THE PUBLIC PARK AS LIMINAL SPACE: 
A STUDY OF SPONTANEOUS AND INTENTIONAL BEHAVIOR 
AND THE IMPACT ON COMMUNITY

by
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If we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place.

-Yi-Fu Tuan, “Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience”

More than anything, this project is a pause along my journey. I think of space and place not just as physical and concrete locations, but also as thoughts and ideas.

The project speaks to the intersection of communities and cultural vitality. It is not a standalone paper. It is reflective of my journey through MACS and sits within larger professional and personal transformations. Communities are powerful entities and I encourage you to pause (sit in your own place) and think about your communities, spheres of influence, and the impact they have on you and others.

My many communities supported me on my journey. These communities provided me with the temporal space to make connections to the intangible thoughts and ideas that have been firing my synapses over the past many decades. My drive to link experiences, hypotheses, and critical research came to fruition because of the support of my communities.

The Goucher College Master of Arts in Cultural Sustainability community (MACS soulfam), students and professors, opened doors to a way of thinking that I had only dreamed of existing. It was exhilarating to release some of my “old ways” as I sailed down the Chesapeake Bay with Amy, Tom, Cody, Heidi, and Megan. Those few days represent a liminal experience as my identity shifted and goals began to focus. I will sail with you anytime! While the sailboat represents the beginning of my journey, Patterson Park represents the conclusion of this phase. My Capstone Team - Lisa, Heather, and Rob - pushed me to think more critically and encouraged me to continue to connect research to lived experiences. The conversations and email exchanges provided opportunities for deep thinking. One day the four of us will meet in Patterson Park for a picnic or sled ride.

My friend communities represent many places in my life. The list of individual names is far too long. However, a special acknowledgement to members of the PS community is warranted. You cheered me along each step of the way – providing me with chocolate, comic relief, happy hours, and workouts.

My most important community - my family - buffered and supported me each semester. Craig and Wills, you inspire me with your passions and dedication to your communities. I look forward to continuing to support you along your journeys. Michael, thank you for partnering with me through space and place. Your friendship and love are transformative. It is time to continue our adventures!
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ABSTRACT

Public spaces, such as parks, provide a space and time that exists outside of the familiar. They are set apart from the everyday, thus providing opportunity for engagement in activities, exploration of behaviors, and interactions with others. They are temporal spaces - ones that are intentionally entered and left. I posit that parks are liminal spaces which provide opportunities – expected and the unexpected. Felix Rosch states that “it is in these liminal spaces that societal changes are being triggered and new collective identities can emerge” (Rosch 2017, 290).

The thesis strives to answer the question “how do we encourage cultural health and equity in a diverse and unequal world through the use of public space?” Furthermore, I begin to explore what this means for surrounding communities. Field documentation in Patterson Park (Baltimore, MD) provides current data to augment academic research. The data will be used to support academic research and conclusions. An historical overview of the intended purpose and actual use of public parks is included. Observing happenchance intersections, or avoidance, of park participants begins to inform and answer questions related to whether public parks fulfill their missions, hints to how they could adapt, and provide information about the impact on communities.

The Capstone Project serves to further my growth as an academic researcher and strengthen my skills in the application of theory. Extending my skills of being a thoughtful listener and ability to lean into silence is especially important for this project. I envision the outcomes of the Capstone Project to be considered for multiple types of public spaces. This is not an ethnographic report of Patterson Park. Instead, it uses data observed in Patterson Park
in partnership with conclusions drawn from academic research. The thesis may be used to inform future programming and approaches of engaging community. Academically, the research will support the development of the field of cultural sustainability by striving to build understanding within and among cultural groups in public spaces. The research will further support the study of whether public spaces, which provide opportunity for spontaneous and intentional intersection, ultimately fulfill their stated missions.
BACKGROUND

Intrinsic relationships exist in the intersection between public space and community. Public spaces may be used to support and partner with communities to create sustainable cultures and strengthen relationships within and across demographic groups. Increasing understanding of relationships is important to sustaining cultural vitality and equity in a diverse and oftentimes unequal world.

In the context of the research project, traits of a sustainable culture\(^1\) include bonds exhibited between people, engagement in activities, appreciation of self and others, repetition and exploration of familiar and new rituals, as well as the expression of care of self, others, and space. It is recommended that quantifiable data, such as rates of housing occupancy, racial and ethnic diversity of neighborhoods, crime, education, and physical health be used to further augment the qualitative data collected in this research.

It is intended that the project will serve as a resource for communities and organizations working in, or using, public spaces. Outcomes will increase the understanding of the causal relationships between space and community in order to inform future structure and programming to benefit participants and communities. The research remains important to the field of cultural sustainability through an increased understanding of the dynamic relationships between public spaces, participants, and their communities.

Unexpected Variables

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\(^1\) Jon Hawkes proposes that cultural vitality “is as essential to a healthy and sustainable society as social equity, environmental responsibility and economic viability” (Hawkes 2001, vii). Cultural vitality speaks to a sustainable culture.
Institutional discrimination - be it the result of racism, isolation due to socioeconomic identifiers, or other key markers of difference - and the resulting segregation of people that exists in Baltimore and other cities has become increasingly divisive in recent years. The more recent deaths of Black individuals across the United States at the hands of police officers during 2019 and 2020, momentum of support for the Black Lives Matter\(^2\) movement, and the resulting nationwide anti-racism commitment are indicators of the ongoing historical division that exists within the United States. It is this historic pattern of behavior that has been a catalyst for my research. Site visits to Patterson Park included observations of demonstrated support for racial justice that highlight the ways in which public spaces become the site for community engagement and protests.

On March 30, 2020, the state of Maryland issued a stay-at-home order which stated “no Maryland resident should be leaving their home unless it is for an essential job or for an essential reason, such as obtaining food or medicine, seeking urgent medical attention, or for other necessary purposes” (“Governor Larry Hogan - Official Website for the Governor of Maryland” n.d.). The order was issued in response to the spread of COVID-19\(^3\) in Maryland. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) recommends the most effective way of controlling the spread of the disease, and thereby decreasing the rate of deaths, is to practice physical distancing. Subsequently, the stay-at-home order was clarified to allow people to exercise in open spaces. Use of permanent park structures, such as playground equipment and

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\(^2\) Black Lives Matter was founded in 2013. The mission is to “eradicate white supremacy and build local power to intervene in violence inflicted on Black communities by the state and vigilantes” (“Black Lives Matter” n.d.).

\(^3\) COVID-19 is a novel coronavirus that has been classified as a pandemic. It is “thought to spread mainly from person to person, mainly through respiratory droplets produced when an infected person coughs or sneezes” (CDC 2020).
tennis courts, was prohibited. Rules requiring individuals to wear face coverings and to maintain six feet of distance from each other went into effect. On June 19, 2020, Baltimore moved into Phase 2 allowing for the easing of some restrictions including the opening of pools with reduced capacity, the return of athletic activities including outdoor youth sports with face covering worn as possible, and the start of a select few youth camp programs with groups no larger than 15 individuals (Baltimore City Health Department n.d.). On November 6, 2020, as positivity and hospitalization rates continued to climb, stricter restrictions were again implemented. By November 12, 2020 the city returned to stringent restrictions mandating that masks be worn in all public spaces, outside as well as inside, whenever one may be within six feet of another person. Robin Wright states the “impact of the novel coronavirus may be so sweeping that it alters rituals and behaviors that have evolved over millennia” (Wright 2020).

Being a witness to, and participant in, Black Lives Matter and anti-racism demonstrations in Baltimore, as well as observing and experiencing the impact of COVID-19 were not part of the original scope of the research project. As such, the impact that physical distancing restrictions had, and continue to have, on participants must be considered and integrated into the results. The same is true when working to understand how anti-racism demonstrations inform a sense of community. An additional research component, focused on whether park use changed as a result of the two additional influences, threads its way throughout observations made on site visits in 2020.

My Journey

Yi-Fu Tuan states “space is transformed into place as it acquires definition and meaning” (Tuan 1977, 136). I first experienced Patterson Park as an unknown, vast space. It was
overwhelmingly large and felt unwieldy. The first site visit lasted several hours as I explored the different paths and areas of the park. Through time, growing familiarity, and attachment Patterson Park began to transform from space to place. There is an emotional connection, a familiarity, and landmarks and people with whom I intersected with on repeated visits. With few exceptions, I explored most of the outdoor locations in the park. Yet, within this place called Patterson Park, there remain locations that I continued to label as space. The community garden is one such example of a space left unexplored as it is located behind a tall, padlocked gate. I experienced the garden by peering through the metal chain links and was unable to wander among the 92 vegetable and flower beds (Baltimore City Recreation & Parks 2016, 65) – each one seemingly assigned to a different person or family (see Figure 1). Numbered and made unique as much by the vegetables and flowers as by chairs, windchimes, and statues. The shifting relationship between space and place is important to consider in understanding patterns of movement through, and behavior in, the park.

Reflecting further, although Patterson Park has become a place to me, I do not feel it is “my” place. I do not live in the surrounding neighborhoods nor do I use the park as is expected. Throughout the research period I remained a guest in the park. My awareness of self in place was more heightened on some visits and less so on others. Still, being physically present in Patterson Park made me a
participant of the space and I experienced intrinsic outcomes of being in the park. I passed people, said hello, watched games, listened to concerts, and simply sat. I felt the physical and health benefits associated with being in a green space – the stress left my body and my breathing slowed.

I believe it is important to keep the purpose of the study, and respect of individuals in the research, at the center of the work. For this to occur, I began the research by reflecting on and working towards an understanding of my own positionality in the project. While I am a resident of Baltimore, I do not live near Patterson Park nor have I used the park for personal reasons. In some areas of the park as well as for some activities I stand out because of my race, ethnicity, gender, and age. I am a white, middle-aged female. I wear athletic-styled clothing, running shoes, and my backpack is filled with field documentation equipment which reveals that I am not a typical park participant whenever I stop to write a note or take a photo.

Throughout the research, my experiences and responses are incorporated into the findings.

This is not an ethnographic report of Patterson Park. Instead, it uses data gathered from the park to support, or refute, theories and conclusions drawn from academic research. I intend for the thesis to augment resources used to inform decisions for future programming and approaches to engaging and sustaining community. The research will complement the development of materials used to build understanding of cultural vitality within and among communities in public spaces. Furthermore, the research will further support the study of whether public spaces, which provide opportunity for spontaneous and intentional intersection, ultimately fulfill their stated missions.
METHODOLOGY

Field documentation from Patterson Park, located in southeast Baltimore, MD, provides current data to augment academic research. An historical overview of the intended purpose and actual use of public parks, along with the relationships parks have to surrounding neighborhoods, provides additional context resulting in a richer understanding of public spaces. Observing park participants begins to inform and answer questions related to whether public parks fulfill their missions, hints to how they could adapt, and provides information about the impact on communities. Observations were focused inside the park. They did not extend into the surrounding neighborhoods, although data was collected about the neighborhoods through interviews and supplemental research.

The research design incorporates a traditional ethnographic toolkit and methodology including immersion in the lives of the research population. Patterson Park, at 137 acres, is a large space in a densely residential urban area. While the interviews conducted for this project focus on personal experiences and reflections of behavior in a public space, the research emphasizes culture rather than individuals. The interviews are semi-structured and evolved from observations. Information obtained from interviews is used to provide data of park use and participant behavior. The data is compared to conclusions drawn from academic research in order to gain an understanding of the dynamic relationship between public spaces, participants, and their communities.

An Expedited Institutional Review Board (IRB) application was filed with Goucher College. The IRB Committee approved research thru July 15, 2021 and was assigned approval number 20141672. Signed IRB Consent Forms, along with all data files (photographs, audio,
video, Zoom recording, and logs) are stored on a password protected computer and a password protected external hard drive that are in my possession in a secure location. Data was removed from recording devices within 12 hours of collection.

Data was gathered via interviews and site visits conducted over a 16-month period from July 2019 through November 2020 – excluding winter months. Site visits were one to two hours in duration, occurred in different locations, on various days of the week, and during three different seasons. Throughout the research period, visits focused on outdoor activities and locations as related to the seasons and limits imposed in response to COVID-19. Data collection occurred through observations and interviews. Documentation was recorded via written fieldnotes, photographs, audio recordings, and videos. Observation of park activities, formal and informal, reflect the interactions, patterns, and movement through qualitative methods. Approximately 35 hours, over the course of 24 site visits and one Zoom interview, were spent observing Patterson Park. Site visits tended to be liminal – often without specific destinations or expectations identified prior to the visit. Instead, I let sounds, movement, and park activity pull me along paths and across grassy expanses. Of the total visits, approximately ten were scheduled with intentional goals. These were planned in response to scheduled interviews, special events such as formal programs, or an identified goal to observe more closely specific areas or activities. By the conclusion of the fieldwork period, observations had been made of spontaneous, informal behaviors as well as planned, structured activities.

Previously established relationships, with leaders of park organizations, were leveraged to meet additional participants engaged in a range of activities. Seven interviews were conducted during fall 2019 and fall 2020. Interviews took place in the park and at sites
identified by the participants. Interviews typically lasted 60 minutes and all participants expressed a desire to continue their conversations. Specific questions were not fully established prior to the ethnographic experience because ethnography is an iterative process. The questions evolved through time and were modified by the research setting. Examples of framing questions are located in Appendix B. Prior to beginning interviews, the purpose and nature of the project was discussed, confidentiality explained, and the Informed Consent Form was read and signed.

I approached interviews and site visits with the framework that participants are partners in the research. As such, listening to and respecting privacy was important. By choice, the names and identities of participants are not confidential. I identified individuals by name and occasionally by image. Participants were informed of the following guidelines: 1) if an interviewee asked that what they say remain confidential I would stop recording, 2) if an interviewee asked that the discussion of certain topics be omitted after the interview took place, I would delete those sections on the device and from my notes, and 3) if an individual did not want their image shared I refrained from recording and erased images taken that were not considered part of the public sphere. All participants confirmed the use of their name and image in the research. There were no cases in which an interviewee asked for information to be deleted. As a whole, participants expressed interest and curiosity in the research topic. Additionally, they appeared eager to contribute and to share their experiences as indicated by continued conversations and questions after the formal interview was concluded.

The recent global health crisis, caused by COVID-19, was considered prior to each site visit and interview. All participants interviewed in 2020 were given the option of being
interviewed on a virtual platform due to health risks from COVID-19. All but one interview was conducted in-person. The virtual interview, conducted on Zoom, was with a participant who had previously been interviewed in person. During each in-person interview conducted in 2020, I wore a mask and required participants to do the same. New surgical masks were available for participants as needed or requested. In addition, a minimum distance of six feet was maintained at all times. Hand sanitizer was used before and after interviews and site visits. No participant questioned the health protocols that were established for the research. Most Consent Forms were reviewed and signed in advance of the interviews conducted in 2020. This was completed via email as a way to reduce the transfer of physical objects between the participants and myself.

There are many demographic variables and types of activities available in Patterson Park. While the proposed methodology aimed for a broad view to encompass this diversity, the final set of interviewees was limited in representation. All interviewees identify as women. Most are in their 30s, one in her 50s, and one in her 80s. Five presented as white, one is of southeast Asian descent, and one interviewee’s race and ethnicity is unknown. All but two live within one block of the park, most residing directly across border streets from park entrances. Of the two interviewees not living near the park, one had previously lived near Patterson Park. Those who live in the neighborhood have lived there between six and 40 years. At least four of the interviewees speak Spanish and English, the two most prevalent languages heard in Patterson Park. Two participants are employees of organizations that work in the park and four identify as volunteers. Of those six, all but one shared they are also park users. One participant neither works nor volunteers in the park. While one participant’s grandmother and aunt lived,
for a period of time next to Patterson Park, none of the interviewees are members of multi-generation families which is common in the surrounding neighborhoods. In this sample group, all interviewees relocated from other areas. The locations and interview times were identified by the participants with most interviewees choosing locations that reflected their favorite place in the park.

**Interview Partners**

**Figure 2** Brown is pictured leading a Zumba class on Pagoda Hill (September 2020).

**Stephanie Brown:** Brown identifies as a white, cisgender female in her late 30s with no children. She is bi-lingual (Spanish and English). For 13 years Brown lived in various neighborhoods around the park including Highlandtown. Brown currently lives in Patterson Park Neighborhood. She is a volunteer Zumba teacher for Friends of Patterson Park, likes walking her dog, and is a frequent park user (see Figure 2).

**Susie Creamer:** Creamer is a white, female in her 50s and is bilingual (Spanish and English). Her sexual orientation and family information is unknown. Creamer does not live near the park but considers Patterson Park her second home. She has served as the Director of Patterson Park Audubon Center for the past 11 years.

**Figure 3** Hartke stands near The White House, the original home of the Park Superintendent and current offices of Friends of Patterson Park. She revealed she can no longer come to the park without seeing someone she knows or stopping to pick up trash (September 2020).

**Carol Hartke:** Hartke is a white, female, 80s. Her sexual orientation is unknown, she has no children, and likely English is her only language. For the past 30 years Hartke has lived in Patterson Place. Prior to her current home, she resided for 10 years in Upper Fells
Point. Hartke is a long-time volunteer in Patterson Park, dating to before the founding of Friends of Patterson Park (see Figure 3).

Figure 4 Lankatilleke is seen wearing a yellow tank talking to Brown prior to leading a Zumba class on Pagoda Hill (September 2020).

Malindi Lankatilleke: Lankatilleke is of Southeast Asian descent, in her 50s and is a cisgender female with two children. She is multi-lingual. For over eight years Lankatilleke lived in Highlandtown, Canton, and Patterson Park Neighborhood. She now lives 10 minutes away. Lankatilleke has been a volunteer Zumba teacher for Friends of Patterson Park for 10 years. She is a long-time participant in the social sports leagues. In addition, her husband and children participated in recreation leagues (see Figure 4).

Figure 5 Long is sitting in the living room of The White House, the headquarters for Friends of Patterson Park (Fall 2019).

Katie Long: Long is in her late 30s, gay, and has no children. She is bi-lingual (Spanish and English) and her race and ethnicity are unknown. For more than ten years Long has lived in Highlandtown. She is the Program Director and Hispanic Liaison of Friends of Patterson Park. In addition, she is an avid user of the park spending time playing tennis, swimming, sledding, walking her dog, and eating tacos at the top of the hill in the Annex (see Figure 5).

Figure 6 Markiewicz asked for her photo to be taken at the Pagoda in front of a planter she maintains (Fall 2020).

Jessica Markiewicz: Markiewicz identifies as a cisgender, white, female who is 34 years old. She does not have children and English is her only language. Markiewicz moved to Patterson Park Neighborhood seven years ago on a block immediately north of the Annex. She is a newer volunteer with Friends of Patterson Park and primarily serves as a
The lack of diversity among the interviewees poses a limit to the breadth of data collected. Had the study not been altered due to COVID-19, and it was extended an additional six months for interview purposes only, I believe I would have achieved a more diversified interview data set. In addition, Friends of Patterson Park employs an all-female staff and the Patterson Park Audubon Center is predominantly female. Since two of the initial interviewees are employed by these organizations, and shared information about the research project with their volunteer community, it may have resulted in a skewed sample group that favored female identifying individuals. In addition, it may be that park volunteers are also predominantly female. This observation would warrant additional research to further understand the ways in which volunteer activities may be gendered in Patterson Park.

As noted previously, in March and June of 2020 two significant national disruptors impacted Baltimore. Consequences of COVID-19 and racial justice movements changed the way individuals interact with each other and engage in public spaces. Public demonstrations took place across Baltimore, including in Patterson Park. I incorporated observations related to the use of Patterson Park as a result of these two significant events in my research.

Site visits were spent walking and sitting in a variety of areas of the park with the purpose of observing movement, behavior, and interactions in given moments as well as over time. It was through the visits that I discovered unexpected moments and activities that gave
meaning to space. My own park experiences are woven through the research as I acted and reacted to events and behavior while in the park.

PATTERSON PARK

Overview

Patterson Park is the oldest park in Baltimore and is reported to be the most “intensively\(^4\) used large park” in the city (Baltimore City Recreation & Parks 2016, xii; “Patterson Park” 2015). The park is located six blocks north of the Patapsco River and two miles east of Baltimore’s Inner Harbor in East Baltimore. The 2020 Baltimore population is estimated to be 590,479 people—a 4.91% decrease over the past ten years (“Baltimore, Maryland Population 2020” n.d.). According to recent surveys, the racial composition of the city is approximately 62.46% Black or African American, 30.45% white, 2.59% Asian and 2.49% identify as more than one race (see Table 1) (“Baltimore, Maryland Population 2020” n.d.).

The park is 137 acres and is divided into two sections, the larger western section (Main Section) and the smaller eastern section (the Annex). Hard boundaries are delineated by north-south and east-west streets (see Maps 1, 2, and 3). S. Linwood Avenue runs north-south between the two sections. The streets are busy with vehicular, pedestrian, and bicycle traffic.

\(^4\) Katie Long, Director of Programming at Friends of Patterson Park, defines “intensively” as people per defined area (i.e. acre). This reference is used in several sources describing Patterson Park.
The park is oriented along east-west and north-south compass directions. The far western section of the park is quieter with meandering paths, sloping grass areas, and hidden nooks. The east section hosts a variety of recreation and athletic facilities that represent both single and multi-use structures. The far west and east sides are at higher elevations than the middle area. Physical access into Patterson Park is via steps and paths. Participants’ activities serve to orient a person within the park. For example, recreation sports teams use the east side of the Main Section while participants who maintain garden plots in the community garden are oriented in the northwest part of the Main Section. Participants orient themselves from the direction they enter the park as well as if they enter by foot, scooter, bike or car. For example, yoga participants enter on foot from Butcher’s Hill, steps away from the group activity held at the base of the Pagoda. In contrast, participants using the Utz Turf Field more often arrive by car and are from neighborhoods not adjacent to Patterson Park.

Six neighborhoods immediately surround Patterson Park and serve to further define the park thru the stark transition from green space to urban environment. Other boundary markers include pillars and signs - some more grandiose than others (see Figures 7, 8, and 20) – as well as paths and structures. The surrounding

![Figure 7 Historic entrance to the original parcel of land that became Patterson Park in 1827. This entrance is located on S. Patterson Park Avenue and faces west on the border between Butcher’s Hill and Upper Fells Point. This is one of the grander entrances to the park and is located near The White House and the Pagoda (July 2019). A comparison of this photo to Figure 20 highlights the different types of entrances to the park.](image)
neighborhoods consist of row houses, schools, places of worship, cultural centers, and small businesses.

The park provides outdoor space and activities that are otherwise lacking in the neighborhoods. Facilities include free and low-cost activities as well as a few modestly expensive programs. Athletic fields, courts, pool and ice rink, the Boat Lake, Recreation Center, picnic pavilions, community garden, the Pagoda, stage, rolling hills and trees, and several miles of walking and running paths form the backbone of the infrastructure of the park. Patterson Park is located along several public bus lines, streets from other neighborhoods are frequently used by bicycle riders, and electric scooters are a common site in and around the park. There are no bike designated lanes in this part of the city nor in the park. Bicyclists, pedestrians, and scooters all vie for space on the sidewalks surrounding the park as well as on the paths within the park boundaries (see Figure 8). Parking spaces are easily located on the bordering streets of Patterson Park during the day and early evening hours.

**History and Context**

Patterson Park rests on land that is at a higher elevation than much of the area around the Baltimore Harbor and Patapsco River. As such, the land was identified as a prime location for viewing the surrounding area - whether the Patapsco River and woods from the past or the vast neighborhoods of Baltimore today. William Patterson, a local merchant from Ireland,
became the third landowner when he purchased 200 acres in 1792 (Almaguer 2006; Baltimore City Recreation & Parks 2016; “History of Patterson Park – Baltimore Heritage” n.d.). During the War of 1812, the hill and surrounding area was the site on which American troops gathered to prevent the British from entering Baltimore and sweeping across the region (Almaguer 2006; “History of Patterson Park – Baltimore Heritage” n.d.; Schleicher 2008). Following the war, Patterson noticed the citizens of Baltimore using his land for walking and picnicking. In response, he donated six acres to the city in 1827 to create a public park, to be modeled heavily after 19th century European parks.

Patterson Park expanded throughout the second half of the 1800s (see Map 2). The city bought an additional 29 acres in 1860. The park was officially introduced to the city in 1853. Over 20,000 people are reported to have attended the celebration (Almaguer 2006; Baltimore City Recreation & Parks 2016) indicating that it was successful at bringing people together even in the early days. At the beginning of the Civil War, in 1861, Patterson Park became the site for the Union army. A military encampment and hospital were located on the strategically placed land (“History of Patterson Park – Baltimore Heritage” n.d.). Today, canons remain in place lining the top of Pagoda Hill (see Figure 9). Expansions of the park continued during the second half of the 19th century and through 1910. John H. B. Latrobe influenced the development of Baltimore’s parks during the 1860s. He was inspired by several landscape architects, including Frederick Law

![Figure 9 Canons line the top of Pagoda Hill on either side of the Pagoda while visitors explore the area (July 2019).](image-url)
Olmstead, and partnered with then Baltimore Mayor Thomas Swann to incorporate green spaces into urban environments. Latrobe’s goal was to “build park structure to draw the surrounding community into the park” (Almaguer 2006). This goal continues to be a park priority today. The influence of landscape architects Frederick Law Olmstead and Calvert Vaux is found in the designs of winding paths, the Boat Lake, clearings, and groves of trees (Almaguer 2006; Baltimore City Recreation & Parks 2016). The intent of 19th century parks was to support “polite middle-class behavior and a graceful, tastefully furnished landscape [that] would ‘naturally’ compel the working-class users to emulate their social betters” (Low, Taplin, and Scheld 2005, 22).

Mirroring the trends of 19th century parks and the Recreation Park Movement5 across the United States, Patterson Park transitioned from a focus on trees and aesthetics to that of athletics and health. The Recreation Park Movement resulted in changes to the infrastructure of the space and the activities in which participants engaged. In 1902, a single athletic event drew over 15,000 participants and observers (Almaguer 2006, 61). Today, Patterson Park serves dual roles. It continues to embrace the professed 19th century ideals of providing “refuges from daily life, places of imagination, and distractions in sharp contrast from urban life” (Almaguer 2006, 55) as well as a site for the many recreation activities of the various stakeholders.

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5 The Recreation Park Movement began at the turn of the 20th century with the purpose of providing “physical exercise, organized play, health, and public hygiene” (Almaguer 2006, 55) to the surrounding communities. Dorceta E. Taylor explains further that “the need for parks (both as a source of income and recreation) was strong and the continuing influx of immigrants intensified this need” (Taylor 1999, 453). In 1905, as part of the Recreation Park Movement, Patterson Park built a pool and bathhouse, removed trees for new structures, and developed athletic programs.
Throughout its history, Patterson Park has been supported by a series of organizations that worked to ensure the health and vitality of the park as well as served to foster the relationship between park and neighborhoods. The first intentional efforts to maintain the park occurred in 1850 when a “Keeper” was hired (Almaguer 2006; “History of Patterson Park – Baltimore Heritage” n.d.). Since 1999, Friends of Patterson Park worked in partnership with Baltimore City Recreation & Parks to:

- maintain and promote a positive park image, provide a forum for ensuring community input into park changes, increasing fiscal and human resources for park program and projects, fostering park stewardship in the community, and developing events and programs that bring the community into the park to learn, recreate, and make friends (“Friends of Patterson Park” n.d.).

