interesting things. One of that was the rise of non-denominational small religious groups, that was the age of the PTL club, you know? And the big sort of big televangelism really started at that time. But more than, more than and technology came into that at some point. That was during that time I saw my first video store ever that came into town. At that point if you wanted to watch a video tape you would rent a video max machine, a Betamax machine, and bring it home in this large, you know like suitcase like, you know, it was a top loader. So there were a lot of things that came in. Nowhere near enough came in to replace the loss of social structure and loss of sort of identity and drug use significantly increased, domestic violence significantly increased. You know, just a real loss of cultural identity. So that's, so that's really what Lewiston as a catchment basin for generational poverty as well as increasingly situational poverty is really, is really what has interested me. And having grown up in and been raised in undergraduate studies as a good Marxist, it's really the socio economics and I also really went on private school, on scholarship to private schools as a kid from a very small working class town. So, socioeconomics played a lot of role in my sense of self and of place. The private school was local at the time it was a boarding school that was sort of the place you sent your kids when they got kicked out of Choate or when they got kicked out of you know Phillips Andover, and so they reached out to a lot of day students who tested well to bring in to bring up the scores, you know

to bring up the PSATs, SATs, AP scores. So, so sort of socioeconomics and sense of place are really interesting to me. It was also right at the time that the Shah of Iran left Iran and we had this odd little population of kids who were in hiding from the Shah's government because I don't know if you've ever read about this, there that was the time where there was lots of fears about children of displaced Iranian families being kidnapped in the United States and we had a fairly high percentage of Iranian, probably kids way even farther outside my perspective as a young kid growing up in a mill town of Maine, even farther away from you know the kids from New Jersey or residential like suburban Massachusetts. So... It's fascinating.

Interviewer: *Asks name.*

Participant #18: My name is [name], [nickname].

Interviewer: *Asks gender.*

Participant #18: I identify as female.

Interviewer: Ethnic identity?

Participant #18: White as white as white gets.

Interviewer: *Religious identity.*

Participant #18: Oh boy. Raised, raised Protestant. Both sides of my family are heavily evangelical in two very different traditions. My father's family were Wycliffe bible translators, so these were people with very high level, even though this didn't characterize my up bring, but people with fairly high levels of education who would go into indigenous populations into like the Amazon Basin, New Guinea, places like that. Into pre-literate tribes with the intent to create a written language that they could use to transcribe the bible. On the other end of my family when all this other side of this was happening really sort of *hesitates* sort of working class family, in the 70s they became, jeez I'm tempted to use the word radicalized even though it has very different associations now. There's a real movement when sort of the hippies were the people in the 60s and 70s got really disillusioned about what happened in the 60s and 70s and were very again sort of traditional religion and that became, there became this rising movement of all these small denominational churches which eventually turned into some of the super churches, mega churches and part of my family is now part of an international evangelical movement. That is, *hesitates* very influential. I think reasonably, I don't know how much perspective I have on this in odd places like Russia, in Eastern Europe, South America, and they go and seed churches. So I had like family members in Chile during the Pinochet's time there. It was interesting and they were completely politically unaware. They were just there to save souls for Jesus. So, my religious affiliation, thanks to therapy, minimal to none at all.

Interviewer: Do you mind me asking how old you are?

Participant #18: Not at all, [age], [age]. One of the two. *Laughs.*

Interviewer: *Transitions to questions about sense of place.* What would you change about Kennedy Park?

Participant #18: That's a really good question. Let me think about that. I don't, so I'm not a community organizer. I don't bring that to the table, and I'm not much, the idea that I've been hearing, really through the Healthy Neighborhoods stuff of sort of how people are shaped with

their identification with place is really interesting. I want to say I don't know if I would change anything at all. Or maybe I'd change, I would change, so you're going to hear one thing come out through my comments that is, that in the last sort of year, two years? I've spent a lot of time looking at the bridges out of poverty model. Doing a lot of research. I've gotten trained, certified to be a trainer in that. So really interesting model for me. And it talks a lot about different lenses of socio economics and ways to sort of, you know, create the rising tide that lifts up ships sort of things. I would change *hesitates* I would change the way these folks relate to each other. I would try to work toward, and some of this stuff is really happening in fascinating ways, it's increasingly hard for me to leave Lewiston because I've seen, I've been around for a long time in Lewiston. I've been, I started as a hospice social worker in Lewiston/Auburn in the middle 80s and then did family planning and high risk HIV outreach in the late 80s. So I've been out in the park for a long time. I would, I would find a way to continue the process that is already started of establishing sort of a common language that would redefine how we look at people that are living in poverty or people living without resources and people who are living with some access to resources and people who have access to and the people who are not here are the people who have the people from wealth, generational wealth. And I do not, the only time I see that voice in this room would be through the John T. Gorman foundation. Yep. Given my weird class sensitive background, there's sort of a lot of blame in my head I think around the, you know, and I think that one thing you see with the youth in my program, they have this sort of interesting different skewed view of what socio... what the distinction, what the, who controls what resources, you know? But I don't think they have any idea who comes from generational, they really think that most people are like them. That they, most of their family members are highly dependent on resources provided by agencies, and the government, middle class life for them really starts at minimum wage, which is not a living wage. But that is really what they see as stability and then anything beyond I want to say 20, well \$15 or \$16 an hour is wealth to them and really what they see as wealth is somehow mixed up with the Illuminati and the Rothschilds and flat earths and FEMA camps and you know it's really, it's just so and also with also like sort of media views of like celebrities. You know? That's the cult of celebrity stuff. So I'm just talking all over the place so... I would be really interested and I think one of the things that's really happening with the healthy choice stuff with the bridges out of poverty steering committee stuff with, is that you have that beginning place where sort of middle class folks, which I think a lot of us, a lot of us in nonprofits are from middle class or are from poverty and have sort of obtained middle class. Maybe with a lot of, not a lot of consciousness about that, but I think that there is still a lot of ideas about or lack of ideas of lack of solutions of sort of why these people make the choices that they do and behave the way they do. I think that could use a lot of work. *Laughs.* Could use a lot of work.

Interviewer: Is there anything that you would want to see stay the same?

Participant #18: Yeah, I would say... can I go back? So another thing that I would want to see is I would want to see is really act... that's not just a, that's also a business thing. Businesses are highly middle class and one of the things I'm really interested in right now is given the workforce shortages in Maine, specifically with the aging of the population, we've really and just the population size, we've really just run out of traditional work forces and I think we're seeing businesses now really trying to engage people who they traditionally would not have employed. So that isn't just people in poverty, it's also sort of reentering citizens, ex-offenders, most of my kids have criminal records, and there is a real effort to put sort of systems where they can,

instead of saying, “G-ddamn those poor people why do they just want to spend their paychecks in five seconds and not save anything and call into work every time their sister needs daycare.” You know? I think there, I think there’s an opening right now for us to tell the, help the employers understand that they can be part of a solution to that and in fact it’s going to count on them to be part of the solution otherwise they’re going to shutter. They’re not going to have anyone to work for them anymore. And they don’t have to look at it as being part of the nanny state and, “Jesus Christ why do I have to take care of the poor people?” They have to say, “Listen we got a problem, we got business we got no workforce and we got a community that looks very different from in here than it does from out here.” And certainly very different from what I think of honestly as the other Maine, sort of the coastal and southern part of the state. And opening all of these eyes to each other, including these folks in terms of understanding what they can do, steps they can take to access resources and be more stable. So that’s the kind of stuff that I’m ... So that’s more. Now, was the next question what do you want to stay the same? Or am I off...