In addition, the Patterson Park Audubon Center, neighborhood associations, cultural centers, and schools work in partnership with Friends of Patterson Park and Baltimore City Recreation & Parks to provide formal and informal opportunities for their communities.

Similar to the history of other American parks, after World War II and through the 1990s, Patterson Park developed a negative reputation in Baltimore. The reputation stemmed from concerns related to safety, image, and finances largely due to the exodus of white families from cities to the suburbs and the resulting loss of revenue. The physical infrastructure deteriorated and equipment was removed or not maintained. In the 1970s, arsonists burned several buildings in Patterson Park. Nationally, the introduction of the “Friends of the Park” associations helped to revitalize parks in the United States through the creation of public private partnerships (Almaguer 2006; Parker and Schmidt 2017). Today, Patterson Park benefits from the work of Friends of Patterson Park, support by Baltimore City Recreation & Parks, and collaboration with neighborhood and cultural groups.
Patterson Park serves as a community resource for the surrounding neighborhoods – in most cases park visitors live within walking or biking distance. From its beginning, the park has been viewed as a vital resource for people and organizations that live and work outside its hard boundaries. The 2016 Patterson Park Master Plan found that “The past, present, and future of Patterson Park highlights what is an ever-changing asset capable of serving local and citywide communities” (Baltimore City Recreation & Parks 2016, 9). Site visits confirm this statement. The park is in constant use - dog walkers, pickup soccer games, a Head Start summer camp, adult athletic social leagues, playground visits, summer music concerts and performances, fishing, gardening, participation in exercise classes, and relaxing on blankets are just a few examples.

**Neighborhoods**

Row houses face Patterson Park and line blocks for miles in all directions. The homes and streets create a clear boundary between park and residential neighborhoods (see Figures...
Many of the row houses are original to the neighborhoods, dating to the 1800s. Window boxes, potted flowers, and carefully maintained front stoops are evident. Variations exist between neighborhoods and reflect the socioeconomic status of the communities – three story row houses versus two story, types of siding such as brick and Formstone, and the addition of small porches or roof decks.

Six neighborhoods immediately surround Patterson Park (see Map 2). Starting on the north side of the park and moving in a clockwise direction, they include: Upper Fells Point, Butcher’s Hill, Patterson Place, Baltimore-Linwood (also known as Patterson Park), Highlandtown, and Canton. Slightly north of the park is McElderry Park. The neighborhoods have similar histories. The region was first converted to farmlands upon European arrival. In differing orders and times, immigrants arrived in East Baltimore from Ireland, Germany, Poland, Italy, Central and South American countries, and countries in Africa (Almaguer 2006). In Upper Fells Point, the Lumbee Indians settled in the community. As a result of centuries of immigration, many neighborhoods remain racially, ethnically, and culturally diverse. Multiple languages were heard on site visits including English, Spanish, and European languages. In addition, racial and ethnic groups were observed in Patterson Park. A 2016 report published by The Baltimore Sun states that Highlandtown and Patterson Park Neighborhood are two of the

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6 For this research, the term Latinx is presented as a gender-neutral, pan-ethnic label identifying individuals from the Hispanic population living in the United States (Noe-Bustamante, Mora, and Hugo Lopez 2020). Similar to other terms (i.e. Black) describing race and ethnic populations, it is not meant to be a limiting term. It is recognized that within each demographic population there are differences that must be recognized and valued. Furthermore, it is recognized that all terms may be viewed as controversial and are continuously being reviewed for accuracy and appropriateness of use.
included in Table 1: Neighborhood Demographics as the neighborhood is identified in several interviews as well as in the 2016 Master Plan. Table 1 provides data in both neighborhood groupings and individual neighborhoods as there is not consistency to data collection.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Neighborhood Demographics7</th>
<th>Median Household Income</th>
<th>Median Home Purchase Price</th>
<th>% Own/Rent</th>
<th>% of Families Below Poverty Line</th>
<th>% of Race/Ethnicity8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fells Point (Butcher’s Hill, Fells Point, Upper Fells Point)</td>
<td>$98,981</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butcher’s Hill</td>
<td></td>
<td>$262,050</td>
<td></td>
<td>51/49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Fells Point</td>
<td></td>
<td>$266,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>52/48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patterson Park N &amp; E (Patterson Park, Patterson Park Place)</td>
<td>$69,836</td>
<td></td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patterson Park</td>
<td></td>
<td>$225,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>57/43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patterson Place</td>
<td></td>
<td>$235,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>49/51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highlandtown</td>
<td></td>
<td>$88,324</td>
<td>$265,000</td>
<td>59/41</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canton</td>
<td></td>
<td>$116,911</td>
<td>$322,000</td>
<td>61/39</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison/E. End (Madison-East End, McElderry Park, Milton-Monford)</td>
<td>$33,528</td>
<td></td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McElderry Park</td>
<td></td>
<td>$50,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>29/71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltimore City10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>62.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Today, gentrification appears to be an influencer of change in the communities. The six neighborhoods around the park are all rated high by the housing market. Prior to March 2020, employment ranged from 62.8%-70.6% for all but one neighborhood adjacent to Patterson Park. In contrast, employment rates dropped to 36-49% for neighborhoods to the north and

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7 (Baltimore n.d.; Jacob France Institute n.d.) except for Baltimore City on the bottom row of the chart.
8 All columns are Non-Hispanic except for Hispanic.
9 Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, Alaskan/Native American, Other Race. Non-Hispanic.
10 (“Baltimore, Maryland Population 2020 (Demographics, Maps, Graphs)” n.d.).
Post March 2020 socioeconomic data is not known.

**MAKING CONNECTIONS: LITERATURE REVIEW and FIELDSITE DATA**

The meaning and purpose of parks is complex. Boone et al states that “more than a recreation space, parks serve the critical function of providing public space and a right to the city” (Boone et al. 2009, 784). It is the intersection of multiple perspectives and behaviors, by park users who engage in shared spaces, that provide context for space and makes meaning. Jason Byrne and Jennifer Wolch state that parks are not “ideologically neutral spaces, nor are they physically homogeneous” (Byrne and Wolch 2009). Low investigates ideas about the use and experience of public spaces as seen through different demographic lenses (Low 2013). My findings suggest that the park provides space and time for participants to make connections to self and others as well as to find meaning in their everyday. Volunteer and neighborhood resident, Jessica Markiewicz, described how the connections she made through volunteer work fulfills her: “None of my best friends still live in Baltimore...I didn’t have like a network of friends. And I started to volunteer in hopes that I would start meeting people that, um, had the same interests as me or like, you know, wanted to like this stuff and it just happens they are, like, 65. But, it’s ok, I really like spending time with them” (Markiewicz 2020). Connections, across similarities and differences, such as ones that Markiewicz made, produce meaning for self and others, in addition to opportunities to view space in different ways. Multiple perspectives, connections, and meaning making combine to strengthen space and relationships, thereby sustaining communities.
The Commons

The commons is a shared space, a collective, a space that incorporates the everyday life, it is cross-disciplinary, holistic, a sharing platform, and includes shared resources (Gilmore 2017; Holder and Flessas 2008; Hufford 2016; Parker and Schmidt 2017; Radywyl and Biggs 2013; Titon 2016). I purport that public parks are a type of commons – a space through which participants navigate while engaged in a multitude of activities. Participants in parks share resources, are involved in park governance, intersect with each other, and are on display. Jon Hawkes suggests that people “are happiest (and, in general, most productive) when we operate interdependently” (Hawkes 2001, 18). There are benefits that emerge as a result of being part of a commons and there are tensions that must be navigated due to shared and finite resources.

Identity is complex and fluid. Overtime, it may have many meanings and can be influenced by time and space (Alam 2016; Davalos 1996). The identities of those participating in the commons may be validated through their presence and interaction with resources and others. This is supported by Steph Lawler who proposes that identity is formed from relationships (Lawler 2014). However, the commons is not always a place of equality. There are tensions that exist in the commons that are constantly negotiated by participants. Questions of space, behavior, inclusion and exclusion, as well as the suppression of ideas that fall outside of the norm all present themselves during the course of a visit. Over time, new behaviors may become accepted and normalized. Concurrently, access may be prevented to those who do not follow what has become appropriate. Hawkes states “to name our shared
values, to change them, to embrace or discard them and to apply them is culture at work” (Hawkes 2001, 7). Rituals involving pre-concert picnics on Pagoda Hill – including the marking of personal space, identifying what equipment to bring, and determining the types of food to serve – are examples of learned behavior through observation of group norms in the commons (Figure 13). Participants at concerts, who do not follow the norms, resituate themselves outside of the venue space and under trees along the sides of the hill. In this manner, accepted behavior is reinforced while alternative behavior is displaced.

On a Sunday evening in August 2019, my husband joined me on a site visit to Patterson Park to listen to Cimarrón, a band from Bogota, Colombia and part of the park’s Summer Concert series. I recorded in my fieldnotes observed behavior and norms that were established during the stages of the concert:

In the 45 minutes before the concert and throughout the concert, the hill filled with people. Families with young children, young couples with no children, and middle-aged couples with no children. Some sat in family groups – or multiple families together – while others formed large groups of 10-20 people. Still others sat alone or in pairs. All brought a combination of blankets, chairs, food, and alcohol. It appeared that there was an air of celebration as wine bottles popped and people were re-connected after being apart over the summer. Connections were made among old acquaintances, not among new. A member of the Friends of Patterson Park association moved through the crowd of attendees stopping to say hello to the few people she knew (Millin 2019).
In contrast, I felt tension as my expectations and concert attending norms diverged with the behaviors that I observed on Pagoda Hill. My experience is reflected:

During the concert there was constant noise of talking, laughing, crying, dogs barking, yelling, and helicopters. The band had to compete with the audience. I could barely hear the music and lost all visual connection with the stage due to other attendees sitting in front. Children paid no attention to the music – elementary aged children played in an open area far to the side of the hill. They ran around with long sticks playing a made-up game with no apparent adult supervision. When they came back, occasionally to check with parents or grab food, they were flushed and sweating... Adults, too, did not pay attention to the band. They talked amongst themselves, backs to the stage in some instances... There appears to be a disconnect between the music and the audience. People continued to arrive for the concert or just the opportunity to be outside in a group setting. Space began to get tight and both people and dogs entered the area that I had identified as my space – as appeared to be the norm. No one commented when entering the space. Interaction remained within known groups and people did not attempt to interact across groups (Millin 2019).

Feelings of invisibility persisted for the duration of the site visit. As resources in the commons diminished, I experienced increased tensions and felt unsettled. The audience’s activity overwhelmed my concert experience, resulting in a visceral disconnect. Since I did not know other audience members, and because I had not arrived as part of a larger group, I was an anomaly. I managed to replicate the accepted rituals of the concert picnic, yet I was not accepted within the commons. This experience reinforced questions about access, agency, and acceptance in the park for those that are new to the commons or who are not familiar with the established rituals. It also calls into question the role and behavior of established participants and how they might demonstrate privilege in the space.

Themes of limited resources and tensions, of how space is used, is demonstrated through examples of cultural activities and supports. As a result, some commons become more enduring than others. Access over multi-generations through the repetition of customs, rituals,
or behaviors serve as influencers of the vitality of the commons and of the rituals themselves. For example, Ukrainian immigrants have lived in Canton since the 1880s and an annual Ukrainian Festival is held each September as a celebration of their culture and heritage. Food, music, and dance are showcased throughout the two-day event. Originally held in the southwest section of Patterson Park, it was relocated to the grounds of St. Michael’s the Archangel Ukrainian Catholic Church, directly across the street from the previous festival site, due to reported costs associated with park permits (“Ukrainian Festival” n.d.) which are purchased through Baltimore City Recreation & Parks. The Ukrainian community established their festival customs over a forty-year period and adapted to the new space with attendance remaining robust. In contrast, the Latinx community, more recently established participants in Patterson Park, have benefitted from intentional programs and advocacy provided by Friends of Patterson Park. As such, new activities have been introduced into the park over the past five years, resulting in enduring changes to the space. This is evident with bilingual signage in the east section of the park as well as festivals and athletic events that are ubiquitous to many Latinx cultures.

Through familiarity and acceptance, the commons transitions from space to place. It is a place in which participants practice social and cultural interactions producing a validation of identity. Park and participants each have identity and meaning. Furthermore, parks can be places that are empowering as well as exclusionary.¹¹

Victor Turner explores the idea that people are drawn together through shared, identifying traits – thus creating *communitas*\(^\text{12}\). Even as the experience of shared traits works to strengthen relationships and coalesce individuals, it may occur at the cost of excluding those who fall outside the set of identified characteristics. The separation may be further defined by behavior that emerges over time as a result of group interaction and history. This may be true across race, ethnicity, gender, and socioeconomic class as well as age and sexual orientation. It is seen in behavior in Patterson Park by observing who is using different spaces and who is absent. Two specific examples that stood out during the research period include age and race. The first, the apparent lack of use of Patterson Park by adolescents as compared to the frequent presence of parents with toddlers. The second, while participation in Patterson Park by Black participants appeared to shift after March 2020, observations in 2019 indicated that use of the park was infrequent despite nearby neighborhoods having a majority of Black residents. Setha Low notes that the use of power may be evident in the built space, as much as it is institutionalized through unspoken behaviors (Low 1994). Upon exploring patterns of use and looking at who is leveraging power, the question “who is absent from the park and why?” emerges. What influence do the commons have on participation as well as in creating opportunities for spontaneous and intentional behavior?

The historical founding and establishment of individual parks influences the ways they are perceived. This, in turn, informs who chooses to use and avoid the space. Central Park, a

\(^{12}\) *Communitas:* Turner defines *communitas* as “the mutual confrontation of human beings stripped of status and role characteristics – people, ‘just as they are,’ getting through to each other” (Turner 1979, 470-471) and “unmediated communication... which arises spontaneously in all kinds of groups, situations, and circumstances” (Turner 1992a, 58-59).
premier example of 19th century parks, is located on the former site of several neighborhoods and in areas of New York City whose marginalized residents were forcibly removed so the park could be built (Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992; Sevilla-Buitrago 2017; Taylor 1999). In contrast, most of the public parks in Baltimore – also established during the 19th century – were established on land that was given to the city by landowners. Prior to becoming public parks, the lands were estates and owned by “the wealthy elite” (Wells, Buckley, and Boone 2008, 154). Patterson Park, in 1827, was the first park established in Baltimore and was done so through this method of gifting (Almaguer 2006a; Baltimore City Recreation & Parks 2016; Boone et al. 2009). The landscape architecture firm, Olmstead Brothers, was hired in 1902 to develop an overall, cohesive plan for the network of Baltimore’s public parks. The system remains today and is currently undergoing a comprehensive review by Baltimore City Recreation & Parks (Baltimore City Recreation & Parks, n.d.).

Patterson Park’s complex history, including use as a public green space and serving as the site for military encampments, provides examples of adaptation, threat, and reinterpretation of the commons. Jane B. Holder and Tatiana Flessas state that the “commons have traditionally been defined by the threat of their enclosure” due to “invasion, dispossession, and other threats” (Holder and Flessas 2008, 305). Patterson Park has both visual and physical borders that serve to delineate the park space from the surrounding neighborhoods. Throughout Patterson Park’s history, there have been threats against, and in the park, as a result of wars, protests, and reputation. The negotiation of space, inclusion, and access to resources is repeated many times over. The history of the park provides necessary information to better understand access, park use, and inclusion – or exclusion. It also provides
explanations on perceptions of safety and representation. The tension in the commons appears to have resulted in perpetuating keeping some groups out of the park while simultaneously pulling other communities together.

**Liminal**

Parks provide a space and time that is set apart from the everyday, thus creating an occasion to engage in activities, practice behaviors, and interact with others that might not otherwise occur. They are temporal spaces that are intentionally entered and exited. I posit that parks are the site of liminal events, providing opportunities – expected and unexpected – which allow participants to try out the new or continue with the familiar, thus creating what I have identified as “tension filled moments,” in which anything can happen.

Felix Rosch describes liminality as an active and vibrant state. It is not a place of dormancy. Beyond the commonly accepted definition of liminality as being an in between, Rosch uses active language such as “exchanges,” “facilitate human transit from one place to another,” “human encounters,” and “precarious situation” (Rosch 2017, 288). Rosch furthers explores the topic of liminality through his discussion of outcomes. As a result of the active state of liminality, one is changed - “liminality may lead to the development of new frameworks, as it enables us to challenge the habitual” (Rosch 2017, 289). When applied to public spaces, such as a park where both strangers and familiar intersect, it results in potential. On each visit to the park, there are both the knowns and the unexpected.

I experienced liminality on several occasions in Patterson Park - making a place that was familiar become unfamiliar - resulting in unexpected moments, new feelings, and shifts in my
thinking. On a September 2019 site visit I recorded my observations and responses to a Mexican Independence Day Festival as compared to prior visits to Patterson Park:

I made multiple site visits during the summer 2019 for Cultural Documentation [graduate class] and never encountered a fence erected specifically for an event. In past visits, I felt that park visitors were – for the most part – welcome all over the park. This was the first time I did not feel welcome and actually felt excluded (Millin 2019).

My response to the fence was strong. I was not clear if the fence had been erected to keep people out of the festival grounds or to contain the activities within, as a way to prevent them from spilling into nearby spaces. My feelings of uncertainty produced a change in my behavior on the September 2019 visit - I did not document the event through photographs nor did I enter the festival itself. I remained outside. Reflecting on my response, through the lens that Rosch provides, helps to explain what I experienced. My framework for Patterson Park, a space that was familiar, had in a single moment been disrupted. I was challenged towards developing a new understanding. Martin Rudwick explains that movement through a liminal environment may produce a disconnect of “familiar features and taken-for-granted assumptions.” Instead, the person is “exposed to unfamiliar experiences which give access to a new and deeper understanding of the familiar world to which he later returns” (Rudwick 1996, 150).

Rosch states, “since liminal spaces often have mono-functional purposes, these spaces only gain identity through human engagement with each other” (Rosch 2017, 290). Due to the nature of the activities in public spaces, the definition of engagement may be extended to include that which exists between self and space. One could surmise that if public spaces - such as parks - are spaces in which liminality exists, the meaning of the space is continuously being altered by the people who occupy the space. Reflecting on my September 2019 site visit
further reveals that I had internalized assumptions about Patterson Park, the people who occupy the space, and behavior that is expected. Assumptions I carried with me, prior to observing the Festival, included a lack of temporary barriers in the park and participants feeling welcomed into various activities. The Mexican Independence Day Festival forced a re-
interpretation of the southeast corner of Patterson Park which I had previously observed to be a mostly open area used predominantly by participants walking dogs, running, young children riding bikes or being pushed in strollers, and engaged in Zumba class (see Figure 14).

Participants involved in these activities are predominantly white adults in their mid-20s to early 40s. The meaning and identity of the space had been changed not just because of who occupied it, but the way in which it was occupied as demonstrated through music, clothing, food, and activities. Furthermore, the fence was erected by Baltimore City Department of Recreation & Parks, not by the Mexican or Latinx community or by Friends of Patterson Park. The fence altered an understanding and interpretation about power and control of space. Not only might there be tension between participants and how they want to be in the space around the Pulaski Monument, but an added tension between various governing organizations further complicates the dynamics.

Figure 14 Zumba class at the Pulaski Monument on the SE corner of Patterson Park where the Mexican Independence Day Festival was held a month earlier (October 2019).
Observations in Patterson Park led me to conclude that physical space is not liminal. Instead, it is the movement, in and through space or time, that is liminal. Therefore, I propose that parks are a space in which liminality occurs. Liminality is experiential. Julia Thomas explores the ways that liminality produces unsettling and uncomfortable feelings (Thomas 2020) while Turner’s research focuses on rites of passage (Turner 1979; 1992a). These two hypotheses combine to create a robust understanding of liminality, therefore producing a richer understanding of space in which to practice behavior and meaning making as well as to build connections between self, park, and community.

*Case Study: Ecuavóley*

I observed the tension of male teenagers in their pacing and hovering along the fence during weekly gatherings of Ecuavóley\(^\text{13}\) on the repurposed tennis courts at the far eastern border of the Main Section of Patterson Park. They hoped to be noticed and invited into the

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\(^{13}\) Ecuavóley is a form of volleyball played using a Mikasa ft-5 soccer ball. In a 2019 interview, Long shared that the game originates in Ecuador. Additional research states that “in the beginning, Ecuavóley was considered a sport for the lower class and specifically taxi drivers, but it has expanded since then” (Johannessen 2017). Among other rules, each team has three players, the net is positioned higher than the American volleyball net, and players can hold the ball up to one second. In Patterson Park, the net of the tennis court can be temporarily removed to provide designated space for Ecuavóley.
game that is played by adult men (see Figure 15). On a side court, four or five young children practice. The teenagers do not belong with either group. Instead, they are likely in the liminal space of – neither child nor adult – and the invitation to join the game is part of the rite to adulthood, to being accepted. The teenagers appear uncomfortable as they avoid eye contact with the adults while also hoping for a subtle nod to join in the game.

There is a constant shifting and re-organization of one’s understanding, meaning, and positioning of self within liminality. People’s connections and relationships are re-ordered numerous times. Furthermore, some individuals and groups may experience liminality in given situations, while others may not. The place of liminality calls to mind themes of power and agency. In Ecuavóley, power presents itself through gender as well as age. Only males were observed playing Ecuavóley while women and girls prepared food and watched the youngest children (see Figure 16). Power appears to reside with adults who either play Ecuavóley or sit on the sideline, offering words of wisdom about the game. In this example, there seems to be several factors that combine to produce opportunities – it is true that “liminality is full of potency and potentiality” (Turner 1979, 466).

Tension extends beyond the invisible boundaries of Ecuavóley. It appears in the relationship between tennis
The Ecuavóley players play music at a loud volume, set out tables and chairs, and share food with each other as multigeneration families and friends come together to spend afternoons in the shared experience. From observations, participation in Ecuavóley is competitive as well as social.

Ecuavóley and the accompanying rituals have not always been fully part of the norms of the commons. Katie Long, Program Director at Friends of Patterson Park and park user, reflected on complaints about the music and noise “it really had some ethnocentric undertones, to me, because they weren’t complaining about the tennis players or, or other folks so it was like they are playing music, and it is loud, and stuff. But, after a while, and like a lot of efforts at community meetings and everything, I think most people really enjoy seeing Ecuavóley happen. They’re definitely a big part of the park and established, so much so that the park’s design had them in mind. Which is kind of cool. It is a fun story” (Long 2019).

Through the example provided by Ecuavóley, Long connected expectations of park use, the intersection of park users, single use and multiuse spaces, power, and changes in park use. She highlighted the ways in which behavior in the park impacts community relationships, as well as the work that is done to foster understanding between community users who appear different from each other.

What does liminality mean for parks more broadly and Patterson Park specifically? From the Case Study: Ecuavóley, it becomes evident that by entering space, participants
negotiate themselves in relationship to those around them. In addition, participants navigate their behavior because of, or in response to, physical structures, events, and programming. There appears to be a negotiation between familiarity and difference.

The impact of COVID-19 on people provided opportunity to compare participant behavior before and after laws restricted movement and activity in parks. Walking, running, and spending time with one’s dog in Patterson Park changed immediately as a result of new laws. In 2020 as compared to 2019, the maximum number of people allowed in the enclosed dog park was lowered and, concurrently, I observed an increased number of dogs, off leash in the open fields and on the tennis courts. The way in which participants spaced themselves on walking paths was altered as a result of the mandated distances of six feet between non-household members. In spring 2020, walkers and runners intentionally stepped off paths and onto grass areas to avoid passing too closely to other participants. Space in the park was reimagined and repurposed as indoor activities moved outdoors. Marital arts classes were taught on the basketball courts (see Figure 17), athletic trainers held exercise classes on park stairs and under trees (see Figure 18), and the open fields in the Annex were used as the site for a Black Lives Matter youth demonstration.
Sharon Zukin states that “accepting diversity implies sharing public space – the streets, buses, parks, and schools – with people who visibly, and quite possibly vehemently, live lives you do not approve of” (Zukin 1995, viii). The tension produced by the introduction of music, activities, and gatherings by participants who look and sound different, as explored in the Case Study: Ecuavóley, provides one example of how sharing space included working towards an acceptance of difference. As intersections and encounters between park participants occur during visits, unspoken forms of communication and demarcation of space evolves within public areas. I found myself wondering: Who has the right to use the park? What behaviors are acceptable? Who is missing? How does the story change over the life of the park as well as from day to day? Zukin’s research explores the ways in which the negotiation of “physical security, cultural identity, and social and geographical community”(Zukin 1995, 24) inform who occupies public space. Patterson Park has been reimagined over the course of its history as a result of changing values of park use, political pressures, neighborhood demographics, financial fluctuations, and community efforts. Overall, the infrastructure and space are relatively unchanged – it is what occurs inside the space that is liminal.

Access

Participants’ connection to space is influenced by access. For the purpose of the research, I explored access through two different, yet complimentary, perspectives. Access may be described as a participant’s relationship to a built space – how one engages with and in a physical environment. This may be exemplified through an examination of physical barriers and accommodations such benches, stairs, ramps, plant materials, and signage as well as how participants perceive them and make meaning. A second perspective of access is reflective of
experiences and feelings. It speaks to the question of whether individuals feel included and
represented in space. When examining access through this lens, barriers and accommodations
may be more subtle than the built environment. Instead, it speaks to an understanding of
access in relationship to the meaning of objects and people, such as messages conveyed to
specific demographic groups about the history of space, the infrastructure, and programming as
well as how people treat each other.

While the structural realities within Patterson Park appear open and fluid, boundaries
exist within the park that produce micro-communities. Some of the boundaries are a result of
human built spaces, or infrastructure such as paths, fences, and stairs. Other examples are
grounded within the social and super structures of specific activities or events. These
boundaries become visible only when observations are made about who is participating, what
people are wearing, identifying if there are financial costs to participating, and if there is a
social cost to entering specific spaces. Low applies concepts of distributive justice, procedural
justice, and interactional justice\(^{14}\) when reflecting on what she identifies as fairness in space (S.
Low 2013).

*The Built Space*

Close proximity to public spaces allows for spontaneous, or unplanned, visits by
individuals living and working near public parks. Studies show that the ideal distance of a public

\(^{14}\) Low asks the following questions when discussing the three types of justice (S. Low 2013, 8):

- Distributive justice: “Is there equal public space for everyone? Is there a fair allocation of public space
resources?”
- Procedural justice: “Is there a way to gain access to public space?...Is there a fair system for applying to
use the park grounds for games or picnics?”
- Interactional justice: “Does the public space allow for all individuals to interact safely?...Are people
treating each other in a way that promotes a sense of citizenship, equality, and social justice?”
park, from one’s home, is no more than a quarter of a mile\(^\text{15}\) (Boone et al. 2009; Radywyl and Biggs 2013; Wells, Buckley, and Boone 2008). The ways that participants enter parks are important and park planners take into consideration infrastructure such as fencing, gates, pillars, street and sidewalk access, stairs, as well as signage, language, and word choice.