Interviewer: Yeah.

Participant #18: I want all these people to continue in the room. And I want people to continue like I said there is a really interesting new vibe I think in Lewiston that really is not perfect, but, 20 years ago when AmeriCorps first was launched, the commissioner, the Maine commissioner for community service used to send the people who were new to Lewiston to me for like a Lewiston primer because in a way I think now looking back in a way that’s typical for places that are, that have limited resources. It’s a rough town. People fight, people fight over what resources there are. The nonprofits can be very turf, there’s a lot of competition. It can be very hard to get grants for areas especially rural areas like this that we don’t think are rural, 'cause this is our urban. And we think have crime problems because there is more crime here. Now, compare that to Baltimore, you know, where like 1 out of 3 people have been incarcerated. We have nothing for crime. I think Maine is arguable one of the safest three states in the country in every given year. But this area is identified and has been identified, my mom was telling me, I was telling my mom the other day about a conversation, a meeting I’d been part of where a young person, very earnest, involved in the community, had said to a group of largely older white males, “Lewiston never had a bad reputation until the refugee and immigrant population moved in. It’s all about racism. You guys just don’t like colored people. You don’t like people of color. You don’t like being around brown people and black people.” And my mother said, “Really? Then why in 1941 was the scariest thing my mother could say to me that if I was bad I was going to have to go live on Lisbon Street or on Lincoln Street?” And so it really is, I think there might be an argument for that not being about racism in response to sort of people of color, but racism in a broader... I do think that was very much about Irish Catholics. I think was very much about French-Canadians. I think, and Maine is sort of, almost a little, I think of Maine in a weird way as like, the pre-World War II Germany of the United States. Very xenophobic, very sort of reserved. Mainers are very reserved in affect. They’re very sort of compartmentalized. I think it often gets mistaken for a libertarianism, but I don’t think it is. They’re also you know crazy misogynist and obsessed with their gardens. But you know I think there is stuff that’s very similar and that real sense of whether it’s that we’re the only state in the country that only has one syllable in its name, whether it’s because we’re, you know, sort of out on the far reaches. I don’t know of the right. If you look at it top down I guess you know. It’s just a, if you look around in Maine there are things like, there’s a really big trend there are societies that are national societies and there aren’t

representatives of the national societies. There are Maine versions. Like you know for years there was a Maine Audubon society and not a national Audubon society. When everybody in the world went to Planned Parenthood it was still family planning up here, and they were individual locally run, very specific organizations. So there's a real sense of, it's not just about people from away. It's a real sense of we are not like you. Including New Hampshire and Vermont. So. *Laughs.*

Interviewer: My last question is how should the city of Lewiston handle or govern Kennedy Park?

Participant #18: So what I'm hearing, there are so many interesting conversations in the last year. So my kids are very much, what I hear from my kids is very much, one minute about, I mean they're definitely involved in all the violence that's going on. All of the tensions that are going on. And one minute they'll be like a sense of "Why is there a different set of rules for us then for ...?" And really there are, so [community program], this program traditionally, and we've been in the park since, we've been around since '96, but we've been in the park since '98, maybe, I can't remember exactly. Between '98 and 2000. So we were here before the refugee, the big refugee and immigrant influx, we worked really hard to just sort of work with them, but we, this has never been a destination for a lot of refugee and immigrant kids. I think there is a lot a million different reasons for that and I worked for a long time feeling really guilty that we weren't doing what we needed to do. We couldn't find like the key to become a resource [for] that population. And eventually we just decided we're just not. So, how do we support them by supporting the organizations that are places where they're comfortable where they have connections? And I think we have been pretty go... reasonably good at doing that. Early on there was a real strong sense that, and this is one of the things that fascinates me a lot right now, is that we have always had a much, a very unusual diversity in terms of people of color from the United States. So even before there were like a lot obvious black faces and brown faces walking around, we would have the whole family that came up from Alabama of African American or that is what it was then. Folks increasingly, we and at that point there was a lot of tension between the refugee and immigrant population and the American people of color. And that, I got a lot of feedback from specifically Somali elders saying, "Listen, we don't want our kids growing up like those kids who look like them. We don't want them exposed" to what they saw as the Black Entertainment Television version of their sense of their ethnicity or their race. And I remember having a Colombian kid who was really pissed off one day because he said "I got beat up three times this week. I got beat up once by white kids who thought I was black. I got beat up by black kids who thought I was not black enough, that I was mix. And I got beat up by Somali kids who thought I was white." You know? So it's like that constant, and he was an adopted kid from Colombia. So it's just, it's interesting. I don't know, the conflict continues, but the sort of the players are always in place. So how do I think they should govern that? I know there is a lot of conversation about over policing of this area right now. Interesting. I don't know that I have much input on that. I guess I again, I can't really talk to Kennedy Park. I guess Kennedy Park for me is sort of, I don't know, it's like an arena of some kind. I think that what the city's responsibility to do is to continue to support this matrix because this matrix, and again this is my perspective, but this matrix is so key to not just providing the needs that are represented here. But including those people in all of the ways the decisions are made. So that would be I guess the constant recognition of the bias against these people and the inclusion of their voices at the table all the time. And healthy neighborhoods is good, is a good example of that. How to struggle for that.

Interviewer: Awesome, thank you so much.

Participant #18: Yeah! That was it? You just listen to me rattle off?

Interviewer: That's all I want. Perfect.

Participant #18: Great! That's great!

Participant #19 (nonresident):

Participant #19: Do I have to explain?

Interviewer: I'll ask. You don't have to explain on the drawing. Do you want to add color to it? No? Can you just do me one favor, this is totally up to you, but can you just write your name on the back and date it so I know that it is yours when I'm looking at it later? Perfect thank you. Okay, so I'll ask you a couple of questions before I put it away, but before I do that I just want to ask you a couple question. I know your name of course, but just for the recorder can you say your name?

Participant #19: My name is [name].

Interviewer: And what's your gender identity?

Participant #19: I'm a female.

Interviewer: Ethnic identity?

Participant #19: Black and African.

Interviewer: What's your religious identity?

Participant #19: Catholic.

Interviewer: Are you religious?

Participant #19: Mm no.

Interviewer: Not particularly?

Participant #19: I'm a Christian.

Interviewer: Okay, and how old are you?

Participant #19: I'm [age].

Interviewer: And, okay cool, so what... Can you take me through what you included on your map?

Participant #19: There is many entrance to get to the actual Kennedy Park. I have tried to draw roads because there are like many from here, there is like some neighborhoods like Lisbon Street here. And on the other side is like Spruce Street and this is Lisbon Street as well. Okay, and there are trees like green trees everywhere and green space like between, and there is some central, historical things. I don't remember the name, but if you go over there you can find it's like a little bit on the middle of the whole Kennedy Park and there is also some construction that they have made which has a green top and there people can sit, they can find shelter in that place. But in these roads there are some like, I can't say that, it's like built chairs...

Interviewer: Benches?

Participant #19: Yes, that you can sit on and try to watch whatever you want, relax.

Interviewer: Sure, do you consider this your hometown?

Participant #19: Yes in some way. Yeah because where I live I was living in the city we weren't finding much green space because those covered by houses, apartments, roads, and if we want some green place we have to go like outside the city on some beaches. So...

Interviewer: Also, just so you, I should say, if at any point you don't want to answer a question that's totally fine. You can just decline to answer. When you want to go outside and find nature where do you go?

Participant #19: Mmm here in Lewiston?

Interviewer: Mhm. Or now that you're living in Lewiston where would you go?

Participant #19: Yeah I think Kennedy Park like is the first place I would think of because it is near. For starting it is near, I don't have to take a bus or a car to get here. I can walk. And there are also many results which has like most beautiful place here in Lewiston, either in Poland and also in Portland and, but the first place is like Kennedy Park because it's in Lewiston and I live in Lewiston.

Interviewer: And when you want to meet new people or be social where do you go?

Participant #19: It depends. It depends on where we are located and where we want to meet the nearest place to actually kind of meet. I know sometimes it's better to just kind of go on Kennedy Park because everyone knows Kennedy Park. And it's also near the bus station, and I think we, it just depends on how we want to meet and also with the person you meet. Because if it is a person who is like older than you or who owns a company you can say he has to be like on a bench chair yeah.

Interviewer: How long have you lived in Lewiston?

Participant #19: [Time period] now.

Interviewer: And where were you before Lewiston?

Participant #19: In Africa, in [country].

Interviewer: And are you a refugee or asylum seeker?

Participant #19: Yes, [refugee].

Interviewer: And what's an average day like for you now that you're living in Lewiston?

Participant #19: Average, what?

Interviewer: Like what is like a normal day like, a typical day?

Participant #19: For an asylum...?

Interviewer: For you personally, not like... just like today or yesterday, what is like a normal day?

Participant #19: Okay, like I have my son who goes to daycare, I have to wake him up prepare him, feed him, and take him to daycare.

Interviewer: How old is he?

Participant #19: He is [age] now, and if I have like household chores that I have to do, I have to do them, or if I have to be on the job I have to go to job. And come back home, meet my son, and like chat with my husband and eat and just go to sleep.

Interviewer: Yeah, and job you mean working in [restaurant]?

Participant #19: Yes.

Interviewer: Do you hold any other jobs?

Participant #19: Not like, not official ones, but like I have so many things going on like here and there.

Interviewer: And does your husband work?

Participant #19: Yes.

Interviewer: What does he do?

Participant #19: He works at [company].

Interviewer: Oh okay, cool. When and why do you go to Kennedy Park?

Participant #19: For first when we came here it was like in winter we were passing by Kennedy Park but because there was snow and slippery so we can't go like there as we would just go there like in summer when was green and sunny and because I saw that there was like many people who goes there like some people in my community we were agreeing to just go there and meet like, relax, even lie on the floor, like on the green space. And I was going there especially because I wanted my son to just kind of go on swings and slides. He was still little at that time, he was like [age], and also there is another park like in summer starting in June maybe, June 1st till October 31st for people who use like *inaudible* or for people who have like food stamps there is like a farmers market which happens to be there every Tuesday from 2 till 6 pm. So I goes there like especially in summer because if you have a child under age 5 you have some ticket from *inaudible* program and you have to use that to just kind of buy green vegetable, fresh vegetables, and we will meet with my friends or my family member or some other person in my community to just kind of find a way to buy fresh veggies for our child.

Interviewer: Have you noticed Kennedy Park change since you've been here?

Participant #19: Yes, I think lately has changed because they have like retraced like the I can't say that the road? And I think there is more light because it was scary to just kind of walk there during night. But nowadays I think that it is clear and there is much light, it's very good.

Interviewer: Where do you see yourself living in five years?

Participant #19: I'm not sure. I'm sure because there are many things that will go with that because I'm planning to do further schooling so I don't know if I will be getting a job here or going some other place but most part I will have to even come back here because my mother lives here, my other family members.

Interviewer: Yeah, and how do you think the city of Lewiston should handle or govern Kennedy Park?

Participant #19: I think they will protect the Kennedy Park because it's a place where many people go to relax, have fun, enjoy the summer, 'cause they came from different party, they came from different countries, excuse me, so many of them are used to seeing the sun like every, like most part of the year. But arriving here and see that there is snow, there is wind, it's like they have to get that place and that time to just go and relax and forget about winter and hard times. And I think they should protect much Kennedy Park because it brings many countries like especially many people they are together because at Kennedy Park if you just go there in summer you will see like American people, African people, from different countries and I think there is also foreign people from all over the world.

Interviewer: I want to be aware of the time, I don't want to hold you up. What would you change about Kennedy Park if you could?

Participant #19: Mmm, I think that I would try to just make the place where children are playing like a bigger one because most of the time when we goes there because my son is like was little he wasn't able to talk by himself so getting the time and the chance to just go by the swing was like hard because the neighborhood which are like here they are using Kennedy Park as their own because they are used to go there. It is near their own house. It's not like any other person who came from any other place can just kind of go there so I think I would just try to make like make other construction on Kennedy Park and try to reserve the like children's space for playing like a bigger one. Other than that I think it's well built, there is a, people can come from like all over like from any roads and kind of like be on the park without *inaudible* maybe just crossing with any other person just walk by freely.

Interviewer: Is there anything you wouldn't want to change about the Park? That you'd want to stay the same?

Participant #19: Mmm, The way they have like attended nowadays. I want the light to just kind of keep lighting the place, even because it's very beautiful during the night if you pass by Kennedy Park and every people are would feel comfortable and safer to just go there during the night or during the evening because there is light. And maybe they should put more bench chair because sometimes you can just go there and all chairs are occupied.

Interviewer: So, my last question is, is there anything else you'd like to add? Or you'd like me to know?

Participant #19: About Kennedy Park? So I think Kennedy Park is like a great resource for Lewiston people because they don't have to go far to actually be there, and our children can have a place to play because in my country going to slide or like to the swing you have to like go to some places and you have to pay for that. But here on Kennedy Park its free, it's like open to every person who wants to try it, but you have to wait for your turn because there are like lots of people.

Interviewer: Awesome, than you so much.

Participant #19: Thank you very much.

Participant #20 (nonresident):

Interviewer: *Map prompt.* *Asks if Participant #20 wants to add color.* *Asks him to please sign & date when finished.* *Asks address.*

Participant #20: [Address].

Interviewer: *Realizes Participant #20 is not a Tree Street resident.* Can you take me through what's included in your map and why you included it?