Patterson Park is located within six, densely packed, urban neighborhoods (see Map 1). The boundary of the park is clear as it is surrounded on all sides by sidewalks and streets. The changing topography of the park results in different methods of physical access. Some locations, specifically along the north-west border, have steep, grass hills which make it challenging to enter at random sites, forcing the visitor to be directed to steep stairs (see Figure 19). Other boundaries are flat and at street level. Participants in these locations enter along designated paths or simply by crossing grass areas (see Figure 11). Depending on the location, Patterson Park entrances include unmarked paths, historic pillars, and steps. The grander entrances (see Figure 7) are located in the oldest sections of the park and

\(^\text{15}\) As a comparison, a quarter mile is the distance of a typical track around an American football field.
closer to neighborhoods that have recently become gentrified, tend to have more white residents, and are financially better off. These locations are situated along the western side of the park which contains pastoral landscapes, meandering pathways, and vistas – all more typical of 19th century parks. The east side of the park is host to utilitarian entrances (see Figure 20). In addition, signs in this area focus on rules and are more often in both English and Spanish. Athletic facilities and most of the park programming are located in the east section.

Themes of physical access and accessibility, raised by Carol Hartke and Markiewicz, may be attributed to their role as Pagoda docents as well as through personal experiences. Hartke, in her 80s, described her main point of access to the park (Figure 19):

I have one accessible issue (chuckles). Because I live on Baltimore Street, almost to Montford Avenue, those steps need to have a railing. Those things are too steep to just be freehand. I will go up them, but I will not go down. And that is the only place in the park that I feel like that. But that one is - they are steep and there are 30 of them. You know, it is like woo - I’ve never seen anybody fall on them, but I keep thinking I don’t know what keeps people upright... So, I usually go out the corner. I just avoid it anymore. I’ll go up the steps, but that is the extent (Hartke 2020).

Markiewicz commented that the steep, winding staircase of the Pagoda - with multiple flights - is sometimes prohibitive for visitors.

Both Hartke and Markiewicz stated that access may be reflective of what activities a visitor is in involved in as well as where in the park they spend their time. On site visits I noted the overall lack of benches in the park as well as bench placement – usually off the paths

Figure 21 An example of a bench in Patterson Park. Located 15 feet off of the path and, on sunny days, in full sun. The benches are rarely used (October 2020).
and in full sun (see Figure 21). There were numerous occasions in which I was unable to find a bench to sit, take notes, make observations, or even rest for a moment. In addition, there are no public restrooms. Some of these concerns are addressed in the 2016 Master Plan and are being considered as part of future infrastructure changes.

Access to physical space and resources is an important consideration when studying participant use and meaning in parks. Observations of park use are confirmed through interviews. Participants access areas of the park closest to their homes, enter and leave the park by the closest route, and are dismayed when access is prevented due to structural realities or physical abilities. Similarly, Patterson Park programming is situated in locations that will most likely draw specific demographic groups – privileging some demographics over others.

Research shows that the neighborhoods around Patterson Park are racially and ethnically diverse. Park use, however, is not as diverse as the surrounding neighborhoods. For example, Black residents living primarily in McElderry Park and Patterson Park Neighborhood, do not access the park as frequently as white and Latinx residents. This may be due to several factors: they may reside outside of the preferred quarter mile distance to the park, it may be due to the steep topography of the park projecting the image of a barrier, or it may be reflective of a lack of programming that represents their values and interests. Overall, I found that programming in the northern region of Patterson Park is limited. In addition, the programming that exists may not be designed to support the interests and needs of potential and actual participants. In a 2019 interview with Long, she shared that the Virginia S. Baker Recreation Center, located on the north side, attracts larger numbers of Black participants than other locations in the park. However, the 2016 Patterson Park Master Plan reports that only
7% of total park users access the building and its offered programs (Baltimore City Recreation & Parks 2016, 116). The Recreation Center is windowless and has poor signage (see Figure 22). These traits among others, leads me to conclude that the building is visually unwelcoming. Historian Tim Almaguer reports that when the Recreation Center was built in 1974, due to continued concerns of vandalism in the park at the time, “the new recreation center was built of solid brick with no windows” (Almaguer 2006, 107). Like the steep hill projecting the image of a barrier, the Recreation Center does the same through the solid walls and tightly closed doors.

*The Inclusive Space*

The availability of public spaces, such as a park, does not guarantee actual use of the space by prospective participants. Spaces must feel inviting, or inclusive, for people to be willing to access them. Participants must feel that they belong and their identifies are celebrated. Low writes: “if people are not represented in urban parks, historic national sites and monuments, and more importantly if their histories are erased, they will not use the park” (S. Low 2013, 303). Institutional racial segregation has had a strong influence on the history of Baltimore. The built environment and policies of the city resulted in physically isolated neighborhoods as a result of the placement of highways, the creation of race-specific
neighborhoods through redlining, and public spaces that vary in quality of services and physical structures (Lanahan 2019; Pietila 2010; Rothstein 2017). Furthermore, Baltimore played a key role as a port city in the international and domestic slave trade, at one point serving as the primary site of trade for enslaved peoples along the East Coast. Subsequent to the Civil War, the installation of Confederate themed statues in the city serve as visual reminders of the division between Black and white communities. These factors inform the dynamics experienced today between the Black and white populations in Baltimore as well as speak to historic patterns of use of space.

While physical access to parks is high for residents of Baltimore, due to most residents living within the recommended one quarter mile of parks (Lanahan 2019; Pietila 2010; Rothstein 2017), the historic influences on park access reveals additional information. Baltimore parks were largely established on gifted land from wealthy, white landowners. Access and availability to fresh air environments and amenities were not equitable even as segregation was overturned in the 1950s. According to the 1952 U.S. Census Bureau, as quoted by Wells, Buckley, and Boone, beginning in the 1950s the white population within the city limits declined significantly from 723,655 to 205,982 while the Black population grew from 225,099 to 418,951 in the same 50-year period (Wells, Buckley, and Boone 2008, 167). As the white population moved to the surrounding counties, taking with them resources needed to maintain public spaces, the quality of facilities and resources deteriorated. Therefore, even as access to parks for the Black population increased, actual use decreased. This is reflective of Low’s discourse on distributive, procedural, and interactional justice (S. Low 2013).
Data from interviews supports additional research on the history and meaning of Patterson Park for potential participants. Wells, Buckley, and Boone “use a historical approach to link shifting patterns of inequity with the dynamic processes that shaped them” (Wells, Buckley, and Boone 2008, 153) to begin to develop an explanation of environmental injustices. They consider the relationship between proximity and access to parks as well as illuminate “the history of a particular park as contested space” (Wells, Buckley, and Boone 2008, 153). In my interview with Hartke, she shared a poignant example told to her by “Butch,” then a white male in his 70’s, of an incident he witnessed as an eight-year-old boy in Patterson Park in the 1940s. Butch, who had grown up near Patterson Park, was with a group of white boys during Easter vacation “playing and a bunch of Black kids came across Baltimore Street, because they had been further north. And he said ‘policemen came up and chased them back out of the park. And I didn’t say anything, and I feel bad about it to this day’” (Hartke 2020). Hartke reflected that “there must have been a lot of that because people are clear, this was a white park back in the day” (Hartke 2020).

Demographics inform the experiences that participants have in a space and is, in part, reflective of feelings of representational access. Observed movement in Patterson Park indicate that patterns are indicative of race, ethnicity, and gender and reemphasizes spaces which are viewed as inclusive or exclusive. Incorporating an understanding of historical context, whether centuries old or more recent, is an important component to interpreting use patterns and fostering inclusion, access, and connections. Hawkes suggests that “without a sense of our past, we are adrift in an endless present” (Hawkes 2001, 30). Differences of use in
Patterson Park is evident in white, Latinx, and Black communities. History appears to inform use, and use may reinforce history.

During 2019 and 2020 site visits, I observed that white people represent the majority of users in Patterson Park followed by Latinx participants. White presenting participants could be more specifically identified by ethnicity and race if interviews had been conducted as the neighborhoods around Patterson Park include a high percentage of Eastern European immigrants of either first or subsequent generations. Observations reveal that white participants appear to spend time in all areas of Patterson Park and in most activities. As a result, I am led to conclude that this group’s overall comfort level and feeling of belonging is higher than other demographic groups.

Latinx participants appear to limit their access to the eastern section of the park more often than other areas. Furthermore, according to a 2019 interview with Susie Creamer, Director of the Patterson Park Audubon Center, rarely do Latinx women move beyond the park perimeter\textsuperscript{16}. Through conversations with Latinx women participating in the Patterson Park Audubon Center programming, Creamer identified that:

Latinas are very much a target of crime, they are thought to only to be carrying cash because they are undocumented presumably, right, this is the assumption - because they are undocumented. And they won’t call the police because of the undocumented nature. And, so, they weren’t going into the interior of the park, not because they didn’t feel welcomed but because of safety concerns (Creamer 2019).

\textsuperscript{16} In 2020 I observed changing patterns of park use by Latinx participants of all genders. This observation was corroborated by interviews conducted during the same time period. While the east section remains more frequently accessed, Latinx participants appeared to be engaging in spaces further west as well.
As indicated in Creamer’s example, assumptions about gender, ethnicity, and citizenship influence park use by the Latinx community. In the Annex and eastern part of the Main Section of Patterson Park, Latinx participants appeared to feel welcomed, validated, and safe as indicated by their involvement in planned and spontaneous park activities such as Zumba, Ecuavóley, and walking with young children. In addition, in this section of Patterson Park, signs are bilingual and programming is advertised on social media platforms in both English and Spanish. Furthermore, the Patterson Park Audubon Center offers multigenerational programming in both languages. Friends of Patterson Park and the Patterson Park Audubon Center have worked intentionally, as a result of recommendations from the 2016 Patterson Park Master Plan, to create an environment in which Latinx community members feel seen and validated. Recognizing and celebrating difference, “the ways social class and ethnic groups use and value public sites is essential to making decisions that sustain cultural and social diversity” (S. Low 2013, 304).

In the early fall of 2020, during a period of relaxing health protocols for COVID-19, Zumba classes resumed. The classes were relocated from the Pulaski Monument (see Figure 14) to the base of Pagoda Hill (see Figure 23). During separate interviews, the two instructors shared that while classes had previously been offered in the Pagoda Hill location it was not common. The recent decision...
was made to increase visibility and draw new members. My observations, from a single class, is that the Pagoda Hill location appeared to draw a higher number of white participants and less Latinx and Black members than the Pulaski Monument location I observed in 2019. Stephanie Brown, instructor and neighborhood resident, stated that there are new members every week, but overall, the attendance has dropped since COVID-19 from 30-35 regular attendees to 15-25. The more western situated site may have inadvertently decreased attendance. The decrease may also be attributed to other factors such as general concerns regarding COVID-19 or the absence of concurrently run programming such as the youth soccer clinic. The move appears to have directly impacted participation by Latinx members.

Historically, Black participants have not appeared to access Patterson Park at the same rate as white and Latinx participants. Observations of limited park access by Black participants is confirmed in the 2016 Patterson Park Master Plan. Research and interviews further confirm experiences of historic racial discrimination and prejudice, absence of programming, and a lack of overall representation of self in the park (Baltimore City Recreation & Parks 2016, 113). Since the COVID-19 pandemic began, I observed what appears to be a change in park use by some demographic groups, in particular Black participants. A range of awareness of the changes of park use by Black participants in 2020 was noted in interviews, including: “I think we certainly could do better in the African American community, to do more outreach and to get

Figure 24 Black Lives Matter mural on S. Linwood Street between the Annex and the Main Park. A designated Slow Street during the COVID-19 pandemic (July 2020).
more people to participate. I have seen that it’s increased, but I think we could certainly do more” (Lankatilleke 2020), “there are more African Americans or African American couples in the park, but I hadn’t thought about it” (Hartke 2020), and “a lot of Black people, a lot of I guess like Latino people, lots of white people (laughs)” (Markiewicz 2020). Prior to June 2020, I was not aware of programming that specifically reflected values and interests of the Black community. Beginning in summer 2020, a Juneteenth Celebration and picnic were held, a “Black Lives Matter” street painting (see Figure 24) was completed overnight on S. Linwood Street – an identified Slow Street17, a Black Lives Matter art installation was erected along the Eastern Avenue border (see Figure 25), and a mural was painted on the side of a row house (see Figure 51). It is not clear if increased park use is a temporary response to COVID-19 and the racial justice movement or whether they are more permanent behavior shifts due to increased feelings of belonging due to intentional programming changes.

Site visits and interviews reveal little data and information regarding participants in Patterson Park who identify as Asian. This is reflective of demographic data from the

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17 The purpose of the Slow Streets Program is to “support safe, essential physical activity by creating more space for social distancing in response to the COVID-19 pandemic” (“Slow Streets Program” 2020).
surrounding neighborhoods which indicates that the percentage of residents who identify as Asian is low (see Table 1). Observations from site visits suggest that use of Patterson Park by Asian presenting participants may be limited to specific areas of the park such as the community garden, summer concerts, and walking paths. There is no known park programming that specifically targets this demographic group. Celebrations and events, such as the Lunar New Year and Diwali, that have become more commonly integrated in mainstream American venues elsewhere, remain absent. Markiewicz was the sole interviewee who spoke about Asian park visitors. She commented,

"we had a ton of Asian people from Hopkins come in. Like on a, like a school – whatever...um. I think Hopkins actually probably, maybe not even necessarily the school but also the hospital like brings a lot of people through because it is kind of close. Um, and I’ve had a couple of people I’ve docented that they’ve mentioned that they’re here for something from Hopkins (Markiewicz 2020)."

Markiewicz appears to view any Asian participants in the park as one-time visitors and not members of the community.

Programming and intentional marketing directed towards specific demographic groups can be found on the Friends of Patterson Park website, social media platforms, and neighborhood listservs. These examples include limited programming directed to LGBTQ+ and Eastern European communities. Most programming is inclusive of multigenerational groups and includes festivals and performances. While Long and Creamer discussed additional efforts, by their respective organizations, to connect with the Latinx community via WhatsApp and word of mouth, it does not appear that this effort has been expanded to reach a larger array of demographic groups residing in the area.
In an October 2019 interview, Long discussed that the demographic groups who use the various athletic fields in Patterson Park changes from one location to another as does the way the spaces are used (see Case Study: Soccer in Patterson Park). She spoke to various patterns of behavior that are reflective of access to field space. In one example, it is revealed that some field use requires permits, while others do not. This, in turn, yields information related to the demographics of groups using the different spaces. For example, the Utz Turf Field\(^\text{18}\) (see Figure 26) requires a paid permit that is accessed through the Baltimore City Recreation & Parks and not through the programming office of Friends of Patterson Park, as is true for the majority of fields in the park. Observations reveal that participants on the Utz Turf Field tend to be white, young adults, and are majority male. In contrast, use of the Annex (see Figure 27) is unpermitted and is intended for open use. The grass fields are used predominantly by Latinx males for pick-up soccer games while the surrounding path is used by mostly white dog walkers and runners. Long reflected on the

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\(^{18}\) The Utz Turf Field is the only non-grass field in Patterson Park. It is surrounded by a tall, metal fence and lit by stadium lighting. In addition, there are stands and a locker room area. It is maintained by Baltimore City Recreation & Parks.
inequality of access vis-à-vis permitting for activities as related to cost and navigating the political infrastructure. As discussed previously, the Ukrainian American community encountered similar obstacles with their annual festival prior to relocating the event to the free site on the grounds of St. Michael’s the Archangel Ukrainian Catholic Church. Similar navigation may take place for the Mexican Independence Day Festival as well as other festivals and events. The differences in organization control as well as participant access provides additional examples of demographic composition of, and engagement by, members of the surrounding neighborhoods.

Through three different lenses - Director of Programming with Friends of Patterson Park, Highlandtown resident, and park user - Long revealed she spends a lot of time thinking about park use. In a 2020 blog she stated that urban green spaces “are a good opportunity for people from different backgrounds with different interests with different histories to come together in a shared space” (McAdory 2020). In my 2019 interview with Long, she reflected on the meaning and impact of single use and multiuse spaces as well as how the various uses of space produce tension resulting from the pressures of different groups (see Case Study: Ecuavóley).

Throughout her 2019 interview, Long mused how Friends of Patterson Park can be responsive to the diverse participants using Patterson Park, thereby navigating the commons. Past use of surveys and community forums provided opportunities for participants to give voice to their opinions and values. This information served to provide direction in decision making for Friends of Patterson Park, Patterson Park Audubon Center, and Baltimore City Recreation & Parks. That said, Long and Creamer acknowledged that not all voices have been heard,
specifically those of Black participants. The inequities of access and park use may speak to continued privileging of some groups over others.

In Patterson Park, access varies depending on location within the park. Naomi Klein states that communities should have the right to provide input and inform planning for spaces that they use (Klein 2001), which speaks to the meaning of the voices in the commons, and is further highlighted by Radywyl and Biggs (Radywyl and Biggs 2013, 165). Gathering community input for the 2016 Patterson Park Master Plan and subsequent work completed, are evidence of the recognition of importance placed on community voice. My concern, regarding access, is on who has historically been absent from the discussion, and by extension, the park as well as whether the lack of access influences the cultural vitality of their communities.

**Connectivity**

The presence of a shared public space within one’s community provides opportunity for a “coming together” in unique ways. The coming together may not result in friendships, but it does produce – at minimum – an awareness of self in relation to others. Markiewicz spoke to seeing people regularly in the park who are running or doing push-ups, “like I know the people, even if I don’t know the people” (Markiewicz 2020). The connection with others is an important part of Markiewicz’s relationship to Patterson Park. The intersection of people in the park, either intentional or accidental, results in meaning making for participants in the space.

As discussed in the prior section, Patterson Park represents different meanings for different demographic groups. This is especially clear when observing the experiences of Black people in the park – be it specific events such as the one Butch observed in the 1940s or comments posted on neighborhood association social media platforms. This compares to
intentional programming in Patterson Park that celebrates members of the Latinx community.
It appears that the Latinx community experiences a validation of identity in Patterson Park as
well as meaning in spaces within the park due, in part, to the offered programming.
Throughout 2020, it appears that the Black community has found new meaning as seen in
representations of self in art installations, the street mural, and intentional programming. As a
result, Black park participants are using the park in higher numbers in family and social groups.
Similar to the Latinx community, the Black community is identifying with the space in ways not
previously experienced. The recent events confirm that park meaning has the potential to
change over time and through history.

Meaning making is also present in the personal connections individuals have to the park
that exist beyond racial, ethnic, gender, and other identifiers. Connectivity to place or person is
termed place attachment by Andrea Armstrong and Richard C. Stedman, who state it “is an
indicator of affective bonds that are shared between a person or groups of people and a
particular setting” (Armstrong and Stedman 2019, 98). Connectivity assumes an initial
attraction to place or person. It begs the question: What is the catalyst that results in the
outcome of a potential participant initially accessing Patterson Park? Followed by the question:
What makes the person return, or not? How are connections formed? Malindi Lankatilleke,
Zumba instructor and park user, shared at the conclusion of her interview that Patterson Park is
“a healing place” and “a refuge” (Lankatilleke 2020). She confided that the park transformed
her life when she “was going through trauma.” Lankatilleke continued her story and described
“having that space and meeting people” as well as “getting involved really helped us get
through” (Lankatilleke 2020). For Lankatilleke, Patterson Park represents the site of personal
transformation after becoming a single mother in an unfamiliar city. Lankatilleke’s transformation of self is an example liminality in the commons. In the park, she opened herself to new experiences and to meeting new people. The park, its people, and the programming combined to provide Lankatilleke a community that she had not recognized she needed. While Lankatilleke no longer lives in the immediate neighborhood, she continues to return to Patterson Park several times a week to teach Zumba as well as to give back by serving on the Friends of Patterson Park Board. In addition, she continues to enjoy the park as a participant. Lankatilleke’s story is one of connections.

Analyzing the ways that parks serve as a resource begins with an understanding of the influence that access has for potential participants. Similar to Lankatilleke, all interviewees reported that Patterson Park is a positive asset to self and community. This is recorded through their stories and observations. Patterson Park provides opportunities to connect to the space as well as to other participants. There are both tangible and intangible benefits of the park. Interviewees identified Patterson Park as “a lifeline”, “a draw,” the reason they choose to live in the area, and is an explanation for why residents have not moved away from southeast Baltimore. The attraction of Patterson Park prevails over negative stereotypes and lived experiences in the surrounding neighborhoods. Patterson Park’s reputation as a “dangerous park” with prostitutes and drug dealers continued to exist into the 1990s. When I moved to Baltimore in 2004, new acquaintances warned me about going to Patterson Park. In 2015, when friends heard I was taking one of my children for instrument lessons in Canton, I was reminded to “be careful.” The warnings and concern were repeated a third time while conducting research for this project. These included making sure I left the park before dusk,
not to venture north of the park, and that I should bring my husband with me for protection. Over the course of the research period, I was in Patterson Park at all times of the day and well past dusk – never did I feel danger or concern. This is emblematic of how the history and story of a place continues to inform current use and hold captive false perceptions, thus further isolating communities and people.

Embracing public parks as the commons – a space that incorporates the everyday life, a shared platform, and a place with shared resources – introduces the tension that is present within the space. Even though the interviewees have positive experiences in the park, there are examples of tension. My research supports theoretical claims that the commons is not a place of equality. Instead, it is the space in which behaviors are negotiated. Some of which become normalized over time while others are excluded, or marginalized. The quality of the connection and negotiation of place, and to others, results in contrasting feelings of inclusion and disconnect. In Patterson Park, it may be a determining factor for answering questions regarding access and use.

Self and Park

Research supports my findings that Patterson Park is viewed as an attribute for those who use and live near the park. My own experiences in the park, coupled with data from 100% of the interviewees, validates this conclusion. Maeve Royce, Canton resident, described the park as a “secret” (Royce 2019) while Brown, Zumba instructor and community member, stated that Patterson Park is “an escape...a magical space” as well as a place of “rejuvenation” (Brown 2020).
In a 2019 interview, Creamer, reflected that the “park is an anchor in many ways...maybe they’re spokes of a wheel into these different neighborhoods and races, ethnicities, and socio-economic factors...” (Creamer 2019). Creamer’s description of the park speaks to the connectivity that it provides for residents living in the surrounding neighborhoods. Volunteer and resident Markiewicz stated that people who “invest here [park], also invest in the community,” “people want to be part of it [Patterson Park],” and that “people’s routines include this place” (Markiewicz 2020). Picnics, workouts, pick-up soccer games, dog walking, bench sitting, and chalk drawings provide examples of the opportunities in the park for participants to connect to the space (see Figure 28). These activities are ones that individuals might engage in if they have a yard, driveway, or private space. Instead, they experiment in the commons – “Baltimore’s backyard” as frequently labeled in source materials as well as by participants.

Interviewees shared specific locations they identify as their favorite place, the space to which they feel most connected, in Patterson Park. In most instances, the locations are situated in the Main Section of Patterson Park. These locations appear to be the result of the relationship each person has to the park. For example, two volunteers who work as Pagoda docents identified the Pagoda as one of their primary anchors. Connection to Patterson Park is also correlated with where individuals live in relationship to the park. Individuals living to the
east of the park, in Highlandtown and Patterson Park Neighborhood, connect most with sites on the east side as compared to those who live to the north of the park. Long-time resident and self-identified “parkie” (Hartke 2020), Hartke acknowledged she rarely goes to the Annex and passes the Pulaski Monument only when walking to her gym, located in Canton. Further analysis indicates that the location through which individuals enter the park, and where the entrance paths lead, correlates with their park use. Lankatileke, Zumba instructor and park user, reflected that she primarily accessed the eastern locations and resources of Patterson Park when she lived in Highlandtown – spending much of her time in the social sports leagues. Upon moving out of the area, Lankatileke’s use of the park shifted to other locations such as the Pulaski Monument, Pagoda Hill, and inside the Recreation Center during the winter. The newer locations were likely influenced by teaching Zumba classes and other changes in her relationship to the park. Long lives in Highlandtown and works in the White House (see Figure 29) – the current headquarters for Friends of Patterson Park and previous park Superintendent’s House, thereby crossing the full width of the park to go to work each day. She identified most with the Extension\(^1\) as well as the Boat Lake, sledding, and playing tennis – locations and activities occurring in the eastern sections of the park and closer to her home.

\(^{1}\)The Extension is also referred to as the Annex or the Little Park. In this document, I refer to this separate part of the park as the Annex as it is the mostly commonly used term. Long uses the terms interchangeably.
Discussions of the meaning and importance of park anchors appears to produce feelings associated with calmness and positivity for each of the interviewees. They smile, as indicated by the crinkling of the corners of the eyes while wearing masks, or the settling of their voices when sharing a memory or feelings about their favorite locations.

Spending time discussing and learning about participants’ favorite places, within the larger context of Patterson Park, was intentional. Having a favorite place deepens participants’ connections to the park by developing personal meaning that transcends beyond a generic park experience. The park becomes, “my” park instead of “the” park.

Three interviewees identified the Bull Circle as one of their favorite locations (see Figure 30). This circle shaped grass area has part of a bull’s head built into a wall at one end of the space. The connections interviewees have with the Bull highlight the intensity of the relationship they have with the park. It is evidenced through their expressed desires to help keep the park clean. Hartke demonstrated this by picking trash up en route to the interview as well as her expressed pride in the park. Markiewicz, too, highlighted her efforts to park maintenance. She enjoyed pointing out the flowers she planted around the Pagoda and shared her plans to clean the Boat Lake the next day. Markiewicz stated that when she walks in the park she thinks “oh, look, I did that” regarding the efforts she put forth so that “it looks cleaner and better” (Markiewicz 2020).
Upon further reflection, Markiewicz shared that if she was not helping, she would see the “bad parts” of living in the city such as crime. Favorite places, engagement in activities, and having experiences in the park make the space part of self. It increases connectivity.

Data gathered from interviews and during site observations indicates an iterative pattern of park use by different demographic groups. This is especially true when overlayed on park history. Hartke stated that Patterson Park used to be known as a “White park” (Hartke 2020) and expressed her opinion that this history is why there is not a high percentage of current park users who are Black. Upon further inquiry, it appears that Hartke’s statements are grounded in Baltimore’s segregated past as well as reflective of first- and second-hand stories she provided during the interview. Recognizing that the historic use of Patterson Park was primarily by white participants, and that Black participants were not readily welcomed, begins to reveal an understanding of the lower number of Black park participants seen in Patterson Park today. Creamer, too, discussed divisions along racial, ethnic, and socioeconomics identifiers both in the park as well as in the neighborhoods. In addition, she spoke of the built environments, such as roads, that “create barriers” making them an “obstacle to cross to get to the park” (Creamer 2019). Creamer reflected on the impact of redlining and systemic, structural racism in Baltimore on the current use of Patterson Park. As explored earlier, these patterns and beliefs are deeply engrained in Baltimore.

The experiences and feelings are, in part, reflective of representational access. When visitors do not feel represented, their histories have been erased, or there is systemic racism,

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20 Throughout Markiewicz’s interview she touched on themes of race, “other”, and crime. This is explored later in the paper.
they are less likely to enter the space (Boone et al. 2009; Low 2013). Patterns of park use based on race, ethnicity, and gender were validated through site visits and interviews. The underlying perpetuated historical patterns impact the meaning and experience for potential and actual participants. It also provided momentum for change as is evident over the past four years.