Participant #20: Well, the walkways 'cause after school normally every day I go to my friend's house or we go to the store or something. So normally take any of these walkways from here. Basketball 'cause I'm a very big fan of basketball. So that is like kind of a matter to me. The gazebo is like where I normally see a lot of the people who are in Lewiston and they go to the park. That's where they hang out. It's kind of like an area I try to avoid 'cause a lot of people over there do stuff that you shouldn't really do outside in public. I did the pool and the sprinklers because I like water. I like swimming and stuff. And the skate park, I actually used to skateboard a lot when I was younger. So I would go there a couple of times.

Interviewer: Where do you go to school?

Participant #20: Well I, I don't go to school, now. But I go to [program] to do my schooling.

Interviewer: Can you talk a little bit more about the gazebo? Like what, what in particular... *Explains participant #20 doesn't have to answer.* *Explains repetitiveness.* Can you say a little bit more about the gazebo?

Participant #20: People like, like throughout the day people will hang out in the park. But most of the time it's the people that, like people that do drugs. Like do that. And I'm not talking about marijuana, because marijuana is not a big deal to me. But like crack and stuff like that. I just see, I just see a lot of that happening in that park.

Interviewer: Is this your hometown?

Participant #20: I was born in Lewiston, but was raised in Auburn.

Interviewer: Okay. Is there anywhere on your map that you consider your place? That you feel like you belong?

Participant #20: If anything probably the basketball court.

Interviewer: And when you go down there do you play?

Participant #20: I haven't played there in a long time 'cause for a while, since I was living in Auburn, would go to the gully 'cause that was closer, that was closer to my house. And it was really after I moved out of my parents' house and moved in with my brother who is out there.

Interviewer: In [town in Maine]?

Participant #20: *Confirms.* And his parents, they wouldn't really like me going, like they don't even like me walking through there and I'm [age]. *Laughs.* So, it's more or less they don't

want us to get into trouble, get into fights. Anything like that happening. 'Cause people are just like ridiculous over here.

Interviewer: *Asks name.*

Participant #20: My name is [name].

Interviewer: *Gender identity.*

Participant #20: I'm a male.

Interviewer: *Ethnic identity.*

Participant #20: Caucasian.

Interviewer: *Ask about specifics.*

Participant #20: I really don't know. I know I'm French, I have a lot of French in me. But I really just call myself American.

Interviewer: *Religious identity.*

Participant #20: Not religious.

Interviewer: *Asks age.*

Participant #20: I'm [age].

Interviewer: *Transitions to sense of place questions.* If you want to get outside and you want to experience nature where do you go?

Participant #20: Well since I live in [town in Maine], we live on 112 acres of land. We have a bunch of woods. So it makes it easier just when you go on a walk through there. I don't like to because I don't know what's in the woods. Like it could be a fox or something. I just don't really. But if I wanted to I could go on a walk through there.

Interviewer: When you want to be social or meet new people where do you go?

Participant #20: Downtown.

Interviewer: As in Lewiston downtown?

Participant #20: Yeah. I hang out at my friend's house or something. We have friends come over or something. Some of his friends that we meet, some of my friends he meets. Stuff like that.

Interviewer: How long did you live in Lewiston?

Participant #20: Well I got to say I was, when I was born in Lewiston I lived in Lewiston until I was like two or three.

Interviewer: Were you in the Tree Streets?

Participant #20: Not totally sure. I know I lived on [street] Street when I was like a baby and then moved somewhere else and then we moved to Auburn.

Interviewer: Do you know where the other place was, in-between?

Participant #20: Not totally sure.

Interviewer: And, before you lived in, so Lewiston/Auburn and then [town in Maine], right? So before you lived in Lewiston where did your family come from?

Participant #20: I'd say my mom, I think my mom grew up in Lewiston and my Dad grew up in Auburn. But I think they lived in Lewiston for a while before I was born with my other two sisters. And then we moved to Auburn after like, of me turning one or something. At least up to three. I'm not sure. But I know I did live in Lewiston before I moved to Auburn.

Interviewer: Were you ever at [high school]?

Participant #20: Yes.

Interviewer: *Asks about siblings.*

Participant #20: *Explains that his brother is his legal brother. Participant #20's brother's parents took guardianship of Participant #20.* *Participant #20 has three biological sisters.*

Interviewer: If someone were to ask you where you're from what do you say?

Participant #20: Lewiston-Auburn area.

Interviewer: Can you take me through an average day?

Participant #20: I wake up, get what I need ready to go. I come into town, come into [program].

Interviewer: How do you get here?

Participant #20: We have a, my brother has a ride setup for me, him, and his cousin, and picks us up at our house every morning, around like 8 and we get here by 8:30. We do all the stuff we need to do. Like we work with [community organization]. So we could be going to make beds, or we do projects, like we, up on that board over there, we do a bunch of projects. Like we went over to [public housing] and did the art panels, the dog park kind of thing. Or we come here and we do education. So like we get ready for our HiSET and stuff like that.

Interviewer: For what?

Participant #20: The, it used to be called a GED, but now it's called a HiSET.

Interviewer: Do you avoid Kennedy Park?

Participant #20: Not necessarily. I mean I'm not scared of the park. Just one of those things 'cause I always have my friends with me. We just walk right through there. And if I'm going by myself to like the store or something I just keep my head down and walk quickly.

Interviewer: Does Kennedy Park impact how you feel about the downtown area?

Participant #20: I wouldn't, I would say it would, but I've seen other places, like far down Blake Street or far down Pierce Street or Howe Street just I've seen those places. And I honestly think those areas are more, more active than this area.

Interviewer: Active in terms of drugs?

Participant #20: Stuff like that yeah, or, 'cause I know like there was recently, like last year or something I don't even remember it was the beginning of the year or something, somebody got beat to death in the park area. That is, I think that's extreme, but like I've heard of other things happening that's worse than somebody getting beat to death on those other streets. *Inaudible.*

Interviewer: Sure. Do you want to elaborate on that or no? It's okay if you don't.

Participant #20: I've heard of people getting kidnapped, people getting raped, people selling drugs, people getting caught for drugs and stuff like that. It's, that's what I like mean by active. And it's not very, it's not kept quiet either. Like over here in the park somebody can get into a fight and it would take longer for like the police to come over and stop it. But if the cops got a call like oh somebody is getting shot at or something, they'll rush right over.

Interviewer: In like Howe and Knox, like in the neighborhood?

Participant #20: Yeah those areas, yeah.

Interviewer: When I say "Kennedy Park" what comes to mind?

Participant #20: A place where people can go hang out. A place where people go and do illegal activities such as drugs, or sell drugs. Stuff like that. Kennedy Park used to be a lot better when I was younger. Like I even, I didn't even know that apparently Tony Hawk put that, put the skate park in. And I thought that was actually pretty cool. But people started abusing that, like years on. Like people would after school at [school] would talk about, "Oh we're going to go down to KP and we're going to fight inside the, the fish bowl." Is what it's called because it's deep and nobody can see into it if they're standing away from it. So like people would use it for more than just skating. So I just think that like when I was a kid it was safer for me to go here to Kennedy Park with my family, or like family members and play. I used to come here when I was younger and play on the playground or play some basketball with my cousins and stuff.

Interviewer: So you guys would come across the river and hangout here?