Since 2016, in response to the Patterson Park Master Plan, intentional programming as well as materials in both English and Spanish were developed to strengthen the Latinx park user’s experience as well as to increase the number of Latinx participants. All interviewees reported observing an increase in the number of Latinx participants in Patterson Park. While discussing who she sees using the park, Hartke remarked “We have a ton of Hispanic people who are very comfortable in the park” (Hartke 2020). The reflections of park use, overall, were made by a majority of white individuals during interviews and are projected onto the Latinx experience. This limitation serves to reemphasize the positionality of the voices of interviewees and should be considered in the analysis. Of the interview group, I conclude that Long and Creamer are best positioned to provide feedback of the Latinx park experience as a result of their direct work in program development and long-term efforts towards building rapport and relationships with the Latinx community. In 2019 interviews, Long and Creamer confirmed an increase in Latinx participants in their respective programs. Creamer was more restrained in her assessment noting that the Latinx community tends to use specific locations of the park (mostly on the east side) as well as remain near the periphery of the park due to concerns about safety. As stated previously, the relocation of Zumba from the Pulaski Monument to Pagoda Hill resulted in a decrease of Latinx participants to the west side for this particular program. At this stage in the research, it is not clear if there are residual shifts in park use by
Latinx participants. I conclude that most Latinx park users continue to more frequently use spaces on the east side of the park.

A second initiative of the 2016 Master Plan was to increase the number of McElderry Park residents using Patterson Park. An early stage of the plan included bringing Patterson Park programming to Ellwood Park, a small park located three blocks north of Patterson Park and just two blocks east of McElderry Park and described by Lankatileke as “not in good shape” (Lankatileke 2020). The programming - Zumba, tennis, and soccer - was designed to be short term and to serve as an introduction to the activities and resources that are available Patterson Park. The neighborhood consists of predominantly Black residents who are from a lower socioeconomic status, receive less education, and experience higher rates of violence as compared to the rest of the neighborhoods around Patterson Park and across most of Baltimore. Brown, Zumba instructor and park user, believes that residents from McElderry Park do not feel welcome in Patterson Park. Brown and Lankatileke, along with other interviewees, shared observations of the historic absence of Black participants in Patterson Park and their desire to support change. Brown and Lankatileke participated in the Ellwood Park initiative and shared their experiences during their interviews. Lankatileke reflected that,

It started very slowly, but it started to get that neighborhood more engaged in getting outside and doing, you know, doing something and sort of reaching the kids in that neighborhood. Um, so I think some of those folks, on the north side of the park, are now coming to Patterson Park as well because they know there’s more, there’s those kinds of activities here. So, it was sort of like a reaching out. Um, and I think if COVID didn’t happen I think we would have continued that programming in those smaller parks and neighborhoods that are more distressed and that just need more access (Lankatileke 2020).

The 2016 Master Plan surveyed neighborhood residents with the goal of identifying their connections to Patterson Park. The majority of survey respondents lived in Patterson Park
Neighborhood (200) followed by Butcher’s Hill (113) and Canton (99). Of the 843 completed surveys, 18 McElderry Park residents participated (Baltimore City Recreation & Parks 2016, 108) indicating less feedback and engagement from this community. I suggest that the lack of responses translates as not having representation in park planning.

The impact of COVID-19 and increased social awareness of anti-racist work in 2020 resulted in two simultaneous outcomes. There has been a voluntarily, self-initiated increase in Black participants in Patterson Park along with new program initiatives, sponsored by Friends of Patterson Park, directed towards potential Black participants. As a result, it appears that the overall participation rate of Black park attendees increased since March 2020. The way in which Patterson Park is being presented, and viewed, was altered by a combination of forced behavior changes due to COVID-19 and human rights activities. The connection to and meaning of space shifted. The success that Friends of Patterson Park and Patterson Park Audubon Center have with intentional programming for the Latinx community could be applied to other demographic groups, such as the Black community. The intentionality with which Friends of Patterson Park brought to the efforts exemplifies the positive impact that representation has on potential members. I suggest that the impact of programming and arts installations, through the two organizations, should continue to influence patterns of use and connection in the park.

Self and Others

In addition to experiencing physical connections to public spaces – green space, infrastructure, activities – and the meaning that results from engagement with and in space;
there too, exists connections between self and others. Regardless of whether participants use the park alone or in groups, one begins to identify connections that are formed in the park. As a whole, participants reported using the park most frequently with others. In most cases, they never use the park alone. Five of the seven participants interviewed shared examples of the ways their use of Patterson Park, and their friends’ use of the park, resulted in new friendships and acquaintances (see Figure 31). My site observations are in contrast with data gathered from interviews. I observed frequent examples of participants using the park in solitary activities such as dog walking and running (see Figure 32). Royce, Canton resident, shared that her relationship to the park is almost exclusively when she is alone. Furthermore, when in groups, it appeared that participants remained within familiar groups and projected messages of their desire to remain insular by wearing ear buds, talking on cellular telephones, and sitting in closed circles. Each person’s relationship to the park and others appears to exist on a continuum over time. Once engaged in activities, the social connection to others becomes finite as the group stabilizes. The social sports leagues provide one example. Once teams are formed, the membership does not tend to vary, and teams
remains intact for years (see Figure 33). Juxtaposed are those activities that are intentionally designed to be porous and, therefore, result in on-going new connections. This is the case for nature programs sponsored by the Patterson Park Audubon Center. Intentionally or not, some programs offer a combination of experiences such as Zumba. These draw regular participants as well as new members.

Lankatileke was excited to talk about her long time Zumba participants. She shared:

people have made friends just by coming to the class and mingling together. They have formed their own friend groups... Makes me happy because I know that they met here...It is the best part of my week (Lankatileke 2020).

Later in the interview, Lankatileke shared examples of new members spontaneously joining her classes or dancing from a distance. The day I interviewed Lankatileke, two women participated in Zumba for the first time. A young son excitedly translating between Spanish and English for his mother and another woman while asking Lankatileke questions about the class - all while we were in the midst of the interview.

A differentiation in participation exists between programs sponsored by park organizations, as noted, and those that I describe as being informal and initiated by park users. Observations and interviews suggest that these activities are perceived to be closed to outsiders. Ecuavóley and pick-up basketball are examples of activities that are familiar events in Patterson Park, but have unspoken, invisible barriers that prevent outsiders from engaging
Two interviewees indicated this was due to gender differences while one spoke indirectly about racial and ethnic differences posing as barriers to the activities. Other activities initiated by park users are social groups which tend to engage in private activities such as picnicking and playing frisbee (see Figures 28, 31, and 35).

While participants reported that the park provides opportunities for new friendships to form, and for pre-existing relationships to grow, there also appears to be unspoken boundaries and limits, whether real or imagined.

Markiewicz is especially sensitive to feelings of being an outsider. She revealed her beliefs that participation in some activities is associated to race or ethnicity. Markiewicz specifically described her observations that basketball is played by Black people and “a bunch of Latino people come and play what looks like volleyball\(^\text{21}\) and I’ve even seen their pet chickens that they’ve brought with them” (Markiewicz 2020). While Markiewicz was quick to note that she would not engage in these activities because she does not play those particular sports, there was a pronounced emphasis – captured through Markiewicz’s struggle to find words, shifting of her body, and breaking eye contact – that relocated the focus onto race and gender more so

\(^{21}\) Ecuavóley
than the activity itself. This is a tension that other interview subjects hinted at, but did not fully express. There appears to be a pattern of racial and ethnic divisions in activities. A larger and more diverse interview sample would be needed to explore this theme further and to hear perspectives from different constituencies.

Developing an understanding of the ways in which participants connect to others is intertwined with an understanding of how they connect to the park itself. I observed that participants are drawn to specific sites in Patterson Park based on where they live as well as where activities are situated. In some instances, activities, locations, and demographics merge.

Five of the seven interviewees shared that their social network is a result of connections made in the park. Hartke stated that the park is “a huge community” (Hartke 2020) and she is unable to go to the park without seeing people she knows. Lankatilleke, for many years, had similar experiences. She shared that she made “instant friends” (Lankatilleke 2020) through the programs in which she became involved. Five of the interviewees, through examples, discussed the ways in which park programming provides opportunities for strangers to meet each other.

The playgrounds (see Figure 36), dog park (see Figure 37), athletic leagues, Pagoda tours, and nature-based activities are additional examples of the ways in which activities provide opportunities to meet strangers through shared interests. In this way, there is an established connection to
the activity that opens opportunities for further relationship building. As stated previously, Zumba appears to be one of the more successful programs for bringing strangers, of similar and different demographic backgrounds, together in a shared activity. Lankatileke reminisced about watching toddlers and families grow over her ten-year tenure as a Zumba instructor. In addition, she shared examples of friendships that were formed through Zumba that have continued outside of the park.

Observations of activities that appear to be segregated along demographic identifiers is validated in interviews. Markiewicz’s understanding of Ecuavóley and basketball is a personal example from one park participant. Long’s earlier example, that the Recreation Center tends to attract Black identifying participants from McElderry Park, is another. While my observation that yoga – a predominantly white, female activity situated close to Butcher’s Hill, a majority white, gentrified neighborhood – is a third example. There is a tension that exists between site, activity, and participant. This tension results in reinforced group identity and connections. Patterns of race, ethnicity, and socioeconomics - observed across four soccer programs in Patterson Park – provides a rich study of the invisible boundaries and barriers in the park that results in both a strengthening of connections within a single group while also producing disconnections between demographically different groups.

![Figure 37 The dog park during COVID-19. While distancing became the norm during the pandemic, the dog park tended to be a place of social interaction as dog owners spontaneously engaged with each other as a result of the dogs’ interactions (May 2020).](image)
Case Study: Soccer in Patterson Park

Patterson Park hosts four unique types of soccer groups. The level of institutional support and funding varies between each example. In addition, the demographics of participants and observers is separated by race, ethnic, gender, and socioeconomics identifiers. Furthermore, each of the soccer groups is situated in separate areas of the park which appears to further impact who joins the activity and who opts out. This Case Study provides examples of distributive, procedural, and interactional justice (S. Low 2013). Within each type of soccer there are intended and unintended exclusions yielding a richer understanding of access, connection, representation, and use of public spaces.

The Annex: Young adult Latinx males play pick-up soccer in the Annex, where permit-free fields are available for open use and are free of cost (see Figure 27). Participants speak in Spanish, use shirts or found objects to mark the goals, and spray paint the grass to mark the sidelines or penalty box. On occasion, I observed younger children and women sitting under the trees that surround the rectangle space of the Annex to watch the game. The soccer players do not wear uniforms nor are they part of official park programming. My observations indicate while there is a consistent, core membership of this group it remains porous with different combinations of participants each time they play. Other park visitors walk and run on the path surrounding the fields. While they seem to be aware of the game, they do not stop to watch or ask to join. When I stopped to watch, my presence was acknowledged with smiles and head nods. My behavior was not part of the norm.
**Free Youth Soccer Clinics:** Prior to COVID-19, Friends of Patterson Park offered free youth soccer clinics several times a week. The clinics were located in an open grass area next to the Main Fields and just east of the Pulaski Monument (see Figure 38). The clinics were held concurrently with Zumba classes that were taught by Lankatileke and Brown, such that parents could participate in Zumba while their children were engaged in the soccer program. The free clinics provided access to those who would otherwise be unable to afford the activity. The clinics attracted young children who appeared to be between five and 12 years old. In this group, soccer coaches wore identifying t-shirts while the children wore name tags. The boys and girls appeared to be Black, white, and Latinx – both English and Spanish were spoken. Brown explained that “while the younger kids played soccer, parents could also get their exercise in by joining with the Zumba – so we had a lot of people join that way” (Brown 2020). According to Long, and from my observations, this group appeared to be fairly transient – with some members attending all clinics and others attending on a limited basis.

Pairing the youth soccer clinic with Zumba is an example of the intentionality of responsive programming that met the needs of participants. My presence, sitting in between Zumba and the youth soccer clinic, went unnoticed as there were individuals and small groups scattered through the grass space.
Adult Social Sports League: The adult social sports league is sponsored through Friends of Patterson Park. Games are held on the Main Fields and individuals pay a small fee to participate. This league draws young adults from neighborhoods around Patterson Park – mostly from Highlandtown, Canton, and Butcher’s Hill. On site visits I observed community members walking from Canton and Highlandtown into the park, wearing matching shirts of different colors that identified team membership (see Figure 33). While the league appears to attract mostly white players, there is some racial and ethnic diversity. In addition, there is more gender diversity than in the other adult soccer groups. The adult social sports league is the program that Lankatileke joined when she first moved to the area a dozen years ago, and that served as a foundation to developing her social network. Friends of Patterson Park offers other adult social sports leagues such as softball and broomball. Through interviews, I learned that once teams are formed, they remain intact with little change in membership. While I did not observe the social soccer league in play during 2020, I observed several softball games and practices. Softball had been cleared as a safe sport during the pandemic. Except for a few friends, the activity does not appear to draw the attention of other park participants.

Utz Turf Field League: Highly competitive soccer teams play on the Utz Turf field which is coordinated through Baltimore City Recreation & Parks (see Figure 39). Long stated that participants come from across the Greater Baltimore Area to play in the league. Observations of participants arriving
in cars parked on S. Linwood Avenue, the closest street to the field, reinforce Long’s comment that members do not live locally. This is the most expensive soccer program in Patterson Park as reflected by hired officials and players wearing full uniforms. It is also the most structured form of soccer in the park with playoffs and tournaments. Through direct observation, the teams appeared to be composed of majority white male players. The field is surrounded by a tall fence and access is limited (see Figure 26). In March 2020, the league suspended play as a result of restrictions imposed due to COVID-19. Play resumed by the end of the summer. No fans were observed sitting on the bleachers or watching through the fence. My presence was an anomaly.

A comparison of the four types of soccer groups in Patterson Park highlights prior points made of who belongs and who is missing with regards to race, ethnicity, gender, and socioeconomic status. It serves to connect themes of “fairness in public space” and types of justice as described by Low. In 2019 fieldnotes, I reflected:

*I start thinking about the types of soccer that I observed on this field visit: 1) the pick-up soccer in the East Section\(^{22}\) which appears to be generated purely by park visitors, 2) the free youth soccer clinic organized by Friends of Patterson Park with the structure of coaches, water, equipment, and a more formal form of communication to announce the activity, and 3) the two different types of adult soccer play with referees, matching t-shirts, and use of the turf field (sponsors unknown). I wonder about the separation of race/ethnicity as well as socioeconomic divides. I think about the impact that this has in the park and between the groups. I think about where everyone lives and if they live in the neighborhoods around the park* (Millin 2019).

A year after I recorded my reflections, I continue to think about the segregation between activities and groups as well as to reflect on feelings of acceptance and belonging. On the surface, the different soccer programs appear to provide fair opportunities in Patterson Park for

\(^{22}\) The Annex
all to play. Yet, players located in the Annex do not play in the Main Section, and vice versa. The space and resources are not the same. Over half of the interviewees stated that they do not feel comfortable joining park activities because the activities do not appear to be open to everyone. It appears there is a division of who is engaged in each activity – be it programming or volunteering. And, as is presented in the Case Study, the separation may be further heightened to the extent that even within a single activity it be further sub-divided into separate demographic groups with little to no overlap. Thus, while there may be strengthening of community within specific groups, it minimizes opportunities to develop interpersonal relations by connecting across differences.

The observed absence of teens and youth in the park was supported in interviews. I found the absence to be significant as my experiences are that parks tend to be spaces in which to practice developing independence and social dynamics for this age group. Interviewees shared that teens are either directly dissuaded from using the park by police or indirectly through neighborhood association social media posts which report behavior by teens that is perceived to be disruptive. It will be additive to the research findings to interview teenagers to better understand their experiences firsthand. Over the course of the 16-month documentation period, there has been no noticeable increase of park use by youth and teens. This is striking during the pandemic, a

Figure 40 Typical park path during the early months of COVID-19 with pedestrians, dog walkers, and bike riders. About 50% of park visitors wear masks and there is some effort to maintain physically distancing (May 2020).
period of decreased indoor programming and disruption of formal education in schools. It is an area that additional research and inquiry is necessary to understand meaning and absence.

Since Spring 2020, I observed a shift in the way participants connect with each other in Patterson Park. Prior to COVID-19, beyond the summer concert series, I occasionally observed park users relaxing on blankets in the grass. During the pandemic, I frequently observed individuals, couples, families, and groups socializing, sharing meals, and celebrating important events including birthday parties and baby showers. Through the summer and fall of 2020, the number of picnics increased and became more elaborate – including table decorations, chairs, and aromatic foods (see Figure 41). Family groups appeared multi-generational and included extended relatives or friends. In some instances, I observed arrivals and departures by car instead of the more familiar backpacks and wagons. Markiewicz wistfully wondered “how many of them realize that this is really awesome, and they don’t have to go to a bar or people’s house. Like, carry out [food] and come here” (Markiewicz 2020). Additional observations included an increased number of families walking together on the wide promenade paths (see Figure 50), teaching young children to ride bikes on the otherwise deserted tennis courts, and making chalk
drawings (see Figure 42). In 2020, Long provided further examples of families bringing inflatable pools, sprinklers, and bikes to the park for their young children. Even though the two playgrounds were officially closed for use, participants reimagined the park to meet their needs. Playgrounds were used as outdoor gyms and places to lounge (see Figure 43). All 2020 interviews and observations validate findings of an overall shift, and increase, in park use.

Having a space in which to connect with others is a significant draw for Patterson Park. My observations indicate that most interactions between participants are with people who already know each other. Interviewees confirmed this observation, but also referenced instances of strangers meeting and developing friendships. In my removed role of participant-observer, I could easily have missed the stranger-to-stranger introductions. These moments appear to take place within planned programming and not through happenchance occurrences. Programming is a voluntary event and participants choose to opt-in to engage in the experiences. Markiewicz has been intentional about developing her social network through volunteer commitments in the park. She self-defined her volunteer time as social time. In contrast, Royce chose to use the park primarily for solitary exercise such as walking and has little involvement in programming nor a desire to augment her social experiences by meeting new people in Patterson Park. Connecting to park and others remains unique for each participant.
Opportunities and tensions are present when accessing parks, engaging in activities, and connecting to others. Park use is not stagnant. Use changes and adapts in response to external events and internal variables. COVID-19 may be the most pronounced influencer of changing park behavior in more than a century. Capturing behavior in parks, in the midst of the pandemic, and comparing it longitudinally will be an important study. The Black Lives Matter Movement also produced changes in behavior, but it calls forth past examples of parks used as the site of demonstrations. The way Patterson Park has been used since 1827 is a reflection, not just of historic events, but also of the lives of those in the surrounding neighborhoods in relationship with those who use the park. Low asks: “how do we conserve place through planning and design while acknowledging that culture changes and that the groups whose cultures are being expressed will change as well” (Low 1994, 74)?

Park visitors step outside of their everyday routines each time they enter the space. Interviewees described engaging in activities that are different than those in which they engage at home and work. Parks invite behavior and activities that allow for experimentation as well as the possibility for interaction between different groups. Markiewicz listed her activities: “I’ve done yoga here
in the park, Zumba in the park, I’m trying to think...I’ve done the Lantern Parade in the park, I did that last Halloween and that was fun” (Markiewicz 2020). In addition, Jessica volunteers as a docent and was planning on joining the Boat Lake Team. Her list of activities reflects her openness to experiment and to trying new things. This place, outside of the everyday, is the space where anything can happen. Turner, however, is restrained in his discussion of the “anything” when he brings into proximity the recognition that events and places are bounded. It is here that Turner suggests that rituals, or rites and myths, “must be enacted and told in a prescribed order and in an oblique symbolic form rather than as a literal reality” (Turner 1992a, 153). Prescribed behavior, even though it may be formulaic, provides opportunities of encounters, exchanges, and being situated in the in-between. Liminality exists in the between - and hidden within - the rituals and events that are initiated by park employees, adjunct organizations, and park participants. For example, within the framework of park activities and norms, Friends of Patterson Park staff faced decisions on how to newly imagine familiar events and locations in response to physically distanced restriction resulting from COVID-19.

Lankatilleke, in her role as a member of the Friends of Patterson Park Board shared that:

We [Friends of Patterson Park] observed, like, are people using the park? And they were. Um, just not for organized activity because it wasn’t allowed. But for walking and biking and things like that. That continued through the pandemic...It really also hit us, as part of the organization to think about, ‘oh my gosh, you know, are we doing enough to reach out to that population [Black community], demographic. Are we, have we just been blinded thinking – assuming – that, you know, everything we are doing is just accessible to everybody?’ And, so, we started to rethink...how do we then rethink about providing more accessible and more outreach to Black communities and, and people of color in general, um, in the neighborhood. North of the neighborhood where there’s more, more of them. Are we doing enough? And, clearly not, so what do we then? So, there’s just more awareness and we are having a lot of discussions about that, now (Lankatilleke 2020).
Exercise classes and concerts moved to virtual platforms (see Figure 44) and a scavenger hunt was initiated online to be completed - live in the park - over a multi-day period. The creative responses, situated in the tension-filled space, are examples of liminality. They also serve as examples of maintaining community during a period of physical disconnect due to the pandemic, thereby highlighting the importance of the park serving to sustain community vitality. Lankatilleke’s description of the conversation’s held by the Friends of Patterson Park Board is another example of intentional work being done by the organization to adapt in its work as a result of COVID-19 and the racial justice movement.

Connectivity is intertwined with the premise of liminality – the happenchance encounters between participants. More frequently than I had hypothesized, interviewees shared personal examples of new relationships and friendships that resulted from engagement in park activities. It is clear that transformative power exists in the space. When studying the park as a whole, the role that Patterson Park has on personal experiences is compelling. Understanding the park as a commons, in which liminal behavior may be activated, provides the variables that allow opportunity - and limitations - for connections.

Turner links concepts of work, leisure, play, the liminal and the limonoid, communitas, and flow (Turner 1992c; 1992b) in his analysis of liminality in post tribal societies. These concepts move in a linear fashion, while also in an iterative pattern as individuals transition between different types of experimentation. Turner states that “liminality is particularly conducive to play” (Turner 1992b, 52) and includes experimenting with behavior that may result in new meanings. Parks provide space in which this experimentation takes place. Participants go to parks in order to step away from everyday lives. Turner identifies the time
away from work as “leisure” and identifies it as an opportunity of “freedom to” engage in play. Leisure is a “betwixt-and-between, neither-this-nor-that domain between two lodgments in the work domain, or between occupational and familial and civic activities” (Turner 1992b, 55). Long touched on this idea when she discussed some of her favorite activities and areas of the park, especially “on the boardwalk around the Boat Lake...you kind of feel a little lost. It is part of the park where you don’t see any of the streets” (Long 2019). Long’s description captures Turner’s explanation of liminal – she is in between park and city. Within leisure there is a potential of choices, behavior, and experiences.

Today, Patterson Park presents as two types of park within a single space. It is both an ethereal landscape park reminiscent of the 19th century (see Figure 45) as well as hosts playgrounds and recreational facilities that emerged from the Recreational Parks Movement at the beginning of the 20th century (see Figure 46). Even with restrictions imposed as a result of COVID-19, parents with young children, couples, and individuals walked or jogged along endless paths, stopped at the Boat Lake, circumnavigated the large green spaces, and drifted towards the Pagoda. Groups were
engaged in athletic games, exercise classes, on the playground, and the pool. Patterson Park is a park with both single-use and multi-use facilities providing opportunities for both spontaneous and intentional behavior to occur.

I found that the demographics of park users varies according to the activity and location in the park. In addition, behavior and use has been altered by the impact of COVID-19 on the city of Baltimore. Observations in Patterson Park reveal new data related to movement in the park as well as who is engaged in different activities. In May 2020, I observed an increase in the number of participants using paths for walking, running, bike riding, and walking dogs. While the composition of users remained relatively unchanged – singles, couples, and families with young children – the racial and ethnic identifiers of park users shifted. Most obviously, there has been an increase in Black participants walking on the paths and picnicking. In addition, organized sports transitioned several times since restrictions within the park were instituted in March 2020. Only after the strictest restrictions were eased were recreational sports permitted. Outdoor concerts and festivals were cancelled, and many activities were moved to virtual platforms.

The swimming pool was in constant use during the summer of 2019. A detailed schedule of open and adult-only swim times was posted online and included allocated swim sessions for the St. Vincent de Paul summer camp, water aerobics, and practice times for an annual water ballet event, Fluid Movement – a ticketed event.
While I was unable to enter the pool area during regular swim times, it appeared that the pool was one of the more demographically diverse features in Patterson Park. Three of the interviewees shared their use of the pool – from sitting in the shallow end reading a book during the adult-only session to early morning laps. In mid-summer 2020, with significant restrictions remaining in place, the pool re-opened (see Figure 48). However, pool use did not appear to reach the same levels of use as it did in 2019. The summer camp and Fluid Movement productions were cancelled. My assumption is that the decrease in use may be attributed to the delayed opening, cancelled programming, on-going concerns about health, as well as the cost of using the pool during a period of economic uncertainty and stress.

The exercise of connecting, as described by Long, occurs through the continuous negotiation of shared space and the intersection of differences while engaging in a range of activities in the park. Thomas Pettigrew states that intergroup relations is “the effect of interaction between people who identify themselves as being from different groups” (Pettigrew 2010, 426). Within the work of intergroup relations, there exists the theme of trust - with trust occurring most often within one’s own group and less so between groups that are different. The additive components of trust and distrust help to explain the tension that exists between different groups and the resulting hard lines of structural racism. Pettigrew asks, “how do we achieve the structural change that is needed to bring about the needed ‘transformation’ of
intergroup relations” (Pettigrew 2010, 427)? Intergroup work takes place in the public space of the commons. The park provides the space for movement, in and through space or time, that is liminal. I induce to extend the definition of liminality, or movement, to include internal growth, change, and thinking – even when the physical body remains still. The ways that participants view parks impacts their use of the space. It also influences the meaning of the space for the communities that use them.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This paper represents a glimpse into Patterson Park and the impact that public spaces have on communities. It is barely half a story. In order to draw concrete conclusions on the ways in which public spaces may be used to sustain communities and inform vibrant cultures, it is important to work in direct partnership with the communities that are most directly impacted by the presence of public spaces. In the case of Patterson Park, these are the six neighborhoods immediately surrounding Patterson Park as well as several of the neighborhoods that are situated slightly beyond. This gap, in my research, informs my recommendations for future research. This gap, in essence, asks “who is missing?”

Cultural Sustainability

Future research should strive to partner with communities to better understand the ways in which public spaces inform an understanding of the cultural health and sustainability of the communities. I recommend that additional research be directed towards the following areas:

• Expand research into neighborhoods around identified public spaces. This includes site observations and interviews.
- Connect with churches, schools, and businesses within a one to two block radius of public spaces. Increasing an understanding of various organizations as well as connecting with new groups, will help to inform a more robust understanding of park use, or lack of use.
- Expand the methodology of data collection to include town hall meetings, neighborhood forums, and broad surveys.
- Partner with different community groups to increase understanding of meaning and value, and how they may inform infrastructure and programming towards a goal of supporting vibrant cultures.
- Intentionally partner with organizations that directly support public spaces, such as Friends of Patterson Park, to identify what they envision are the areas of interest in their work.
- Identify or develop a metric to measure cultural vitality such that public spaces and neighborhoods can work in partnership to jointly identify goals and programming. Explore further whether the metric speaks to quality of life, community well-being, and social capital that Hawkes defines (Hawkes 2001).

Public Space

Public spaces change constantly based on factors such as the time of the day and week, influences of politics, who occupies the space, and the types of behaviors that are exhibited.

One of the unintended benefits was the opportunity to study Patterson Park over a 16-month period during which two significant national pandemics occurred - each altering human behavior in a matter of weeks. The opportunity to have made visits prior to March 2020 and after was, ultimately, serendipitous. It also validated the benefits of longitudinal studies. As such, I recommend that future research include:

- Observing behavior in public spaces, in the midst of pandemics or other disruptors, and comparing it longitudinally to noted change over time.
- Continuing this study for an additional year in order to observe and document park behavior in response to COVID-19.
- Continue to form partnerships with current and future interview participants. The number of interviewees was decreased due to the limitations imposed by COVID-19.
- Return to Patterson Park, in one year, to identify if programming and new park use, introduced into the park as a result of racial justice events from Spring 2020 remain and are further developed. Or, if behavior and programming returns to pre-existing status.
- Comparing to other parks and public spaces.
• Focusing, more explicitly, on who is absent from the park and why. In order to gain a holistic understanding of the theme of connectedness within and to spaces, I recommend expanding the data collection to include participants who use parks on a regular basis as well as those who are infrequent users or opt not to engage at all. A significant limitation of the research is that the interview sample was with park participants who are frequent and regular users of Patterson Park. Interviews were not conducted with people who chose not to use the park. I heard assumptions about absent individuals, through the lens of my interviewees, as well as drew my own conclusions based on academic research. It is important to include all voices and not to draw finite conclusions and recommendations from assumptions.

• The dataset of interview participants should be diversified in subsequent research. This includes consideration of race, ethnicity, gender, reason for engagement in the park, and members of multi-generation families.

Organizations

Friends of Patterson Park and the Patterson Park Audubon Center have developed and executed strong, intentional programming in Patterson Park, while staying true to the missions of their respective organizations. The precedent they set should serve as the framework for future program development. Long and Creamer appear aware of the importance of listening to community groups. This has been done by attending community meetings as well as engaging in one-on-one conversations during planned events. Understanding that time and resources are finite, my overarching recommendation is that this work continue and expands to be even more inclusive. Specifically, I recommend that organizations working in and using Patterson Park:

• Identify if the goals of the park are to provide opportunities for different communities to interact or to remain insular. I encourage there to be conversations about short- and long-term outcomes of those goals and to reflect about both the parts and the whole.

• Continue, and expand, conversations with demographic groups living around Patterson Park whose engagement in the park is low or absent. From those conversations, partner to identify new programming that speaks to a broader range of specific demographic groups that is reflective of their values and communities. For example, programming that is reflective of members of Black and Asian communities as was accomplished with the Latinx community.
• Strive to understand the absence of youth in Patterson Park. Partner with youth to identify the types of programming in which they would be interested in participating.
• Conduct an audit of volunteers in the park to determine if they represent the demographic diversity of the surrounding communities. If limited, identify whether and how to become more demographically inclusive.
• Continue to offer programming and activities that invite members of different communities to come together to strengthen interpersonal relations.

CONCLUSION

Connectivity, the relationships between park and people, is at the core to answering the question, “how do we encourage cultural health and equity in a diverse and unequal world through the use of public space?” Access to public spaces, such as parks, create opportunities in which to engage in solitary activities as well as with others. The park is a place to watch and be watched. The park serves as a modern-day commons such that participants of similar and different backgrounds vie for resources and negotiate shared places. It is through this experimentation that relationships may be developed and strengthened. Furthermore, as reported in the interviews, connections are carried out of the park and into the neighborhoods, front stoops, and homes of park participants. The complex web of relationships and connectivity serves to support the health and equity of the surrounding communities.

Early findings indicate that public spaces provide opportunity to practice and experiment with behavior that is reflective of individual and group identity growth. Experimentation results in strengthening preexisting connections as well as provides opportunities for meeting new people. Connections and meaning are important variables towards creating cultural vitality and sustaining communities. Being seen in public spaces is correlated to feelings of self-worth and validation of behaviors, traditions, and identities. Affirmation of self and identity can be made through programming – be it structured and
planned or spontaneous and organic. Conversely, individuals and groups may also be made to feel invisible in public spaces. In these cases, the experiences may then have a negative impact on self and identity. Research, in Patterson Park, points to examples of both types of experiences. In addition, examples were provided that reflect intentional efforts by Friends of Patterson Park and the Patterson Park Audubon Center to create a more open and inclusive space. Increased participation by Latinx community members since 2016 is one result. Changes in park use, during 2020, by Black community members provides a second example. This more recent example resulted from a combination of national and local events influencing behavior and programming within the park.

The disruption in the park, as a result of COVID-19 and the racial justice movement, provided opportunities for growth and change in the use of the space. It forced the Friends of Patterson Park, as explained by Lankatilleke, to reflect on the programs it was sponsoring and the impact it had on those not in the park. Recognizing differences between groups, and the advantages that one’s own group has, can drive change towards equality. Or, it may have the reverse outcome with the advantaged group recognizing the benefits they are gaining and their unwillingness to alter behavior for fear of loss (Saguy et al. 2013). Intentional intergroup contact tends to reduce conflict and prejudice. In 2020, new programs appeared to have resulted in increased understanding and acceptance between groups within the park. Further research should be conducted to identify long term outcomes.

All interview participants emphasized the positive impact Patterson Park has on their experience as well as the viability of the surrounding communities. To various degrees, the park provides opportunities to connect with others, meet new people, engage in activities, and
be introduced to new ideas. The outcome of these experiences, both tangible and intangible, are transferred out of the park and into the neighborhoods. I conclude that the park is a place where connections are made and maintained. Five of the seven interviewees described personal experiences, as well as shared stories of friends, of patterns of meeting new people in park activities that subsequently developed into extended long-term friendships existing outside of the park boundaries. One interviewee stated, “I think the park is the engine that drives this whole neighborhood train. It’s what attracts people here, it’s what keeps people here. And it’s what connects people once they are here” (Hartke 2020). The strength of this statement is emblematic of the importance of Patterson Park on the vitality of the people and neighborhoods.

Sustaining culture is not a passive activity. It is an active behavior which involves many stakeholders who benefit from access to public spaces. Frank Moorhouse states, as quoted by Hawkes, “The public life – or civic life – is where we go about working out how we should live together as neighbours, as citizens, as members of the global community – it is where the great dramas of our shared existence are played out” (Hawkes 2001 16). Patterson Park provides such a stage for interaction, exchanges, and practice. It reinforces the importance of having such spaces accessible for communities. Zeitlin states that such spaces “contribute to a community’s sense of identity...and that are seen as an integral part of the community by those who use them” (Zeitlin 1994, 216). I found this to be true. Furthermore, my research supports Radywyl and Biggs’ suggestion that “‘urban commons’ are important vehicles for fostering sustainability within cities as they require behaviours, cultures and institutions consistent with
equitable and transparent sharing of resources” (Radywyl and Biggs 2013, 160). There is, as Holder and Flessas conclude a “necessity of the commons” (Holder and Flessas 2008, 309).

The efforts - by Friends of Patterson Park, the Patterson Park Audubon Center, neighborhood associations, schools, organizations, and participants - to support the park have proven outcomes that positively impact both park visitors and neighborhoods. The human encounters, happenchance exchanges, and tension filled moments of liminality result in increased cultural vitality, cultural health, and access.

**REFLECTIONS**

*This journey has been one of sprints and marathons. It has been filled with pauses and movement. The expected and the unexpected. While much research has been conducted on the use of public spaces, I continue to grapple with where I am going. Over the past few months, I recognized that I am sorry the end of my Goucher MACS journey has arrived – as I feel I am just hitting my stride. Patterson Park was the venue for many liminal events over the past 16 months. I, too, was in a liminal space engaged in my own spontaneous and intentional behavior. If willing to engage, liminality is filled with promise and expectation.*

Urban parks and open spaces have been part of my lived experience from an early age. Highland Park in Pittsburgh, Tappan Square in Oberlin, Locust Walk in Philadelphia, Scoville Park in Oak Park, the campus of Michigan State University in East Lansing, Millennium Plaza Park in Portland, and Northwest Park in Baltimore. Each of these spaces serve multiple purposes. They provide a place for visitors to play and they serve as an efficient way to move from one destination to another. Without conscious intent, I have repeatedly chosen to live within walking distance to public spaces. The physical health benefits of being in the outdoors is evident. However, it is people watching that was captivating. Who speaks to whom? Who is absent? In what activities do visitors engage? How frequently do I observe familiar faces
versus newcomers? What does it all mean and how does a visit to the park impact each person and their communities? It feels like an intricate and symbolic dance.

My reflections on the Capstone process begin with an Ethnographic Methodology class I took during the late winter of 2019. The Ethnographic Methodology class, coupled with Cultural Documentation and Field Lab, provided me with a set of tools – as well as the framework – to think intentionally about the use of space, behavior, and outcomes. During visits to Patterson Park I viewed the park through the lens of a student ethnographer, complete with nervousness and hesitancies. I was not going to Patterson Park to run, picnic, or fly a kite – all park activities that were familiar to me. The lens altered my experiences of parks and how I viewed spaces. The lens changed as my purpose changed.

Over the course of the summer and fall of 2019, the park became increasingly familiar. Spaces in the park became known places. Habits were formed: I parked on the same street on each visit, entered the park through the same path, and made a similar loop with few alterations. There were occasions when I started to think of Patterson Park as “my park.” The shift in my thinking indicates that I began to lose track of my positionality in the research. I returned to Debora Kodish and her work on positionality – asking, who am I in the park? Kodish’s focus on concepts of authenticity, authority, and place and how they inform an understanding of self is important in field documentation. She emphasizes that folklorists “examine our own roles and practices and the structures of domination, racism, and inequality shaping the most basic ways of work...not only out there; it is always in here, too: in us” (Kodish 2011, 33). Kodish, along with Margaret Kovach, speak of the importance of remaining vigilant of the impact the fieldworker has on communities and the changes of everyday routines and
lives that result from the fieldworker’s presence. In turn, there is a reverse impact that field work has on the fieldworker. Acknowledging and understanding both types of changes is an important component of research. Expanding knowledge and understanding of communities is important, but must be conducted with a foundational understanding of the importance of voice, understanding of self as fieldworker in relationship with partners, and that field work should not be conducted with a pre-determined lens, set of methodologies, and expectations (Kovach 2009). Otherwise, the research may cause harm and the outcome is neither representative nor accurate. It also shifts the work and puts the researcher at the center instead of keeping the community at the center. While I am a resident of Baltimore, Patterson Park is not “my park” as I lightly considered during the site visit in the fall of 2019. My hopes and dreams do not live in the space. Yet, the park - along with the Capstone project - has had an impact on answering the question, who am I?

COVID-19 presented a roadblock for me during the spring of 2020. Over the course of a week in March 2020, my Capstone Committee and I exchanged a series of emails related to my research plans along with the possibility of having to develop Plan B or, at the very least, adjust the field work components of Plan A. In one of my emails I mused:

I have been actively thinking about how social distancing (interesting term) is impacting the work that we all do. Specifically, I stated that as cultural workers we often study “other” in times of celebration or tragedy. Yet, cultural workers tend to be somewhat removed from the specific events. In this case, we are part of “other.” So, how can we - cultural workers - effectively work and study this topic? How is it impacting us (the four of us and other cultural workers) beyond what is typically defined as being a participant-observer (Millin 2020)?
In another series of email exchanges Rob Forloney shared a photograph he took at a park in St. Michael’s, MD announcing, “During this COVID-19 Public Health Crisis, use the Park at your own risk and stay six feet apart from other” (Forloney 2020). In retrospect, I find it astounding how quickly such signs became normal and wearing masks a daily routine, similar to putting on a pair of shoes before leaving the house. Signs became so familiar, that I stopped documenting them after several weeks of feeling awe about the changes that were occurring rapidly. The signs had become part of the park vernacular (see Figure 49).

I sensed a lot of tension in late spring and early summer 2020 when I visited Patterson Park. I was striving to be true and thoughtful in my documentation of people and space – who were all adjusting to new rules and policies. Concurrently, I was working to identify my own level of comfort, whether I felt it was safe to conduct interviews, and even if I should go to the park. As a result, I delayed interviews until the fall 2020 which coincided with easing of restrictions in Baltimore. As a city, we had time to become used to masks and physical distancing. As such, while the number of interviews I conducted was lower than I had hoped, I felt much safer asking park participants to be interviewed as well as with visiting Patterson Park for longer stretches of time.
I brought to the Goucher MACS program, and the field of cultural sustainability, my experiences as a social worker. I was trained to keep the confidence of my clients and to think about my clients in context with their lived experiences and relationships with others. I am acutely aware of the importance of recognizing how my presence can influence what a person chooses to share and how behaviors may be altered. As such, throughout all Goucher College documentation classes, I continued to feel that I was making assumptions based off of very little data from site visits and interviews. This has been part of my learning curve. Observations, interpretations, conclusions, and recommendations are mostly mine. In the case of Patterson Park, they come from the etic perspective. Despite my intentionality of providing an unbiased and holistic research document, the thesis ultimately represents a snapshot taken from my positionality. My white, female, educated, middle-aged lens informs so much of the research process - from how questions were asked to the time of day I visited. While I remain disappointed by the small, homogeneous interview group, I am excited for the potential of the ways that such work can be conducted in partnership with community and organizations.

My final reflection is connected to the modern-day racial justice movement that has swept across the country since George Floyd’s murder in May 2020. While reading the 2016 Patterson Park Master Plan, I noted it was published shortly after Freddie Gray’s death, again by police, in Baltimore in April 2015. As I conducted the academic research on 19th century parks, the Recreational Park Movement, and the history of Patterson Park, I was unable to separate race and ethnicity from the larger story. It became a significant variable throughout the research.
Baltimore is an early American city that began as a port city in the 1700s. It eventually became central in the expansion to the West via roads and later the railroad. By 1820 it was home to the largest Black population in the United States and one of every five free Black individuals lived in Maryland. Baltimore was an industrial and manufacturing city from the 18th through the 20th centuries. Due to the geographic location, Baltimore was key to both immigration and migration histories of the United States – it was a major entry port for Germans, Eastern Europeans, and people from the Caribbean. In addition, Baltimore was part of the migration route for southern, rural, Black and white migrants to the north at the end of the 1800s and thru the 1900s.

The death of Freddie Gray is but one example in a history of violence, death, and discrimination in Baltimore. The city’s history influences how members of the city are seen and understood. Public space, and the people who control the spaces, serve to either heighten the disparity or serve as a tool to strengthening communities. Patterson Park, the supporting organizations, and park users have, over the course of its history, done both. Reading the history, hearing historic and modern accounts of discrimination, and documenting examples of race and ethnic pride impacted me more than expected. I believe this is a result of the recent deaths of Black individuals in the United States, the 2020 Presidential election, and other work in which I am involved. I find myself reflecting on Maribel Alvarez’s statement that “we do well to also notice the way this crisis is changing everything and everyone in ways that will last well past the virus” (Alvarez 2020). Alvarez’s suggestion of observation is important for the fieldworker to hold central in their work. COVID-19 and the country’s politics are not occurring
to “other.” I am not an outsider to these events. It impacts all – sense of time, place, and self are being altered daily.

I share all of this because the history of the 137 acres of green space in southeast Baltimore is not isolated from the rest of the city. Patterson Park is an important part of understanding the communities and people that use the park and live nearby. It is a “magical place” (Brown 2020) as Brown shared in her interview and, according to Lankatilleke

It’s such an asset. People are drawn here because of this park...People chose to live here because of the access to the park and having this huge amenity as part of your backyard – I mean that’s your backyard (Lankatilleke 2020).

The observed increased numbers of park users throughout 2020, along with new programming, are indicators that Patterson Park has potential to continue to grow and adapt. It does, indeed, serve as a vehicle to creating sustainable and vibrant cultures.

I made my final site visit to Patterson Park on an unusually warm Sunday afternoon in November. The park felt like it was humming with activity (see Figure 50). The visit was one of only a few that I identified, in advance, with specific goals: 1) I wanted to document the Virginia S. Baker Recreation Center and 2) I wanted to identify if Ecuavóley had resumed since the pandemic limited activities earlier in 2020. On this site visit I was reminded of the ways that the park serves as a commons, that participants are transformed by space and give meaning to space, and that there is experimentation taking place.

Ecuavóley was being played – a large group of Latinx men filled the reimagined tennis court, women watched the food, and children played on the side. Loud cheers drew me closer as I made my way along an eastern path in the park moving between the playground and games
of pickleball and tennis. Ecuavóley is symbolic of the park. It is a newer activity that was introduced into the commons by a community that more recently joined the space. While it has become established, and participants appeared comfortable, there remains tension as others want the space to be available for different activities. A negotiation of space and resources takes place each time the net is stretched between the poles, the tarp is hung for shade, and the music turned on. Participants who pass the courts are confronted with something out of their everyday. Like me, they stop and watch, wonder what the game is, and possibly question who is allowed to play.

Four days after the last site visit occurred, COVID-19 numbers reached a new high for the region. Tighter restrictions were announced, and everyone is now required to wear a mask.
when in public. My last site visit feels like a gift. Before leaving the park, I observed a couple who had found a private moment on a bench while a large group of friends picnicked and threw a frisbee nearby. I observed a family exiting their Patterson Park Neighborhood rowhome, with a recently painted Black Lives Matter mural painted on the side (see Figure 51).

I observed different people and groups intersect in the liminal space created by the park. They seemed to find meaning in self and others. As have I.

Figure 51 A family leaves their home on the corner of E. Baltimore Avenue and N. Glover Street on the north side of Patterson Park. A Black Lives Matter mural, matching one of the art displays on Eastern Avenue in September, is painted on the side of the house (November 2020).
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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Supplemental Maps


Map 4: 1937 Home Owners Loan Corporation Baltimore Map. The organization was “a federal agency set up as part of the New Deal to refinance mortgages at risk of default and foreclosure because of the Great Depression.” The areas in red were considered the riskiest places to live followed by yellow. Patterson Park was completely surrounded by neighborhoods designated as red and yellow. (“Inequality by Design: How Redlining Continues to Shape Our Economy” 2020).
Appendix B: Sample Interview Questions

Sample questions may include:

- To begin, please share a bit about yourself. Starting with your name, the neighborhood you live in, how long you have lived there, and describe members of your household.
- How frequently do you/your family and/or friends visit Patterson Park (days of week, time of day)? Where do you go in the park? How do you spend your time in the park?
- How many generations of your family have used the park?
- When you visit the park, do you tend to spend time with people you know? Do you ever visit alone? Have you meet new people at the park?
- Tell me about a typical visit to Patterson Park. Share a story about a time you visited the park that was different than a “normal” visit.
- Have you ever joined a new activity or group in the park? What was it like? What about other people you know, have they ever joined a new activity or group? Were you, or others you know, excluded from activities? Who excluded you and for what reasons? Feel free to share stories about any of the above.
- What do you identify as your anchor point in the park? When you think of the park, what do you “see” in your mind that orients you to activities and places?
- How do you access the park? Where do you enter? How do you enter (on foot, bike, scooter, car)? Do you feel that the park is accessible?
- In thinking about activities, do you feel that all activities are open to you? If there are limitations, who determines what the restrictions are and to whom? Please share a story about this.
- Are there certain names or terms that you use for locations or activities in the park?
- Over the time that you and/or your family have been coming to the park, have there been any changes? If so, what does it look like? What does it mean? What has been lost and what has been gained?
- From your experiences, do you think that the park is a positive influence on the communities and neighborhoods?
- Do you have a special photo of you/family/friends in the park? What is the story of the photograph?
- Is there anyone else I should talk to?
- What haven’t I asked that I should?

Slightly different questions may be asked of representatives from organizations working in, or in partnership with, Patterson Park:

- To begin, please share a bit about yourself. Starting with your name, the focus/mission of organization you work for, a bit about your job, and how long you have been with the organization.
- In addition to working for your organization, do you live in one of the surrounding neighborhoods? If comfortable, please share which neighborhood you live in, how long you have lived there, and what led you to your current job. Does the relationship
between your neighborhood and job impact your understanding and experience of Patterson Park? In what ways?

- Please share your organization’s mission/purpose/goals as related to Patterson Park. Describe the partnership between the organization and Patterson Park and discuss the organization’s assessment on fulfilling the goals. Successes. Areas of growth.

- Through your job, as well as potential personal use of Patterson Park, do you and your organization find that visitors spend time alone, with people they know, and/or are people open to making new relationships? How do these findings align with the organization’s mission? Please discuss strengths and areas of growth. Examples...

- Describe the groups that use the park.

- Who is not using the park? Why do you think that is?

- What is your organization’s understanding of access to Patterson Park? Does your organization view the park as being accessible?

- Continuing to reflect on accessibility, does your organization find that activities are open to all visitors to Patterson park? If there are limitations and boundaries, how are they determined? By whom? Who do they impact? Compare formal, structured activities with informal activities. Please elaborate with examples.

- What do you identify as your anchor point in the park? When you think of the park, what do you “see” in your mind that orients you to activities and places?

- Has there been a shift of the cultural landscape overtime? If so, what does that look like? What does it mean? What has been lost and what has been gained?

- If the interviewee identifies as a community member, as well as an employee of an organization, I will likely ask questions from the first question set – clearly stating that I am asking about their observations as a community member. This may be cumbersome, but the dual identity may help inform the research.

- From your work and observations, do you think that the park has additive value to the overall health of the neighborhoods?

- Are there other people that you think would be willing to share their story about Patterson Park? Volunteers? Event participants? Organizations running activities in the park?

- What haven’t I asked that I should?
Appendix C: Index to Media

Patterson Park Media Logs: The Public Park as Liminal Space: A Study of Spontaneous and Intentional Behavior and the Impact on Community

Researcher: Amy S. Millin
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Key: PP = Patterson Park
     CD = Cultural Documentation
     FL = Field Lab
     CS = Capstone

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Photo Logs
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B. Millin_Photo_LogB (2019-08-01) Patterson Park – Pool Area and Annex
C. Millin_Photo_LogC (2019-08-03) Patterson Park – Fluid Movement and Nearby Area
D. Millin_Photo_LogD (2019-08-04) Patterson Park – Summer Concert on Pagoda Hill
E. Millin_Photo_LogE (2019-08-10) Patterson Park – West Section of Park
F. Millin_Photo_LogF (2019-09-22) Patterson Park – Annex and Main Section (eastern section)
G. Millin_Photo_LogG (2019-10-02) Patterson Park – Patterson Park – Annex and eastern section of the Main Section between the dog park and Pulaski Monument
H. Millin_Photo_LogH (2019-10-03) Patterson Park – Main Section at Friends of Patterson Park Office and Pagoda
I. Millin_Photo_LogI (2019-10-07) Patterson Park – Area around Pagoda and Northern Border of Park
J. Millin_Photo_LogJ (2019-10-08) Patterson Park – Northeast Corner
K. Millin_Photo_LogK (2019-10-27) Patterson Park – Eastern part of the Main Section (playground and Utz Field) and Annex
L. Millin_Photo_LogL (2019-11-02) Patterson Park – Pagoda and surrounding
M. Millin_Photo_LogM (2020-05-18) Patterson Park – Main Section
N. Millin_Photo_LogN (2020-05-24) Patterson Park – Main Section (loop West to East along Southern path and back West thru center)
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S. Millin_Photo_LogS (2020-09-09) Patterson Park – Pagoda Hill and Area
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**Video Logs**
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**Key Words:** Annex, Audubon Garden, Baltimore Street, Barkstober Fest, basketball courts, Black Lives Matter, Boat Lake, Bull Circle, Butcher’s Hill, Canton, carnival, Casino, community garden, COVID, dog park, Downtown, Druid Hill Park, E. Baltimore Street, E. Pratt Street, East Playground, Eastern Avenue, Ecuavóley, Ellwood Avenue, Ellwood Park, Fayette Avenue, Fells Point, Fluid Movement, food trucks, Formstone, Friends of Patterson Park, George Floyd, Highlandtown, Ice Skating Dome, Igloo, Inner Harbor, Igloo, Johns Hopkins, Lantern Parade, Latino Fest, Mt. Vernon, Main Fields, Main Park, Main Section, Marble Fountain, N. Glover Street, old Baltimore, Orleans Street, Pagoda, Pagoda Hill, Patterson Audubon Center, Patterson Park, Patterson Park Charter School, Patterson Park Neighborhood, Patterson Park Pool, Patterson Place, pavilion, Peace Corps, playground, Polish Festival, pool building, Pride Month, Prospect Park (Brooklyn, NY), Pulaski Monument, Rec Center, St. Michael the Archangel Ukrainian Church, St. Vincent de Paul Head Start, softball fields, Softball Field #6, S. Linwood Avenue, summer concert series, tennis courts, toddler pool, Tree Team, Utz turf field, Virginia S. Baker Recreation Center, water aerobics, West Playground, White House, yard sale, youth camp, Zumba
**Photo Logs**

**Photo Log A**

**Researcher:** Amy S. Millin  
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**Project Name:** The Public Park as Liminal Space: A Study of Spontaneous and Intentional Behavior and the Impact on Community  
**Date Logged:** 2020-11-08

**File Name Root:** 2019.PP.CD.ASM.  
**Number of Images in Series:** 82

**Camera Make/Model:** Apple iPhone XS Max  
**Format:** X JPEG  ❑ TIFF  ❑ RAW  ❑ Other:  
**Color space:** ❑ Grayscale  ❑ Color  
**Bit Depth:** ❑ 8  ❑ 16  ❑ 24  ❑ Other:  
**PPI:** ❑ 72  ❑ 300  ❑ 600  ❑ Other:  
**Pixel Dimensions (Approx):** 4032 × 3024

**Date(s) of Photography:** 2019-07-28  
**Location(s):** Patterson Park – Main Section and Annex with a Variety of Infrastructure and Activities  
**Type of Documentation:** ❑ Portrait  ❑ Landscape  ❑ Object  ❑ Other:  
**Subject(s):** Keywords, Event(s), Names: Utz Turf Field, Igloo, Pulaski Monument, Canton, Boat Lake, Patterson Park, Baltimore City Recreation & Parks, The Casino, community garden, Patterson City Farm, Bull Circle, Pagoda, White House, Butcher’s Hill, Patterson Place, Utz Factory, fountain, White House, Patterson Park Neighborhood, Casino, Rec Center, basketball courts, pool, Annex, Ortman Field, softball fields, dog park, water aerobics, Ukrainian American Youth Association, S. Linwood Avenue, S. Patterson Park Avenue, E. Baltimore

**Summary:** Overview of space and infrastructure of Patterson Park. Includes large sections of the park and activities.

**Copyright Holder:** Amy S. Millin  
**Restricted?** ❑ No, ❑ Yes, Confidentiality Protocols

**IMAGE #**  
**CONTENT DESCRIPTION**

001  Utz Turf Field and Igloo: Soccer game in progress.

Pulaski Monument: Flag, permanent fence, temporary fence.