Participant #20: Yeah.

Interviewer: When and why do you go to Kennedy Park?

Participant #20: More or less I go through Kennedy Park, but sometimes I'll go and stand in there. Just to hangout, just on lunch break or something. More or less we stay in the building, unless we're going to the store, because right now it's cold, but before it got cold we would go stand in the park or something.

Interviewer: What areas of the park do you go to?

Participant #20: Mainly stay, like this is from like across the street from our school. We'd mainly stay in this area or we'd go over here like on the grass or stuff. We don't really normally go down there. But I mean we've gone in the gazebo a couple of times, but it wasn't really crowded. So every time we went in there.

Interviewer: How have you noticed Kennedy Park change?

Participant #20: I just think the crime has gone up a lot. Like with the drugs and stuff. I think people have started abusing that because, like I said it takes nobody really reports anybody doing

anything in plain sight. Like there's the saying "it's better to hide in plain sight" or something like that. I don't know how it's, like how it goes, but it's easier for somebody to hide in plain sight than to be hiding and somebody looking for you. So that's like, it's obvious that they're doing that stuff and 'cause they always look at you and then they look away. Sometimes you'll see smoke come up and stuff like, it's just like I've seen people get put on blast in the park for be like, "Oh yeah, he's got, he's got some good stuff" and stuff like that while the person is walking by and the person almost getting into a fight with them, or almost getting shot and stuff like that. It's kind of, it's just like kind of like a place where like you go to look for trouble.

Interviewer: If you could what would you change about Kennedy Park?

Participant #20: Well like they do at night since, since that person getting beat to death, I'd have cops at least circle it every once and while and just watching out for it. 'Cause I mean I've seen cops drive by, but they don't do nothing. Like they'll watch you do something and keep driving. It's just, I don't know if they like notice it or not, but people will sit there and do stuff in front of them and they won't do nothing.

Interviewer: What would you keep the same?

Participant #20: The playground and the basketball, and the basketball courts and stuff. 'Cause like every year they hold tournaments, special tournaments at the basketball courts and stuff like that to raise awareness for someone that has cancer or something. Like they'll do the same thing at the Gully in Auburn. Like last year, it was either last year or the year before, they were doing a \$300 tournament. That was the highest prize and you could win that money and it would also raise money because you had to pay to join. It's like twenty bucks or something like that to join. And a lot of people join it, and I think it's pretty cool. If anything that, basketball is like a big way for somebody to speak their peace. It's something that I've noticed a lot of people around this area or that area know what to do, what they're doing with it. Something that, it's a skill to them. Like myself, and my brother, and our friends and stuff.

Interviewer: *Asks about potential mutual acquaintances.* *Both know some of the same people.* *Small talk about NBA.* Five years from now, you're [age] where do you see yourself living?

Participant #20: Well me and my friends we have been working on... my brother, his friend, and his cousin, we've been working on trying to get a place together. We want to live together as like a group. We don't want to split up. Like if time comes to it, like in our 30s or something we're going to live on our own, then we'll do that. But to make it easier on ourselves so we can each save money and just split the rent that way, we want to live together and I think it would be a pretty interesting experience. Like we've been talking about it since like, since we first, like me, [name], and his cousin, [name] is my brother, we're talking about it since like middle school. And then we included our friend in it and he is out there as well. And then for like three years, or like four years we have been talking about it.

Interviewer: Where would that be?

Participant #20: Either a place over near [subsidized housing] or if we get enough money a place, like an actual apartment.

Interviewer: What's [subsidized housing]?

Participant #20: [Subsidized housing] is like assisted living, or sort of say they take 30% of your income. So it's cheaper and if you think about it like this we can all go there and then we can save money and I'm looking forward to saving enough money to go to community college, like CMCC or something like that. 'Cause I want to, like we're doing a construction program over here and if construction don't work out for me I want to do study law.

Interviewer: 10 years, where do you see yourself living?

Participant #20: Probably married to somebody. And if not then probably living with my friends still, if not then on my own doing my own thing. Probably being either a carpenter, a landscaper, or hopefully a police officer.

Interviewer: How should the city of Lewiston handle or govern Kennedy Park?

Participant #20: Take out the gazebo. I think that would be a, takes out a blind spot. I know they put a camera in there, but take away something that somebody hides in because there is still, even though you can see in it, there is still walls. People can hide behind them and do that stuff. They, they obviously don't check the cameras or the camera is just broken from the weather. Remove some trees. I mean trees are good for the park 'cause it's a park. Keep some shade for kids or something like that, but don't have all of them. Take, take part of the fence from the basketball court 'cause I know people get into fights in there. And I don't like, I'd rather have somebody have the chance to run away. Like that's what they did at the gully, took all the fences down because people were getting into fights over there all the time.

Interviewer: *Last question.* *Asks if there is anything else to add.*

Participant #20: No, I think this, this has gone well and it's actually pretty interesting. It was an interesting experience.

Takes Participant #20's email for Mt. David invite and to thank him directly.

APPENDIX E: CODE BOOK

- I. Demographics:
 - A. Age: ≤ 12
 - B. Age: 13-21
 - C. Age: 22-35
 - D. Age: 36-50
 - E. Age: > 50
 - F. CBB Alumni
 - G. Female
 - H. Generational Mainer
 - I. Male
 - J. New Mainer
 - K. POC
 - L. White
 - M. 1st/2nd Generational Mainer

- II. Direct Recommendations
 - A. Kennedy Park
 - B. Lewiston
 - C. Direct recommendations: Policing

- III. Processes of Attachment:
 - A. Jennifer E. Cross's Processes of Attachment
 - 1. Commodifying
 - 2. Historical
 - 3. Ideological
 - 4. Material dependence
 - 5. Narrative
 - 6. Sensory
 - 7. Spiritual

 - B. Setha M. Low's Processes of Attachment
 - 1. Cosmological
 - 2. Economics
 - 3. Genealogical
 - 4. Loss or destruction
 - 5. Loss or Destruction (Replacement)
 - 6. Narrative
 - 7. Pilgrimage

- IV. Place of Process Locations:
 - A. Lisbon Street (and immediate surrounding areas)
 - B. Kennedy Park (includes what is considered the downtown Tree Streets)
 - C. Lewiston-at-Large
 - D. Lewiston-Auburn
 - E. Outside Lewiston
 - F. Tree Streets Neighborhood (includes Kennedy Park)
 - G. Downtown Lewiston (Tree Streets, Kennedy Park, Downtown Lewiston, and Lewiston)

- V. Sense of Place:
 - A. Place Attachment
 - B. Place Dependence
 - C. Place Dependence: Independence
 - D. Place Identity
 - E. Place Identity: Tree Street + Other
 - F. Place Satisfaction: Satisfied
 - G. Place Satisfaction: Unsatisfied

APPENDIX F: PARTICIPANT LIST

Participant #1:

35 years old and identifies as male. He has been a resident of the Tree Streets Neighborhood for 14 years, but is originally from out of state. Participant #1 is a graduate of a nearby liberal arts college, and now leads a local community organization. He is white and an active Unitarian Universalist.

Participant #2:

25 years old and identifies as male. She has been a resident of the Tree Streets Neighborhood since graduating from a nearby liberal arts college in 2015. Participant #2 works at a local community organization, and is white and Christian.

Participant #3:

66 years old and identifies as male. He is a generational Mainer who was born and raised in Lewiston-Auburn. Participant #3 has lived in the Tree Streets Neighborhood for the past 18 years. He identifies as white, and was raised Catholic. He does not currently work, but runs an online newspaper.

Participant #4:

32 years old and identifies as male. He is an asylum seeker from the Congo. He has lived in Lewiston for three years, and the past two he has been a resident of the Tree Streets Neighborhood. He is Christian and works in different capacities at a couple of different community organizations.

Participant #5:

51 years old and identifies as male. He is an asylum seeker from the Congo. At the time of the interview he had not yet been in the United States for a full year, but had spent the majority of his time in the Tree Streets Neighborhood. He identifies as Evangelical. In the Congo he was a doctor, but is presently employed.

Participant #6:

29 years old and identifies as female. She is Mexican-American, and grew up in Lewiston and the Tree Streets Neighborhood after moving to Maine from out of state. She has spent the past 14 years as a resident of the neighborhood. Participant #6 works at a local community organization and identifies as spiritual.

Participant #7:

25 years olds and identifies as male. He graduated from a nearby liberal arts college in 2016 and came to Lewiston to work in the public school system. Originally from out of State, participant #7 has lived in the Tree Streets Neighborhood for about seven months. He is anti-religious and “Trinidadian-Afro-American.”

Participant #8:

11 years old and identifies as male. Currently a student in the public school system, Participant #8 is a New Mainer. He identifies as Muslim and has lived in the Tree Streets Neighborhood for five years.

Participant #9:

41 years old and identifies as female. She is white and identifies as Pagan. Participant #9 is a generational Mainer, and has lived in the Tree Streets Neighborhood for about eight years. She is unemployed.

Participant #10:

38 years old and identifies as female. She is white and considers herself spiritual. Participant #10 works in healthcare. Originally from out of state, she has lived all over the country. Participant #10 has been living in the Tree Streets Neighborhood on and off for 17 years.

Participant #11:

8 years old and identifies as male. He is currently a student in the public school system. He is the half-brother of participant #12. He identifies as Mexican-American, Jamaican, and Puerto Rican. He has lived in Lewiston and the Tree Streets Neighborhood for his whole life. He is the son of participant #6.

Participant #12:

12 years old and identifies as female. She is currently a student in the public school system. She is the half-sister of participant #11. She identifies as Mexican-American, black, and white. It is unclear exactly how long, but she has lived in Lewiston and the Tree Streets Neighborhood for the majority, if not all, of her life. She is the daughter of participant #6.

Participant #13:

16 years old and identifies as female. She is currently a student in the public school system. She is a refugee from Kenya who traveled throughout the United States before coming to Lewiston. She is Muslim, but does not identify as particularly religious. Participant #13 said that she has been in-and-out of the Tree Streets Neighborhood, and is unsure how long she has been a resident. However, since her last move she has lived in the neighborhood for about three years.

Participant #14:

15 years old and identifies as female. She is currently a student in the public school system. She is a refugee from Kenya who traveled throughout the United States before coming to Lewiston. She is Muslim, and identifies as religious. It is unclear how long she has lived in the Tree Streets, but Participant #14 has lived in her current residence for the past three years.

Participant #15:

22 years old and identifies as male. He is an Asylum Seeker from Congo Brazzaville, and has been living in the Tree Streets Neighborhood for about seven months. Participant #15 is Christian, and considers himself religious. He is in school.

Participant #16:

16 years old and identifies as female. She is a refugee, and currently enrolled in the public school system. Participant #16 has lived in the Tree Streets Neighborhood for 14 years. She is Muslim and is religious.

Participant #17:

13 years old and identifies as female. She is a refugee, and currently enrolled in the public school system. Participant #17 has lived in the Tree Streets Neighborhood for 12 years. She is Muslim and is religious.

Participant #18 (nonresident):

54 years old and identifies as a female. She is a generational Mainer who works at a local community organization. Participant #18 is white and was raised Protestant, but does not consider herself religious. Although she works in the neighborhood and lives in a nearby town, Participant #18 has never been a resident of the Tree Streets Neighborhood.

Participant #19 (nonresident):

28 years old and identifies as female. She is Catholic, a New Mainer, and is originally from Burundi. Participant #19 works at Bates College and lives in Lewiston, but is not a resident of the Tree Streets Neighborhood.

Participant #20 (nonresident):

19 years old and identifies as male. He is a generational Mainer who was born and raised in Lewiston-Auburn. Although still in Maine, he no longer lives in Lewiston and is not a resident of the Tree Streets Neighborhood. Participant #20 is white, not religious, and enrolled in a high school equivalency program.

APPENDIX G: PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHICS TABLES

Table 4: Participant demographics in relation to place of processes

	Kennedy Park	Tree Streets Neighborhood	Lewiston-at-Large	Downtown Lewiston	Outside of Lewiston	Lisbon Street	Lewiston-Auburn	Total
Person of Color	96	45	32	12	5	4	1	195
Male	65	39	24	7	2	4	2	143
New Mainer	63	23	24	5	3	3	0	121
Female	50	38	12	9	3	0	1	113
1st/2nd Generational Mainer	41	30	8	8	2	1	1	91
Age: 22-35	41	23	13	5	2	2	0	86
White Person	19	32	4	4	0	0	2	61
Age: > 50	17	19	9	2	1	1	2	51
Age: 13-21	22	11	8	3	2	0	0	46
Age: 36-50	17	18	3	5	0	0	1	44
Generational Mainer	11	24	4	3	0	0	2	44
CBB Alumni	16	11	4	3	1	1	0	36
Age: ≤ 12	18	6	3	1	0	1	0	29
Total	476	319	148	67	21	17	12	

Table 5: Participant demographics in relation to processes of attachment

	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7	C8	C9	C10	C11	C12	C13	C14	C15	Total
Person of Color	66	37	38	32	15	9	13	5	0	1	1	0	0	0	217
Male	46	25	26	23	10	7	5	4	1	1	1	0	0	0	149
Female	49	26	18	18	7	10	11	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	140
New Mainer	37	24	28	18	6	4	5	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	125
1st/2nd Generational Mainer	41	13	13	20	11	9	9	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	121
Age: 22-35	31	9	18	20	7	5	1	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	95
White Person	29	14	6	9	2	8	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	72
Age: 36-50	21	11	7	6	5	7	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	64
Age: 13-21	19	12	7	5	2	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	52
Age: > 50	15	15	6	9	2	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	52
CBB Alumni	15	3	5	7	6	5	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	45
Generational Mainer	17	14	3	3	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	43
Age: ≤ 12	9	4	6	1	1	1	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	26
Total	395	207	181	171	74	73	65	22	5	4	4	0	0	0	