Main Fields: Turf Field and Igloo.

Port-o-Potties in SE section of Park: Canton and a Pods storage unit.

Chalk Art along the Boat Lake path.

The Boat Lake: Algae and lilies.

The Boat Lake: Danger Sign and vegetation.

The Boat Lake: View of water and rising hill beyond.

The Boat Lake: Another view of water and trees.

The Boat Lake: Looking south. Person sitting on bench.

Path between Boat Lake and Main Fields: Three adults with three children. A bike and scooter.

Trash Can with Friends of Patterson Park and Baltimore City Recreation and Parks sign.

The Casino

The Casino – close-up

The community garden

The community garden: Patterson City Farm sign and gate.

The community garden: Close-up of 017 with details of lock, found hat, signs, and some interior of garden.

Compost site: Outside of the community garden with handwriting on wood providing directions on how to keep rats away.

Mother and daughter inside the locked garden tending their plot.

detail of garden plots – table.

Detail of another garden plot. Difference apparent between plots.

Detail of garden plot.

The Bull Circle with Pagoda in background. The White House is glimpsed through the trees.

Facilities Area: Located next to the community garden. Fire hydrant and stone wall.


The Pagoda: Looking towards the Pagoda coming out of the Bull Circle.
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<td>033</td>
<td>Historic Information Sign: Prelude to War.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>034</td>
<td>Two Signs, Pagoda, and Docent with park visitors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>035</td>
<td>“Pagoda Open Today” Sign and Pagoda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>036</td>
<td>Historic Information Sign: Show of Strength along with canon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>037</td>
<td>Back of Statue looking east.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>038</td>
<td>Statue Detail: Commemorating the writing of the “Star Spangled Banner”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>039</td>
<td>Statue and Pagoda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>040</td>
<td>Side of Pagoda Hill: Couple on blanket under trees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>041</td>
<td>View towards the Utz Factory (east) from top of Pagoda Hill.</td>
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<tr>
<td>042</td>
<td>Utz Factory Close-Up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>043</td>
<td>Butcher’s Hill as seen from Patterson Park: Visitors walking into park.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>044</td>
<td>“All Dogs Must Be on Leash” with poop bag dispenser.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>045</td>
<td>Bobby’s Pottys: Fountain and The White House in background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>046</td>
<td>The Fountain: Empty (not working) with three groups of four benches.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>047</td>
<td>“Patterson Park Established 1827”: One pillar with Fountain in background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>048</td>
<td>“Patterson Park Established 1827”: entrance on S. Patterson Park Avenue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>049</td>
<td>“Patterson Park Established 1827” entrance taken from inside the park looking west the length of E. Pratt Street.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>051</td>
<td>Hopscotch on path towards the Fountain. Couple walking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>052</td>
<td>Example of rooftop decks in Butcher’s Hill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>053</td>
<td>The Fountain with historic sign.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>054</td>
<td>The Fountain with close-up of Dr. Levi Watkins Jr Memorial Fountain sign.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Looking west out of park towards Butcher’s Hill with the White House and trees. Historic pillars marking the entrance.

Example of new construction on S. Patterson Park Avenue.

Couple with dog outside of the White House after visiting a free library stand. Butcher’s Hill behind.

NW Corner of Patterson Park: Butcher’s Hill to left and Patterson Place to right. Stairs and old concrete pillars with lights marking the entrance. Elevation change. Ornate row houses.

Close-up of pillar at NW corner with small lock electric box. Butcher’s Hill housing and garage in background.

Close-up of front side of pillar at NW Corner.

NW Corner showing front side of two pillars, two sets of stairs, and objects preventing cars from entering. Worn path to left of stairs.

E. Baltimore Street: Row houses, cars, sidewalk, and hill into park.

Steep stairs from E. Baltimore Street into north side of park.

A different set of steep stairs from E. Baltimore into north side of park. With Black Eyed Susan along outside of stairs.

Looking north into Patterson Park Neighborhood – narrow alley/streets.

The Casino: Backside of building. Long steps leading up.

The Rec Center with sloping grass area.

Basketball Courts and Pool. Courts are empty, pool is active.

Softball fields seen through trees. In use.

Close-up of back of softball player wearing team shirt with sponsors. “Volo City.”

Softball game.

Pool: Water aerobics class.

Gate and entrance to softball field “Ortman Field”

Dog Park

Utz Turf Field, Woman pushing stroller, and Igloo.

Utz Turf Field, Igloo, Man on scooter.

Utz Turf Field: “living classrooms learn by doing” sign on fence, tall lights for night play, Pagoda in background with flag. Soccer game on field.
078 The Annex: View towards the Annex across S. Linwood Avenue. Stairs leading towards fields.

079 Park Rules: Sign on S. Linwood Avenue near the dog park.

080 View towards the Main Section and dog park across S. Linwood Avenue. Crosswalk, cars, and fields.


082 Ukrainian American Youth Association: Across SW corner of Patterson Park. Taken from car while at stop light.
Researcher: Amy S. Millin
Address: 2200 South Road, Baltimore, MD 212109
Phone: 443-421-2322
Email: amy.millin@goucher.edu

Project Name: The Public Park as Liminal Space: A Study of Spontaneous and Intentional Behavior and the Impact on Community
Date Logged: 2020-11-08

File Name Root: 2019.PP.CD.ASM.
Number of Images in Series: 22

Camera Make/Model: iPhone XS Max
Format: JPEG
Color space: Grayscale
Bit Depth: 8
Pixel Dimensions (Approx): 4032 × 3024

Location(s): Patterson Park – Pool Area and Annex
Type of Documentation: Portrait
Subject(s): Keywords, Event(s), Names: Playground, pool, youth camp, basketball courts, softball fields, pool building, Igloo, turf field, toddler pool, Patterson Park Neighborhood, Main Section, Annex, E. Pratt Street, S. Linwood Avenue

Summary: Afternoon visit to the eastern section of Patterson Park focusing on the pool (at which a youth summer camp was using), softball fields, and Annex.

Copyright Holder: Amy S. Millin

Restricted? No

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMAGE #</th>
<th>CONTENT DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>083</td>
<td>Playground and part of pool yard. Bad quality photo – too dark.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>085</td>
<td>Path between pool and basketball courts and the softball fields. Fence in disrepair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>086</td>
<td>Pool: Summer camp using the pool. Groups of youth and counselors around permanent oversized umbrellas and tables in grass area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>087</td>
<td>Pool: Close-up photo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>088</td>
<td>Pool Building: Changing area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>089</td>
<td>Tot’s Early Learning Center Van.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Igloo, Turf Field, and Car.

Toddler Pool: Used by youth camp.

Father and Two Children on Half Basketball Court

Woman sitting under tree outside of pool building with Turf Field in background.

View of elevation changes in park looking down on basketball courts. Storm clouds coming in.

Path: Expansive path with garbage cans in random places – one in middle of path. No one in sight.

Path between softball fields and pool. Abandoned electric scooter.

Patterson Park Neighborhood at the corner of the Main and Annex Sections of the park. Example of flower boxes, stained glass windows, painted eaves, and front stoops.

NW Corner of the Annex as seen from the Main Section.

Looking east along E. Pratt Street from Main Section. Patterson Park Neighborhood to left and the Annex to right.

Youth summer campers lining up to board the buses after swimming and using the playground.

Hair extensions in the street. S. Linwood Avenue.

The Annex: A hired dog walker (with many dogs) in the distance.

Softball field in the Annex.

Summer camp buses on S. Linwood Avenue.
Researcher: Amy S. Millin  
Address: 2200 South Road, Baltimore, MD 212109  
Phone: 443-421-2322  
Email: amy.millin@goucher.edu

Project Name: The Public Park as Liminal Space: A Study of Spontaneous and Intentional Behavior and the Impact on Community  
Date Logged: 2020-11-08

File Name Root: 2019_PP_CD_ASM.  
Number of Images in Series: 46

Camera Make/Model: iPhone XS Max and Nikon D40X  
Format: X JPEG □ TIFF □ RAW □ Other: □  
Color space: □ Grayscale X Color  
Bit Depth: □ 8 □ 16 □ 24 □ Other: □  
PPI: □ 72 □ 300 □ 600 □ Other: □  
Pixel Dimensions (Approx): 4032 × 3024

Date(s) of Photography: 2019-08-03  
Location(s): Patterson Park – Fluid Movement and Nearby Area  
Type of Documentation: □ Portrait □ Landscape X Object □ Other: □  
Subject(s): Keywords, Event(s), Names: Pool house, Fluid Movement, pool, basketball court, playground

Summary: Attended one of the Fluid Movement productions held annual in the Patterson Park pool. Fluid Movement is a quintessential Baltimore event – land and water ballet with a lot of quirkiness. En route back to the car, documented images of the basketball court and playground.

Copyright Holder: Amy S. Millin  
Restricted? □ No, X Yes, Confidentiality Protocols

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMAGE #</th>
<th>CONTENT DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>Outside the Pool House: Waiting in line to enter the pool grounds for Fluid Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>View of pool through fence. Tents and chairs set up for Fluid Movement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Fluid Movement Sign with cars parked and water coolers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>Fluid Movement Sign: Close-Up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>Pool House: About to enter the pool grounds. Mosaic at entrance. Mostly white people waiting to enter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>On the Deck: Waiting for the show to begin. Audience in their seats and pool is calm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>Fluid Movement World Headquarters: The tents are the backstage. Audience members.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Father and son, plus other audience members, waiting for the show to begin.

The MC and Assistant introduce the show. On the pool deck. Fun costumes, festive feel.

Similar to 114.

Another performer speaks on the pool deck.

Fluid Movement: Opening Act begins on the pool deck with at least eight performers. One person in a split. All female, all white, different body types. Pink swim caps.

Fluid Movement: Same group – different position.

Fluid Movement: Same group – in water. Synchronized swimming.

Fluid Movement: Similar to 119.


Fluid Movement: Close-up of 121. Costumes, wigs, makeup.


Fluid Movement: Close-up of 123.

Fluid Movement: Same group as 123 and 124. Dancing to the music. Tattoos, makeup, men, women.

Fluid Movement: Smiling performer in the water. Blue and orange make-up.

Fluid Movement: Same as 126, different position.

Fluid Movement: Groups of four in the water with pool noodles. Audience in background.

Fluid Movement: Noodles in the air!

Fluid Movement: More noodles in the air as well as feet.

Fluid Movement: Back on the pool deck with red bathing suits dancing with pool noodles. Looking through the lifeguard stand ladder.

Fluid Movement: On the pool deck dancing in red bathing suits and yellow pool noodles.

Fluid Movement: Edgar Allen Poe writing his thoughts on the pools edge.

Fluid Movement: Same as 133.

Fluid Movement: Edgar Allen Poe in water with woman.

Fluid Movement: Similar to 135.


Fluid Movement: Similar to 137.

Fluid Movement: More women.

Fluid Movement: The women with wings in a line.

Fluid Movement: Women open their wings while in a line.

Fluid Movement: Golden woman with children getting ready on the pool deck.

Fluid Movement: Golden swim caps in the water.

Fluid Movement: The MC and others on the pool deck.

Fluid Movement: Many years of Fluid Movement represented through costumes and held signs.

Fluid Movement: Close-up of one performer's back with others in the water. More on pool deck.

Fluid Movement: Full cast on pool decks. All different bathing suits and costumes.

Basketball courts located next to pool. Different groups – families and friends – playing basketball amongst themselves. No full court games.

Playground: Different families and groups using the playground.
Researcher: Amy S. Millin
Address: 2200 South Road, Baltimore, MD 212109
Phone: 443-421-2322
Email: amy.millin@goucher.edu

Project Name: The Public Park as Liminal Space: A Study of Spontaneous and Intentional Behavior and the Impact on Community
Date Logged: 2020-11-08

File Name Root: 2019.PP.CD.ASM.
Number of Images in Series: 13

Camera Make/Model: iPhone XS Max
Format: X JPEG □ TIFF □ RAW □ Other:
Color space: □ Grayscale X Color
Bit Depth: □ 8 □ 16 □ 24 □ Other:
PPI: □ 72 □ 300 □ 600 □ Other:
Pixel Dimensions (Approx): 4032 × 3024

Date(s) of Photography: 2019-08-04
Location(s): Patterson Park – Summer Concert on Pagoda Hill
Type of Documentation: □ Portrait X Landscape □ Object □ Other:
Subject(s): Keywords, Event(s), Names: Pagoda, summer concert series, Pagoda Hill, Bull Circle

Summary: Images represent a free summer concert event held on Pagoda Hill – before and during the concert.

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Restricted? □ No, X Yes, Confidentiality Protocols

IMAGE #        CONTENT DESCRIPTION
151  Pagoda Hill: Setting up for the concert. One person has marked their spot. Stage below.
152  Pagoda Hill: Looking up towards the Pagoda. Families and friends arrive for concert. Setting up picnic blankets, food, and chairs. Tents are the site of food sales.
153  More folks arrive. Different size groups. Lots of equipment.
154  Once sites are marked with chairs, people socialize with each other.
Pagoda Hill fills with audience members who appear more eager to talk to each other than listen to the music. Audience consists of young children to older adults.

Blankets, towels, food, chairs, wagons, and dogs.

Similar to 156 plus part of the Pagoda.

To the side of the Pagoda Hill, a group of unsupervised children have made up a game with sticks. They are playing in the Bull Circle.

Pagoda Hill has filled with audience. Families, friends, and couples. The stage is no longer visible.

Standing to the side of Pagoda Hill looking back up the hill towards the Pagoda. Some of the audience has either chosen to sit outside of the main area or been pushed that way. Many audience members have their back to the stage and performers.

Close-up of 160.

Old brick path near the Pagoda and concert area.

Patterson Park sign and map with port-o-potties in background.
**Photo Log E**

**Researcher:** Amy S. Millin  
**Address:** 2200 South Road, Baltimore, MD 212109  
**Phone:** 443-421-2322  
**Email:** amy.millin@goucher.edu

**Project Name:** The Public Park as Liminal Space: A Study of Spontaneous and Intentional Behavior and the Impact on Community  
**Date Logged:** 202-11-08

**File Name Root:** 2019_PP_CD_ASM.  
**Number of Images in Series:** 4

**Camera Make/Model:** iPhone XS Max  
**Format:** X JPEG □ TIFF □ RAW □ Other:  
**Color space:** □ Grayscale □ Color  
**Bit Depth:** □ 8 □ 16 □ 24 □ Other:  
**PPI:** □ 72 □ 300 □ 600 □ Other:  
**Pixel Dimensions (Approx):** 4032 × 3024

**Date(s) of Photography:** 2019-08-10  
**Location(s):** Patterson Park – West Section of Park  
**Type of Documentation:** □ Portrait □ Landscape □ Object □ Other:  
**Subject(s):** Keywords, Event(s), Names: Pagoda, Boat Lake, carnival, yard sale

**Summary:** Photos from a visit to the eastern section of the park near the Pagoda and community garden.

**Copyright Holder:** Amy S. Millin  
**Restricted?** □ No, X Yes, Confidentiality Protocols

**IMAGE #**  
**CONTENT DESCRIPTION**

164  
Easel sign in front of the Pagoda announcing a variety of park activities: Boat Lake Cleanup, Carnival, and Yard Sale.

165  
The community garden detail with tomatoes, pail, and tools hung on a shed.

166  
The Pagoda: Park visitors peering into the windows.

167  
A grasshopper sculpture hiding in the shrubs next to the Pagoda. Cannons in the background.
Photo Log F

Researcher: Amy S. Millin
Address: 2200 South Road, Baltimore, MD 21209
Phone: 443-421-2322
Email: amy.millin@goucher.edu

Project Name: Patterson Park: Interaction in Public Spaces
Date Logged: November 2, 2019

File Name Root: 2019.PP.FL.ASM.
Number of Images in Series: 24

Camera Make/Model: iPhone XS Max
Format: JPEG
Color space: Grayscale
Bit Depth: 8
PPI: 72
Pixel Dimensions (Approx): 4032x3024

Date(s) of photography: 2019-09-22
Location(s): Patterson Park – Annex and Main Section (eastern section)
Type of Documentation: Landscape
Subject(s): Patterson Park, Annex, Main Section, Utz Field, Highlandtown, ice skating igloo, Casino, dog park, Pagoda

Summary: This series depicts a Sunday afternoon in the Annex and eastern part of the Main Section of Patterson Park. Images were taken before and after an interview with Maeve Royce – the interview was taken on the most eastern border of the Annex. Images capture regular Sunday activity in the park.

Copyright Holder: Amy S. Millin
Restricted? No

File Name Root: 2019.ASM.

IMAGE #     CONTENT DESCRIPTION
002     Annex: looking west towards main section of Patterson Park. Open fields.
003     Annex: looking west towards main section and ice skating igloo, the Casino, and Pagoda.
004     View of ice skating igloo, Casino, and Pagoda amongst the trees in the Main Section.
005     Annex: Man with dark shirt on electric scooter. Main Section and city in the west.
Annex: Man with dark shirt on electric scooter. Main Section and city in the west.

Annex: dog and man walking in open field.

Annex: Man with beard and tank top on electric scooter. Main Section and city in the west.

Annex: Man with beard and tank top on electric scooter. Main Section and city in the west.

Annex: Man with maroon shirt and ponytail on electric scooter. Main Section and city in the west.

Annex: Man with maroon shirt and ponytail on electric scooter. Main Section and city in the west.

Annex: Man with dark shirt on electric scooter further away and below on path. Main Section and city in the west.

Annex: Empty fields looking towards the south.

View of Highlandtown rowhouse at edge of Annex with electric power box painted in a sports theme.

Close-up of Highlandtown rowhouse and electric power box painted in a sports theme.

Gough Street (east/west street) from Highlandtown towards the Annex, intersecting with S. Ellwood Avenue.

Close-up: Gough intersecting with S. Ellwood Avenue.

Annex: Path with person reading while leaning against a tree.

Annex: Looking north with elevation change.

Main Section: Playground on eastern border with children and families.

Utz Field: Adult soccer club game in progress as seen thru fence.

Dog park: confrontation between two dogs.

Dog park: confrontation between two dogs.

Dog park: confrontation between two dogs with two owners talking and other dog owners watching.
Researcher: Amy S. Millin  
Address: 2200 South Road, Baltimore, MD 21209  
Phone: 443-421-2322  
Email: amy.millin@goucher.edu

Project Name: Patterson Park: Interaction in Public Spaces  
Date Logged: November 2, 2019

File Name Root: 2019.PP.FL.ASM.  
Number of Images in Series: 41

Camera Make/Model: iPhone XSMaX  
Format: X JPEG ☐ TIFF  ☐ RAW  ☐ Other:  
Color space:  ☐ Grayscale  X Color  
Bit Depth: ☐ 8  ☐ 16  ☐ 24  ☐ Other:  
PPI: ☐ 72  ☐ 300  ☐ 600  X Other  
Pixel Dimensions (Approx): 4032x3024

Date(s) of photography: 2019-10-02  
Location(s): Patterson Park – Annex and eastern section of the Main Section between the dog park and Pulaski Monument.  
Type of Documentation:  ☐ Portrait  X Landscape  ☐ Object  ☐ Other:  
Subject(s): Keywords, Event(s), Names: Patterson Park, Annex, dog park, Utz Field, Main Section, Friends of Patterson Park, Pulaski Monument, Canton

Summary: Photo series captures activities - scheduled and unscheduled - on a weekday evening in early October on a warm evening in the eastern sections of Patterson Park.

Copyright Holder: Amy S. Millin  
Restricted? ☐ No, X Yes, Confidentiality Protocols

File Name Root: 2019.ASM.

IMAGE # CONTENT DESCRIPTION  
025 Southwest corner of Patterson Park with evidence of different types of transportation and pickup truck (taken from car while at a stop light).  
026 Southwest corner of Patterson Park with evidence of different types of transportation and pickup truck turning (taken from car while at a stop light).  
027 Sitting on steps in Annex looking west towards Main Section. Fields and dog park.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>028</td>
<td>Dog park with dogs and people engaged in activity. Utz Field in background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>029</td>
<td>Annex: Pickup soccer with young Latinx adult males.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>030</td>
<td>Close-up: Pickup soccer with young Latinx adult males.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>031</td>
<td>Annex: Mixed aged and gender group of Latinx individuals preparing to watch pickup soccer game.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>032</td>
<td>Annex: Looking east with dog walkers and people sitting on bench.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>033</td>
<td>Annex: Looking east with dog walkers and people sitting on bench.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>034</td>
<td>Annex: Couple, coming from tennis, exploring metal structure and Bobby’s Potties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>035</td>
<td>Approaching dog park from Annex. People walking and dog park is active.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>036</td>
<td>Approaching dog park from Annex with expanse of Main Section looking west.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>037</td>
<td>Approaching dog park from Annex with expanse of Main Section looking west.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>038</td>
<td>Approaching dog park from Annex with expanse of Main Section looking west.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>039</td>
<td>Main Section: Six people sitting next to weeping willow tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>040</td>
<td>Main Section: Free youth soccer clinic sponsored by Friends of Patterson Park.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>041</td>
<td>Close-up: Free youth soccer clinic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>042</td>
<td>Main Section: Zumba at the Pulaski Monument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>043</td>
<td>Close-up: Zumba at the Pulaski Monument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>044</td>
<td>Zumba at the Pulaski Monument with American Flag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>045</td>
<td>Close-up: Zumba at the Pulaski Monument with boy watching, man jogging, and woman walking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>046</td>
<td>Close-up: Zumba at the Pulaski Monument with boy watching and girl with fairy wings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>047</td>
<td>Main Section: Pod storage for youth soccer with adults and children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>048</td>
<td>Free youth soccer by Friends of Patterson Park with Pod, staff/volunteers, and adults.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>049</td>
<td>Free youth soccer at sunset.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>050</td>
<td>Main Section: Man waiting for youth soccer to end at sunset with Pagoda in background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>051</td>
<td>Main Section: Pagoda and flag among the trees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>052</td>
<td>Main Section: Adult recreation soccer team arriving for night play.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
053  Main Section: trash and pallet under weeping willow tree. The ground is worn. (thumb in photo)
054  Close-up: trash and pallet under tree.
055  Utz Field behind chain link fence with signs. Adult paying soccer game in progress.
056  Close-up: Utz Field signs with soccer game.
057  Close-up: Utz Field signs with rules in Spanish and English. Graffiti and stickers on signs.
058  Looking south on S. Linwood Avenue between Main Section and Annex.
059  Looking south on S. Linwood Avenue between Main Section and Annex.
060  Main Section looking west at sunset with Pulaski Monument.
061  Main Section looking west at sunset with Pulaski Monument and park visitor.
062  E. Baltimore Street (north border of Main Section), rowhouses, and sunset.
063  Northeast corner of Main Section with formal entrance and neighborhood rowhouses.
064  E. Baltimore Street looking west. Park on left and neighborhood on right.
065  E. Baltimore Street looking west at sunset.
066  E. Baltimore Street looking west at sunset.
Researcher: Amy S. Millin
Address: 2200 South Road, Baltimore, MD 21209
Phone: 443-421-2322
Email: amy.millin@goucher.edu

Project Name: Patterson Park: Interaction in Public Spaces
Date Logged: November 2, 2019

File Name Root: 2019.PP.FL.ASM.
Number of Images in Series: 14

Camera Make/Model: iPhone XSMax
Format: X JPEG  ❑ TIFF  ❑ RAW  ❑ Other:
Color space: ❑ Grayscale  ❑ Color
Bit Depth:  ❑ 8  ❑ 16  ❑ 24  ❑ Other:
PPI: ❑ 72  ❑ 300  ❑ 600  ❑ Other
Pixel Dimensions (Approx): 4032x3024

Date(s) of photography: 2019-10-03
Location(s): Patterson Park – Main Section at Friends of Patterson Park office and Pagoda.
Type of Documentation: ❑ Portrait  ❑ Landscape  ❑ Object  ❑ Other:
Subject(s): Keywords, Event(s), Names: Katie Long, Friends of Patterson Park, Main Section, Utz Factory, Performance Stage, Pagoda

Summary: Photos taken after interview with Katie Long, Director and Liaison to Patterson Park’s Immigrant Community, in the Friends of Patterson Park office as well as the area immediate outside of the office and Pagoda. Far western edge of the park.

Copyright Holder: Amy S. Millin  ❑ Restricted? ❑ No, ❑ Yes, Confidentiality Protocols

File Name Root: 2019.ASM.

IMAGE #  CONTENT DESCRIPTION
067  Katie Long, Director and Liaison to Patterson Park’s Immigrant Community, in the
Friends of Patterson Park office after completing an interview (close-up).
068  Katie Long with view of tables and Pagoda model.
069  Katie Long close-up (grainy)
070  Friends of Patterson Park Office, former park superintendent home, in Main Section.
071 Close-up: Friends of Patterson Park Office with sign.
072 Pagoda with canon and information signs.
073 Pagoda with canon, information signs, and visitors.
074 Close-up: Pagoda
075 Path around southern side of Pagoda and grass elevation changes.
076 View of Patterson Park looking east from Pagoda with performance stage and Utz Factory on horizon.
077 Close-up: Utz Factory (grainy).
078 Close-up: Performance stage with items hidden underneath.
079 View of hill from pagoda with dog walker, partial stage, and Utz Factory.
080 S. Patterson Park Avenue and E. Pratt Street – western border of park. Rowhouses and traffic.
081 S. Patterson Park Avenue, western border of park. Example of rowhouses and Butcher’s Hill neighborhood.
Project Name: Patterson Park: Interaction in Public Spaces
Date Logged: November 2, 2019

File Name Root: 2019.PP.FL.ASM.
Number of Images in Series: 15

Camera Make/Model: iPhone XS Max
Format: X JPEG  ❑ TIFF  ❑ RAW  ❑ Other:  ❑
Color space: ❑ Grayscale  ❑ Color
Bit Depth: : ❑ 8  ❑ 16  ❑ 24  ❑ Other:
PPI: ❑ 72  ❑ 300  ❑ 600  ❑ Other
Pixel Dimensions (Approx): 4032x3024

Date(s) of photography: 2019-10-07
Location(s): Patterson Park – area around Pagoda and northern border of park
Type of Documentation: ❑ Portrait  ❑ Landscape  ❑ Object  ❑ Other:
Subject(s): Keywords, Event(s), Names: Main Section, Pagoda

Summary: Photo series captures weekday evening near the Pagoda – people walking, dogs, and planned yoga class.