Column #2: Cross- Historical
 Column #3: Cross- Material Dependence
 Column #4: Cross- Sensory
 Column #5: Cross- Ideological
 Column #6: Cross- Commodifying
 Column #7: Cross- Narrative
 Column #8: Low- Loss or Destruction
 Column #9: Low- Loss or Destruction

(Replacement)
 Column #10: Low- Economics
 Column #11: Low- Narrative
 Column #12: Low- Pilgrimage
 Column #13: Low- Genealogical
 Column #14: Low- Cosmological
 Column #15: Cross- Spiritual

Table 6: Participant demographics in relation to sense of place

	Place Satisfaction (Unsatisfied)	Place Identity	Place Satisfaction	Place Attachment	Place Dependence	Place Dependence (Independence)	Place Identity (Tree Streets Neighborhood + Other)	Total
Person of Color	63	31	34	25	22	24	15	214
Female	44	25	18	13	16	19	9	144
Male	38	24	26	18	13	9	6	134
New Mainer	33	14	18	20	15	13	12	125
1st/2nd Generational Mainer	35	21	22	6	8	13	3	108
Age: 22-35	25	15	21	12	6	6	4	89
Age: 13-21	16	6	5	8	7	12	8	62
White Person	14	16	10	6	7	2	0	55
Age: > 50	11	12	5	9	8	0	1	46
Age: 36-50	16	10	7	0	7	1	1	42
Generational Mainer	9	12	4	5	6	0	0	36
Age: ≤ 12	9	4	6	2	1	7	1	30
CBB Alumni	8	4	8	1	1	4	2	28
Total	321	194	184	125	117	110	62	

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Altman, Irwin, and Low, Setha M., editors. *Place Attachment*. New York, Plenum Press, 1992.
- Bayor, Ronald H., editor. *Neighborhoods in Urban America*. London, Kennikat Press, 1982.
- Beatley, Timothy. *Biophilic Cities: Integrating Nature into Urban Design and Planning*. Washington, D.C., Island Press, 2011.
- Burns, Jay. "What's in a Name: Tree Streets." *Bates*,
<https://www.bates.edu/news/2018/06/28/whats-in-a-name-tree-streets/>.
- Cranz, Galen. *The Politics of Park Design: A history of Urban Parks in America*. Cambridge, The MIT Press, 1982.
- Cronon, William. "The Trouble with Wilderness or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature." *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*, edited by William Cronon, W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1995, pp. 7-28.
- Cross, Jennifer Eileen. "Processes of Place Attachment: An Interactional Framework." *Symbolic Interaction*, vol. 38, no. 4, 2015, pp. 1-28, doi: [10.1002/symb.198](https://doi.org/10.1002/symb.198).
- Gallagher, Noel K. "Woman fatally stabbed in front of her children on downtown Lewiston sidewalk." *Portland Press Herald*, 16 July 2018,
<https://www.pressherald.com/2018/07/15/woman-stabbed-in-lewiston/>
- Hartig, Terri, Mang, Marlis, and Evans, Gary W. "Restorative Effects of Natural Environment Experiences." *Environment and Behavior*, vol. 23, no. 1, 1991, pp. 3-26, doi: [10.1177/0013916591231001](https://doi.org/10.1177/0013916591231001).
- Harvey, David. "The Political Economy of Public Space." *The Politics of Public Space*, edited by Setha Low and Neil Smith, Routledge, 2006, 17-34.
- Harvey, David. "The right to the City." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 27, no. 4, 2003, pp. 939-941, doi: [10.1111/j.0309-1317.2003.00492.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0309-1317.2003.00492.x).
- Healthy Neighborhood Planning Council. *Healthy Neighborhoods Network Structure*. 2018
- Healthy Neighborhood Planning Council. *HNPC Update: September 11, 2018*. 2018.
- Healthy Neighborhood Planning Council. *Thank You: To the Over 160 Residents Weighed in on the Tree Streets Neighborhood During the Pop Ups*. 2018.

- Healthy Neighborhood Planning Council. *IV Administrative Data*, 2018.
- Heerwagen, Judith. "Biophilia, Health, and Well-being." *Restorative Commons: Creating Health and Well-being through Urban Landscapes*, edited by Lindsay Campbell and Anne Wiesen, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 2009, pp. 38-57.
- Hodgkin, Douglas I. "Kennedy Park Bandstand/Gazebo." *Lewiston, ME*, Sept. 2011, <http://www.lewistonmaine.gov/DocumentCenter/View/1150/GAZEBO---HISTORY-BY-DOUG-HODGKIN---2011---BEST-CO?bidId=>.
- Hordyk, Shawn R., Hanley, Jill, and Richard, Eric. "'Nature is there; it's free': Urban greenspace and the social determinants of health of immigrant families." *Health & Place*, vol. 34, 2015, pp. 74-82, doi: [10.1016/j.healthplace.2015.03.016](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2015.03.016).
- Hummon, David M. "Community Attachment: Local Sentiment and Sense of Place." *Place Attachment*, edited by Setha M. Low and Irwin Altman, Plenum Press, 1992, pp. 253-278.
- Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York, Random House, 1961.
- Jorgensen, Bradley S., and Stedman, Richard C. "Sense of Place as An Attitude: Lakeshore Owners Attitudes Toward Their Properties." *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, vol. 21, no. 3, 2001, pp. 233-248, doi: [10.1006/jevp.2001.0226](https://doi.org/10.1006/jevp.2001.0226).
- Kahn, Jr., Peter H., and Kellert, Stephen R, editors. *Children and Nature: Psychological, Sociocultural, and Evolutionary Investigations*. Cambridge, the MIT Press, 2002.
- Kaplan, Rachel, and Kaplan, Steven. *The Experience of Natures: A Psychological Perspective*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Kellert, Stephen R., and Wilson, Edward O., editors. *The Biophilia Hypothesis*. Washington, D.C., Island Press, 1993.
- "Kennedy Park is Full of Trash." *Sun Journal*, 23 Aug. 2006, <http://www.sunjournal.com/kennedy-park-full-trash/>
- Kweon, Byoung-Suk, Sullivan, William C., Wiley, Angela R. "Green Common Spaces and The Social Integration of Inner-City Older Adults." *Environment and Behavior*, vol. 30, no. 6, 1998, pp. 832-858, doi: [10.1177/001391659803000605](https://doi.org/10.1177/001391659803000605).
- Kyle, Gerard, and Chick, Garry. "The Social Construction of a Sense of Place." *Leisure Sciences: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, vol. 29, no. 3, 2007, pp. 209-225, doi: [10.1080/01490400701257922](https://doi.org/10.1080/01490400701257922).