Copyright Holder: Amy S. Millin

Restricted? ❑ No, X Yes, Confidentiality Protocols

File Name Root: 2019.ASM.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMAGE #</th>
<th>CONTENT DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>082</td>
<td>Main Section: Hill from Pagoda. Open grass space and trees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>083</td>
<td>Main Section: Hill from Pagoda. Gradation changes from manmade embarkment during military events.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>084</td>
<td>Main Section: Hill from Pagoda. Woman stretching near statue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>085</td>
<td>Main Section: Hill from Pagoda. Two people and a dog.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>086</td>
<td>Main Section: Hill from Pagoda. Two people and a dog.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>087</td>
<td>Main Section: Hill from Pagoda. Two people and a dog with open space.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
088  Main Section: Hill from Pagoda. Family, stroller, and dog. Open space.
089  Main Section: Hill from Pagoda. Family, stroller, dog, and runner. Open space.
090  Yoga at the Pagoda with statue.
091  Close-up: Yoga at the Pagoda with statue.
092  Yoga at the Pagoda – rear view.
093  Yoga at the Pagoda – rear view with canon.
094  Yoga at the Pagoda with Pagoda.
095  Main Section: evening walkers at unused fountain with Pagoda in background.
096  Close-up: evening walkers at unused fountain with Pagoda in background.
097  E. Baltimore Street (northern border of park) and N, Montford Street as viewed from top of steep steps on border of park. Evening traffic.
Photo Log J

Researcher: Amy S. Millin
Address: 2200 South Road, Baltimore, MD 21209
Phone: 443-421-2322
Email: amy.millin@goucher.edu

Project Name: Patterson Park: Interaction in Public Spaces
Date Logged: November 2, 2019

File Name Root: 2019.PP.FL.ASM.
Number of Images in Series: 8

Camera Make/Model: iPhone XSMa
Format: X JPEG  □ TIFF □ RAW □ Other: □ Grayscale  □ Color
Color space: □ Grayscale  □ Color
Bit Depth: □ 8 □ 16 □ 24 □ Other:
PPI: □ 72 □ 300 □ 600  □ Other
Pixel Dimensions (Approx): 4032x3024

Date(s) of photography: 2019-10-08
Location(s): Patterson Park – northeast corner.
Type of Documentation: □ Portrait  □ Landscape  □ Object  □ Other:
Subject(s): Keywords, Event(s), Names: Main Section, Audubon

Summary: Photos capture northeast section of the park across from the Audubon offices where
the interview with Susie Creamer took place. Images of views looking into the park as well as
into the neighborhood.

Copyright Holder: Amy S. Millin  Restricted? □ No, X Yes, Confidentiality Protocols

File Name Root: 2019.ASM.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMAGE #</th>
<th>CONTENT DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>098</td>
<td>Main Section: Northeast corner. Formal entrance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>099</td>
<td>Main Section: Northeast corner. Formal entrance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>View into park after passing through formal pillars. Informational signs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Northeast corner looking at neighborhood. Free community library.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Northeast corner looking at neighborhood. Information board and Audubon offices in building in background.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Close-up: “Rules & Regulations” signs at Northeast corner entrance.

Northeast corner: tennis court and path.

View across street from northeast corner. Restaurant and Audubon offices on second floor.
Photo Log K

Researcher: Amy S. Millin
Address: 2200 South Road, Baltimore, MD 21209
Phone: 443-421-2322
Email: amy.millin@goucher.edu

Project Name: Patterson Park: Interaction in Public Spaces
Date Logged: November 2, 2019

File Name Root: 2019.PP.FL.ASM.
Number of Images in Series: 19

Camera Make/Model: iPhone XSMa
Format: X JPEG  TIFF  RAW  Other:
Color space: Grayscale  X Color
Bit Depth:  X 8  16  24  Other:
PPI: 72  300  600  Other
Pixel Dimensions (Approx): 4032x3024

Date(s) of photography: 2019-10-27
Location(s): Patterson Park – eastern part of the Main Section (playground and Utz Field) and Annex
Type of Documentation: X Portrait  Other: Landscape  Object
Subject(s): Keywords, Event(s), Names: Main Section, Igloo, Utz Field, Bobby’s Potties, Annex, Utz Field, Ecuivolley

Summary: Series represents different types of activities in the park on a Sunday afternoon – looking at playground, formal turf field, and pick-up soccer game.

Copyright Holder: Amy S. Millin
Restricted? No, X Yes, Confidentiality Protocols

File Name Root: 2019.ASM.

**IMAGE #** | **CONTENT DESCRIPTION**
--- | ---
106 | Main Section: toddler on bike and mother walking on path next to ice skating igloo.
107 | Main Section: playground with adults and children near swings (grainy).
108 | Mother pushing stroller with father and toddler in puddle.
109 | Latinx males playing Ecuivolley on converted tennis court.
110 | Latinx males playing Ecuivolley on converted tennis court.
111  Latinx males playing Ecuivolley on converted tennis court with children practicing next
to game.

112  Outside of Utz Field: electric scooter in foreground with adult soccer players in
background, dog walkers, and Bobby’s Potties.

113  Utz Field game in progress. Three purple players arrive.

114  Utz Field game in progress. Three purple players arrive and players getting ready to
play.

115  Utz Field game in progress. Two orange players arrive.

116  Utz Field game in progress. Two orange players arrive and players getting ready to
play.

117  Utz Field game in progress. Close up of female player arriving.

118  Utz Field game in progress. Numbers 23 and 30 arrive.

119  Utz Field game in progress. Number 23 arrives.

120  Utz Field game in background. Number 21 arrives.

121  Utz Field game in background. Number 21 arrives and walks down steps.


124  Annex: two women, three children and one wheelchair. Pick-up soccer in
background.

125  Annex: two women, three children and one wheelchair. Pick-up soccer in
background.
**Photo Log L**

**Researcher:** Amy S. Millin  
**Address:** 2200 South Road, Baltimore, MD 21209  
**Phone:** 443-421-2322  
**Email:** amy.millin@goucher.edu

**Project Name:** Patterson Park: Interaction in Public Spaces  
**Date Logged:** November 2, 2019

**File Name Root:** 2019.PP.FL.ASM.  
**Number of Images in Series:** 11

**Camera Make/Model:** iPhone XSMax  
**Format:** X JPEG ☐ TIFF ☐ RAW ☐ Other:  
**Color space:** ☐ Grayscale X Color  
**Bit Depth:** X 8 ☐ 16 ☐ 24 ☐ Other:  
**PPI:** ☐ 72 ☐ 300 ☐ 600 X Other  
**Pixel Dimensions (Approx):** 4032x3024

**Date(s) of photography:** 2019-11-2  
**Location(s):** Patterson Park – Pagoda and surrounding  
**Type of Documentation:** ☐ Portrait X Landscape ☐ Object ☐ Other:  
**Subject(s):** Keywords, Event(s), Names: Pagoda, Pagoda Dance Party, Patterson Park

**Summary:** Photos caption a specific event - Pagoda Dance Party held in conjunction with a city-wide event.  
**Copyright Holder:** Amy S. Millin ☐ Restricted? ☑ No, ☐ Yes, Confidentiality Protocols

**File Name Root:** 2019.ASM.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMAGE #</th>
<th>CONTENT DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>Pagoda Dance Party: entrance sign with girl (blurry).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>Pagoda Dance Party: participants and oversized light-up figure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>Pagoda Dance Party: participants, lights, and hoola hoop with Butcher’s Hill neighborhood in background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>Pagoda Dance Party: red Pagoda with large light-up figure and participants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>Pagoda Dance Party: purple pagoda with participants wearing light-up jackets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>Pagoda Dance Party: inside lower level of Pagoda with volunteer in silhouette.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pagoda Dance Party: view of Patterson Park looking east with girl in foreground.

Pagoda Dance Party: view from Pagoda of Baltimore harbor looking south with man.

Pagoda Dance Party: view of festival grounds from Pagoda,

Pagoda Dance Party: view down spiral stairwell of Pagoda with blurred images of people walking up and down stairs.
Researcher:  Amy S. Millin
Address:  2200 South Road, Baltimore, MD 21209
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Email:  amy.millin@goucher.edu

Project Name:  The Public Park as Liminal Space: A Study of Spontaneous and Intentional Behavior and the Impact on Community
Date Logged:  2020-05-18

File Name Root:  2020.PP.CS.ASM.
Number of Images in Series:  44

Camera Make/Model:  Nikon D7500
Format:  X JPEG  ❑ TIFF  ❑ RAW  ❑ Other:
Color space:  ❑ Grayscale  X Color
Bit Depth:  ❑ 8  ❑ 16  ❑ 24  ❑ Other:
PPI:  ❑ 72  ❑ 300  ❑ 600  ❑ Other:
Pixel Dimensions (Approx):  5568x3712

Date(s) of Photography:  2020-05-18
Location(s):  Patterson Park – Main Section
Type of Documentation:  ❑ Portrait  X Landscape  ❑ Object  ❑ Other:
Subject(s):  Keywords, Event(s), Names:  Patterson Park, East Playground, Casino, community garden, Patterson Place, fountain, White House, Pagoda, Butcher’s Hill, Ukrainian Church, Canton, West Playground, Pulaski Monument, Highlandtown, dog park

Summary:  This series was taken mid-day on a Monday during Baltimore’s stay-at-home period of COVID-19. Photos taken in the Main Section of Patterson Park while walking a loop starting on the eastside (near dog park) and moving counterclockwise in order to observe several prominently built features of the park with intent to capture types and levels human activity.

Copyright Holder:  Amy S. Millin  ❑ Restricted?  ❑ No, X Yes, Confidentiality Protocol

IMAGE #    CONTENT DESCRIPTION

001  East Playground: orange plastic fencing and yellow taping, to prevent equipment use, has been pulled off.

002  East Playground: wider view of playground capturing all equipment and fencing.

003  East Playground: close up of equipment, fencing, and sign stating restrictions.
004 Pool: Maintenance work being done in empty pool.
005 Softball Field: Man and dog on long leash in empty softball field. Unmowed grass and field is unlined.
006 Softball Field: Close-up of man, dog, and long leash.
007 Facility Truck and Staff: taken thru trees. Blurry.
008 Facility Truck and Staff: taken thru trees. Blurry.
009 The Casino: Side view of the Casino with mowed lawn and sign.
010 The Casino: Close-up of “No Loitering” sign.
011 North-South Path: Path running north-south through a central section of the park. Less people in this area of the park. Older brickwork of path as compared to poured asphalt in other sections. Section of old stone wall. North-south path bisected by east-west path/stairs.
012 Community Garden: early stage of growth in the garden, padlocked gate, high fence.
013 Community Garden: close-up of sign and padlock.
014 Community Garden: close-up of sign and padlock.
015 North View Neighborhood: Looking north to Patterson Place from Community Garden. Level of park is above street level at this location.
016 North View Neighborhood: Close-up of Patterson Place. Loan runner. Note architecture of row houses and rooftop deck.
017 North View Neighborhood: Close-up of Patterson Place. Loan runner. Note architecture of row houses and rooftop deck.
018 Fountain and The White House: Fountain is broken and The White House under renovation. Work related pick-up trucks around building with dumpster and refuge ramp out of 2nd floor window. Grass has not been mowed, plants in large pots at fountain.
019 Pagoda: Close up of base of Pagoda with abandoned scooter. Lawn was recently mowed immediately around Pagoda (grass clippings on stone path) and flowers in planter.
021 Pagoda: Full view of Pagoda. Sign to healthcare workers.
022 Path on West Border: Note dog walker, runners, walkers, and one man sitting. Some with masks and others without. This area has more people than the prior photos. Abuts to Butcher’s Hill.
023 Ukrainian Church: Located on southern border of the park very close to SW border. Taken from inside the park looking towards Canton.
024 Park worker on gator: tall grass, park worker (?) looking at phone just outside of the West Playground.
025 Park worker on gator: Close-up of park worker (?) looking at phone. No uniform.
026 West Playground: simple wrought iron, low fence around playground, playground equipment is newer than East Playground. Grass has not been mowed. Chalk writing on path outside of fence. Abandoned scooter.
027 Path with Writing and Scooter: Close-up “Don’t Worry Be Happy.” Direction arrows.
028 Path with Writing and Scooter: “Don’t Worry Be Happy,” “Be Kind,” and direction arrows.
029 Main Entrance to West Playground: Locked gate, fence, several informational signs providing rules and directions. Fencing removed from equipment.
030 “To prevent the spread of COVID-19…”: Close-up of sign on gate to playground.
031 “To prevent the spread of COVID-19…”: Close-up of sign on gate to playground.
032 “Rules & Regulations”: Close-up of sign located inside the fenced playground area. Appears that sign was placed prior to COVID-19.
033 West Playground: Wide view of playground with signs, fencing, and grass.
034 Path on South Border: West-East path along south border of the park with Canton to the right. Walkers, runners, dogs, bikers. Note long grass.
035 Path on South Border: Close-up of prior image. People likely identify as white and Black. Wide path allows for passing while maintaining physical distance.
036 Father and Toddler: Assumed father and son on athletic field. Father looking at phone while toddler lays in the sand/dirt patch. Again, unmowed.
037 Pulaski Monument with Flag: Flag is at half-mast.
038 Pulaski Monument with Flag: Wider view with person walking.
039  Pulaski Monument with Flag: Wider view with person walking.

040  South-East Corner: Looking out the pillars at the SE corner of the park towards Canton and Highlandtown. Runner entering park. Mexican restaurant with neon “open” signs turned on.

041  Electric-Utility Panel: Painted utility panel along east edge of the Main Section of the park with the Annex in the distance (note stairs going up to higher elevation). S. Linwood Avenue runs north-south between two sections.

042  Electric-Utility Panel: Close-up of painted design and graffiti, cars parked on S. Linwood Avenue, and the football goal posts in the Annex.

043  Dog Park: Fenced dog park is open with restrictions on the number of people permitted inside at a time with physical distancing in place. No one is wearing a mask.

044  Dog Park: Similar as 043
**Photo Log N**

**Researcher:** Amy S. Millin  
**Address:** 2200 South Road, Baltimore, MD 21209  
**Phone:** 443-421-2322  
**Email:** amy.millin@goucher.edu

**Project Name:** The Public Park as Liminal Space: A Study of Spontaneous and Intentional Behavior and the Impact on Community  
**Date Logged:** 2020-05-24

**File Name Root:** 2020.PP.CS.ASM.  
**Number of Images in Series:** 30

**Camera Make/Model:** Nikon D7500  
**Format:** X JPEG ☑ TIFF ☑ RAW ☑ Other:  
**Color space:** ☑ Grayscale ☑ Color  
**Bit Depth:** ☑ 8 ☑ 16 ☑ 24 ☑ Other:  
**PPI:** ☑ 72 ☑ 300 ☑ 600 ☑ Other:  
**Pixel Dimensions (Approx):** 5568x3712

**Date(s) of Photography:** 2020-05-24  
**Location(s):** Patterson Park – Main Section (loop West to East along Southern path and back West thru center)  
**Type of Documentation:** ☑ Portrait ☑ Landscape ☑ Object ☑ Other:  
**Subject(s):** Keywords, Event(s), Names: Pavilion, West Playground, Main Fields, Canton, Dome, East Playground, tennis courts, basketball courts, Butcher’s Hill, St. Vincent de Paul Head Start

**Summary:** This series was taken early afternoon on the Sunday of Memorial Day Weekend during Baltimore’s stay-at-home period of COVID-19. Photos taken in the Main Section of Patterson Park while walking a loop starting on the west side (south of Pagoda), moving counterclockwise, and returning by a westerly oriented path through middle of park. Purpose was to observe several generally participant activities and interactions on a holiday weekend while the city is under the stay-at-home order.

**Copyright Holder:** Amy S. Millin  
**Restricted?** ☑ No, ☑ Yes, Confidentiality Protocol

**IMAGE #** | **CONTENT DESCRIPTION**
--- | ---
045 | North-South Path: Looking north. Group of people in the pavilion, did not see masks.  
046 | Pavilion: Close-up of group. Blurry and dark.

West Playground: Roll of new orange plastic fencing against tree inside of playground.

West Playground: View from west side (main entrance). Orange fencing, that had been pulled off on May 18, is gone. Canton in background.

Main Fields: Young adults playing pick-up volleyball. No masks. Racially/ethnically diverse, although predominantly white. Background is swimming pool building and the Dome (ice rink). Grass has been cut.

Main Fields: Young adults playing pick-up volleyball. Background is swimming pool building and the Dome (ice rink).

Main Fields: Group of five adults talking. Appear to be practicing physical distancing. No masks.

Main Fields: Close-up of group of adults talking. Other groups in distance.

Main Fields: Six or so adults enjoying a birthday party. No masks. Appear to be white. Physical distancing is relaxed. Scooter leaning on tree in background.


Grass Area Southern Border: Runner with mask and close-up of group socializing with young children.

Main Fields: Looking back towards the west across main fields. Same group as in 052 and 053. Can better see physical distancing of group members. Dog walker with mask, others none.

Food Truck: On Eastern Avenue (southern border) with Canton in background across street.

Tennis Courts: East side of Main Section. Four people playing tennis without a net.

Tennis Courts: Four people playing tennis without a net – wider angle.

Tennis Courts: Parent and child with dog on tennis court.
062  East Playground: Couple sitting on playground equipment – ignoring sign and fencing (that has been pulled off). Increased garbage and debris.

063  North-East Corner: Group of five males picnicking and throwing a Frisbee. Two women and girl entering park in background.

064  North-East Corner: Group of five males.

065  East Playground: Looking back on East Playground. Orange plastic fencing on ground and hanging off the playground equipment.

066  Basketball Courts: No hoop or net. Close-up.

067  Basketball Courts: No hoops or nets. Father-son working on cuts and passes with a football. Appear to be Black.

068  Main Fields: Looking south across the main fields. Volleyball, social groups, soccer. Grass has been mowed. Canton in background.

069  Main Fields: Close-up looking south across the main fields. Observed some racial/ethnic diversity between groups.

070  North-South Path: Pedestrians on north-south path. Walking in pairs or singles. Mask use is mixed.

071  North-South Path: Close-up of pedestrians. Two walking together – one with mask, the other without.

072  Brick Path: Older path heading west.

073  Man with Mask: Man with mask walking. Note grade changes in the western section of the park. Note racial diversity in this photo.

074  West Towards the City: Looking west towards downtown Baltimore. Park stone posts marking edge along with smaller posts in-between. St. Vincent de Paul Head Start on right. Converted church on left.

075  South Patterson Avenue: Looking south towards Canton and harbor while on western border of the park. Butcher Hill towards right.
Summary: Visited Patterson Park the day after Memorial Day – mid-day. S. Linwood Avenue remains closed to car traffic (even though cars were using it as a thru-way). Parked on Eastern Avenue, the southern border of the park with Canton to the south. Sat on steps leading up to the open fields of the Annex. Images in this series are of the Main Section. The number of participants was lower as compared to the prior two visits. Some images are absent of people – this is reflective of the visit.

Copyright Holder: Amy S. Millin    Restricted?  ☐ No, ☑ Yes, Confidentiality Protocols

IMAGE #     CONTENT DESCRIPTION

076     East Entrance: Entrance off of S. Linwood Avenue midway between the north and south borders. Not a grand entrance as in some other locations. Informational signs posted. The dog park is to the right and Main Fields ahead. The Annex is behind me.
077  Dog Park: Close-up of main gate to the dog park with information signs, including sign about restricted use because of COVID-19.

078  Tennis Courts: Close-up of signs posted at tennis courts informing participants the courts are closed to all activities. English and Spanish signs posted.

079  Tennis Court: Empty court. No net and the posts have been removed.

080  East Playground: Two men working out on playground equipment.

081  East Playground: Two men working out on playground equipment. Temporary fencing and signs have been removed.

082  Entrance to Softball Fields

083  Softball Field: Man sleeping and man sitting.

084  Stairs: Grand steep stairs in the central part of the park providing access from a lower section to a higher level. Paths offer other options to move from one level to another.

085  Stairs and Couple: Different stairs, south of the central part of the park. Couple sitting on the grass in the shade.

086  Walker: Close-up of a man walking alone the meandering paths of the park – moving towards the south. Utility or park facility trucks in the background.

087  Walker: Man walking alone. Shows meandering paths, expansive space, and landscaping.

088  Approaching the Boat Lake: Approaching the Boat Lake from the north end. Utility truck and participants.

089  Approaching the Boat Lake: Close-up of park users. Note lowered mask.

090  Path near the Boat Lake: Participants walking along path near the Boat Lake. Shows racial/ethnic diversity of the park as well as how people use the park during COVID-19 restrictions (singles, parent-child, couple).

091  Boat Lake Edge 1: Two couples, two different generations, different race/ethnic backgrounds. Different purposes. Cameras vs wagon with possible blankets and pillows.

092  Boat Lake Edge 2: Two couples as in 091. Camera couple looking at seated couple with wagon as they walk by onto Boat Lake path.

093  Boat Lake Edge Wide Angle.
094  Boat Lake Edge Fishing: Man stops to talk to woman fishing – close-up.
095  Boat Lake Edge Fishing: Man leaving woman fishing. Mask being put back on.
096  Main Fields: Mommy-Child playgroup meeting. Some physical distancing between adults.
097  Side Grass: Close-up of mother with three children.
098  Eastern Avenue: Southern border of Patterson Park. Close-up of “X” marking the spots for people to stand for food trucks. Food trucks come on weekends and special events.
099  Eastern Avenue: Southern border of Patterson Park. “X” for food trucks with Patterson Park in background.
Photo Log P

Researcher:  Amy S. Millin  
Address:  2200 South Road, Baltimore, MD 21209  
Phone:  443-421-2322  
Email:  amy.millin@goucher.edu

Project Name:  The Public Park as Liminal Space: A Study of Spontaneous and Intentional Behavior and the Impact on Community  
Date Logged:  2020-06-14

File Name Root:  2020.PP.CS.ASM.  
Number of Images in Series:  18

Camera Make/Model:  Nikon D7500  
Format:  X JPEG  ☑️ TIFF  ☑️ RAW  ☑️ Other:
Color space:  ☑️ Grayscale  ☑️ X Color  
Bit Depth:  ☑️ 8  ☑️ 16  ☑️ 24  ☑️ Other:
PPI:  ☑️ 72  ☑️ 300  ☑️ 600  ☑️ Other:
Pixel Dimensions (Approx):

Date(s) of Photography:  2020-06-14  
Location(s):  Patterson Park – Main Section  
Type of Documentation:  ☑️ Portrait  ☑️ X Landscape  ☑️ Object  ☑️ Other:
Subject(s):  Keywords, Event(s), Names:  Boat Lake, Pagoda, Eastern Avenue, Main Fields, Ice Skating Dome, turf field

Summary:  Visited Patterson Park about two weeks after demonstrations and uprisings in Baltimore, and across the country, occurred in response to George Floyd’s death at the hands of police officers in Minneapolis. While Maryland has moved to Stage Two of opening up from COVID-19, Baltimore has remained at Level 1 with only a few restrictions alleviated. At Patterson Park, S. Linwood Avenue remains closed to car traffic (cars are parking on it and driving on it despite signs and barricades). I parked on Eastern Avenue near S. Linwood Avenue, the southern border of the park with Canton to the south. Walked a loop of the park and then sat at the edge of the Main Fields. Images in this series are of the Main Section. It is a Sunday morning.

Copyright Holder:  Amy S. Millin  
Restricted?  ☑️ No, X Yes, Confidentiality Protocol

IMAGE #  CONTENT DESCRIPTION
100 Sign in English: “We Hope You’re Enjoying the Park!” Safe distancing and park etiquette.

101 Sign in Spanish: “Esperamos Que Este Disfrutando Del Parque!” Same sign as 100, opposite side.

102 Two Women with Liter: Two women, face masks on, carrying tool to pick up liter, and bags of liter or recycling.

103 Two Women with Liter: Close-up of 102.

104 Meandering Path and Overflowing Trash Can: The Boat Lake is located through the trees.


106 Trash Can with Meandering Path and side path.

107 Meandering Path: Boat Lake is through trees to left. Path encourages participants to see what is beyond the turn. Hill and wooded area.

108 Path and Boat Lake: Juxtaposition of path, Boat Lake, trees, and participants sitting along the water.

109 Boat Lake and Paths: Different elevations of paths, Boat Lake path with pedestrian.

110 Women’s Exercise Class: Nestled in the trees on the hill below the Pagoda – a women’s exercise class.

111 Boat Lake: View of Boat Lake from south end. Pedestrians walking the Boat Lake path with another path visible. Elevation changes with hills. Trees. Ducks in foreground.

112 Boat Lake: Close-up of family (with stroller and dog) walking around Boat Lake.

113 Boat Lake: Close-up of Boat Lake from south end. Runner, abandoned city scooter, people sitting and walking.

114 Boat Lake and Scooter: Close-up with three different participant groupings.

115 Police Car: Police car on pedestrian path with Eastern Avenue in background.

116 Main Fields and Frisbee: Two participants (males) playing frisbee with dog. People walking on path surrounding Main Fields.

117 Main Fields with Ice Skating Dome: Expansiveness of Main Fields, dog and owner, turf field, ice skating dome.
Summary: Maryland, and Baltimore City, has recently experienced an increase in COVID-19 positive cases. The city has an order that anyone in public must wear a face mask – unless they are walking their dog or exercising in a location that is not congested with people. I parked on Eastern Avenue near S. Linwood Avenue, the southern border of the park with Canton to the south. Walked a clockwise loop of the park with stops at various locations along the way. Images in this series mostly from the Main Section with a few from the Annex. It is a Sunday morning and is very hot and muggy.

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IMAGE # CONTENT DESCRIPTION

118 Sidewalk border between Patterson Park and Canton along Eastern Avenue looking west. Row houses, parked cars, street, sidewalk, grass and tree border. No formal walls or entrance gates along the south side of the park.
119  Nearing the SW corner of the park, looking south across the street towards St. Michael the Archangel Ukrainian Catholic Church just after 10:00am Church services scheduled for 10:30. The church plaza and entry are empty of people.

120  A curving path in the SW portion of the park. Representative of trees, path design, and participant activity (walker, parent with stroller, and two people exercising in the shade).

121  The Boat Lake – looking east. Wall around the Boat Lake with two paths and a bench. Different layers of paths along with trees and vista.

122  The Boat Lake – looking east. Same as 121.


124  The Boat Lake. Close-up of couple walking dog and wearing masks.

125  Path next to Boat Lake with couple walking away. Note this section has more vegetation (trees, shrubs) with path disappearing into the tree grove.

126  The Boat Lake – looking west. Close up of stone wall that runs the perimeter of the Boat Lake, curving with the layout. Disappears into the trees. Bench in distance – unused.

127  Utz Turf Field. Soccer game in progress.

128  Softball Field #6 on south side of park. Softball practice (appeared to be informal, no uniforms, coed)

129  Softball Field #6 close-up

130  Softball Field #6 close-up

131  Patterson Park Pool: entrance to pool with seven signs providing information and directions regarding the rules of pool due to COVID-19.

132  Work truck on interior park paths.

133  Basketball courts: Marital arts class in progress.

134  Basketball courts: Martial arts class with mother watching from a distance.

135  Martial arts class close-up: Teacher and young child.

136  Martial arts class close-up: Teacher (poor quality photo)

137  Softball Fields (northside): rec softball game (1 of 2)

138  Softball Fields (northside): rec softball game (2 of 2)

139  Softball teams waiting under a tree for their game to start.
Annex: Abandoned scooter next to a tree along a path.

Annex: Pick-up soccer game (looking north and east)

Annex: Pick-up soccer game (close-up)

Annex: Pick-up soccer game with ball (close-up)

S. Linwood Avenue: Looking north on S. Linwood Avenue – the street that divides the Main Park from the Annex. Note Bobby’s Pottys as well as many parked cars. S. Linwood Avenue is supposed to be closed to car traffic.