- LaFlamme, Mark. "Street Talk: Crunching Lewiston's crime stats." *Sun Journal*, 17 July 2018, <https://www.sunjournal.com/2018/07/17/street-talk-crunching-lewistons-crime-stats/>
- Lehtovuori, Panu. *Experience and Conflict: The Production of Urban Space*. Surrey, Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010.
- Lewicka, Maria. "Place attachment: How far have we come in the last 40 years?" *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, vol. 31, no. 3, 2011, pp. 207-230, doi: [10.1016/j.jenvp.2010.10.001](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2010.10.001).
- Lewiston, ME. "Choice Neighborhoods Implementation Grantees." 2016. PDF.
- Lewiston, ME, Downtown Neighborhood Task Force. *The Third Place: Downtown Neighborhood Action Plan*. 2009.
- Lewiston, ME. "FY 2017 Planning Grant Award Information: Choice Neighborhoods." 2018. PDF.
- Lewiston, ME, Harvard Community Development Project and Downtown Neighborhood Action Committee. *Downtown Lewiston: Recommendations for neighborhood redevelopment*. 2014.
- Lewiston, ME, *Legacy Lewiston: City of Lewiston Comprehensive Plan*. City of Lewiston, 2017.
- Lewiston, ME, Lewiston City Council. *Kennedy Park Master Plan*. 2006.
<http://www.ci.lewiston.me.us/DocumentCenter/View/5225/KennedyPark-MasterPlan-01-30-2006?bidId=>.
- "Lewiston residents rally for peace in Kennedy Park." *WGME*, 19 June 2018,
<https://wgme.com/news/local/lewiston-residents-rally-for-peace-in-kennedy-park>.
- Low, Setha M. "Symbolic Ties that Bind: Place Attachment in the Plaza." *Place Attachment*, edited by Setha M. Low and Irwin Altman, Plenum Press, 1992, pp. 165-186.
- Madanipour, Ali, editor. *Whose Public Space? International Case Studies in Urban Design and Development*. New York, Routledge, 2010.
- Mesch, Gustavo S., and Manor, Orit. "Social Ties, Environmental Perception, and Local Attachment." *Environment and Behavior*, vol. 30, no. 4, 1998, pp. 504-519, doi:[10.1177/001391659803000405](https://doi.org/10.1177/001391659803000405).
- Milligan, Melinda J. "Interactional Past and Potential: The Social Construction of Place Attachment." *Symbolic Interaction*, vol. 21, no. 1, 1998, pp. 1-33, doi: [10.1525/si.1998.21.1.1](https://doi.org/10.1525/si.1998.21.1.1).

- Moss, Shannon. "Upgrades underway in Lewiston's Kennedy Park." *News Center Maine*, 17 Sept. 2018, <https://www.newscentermaine.com/article/news/local/lewiston-auburn/upgrades-underway-in-lewistons-kennedy-park/97-595573495>.
- "Parks in Lewiston - Enjoy Lewiston's Green Space!" *Lewiston, ME*, <http://www.lewistonmaine.gov/425/Parks-in-Lewiston>.
- Perea, Juan F. "The Black/White Binary Paradigm of Race: The Normal Science of American Racial Thought." *California Law Review*, vol. 85, no. 5, 1997, pp. 127-172.
- "Playing in Kennedy Park." *Sun Journal*, 23 June 2012, <http://www.sunjournal.com/playing-kennedy-park/>
- Proshansky, Harold M. "The City and Self-Identity." *Environment and Behavior*, vol. 10, no. 2, 1978, pp. 147–169, doi:[10.1177/0013916578102002](https://doi.org/10.1177/0013916578102002).
- Relph, Edward. *Place and Placelessness*. London, Pion Limited, 1976.
- Scannell, Leila, and Gifford, Robert. "Defining place attachment: A tripartite organizing framework." *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, vol. 30, no. 1, 2010, pp. 1-10, doi: [10.1016/j.jenvp.2009.09.006](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2009.09.006).
- Shamai, Shmuel. "Sense of Place: an Empirical Measurement." *Geoforum*, vol. 22, no. 3, 1991, pp. 347-358, doi: [10.1016/0016-7185\(91\)90017-K](https://doi.org/10.1016/0016-7185(91)90017-K).
- Skelton, Kathryn and Rice, Andrew. "Despite lowest crime rate in 20 years, incidents raise anxiety in Lewiston." *Portland Press Herald*, 5 August 2018, <https://www.pressherald.com/2018/08/05/despite-the-lowest-crime-rate-in-20-years-recent-incidents-raise-anxiety-in-lewiston/>
- Sover, Daryn. "Man Injured in Kennedy Park Fight." *Sun Journal*, Apr. 29, 2016, <http://www.sunjournal.com/man-injured-kennedy-park-fight/>.
- Staff Report. "Lewiston man dies from injuries sustained in Tuesday night fight." *Sun Journal*, 15 June 2018, <http://www.sunjournal.com/tuesday-night-fight-victim-still-in-critical-condition/>.
- Stedman, Richard C. "Is it Really Just a Social Construction?: The Contribution of the Physical Environment to Sense of Place." *Society & Natural Resources*, vol. 16, no. 8, 2003, pp. 671-685, doi: [10.1080/08941920309189](https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920309189).
- Stokols, Daniel, and Shumaker, Sally Ann. "People in Places: A Transactional View of Settings." *Cognition, social behavior and the environment*, edited by Harvey, John H., Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1981, 441-448.

- Stokowski, Patricia A. "Languages of Place and Discourses of Power: Constructing New Senses of Place." *Journal of Leisure Research*, vol. 34, no. 4, 2002, pp. 368-382, doi: [10.1080/00222216.2002.11949977](https://doi.org/10.1080/00222216.2002.11949977).
- Sullivan, Brian. United States Department of Housing and Urban Development. *HUD Awards Choice Neighborhoods Planning Grants*. HUD No. 18-018, 2018.
- Sullivan, William C, Kuo, Frances E., and DePooter, Stephen F. "The Fruit of Urban Nature: Vital Neighborhood Spaces." *Environment and Behavior*, vol. 36, no. 5, 2004, pp. 678-700, doi: [10.1177/0193841X04264945](https://doi.org/10.1177/0193841X04264945).
- Tice, Lindsay. "Crime rate in Lewiston drops and residents feel less safe." *Bangor Daily News*, 4 November 2012, <https://bangordailynews.com/2012/11/04/news/lewiston-auburn/crime-rate-in-lewiston-drops-and-residents-feel-less-safe/>
- Trentelman, Carla Koons. "Place Attachment and Community Attachment: A Primer Grounded in the Lived Experience of a Community Sociologist." *Society & Natural Resources: An International Journal*, vol 22, no. 3, 2009, pp. 191-210, doi [10.1080/08941920802191712](https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920802191712).
- Tuan, Yi-Fu. "Place: An Experiential Perspective." *Geographical Review*, vol. 65, no. 2, 1975, pp. 151-165, doi: [10.2307/213970](https://doi.org/10.2307/213970).
- Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1977.
- Van Patten, Susan R., and Williams, Daniel R. "Problems in Place: Using Discursive Social Psychology to Investigate the Meanings of Seasonal Homes." *Leisure Sciences*, vol. 30, no. 5, 2008, pp. 448-464, doi: [10.1080/01490400802353190](https://doi.org/10.1080/01490400802353190).
- Washuk, Bonnie. "Friends: Suspect stalked Kim Dobbie 'from morning til night.'" *Sun Journal*, 17 July 2018, <https://www.sunjournal.com/2018/07/16/friends-suspect-stalked-kim-dobbie-from-morning-til-night/?rel=related>
- Wilson, Edward O. *Biophilia*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1984.