S. Linwood Avenue: Black Lives Matter street mural painted down the middle of the street. Facing south towards Canton.


Selfie #1: In the Main Section looking west. The Pagoda is barely seen on the horizon. Utz Turf field to right with fencing and stadium light. The grass bowl immediately behind. The day is hot.

Selfie #2: In the Main Section looking west. The Pagoda is barely seen on the horizon. Can see just a bit of the Casino. Utz Turf field to right with fencing and stadium light. The grass bowl immediately behind. The day is hot.
**Photo Log R**

**Researcher:**  Amy S. Millin  
**Address:**  2200 South Road, Baltimore, MD 21209  
**Phone:**  443-421-2322  
**Email:**  amy.millin@goucher.edu

**Project Name:**  The Public Park as Liminal Space: A Study of Spontaneous and Intentional Behavior and the Impact on Community  
**Date Logged:**  2020-09-06

**File Name Root:**  2020_PP_CS_ASM.  
**Number of Images in Series:**  22

**Camera Make/Model:**  Nikon D7500  
**Format:**  X JPEG  ☐ TIFF  ☐ RAW  ☐ Other:  
**Color space:**  ☐ Grayscale  X Color  
**Bit Depth:**  ☐ 8  ☐ 16  ☐ 24  ☐ Other:  
**PPI:**  ☐ 72  ☐ 300  ☐ 600  ☐ Other:  
**Pixel Dimensions (Approx):**

**Date(s) of Photography:**  2020-09-06  
**Location(s):**  Patterson Park – Circle Area as well as South Border  
**Type of Documentation:**  ☐ Portrait  X Landscape  ☐ Object  ☐ Other:  
**Subject(s):**  Keywords, Event(s), Names:  Marble Fountain, White House, Circle, Community Garden, Eastern Avenue, Canton, Igloo, ball fields, Pulaski Monument.

**Summary:**  Sunday morning of Labor Day Weekend. Photos taken after an interview with Stephanie Brown. All but the first two photos in this series are located along the southern border of the park – along Eastern Avenue. They show the juxtaposition of a BLM art installation with Patterson Park as well as with Canton.

**Copyright Holder:**  Amy S. Millin  
**Restricted?**  ☑ No, X Yes, Confidentiality Protocol

**IMAGE #**  
**CONTENT DESCRIPTION**

149  Park participants walking near the Marble Fountain and the White House (with dumpsters).

150  Edge of the Circle near the Marble Fountain. Community Garden in background. Father with son and dog interacting with older woman and her dog.
Woman walking with dog near the Circle. Observe different levels in the park, grass, and trees.


Southern Border along Eastern Avenue – across street from Canton: Public art installation of Black Lives Matter themed murals. Patterson Park in background. Note the Igloo (indoor ice skating rink) and fencing for ball fields.

Southern Border along Eastern Avenue: Close-up of public art installation of Black Lives Matter themed murals. Igloo (indoor ice skating rink) and fencing for ball fields.

Southern Border along Eastern Avenue – across street from Canton: Public art installation of Black Lives Matter themed murals. Patterson Park in background (Igloo, ball fields, other park structures, trees, change of elevation).

Southern Border along Eastern Avenue – across street from Canton: Public art installation of Black Lives Matter themed murals. Attached papers inform public that the art installation was approved by Friends of Patterson Park as well as the City of Baltimore. Some installations had previously been removed and destroyed. Couple walking with dog along Eastern Avenue. Juxtaposition of park to neighborhood.

Southern Border along Eastern Avenue. Four murals seen from profile with sidewalk and Eastern Avenue paralleling signs. Murals are visible from the street whether walking or driving. All murals face Canton.

Southern Border along Eastern Avenue. Four murals seen from profile with sidewalk and Eastern Avenue paralleling signs. Murals are visible from the street whether walking or driving. All murals face Canton.

Southern Border along Eastern Avenue. Two murals seen from profile with sidewalk and Eastern Avenue paralleling signs. Park visitors walking and standing among the signs.

Southern Edge of park – along a main, broad pedestrian path. Captures typical activity with biker, walkers, dogs, strollers. Lots of trees. A main promenade.

Same as 160, but zoomed out. Relationship of path to ball fields.
Southern Border along Eastern Avenue. Back side of mural with additional artwork/messaging. Typical example of row homes facing park and cars parked.

Main pathway near the SE corner of the park near the Pulaski Monument (hidden by trees, marked by flag). Families walking, dogs, skateboarder, three women doing yoga.

Curving path and trees.

Close-up of women doing yoga in the shade of a tree.

Runner and women practicing yoga. Ballfields in background.

Close-up of mural “be a BETTER ally” near Pulaski Monument.

Close-up of mural portrait of woman. Runner and yoga in background. Relationship of art installation to park activities.

Detail of mural portrait of woman.

Mural of portrait of woman with park participants in background. Relationship of mural to park.

Mural of portrait of woman with park participants in background. Relationship of mural to park.
**Photo Log S**

**Researcher:** Amy S. Millin  
**Address:** 2200 South Road, Baltimore, MD 21209  
**Phone:** 443-421-2322  
**Email:** amy.millin@goucher.edu

**Project Name:** The Public Park as Liminal Space: A Study of Spontaneous and Intentional Behavior and the Impact on Community  
**Date Logged:** 2020-09-10

**File Name Root:** 2020.PP.CS.ASM  
**Number of Images in Series:** 20

**Camera Make/Model:** Nikon D7500  
**Format:** X JPEG   X TIFF   X RAW   X Other:  
**Color space:** X Grayscale   X Color  
**Bit Depth:** X 8   X 16   X 24   X Other:  
**PPI:** X 72   X 300   X 600   X Other:  
**Pixel Dimensions (Approx):**

**Date(s) of Photography:** 2020-09-09  
**Location(s):** Patterson Park – Pagoda Hill and Area  
**Type of Documentation:** X Portrait   X Landscape   X Object   X Other:  
**Subject(s):** Keywords, Event(s), Names: Pagoda Hill, Zumba, Pagoda

**Summary:** Photos are representative of a Zumba class on a weekday evening at the bottom of the Pagoda Hill. Class is co-taught by Malindi and Stephanie, two volunteers with Friends of Patterson Park. This class occurred after an interview with Malindi. Photos include other participants using the park in the early evening.

**Copyright Holder:** Amy S. Millin  
**Restricted?** X No, X Yes, Confidentiality Protocols

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMAGE #</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>Zumba: Getting ready for Wednesday evening Zumba at the bottom of Pagoda Hill – looking towards the east</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>Zumba: Getting ready for Wednesday evening Zumba at the bottom of Pagoda Hill – looking towards the east. Participants are moving to stand on chalked “X” that ensures they are 8 feet apart.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>Zumba: Getting ready. Looking up the hill.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Zumba instructors: Brown (orange shorts) and Lankatilleke (black leggings). Dog walker in background – park activity continues

Lankatilleke pulling up the playlist for Zumba

Brown leading the class in the first song. Participants following along.

Brown leading the class in the first song. Participants following along.


Zumba class. Park users walking by in background, children watching.

The Pagoda with a “Hidden Tracks Concerts” sign.

Park participants enjoying a picnic dinner along the edge of Pagoda Hill.

Wider view of Zumba class with children playing on the sides. Pagoda is out-of-site up the hill to the left.

Child and adult next to Zumba class.

Close-up of Brown leading the Zumba class.

Workout group finishing up under a tree – along west border of the park (up Pagoda Hill and slightly to the south).

“My Trainer Guy Outdoor Fitness Boot Camp” close-up.

Top of Pagoda Hill looking east – couple sitting overlooking the Zumba class. East Baltimore on the horizon.

Group with dog sitting near Pagoda Hill (close-up).

Group with dog near Pagoda Hill – shows extensive landscape and open spaces.

“All dogs must be on leash” with container of poop bags. Near Pagoda.


**Researcher:** Amy S. Millin  
**Address:** 2200 South Road, Baltimore, MD 21209  
**Phone:** 443-421-2322  
**Email:** amy.millin@goucher.edu

**Project Name:** The Public Park as Liminal Space: A Study of Spontaneous and Intentional Behavior and the Impact on Community  
**Date Logged:** 2020-09-12

**File Name Root:** 2020.PP.CS.ASM.  
**Number of Images in Series:** 16

**Camera Make/Model:** Nikon D7500  
**Format:** X JPEG  ☑ TIFF  ☑ RAW  ☑ Other:  
**Color space:** ☑ Grayscale  ☑ Color  
**Bit Depth:** ☑ 8  ☑ 16  ☑ 24  ☑ Other:  
**PPI:** ☑ 72  ☑ 300  ☑ 600  ☑ Other:  
**Pixel Dimensions (Approx):**

**Date(s) of Photography:** 2020-09-12  
**Location(s):** Patterson Park – Fountain and Pagoda  
**Type of Documentation:** X Portrait  ☑ Landscape  ☑ Object  ☑ Other:  
**Subject(s):** Keywords, Event(s), Names: Friends of Patterson Park, Fountain, Pagoda Hill. Pagoda

**Summary:** Photos taken of Carol Hartke and Jessica Markiewicz after each of their interviews in Patterson Park – taken at the site of the interviews. Includes photos taken while walking around the Pagoda in between the two interviews. Captured participants picnicking and socializing in the park.

**Copyright Holder:** Amy S. Millin  
**Restricted?** ☑ No, ☑ Yes, Confidentiality Protocols

<table>
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<th>IMAGE #</th>
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<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>Hartke: Distance shot of Hartke in the area next to the fountain (out of sight) with the White House in the background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192</td>
<td>Hartke: Close-up. Long-time Friends of Patterson Park volunteer with White House in the background.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hartke: Mid-ground phot with the White House in background. Long-time Friends of Patterson Park volunteer.

Celebration along the side of Pagoda Hill, possible baby shower (midrange-view).

Celebration along the side of Pagoda Hill, possible baby shower. Another couple sitting on the hill.

Close-up of possible baby shower on side of Pagoda Hill.

Right side of Pagoda Hill – two different groups sitting in the grass.

Group sitting under trees near Pagoda Hill (picnic, chairs, tables).

Two groups sitting amongst trees – socializing and picnicking.

Close-up of group picnicking.

Woman walking along path next to Pagoda.

Markiewicz at Pagoda.

Close-up of Jessica at Pagoda.

Markiewicz, Pagoda Docent, looking up at Pagoda with most of structure visible.

Markiewicz at Pagoda looking out.

Markiewicz at Pagoda, close-up.
Summary: Photos taken on brief visit to Patterson Park to capture mid-morning weekday activity in the area of the Boat Lake. Photos taken of the border between Patterson Park and Canton. Note rooftop decks, different row house exteriors, and busy Eastern Avenue.

Copyright Holder: Amy S. Millin  Restricted?  No, X Yes, Confidentiality Protocols

IMAGE #   CONTENT DESCRIPTION

207 View across the Boat Lake – fog, heavily wooded, and a lack of people. Evidence of the “natural” part of Patterson Park.

208 View across the Boat Lake – Adult female with two children.

209 Boat Lake. Two different family units, each with adult female and one or two children.

210 Dog owner or walker with two dogs. The main fields in the background (empty).
Path on east side of the Boat Lake. Adult woman (nanny?) with two children (there is an infant below the baby that is visible) plus man sitting on bench. The Boat Lake is to the left and Main Fields to the right.

View across the Boat Lake. Note elevation change on north side of the Boat Lake, abandoned scooter on pathway, man walking dog, woman with child.

Boat Lake – group of women with young children. Appears women are nannies.

Boat Lake and group of women with young children. Canton in background, elevation changes.

Pathway along north side of the Boat Lake. Approaching group of women with young children.

Approaching women and young children at Boat Lake. Closest woman and child (sitting on wall) is not part of main group. Main group appears to be nannies with children of their employers. Note elevation change to north from Boat Lake. Canton rowhouses in background through trees.

Looking back at group of women (nannies?) and children at Boat Lake. Mixture of masks and non-masking wearing adults. There was a crying child who was mostly ignored. Babies in strollers. Toddlers on path.

Close-up of photo 217.

Dog walker with Main Fields in background (empty). Example bench set off of walking paths and in grass.

View of Eastern Avenue (facing East) with Canton to the right and Patterson Park to the left. Canton rowhouses are typical of the area – brick and Formstone (typical of Baltimore) façade and rooftop decks for those that are able to build. Parking spots and electric scooters.

View of Eastern Avenue (facing West) taken from the Canton side of the street. Busy street, traffic light, different facades, and Patterson Park to right.

Similar photo to 221.
**Photo Log V**

**Researcher:** Amy S. Millin  
**Address:** 2200 South Road, Baltimore, MD 212109  
**Phone:** 443-421-2322  
**Email:** amy.millin@goucher.edu

**Project Name:** The Public Park as Liminal Space: A Study of Spontaneous and Intentional Behavior and the Impact on Community  
**Date Logged:** 2020-11-08

**File Name Root:** 2020.PP.CS.ASM.  
**Number of Images in Series:** 24

**Camera Make/Model:**  
**Format:** X JPEG  
**Color space:** X Color  
**Bit Depth:** 24  
**Pixel Dimensions (Approx):**

**Date(s) of Photography:** 2020-11-08  
**Location(s):** Patterson Park – North and East Sections of the Park  
**Type of Documentation:** X Landscape  
**Subject(s):** Keywords, Event(s), Names: Ecuavóley, tennis courts, Patterson Park, Virginia S. Baker Recreation Center, E. Baltimore Street, N. Glover Street, Black Lives Matter Mural, Patterson Park Neighborhood,

**Summary:** Intentional visit to Patterson Park to see if Ecuavóley has resumed since COVID-19 changed rules around social and athletic gatherings. Also wanted to take photos of the Virginia S. Baker Recreation Center that captured the stark exterior of the building. The park was active – several photos of activity and movement along the paths and grass areas.

**Copyright Holder:** Amy S. Millin  
**Restricted?** X Yes, Confidentiality Protocol

**IMAGE #**  
**CONTENT DESCRIPTION**

223  Ecuavóley on the tennis courts: Group of Latinx males playing.

224  North-South Path along eastern side of Patterson Park: Busy with pedestrians, youth riding bikes, and dog walkers. Tennis courts long the right.

225  North-South Path: Another photo similar to 224
North-South Path: Close-up showing a busy path in Patterson Park with park users – couples, young families, and an abandoned scooter.

Ecuavóley: Close-up through the chain link fence of the tennis court. Three players on a side with others waiting for a turn.

Ecuavóley: Women and children sit in shade during game watching over food. Tables and chairs set up in the shade of a tarp that has been hung. Men watching the game.

Ecuavóley: Another angle showing tarp, boy sitting in chair, and game in action.

Ecuavóley: Similar to 229.

Ecuavóley: Similar to 229 and 230.


Virginia S. Baker Recreation Center: Different angle of the Recreation Center. No windows, plain exterior. Woman walking dog and man walking in opposite direction.

Virginia S. Baker Recreation Center: Woman walking dog wearing an orthopedic boot.

Virginia S. Baker Recreation Center: Similar to 233.

Virginia S. Baker Recreation Center: Similar to 233 and 234.


North Border of the Park: Similar to 236.

North Border of the Park: Similar to 236 and 237 plus man wearing orange shirt.


Corner of E. Baltimore and N. Glover Streets: Black Lives Matter Mural with man and woman leaving house, with pumpkin, and child on scooter.

Corner of E. Baltimore and N. Glover Streets: Similar to 240.

Two men: Crossed paths with two men as I re-entered the park. They appear to be stereotypically “homeless” as indicated by clothing, hygiene, and bags.

Social Group: Young adults socializing in NE corner of the park with tennis court and Black Lives Matter flag in background.
North Border: Three women and stroller leaving park with others entering. Among the trees.

North Border: Close-up of 244. View of stone pillars marking the entrance.
Video Logs

**Video Log A**

**Researcher:** Amy S. Millin  
**Address:** 2200 South Road, Baltimore, MD 21209  
**Phone:** 443-421-2322  
**Email:** amy.millin@goucher.edu

**Project Name:** Patterson Park: Interaction in Public Spaces  
**DateLogged:** July 28, 2019

**File Name:** 2019.PP.CD.ASM.001.mov  
File 1 of 5

**Format:**  
- MiniDV  
- DVCAM  
- MiniDVD  
- DVD  
- X Digital File  
- Other: Digital file type:  
  - MPEG-2  
  - MPEG-4  
  - DV  
  - WMV  
  - MOV  
- Other: Digital file location: Dropbox and External Hard Drive

**Running Time:** Hour(s): 00 Minutes: 00 Seconds: 12

**Date Recorded:** 2019-07-28  
**Location:** Patterson Park – Pool

**Interviewee/Event:** Water Aerobic at the Pool, Patterson Park  
**Interviewer(s):** N/A

**Subject:** Water Aerobic at the Pool

**Copyright Owner:** Amy S. Millin  
**Restricted?**  
- No, X Yes, Confidentiality Protocol

**Summary:** Example of water aerobics class offered in Patterson Park and held at the pool. Group of community members participating and led by adult instructors.

**Key words, names, & places:** Water Aerobics, Patterson Park, pool

**TIME CODE**  
**CONTENT DESCRIPTION**  
(HH:MM:SS)

00:00:00  Video opens with water aerobics class in progress and captures a short segment of one routine. Music plays loudly.

00:00:06  Class members cheer as hands go up – according to the song. Group of women shown of different races and ethnicities. Hard to tell age – likely most in their 30s.
Video Log B

Researcher: Amy S. Millin
Address: 2200 South Road, Baltimore, MD 21209
Phone: 443-421-2322
Email: amy.millin@goucher.edu

Project Name: Patterson Park: Interaction in Public Spaces
Date Logged: August 3, 2019

File Name: 2019.PP.CD.ASM.002.mov
File 2 of 5


Running Time: Hour(s): 00 Minutes: 00 Seconds: 30

Date Recorded: 2019-08-03 Location: Patterson Park – Pool

Interviewee/Event: Fluid Movement at the Pool, Patterson Park
Interviewer(s): N/A

Subject: Fluid Movement – Pink Swim Hats with Audience

Copyright Owner: Amy S. Millin Restricted? □ No, X Yes, Confidentiality Protocol

Summary: Sample of a routine at the annual Fluid Movement paid show. Opens with legs in the air. Audience in background towards the end of the video.

Key words, names, & places: Fluid Movement, pool

TIME CODE CONTENT DESCRIPTION

(HH:MM:SS)

00:00:00 Video opens with two sets of legs in the air in the pool. Music playing loudly. Hear some audience members talking in background.

00:00:06 Two swimmers emerge from water wearing pink swim hats.

00:00:12 Two swimmers join others in a larger group. Audience in background. Geometric circle formed.
Video Log C

Researcher: Amy S. Millin
Address: 2200 South Road, Baltimore, MD 21209
Phone: 443-421-2322
Email: amy.millin@goucher.edu

Project Name: Patterson Park: Interaction in Public Spaces
Date Logged: August 3, 2019

File Name: 2019.PP.CD.ASM.003.mov
File 3 of 5

Format: MiniDV □ DVCAM □ MiniDVD □ DVD □ Digital File □ DVCAM
Digital file type: MPEG-2 □ MPEG-4 □ DV □ WMV □ MOV □ Digital File
Digital file location: Dropbox and External Hard Drive

Running Time: Hour(s): 00 Minutes: 00 Seconds: 13
Date Recorded: 2019-08-03 Location: Patterson Park – Pool

Interviewee/Event: Fluid Movement at the Pool, Patterson Park
Interviewer(s): N/A

Subject: Fluid Movement – “Ah Oh” Song and Blue Swim Hats

Copyright Owner: Amy S. Millin Restricted? □ No, X Yes, Confidentiality Protocol

Summary: Sample of a routine at the annual Fluid Movement paid show. Large group of mostly women, some men, in water.

Key words, names, & places: Fluid Movement, pool

TIME CODE CONTENT DESCRIPTION
(HH:MM:SS)

00:00:00 Video opens with group of performers in the pool wearing blue swim hats.
Music playing “Ah Oh” song. Hear some audience members talking in background.

00:00:02 One swimmer struggles with nose piece.

00:00:06 “Ah Oh” is called out by all performers and they laugh.

00:00:12 Audience cheers.
**Video Log D**

**Researcher:** Amy S. Millin  
**Address:** 2200 South Road, Baltimore, MD 21209  
**Phone:** 443-421-2322  
**Email:** amy.millin@goucher.edu

**Project Name:** Patterson Park: Interaction in Public Spaces  
**Date Logged:** August 3, 2019

**File Name:** 2019.PP.CD.ASM.004.mov  
**File 4 of 5**

**Format:**  
- MiniDV  
- DVCAM  
- MiniDVD  
- DVD  
- X Digital File  
- Other:  
  - Digital file type: MPEG-2  
  - MPEG-4  
  - DV  
  - WMV  
  - MOV  
  - Other:  
  - Digital file location: Dropbox and External Hard Drive

**Running Time:** Hour(s): 00  Minutes: 00  Seconds: 13

**Date Recorded:** 2019-08-03  
**Location:** Patterson Park – Pool

**Interviewee/Event:** Fluid Movement at the Pool, Patterson Park  
**Interviewer(s):** N/A

**Subject:** Fluid Movement – “Swimming the Night Away” Part 1 Water and Pool Deck

**Copyright Owner:** Amy S. Millin  
**Restricted?**  
- No, X Yes, Confidentiality Protocol

**Summary:** Sample of a routine at the annual Fluid Movement paid show. Large group of mostly women, some men, in water.

**Key words, names, & places:** Fluid Movement, pool

**TIME CODE**  
**CONTENT DESCRIPTION**

(HH:MM:SS)

00:00:00  Video opens, and continues for duration, with performers in groups of four in the pool wearing party hats and other performers on pool edge. Music playing “Swimming the Night Away” song.  
Hear some audience members talking in background.
**Video Log E**

**Researcher:** Amy S. Millin  
**Address:** 2200 South Road, Baltimore, MD 21209  
**Phone:** 443-421-2322  
**Email:** amy.millin@goucher.edu

**Project Name:** Patterson Park: Interaction in Public Spaces  
**Date Logged:** August 3, 2019

**File Name:** 2019.PP.CD.ASM.005.mov  
**File 5 of 5**

**Format:**  
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| Digital file location: | Dropbox and External Hard Drive |

**Running Time:**  
Hour(s): 00  
Minutes: 00  
Seconds: 21

**Date Recorded:** 2019-08-03  
**Location:** Patterson Park – Pool

**Interviewee/Event:** Fluid Movement at the Pool, Patterson Park  
**Interviewer(s):** N/A

**Subject:** Fluid Movement – “Swimming the Night Away” Part 2 Flames, Water and Audience

**Copyright Owner:** Amy S. Millin  
**Restricted?** No, X Yes, Confidentiality Protocol

**Summary:** Sample of a routine at the annual Fluid Movement paid show. Large group of mostly women, some men, in water.

**Key words, names, & places:** Fluid Movement, pool

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<tr>
<td>00:00:00</td>
<td>Video opens with group of performers in the pool wearing part hats. Audience in background. Music playing “Swimming the Night Away” song. Performers moving in circle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:00:09</td>
<td>Performers lift hands out of water and they are holding “flames”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:00:12</td>
<td>Audience begins to cheer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:00:20</td>
<td>Performers start to “whoop” and cheer.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Video Log F

Researcher: Amy S. Millin
Address: 2200 South Road, Baltimore, MD 21209
Phone: 443-421-2322
Email: amy.millin@goucher.edu

Project Name: Patterson Park: Interaction in Public Spaces
Date Logged: November 2, 2019

File Name: 2019.PP.FL.ASM.001.mov
File 1 of 1

Format: MiniDV, DVCAM, MiniDVD, DVD, Digital File, Other: Digital file type: MPEG-2, MPEG-4, DV, WMV, MOV, Other: Digital file location: Dropbox and External Hard Drive

Running Time: Hour(s): 00 Minutes: 00 Seconds: 17

Date Recorded: 2019-10-02 Location: Patterson Park – Pulaski Monument

Interviewee/Event: Zumba at the Pulaski Monument, Patterson Park
Interviewer(s): N/A

Subject: Zumba at the Pulaski Monument

Copyright Owner: Amy S. Millin Restricted? No, X Yes, Confidentiality Protocol

Summary: Example of free Zumba class offered in Patterson Park and held at the Pulaski Monument. Group of community members participating and led by two adult instructors.

Key words, names, & places: Zumba, Patterson Park, Pulaski Monument

TIME CODE CONTENT DESCRIPTION
(HH:MM:SS)

00:00:00 Video opens with Zumba class in progress and captures a short segment of one dance. Group of women shown of different ages, races, and ethnicities participating in Zumba dance class. Instructors are two Latinx women. Children present. One child sits in a stroller on the right edge of camera frame. Music plays from a speaker sitting on the ground. Only half the
group is show in this short video. Group moves in a synchronized fashion with most people following.

00:00:02 Male jogger runs behind the Zumba class, dog and two walkers pass behind, street traffic.

00:00:08 Second male jogger, wearing green shirt, runs behind the group. Glances at Zumba participants, but does not break stride.

00:00:11 Two women walk in front of group and look at Zumba participants. They are talking.
Audio Logs

Audio Log A

Researcher: Amy S. Millin
Address: 2200 South Road, Baltimore, MD 21209
Phone: 443-421-2322
Email: amy.millin@goucher.edu

Project Name: Patterson Park: Interaction in Public Spaces
Date Logged: November 2, 2019

File Name: 2019.PP.FL.ASM.MR.wav
File 1 of 3

Format:
- Digital file type:  □ BWF  X WAV  □ MP3  □ Other:
- Bit Depth:  □ 16  □ 24  □ Other:
- Sample Rate:  □ 44.1kHz  □ 48kHz  □ 96kHz  □ Other:
- Sound field:  □ Mono  X Stereo  □ Multitrack (# of Tracks=  )
- Bit Rate (MP3 Only):  □ 320kbps  □ 192kbps  □ 128kbps  □ 96kbps  □ Other:
- Bit Rate Encoding (MP3 Only):  □ Constant (CBR)  □ Variable (VBR)

Length of recording:  Hour(s): 00  Minutes: 34  Seconds: 10

Date Recorded:  2019-09-22  Location: Patterson Park – Annex (outside)

Interviewee/Event: Maeve Royce, resident of Canton neighborhood. Lives two blocks south of Patterson Park (MR)

Interviewer(s): Amy S. Millin (AM)

Subject: Interview with Maeve Royce on Sunday, September 22, 2019 at 12:30pm. Interview took place outside in Maeve’s favorite place to go in Patterson Park – the eastern edge of the Annex. Ambient sounds can be hear throughout the interview (music, traffic, helicopters). The quality of the interview is good throughout regardless of the ambient noise. Midway through the interview, the fieldworker adjusted the position of the recording device which changed the location of the sound source – in essence making it appear that Maeve and the fieldwork switched seats. The purpose of the interview was to gather data related to Maeve’s experiences in Patterson Park and what it means to her, a local resident.

Copyright Owner: Amy S. Millin  Restricted?  □ No, X Yes Confidentiality Protocols

Sound Quality:  □ broadcast  □ Xgood  □ fair  □ poor  □ unintelligible
TIME CODE      CONTENT DESCRIPTION

(HH:MM:SS)                
00:00:00 AM opens with introduction and explanation of self and purpose of interview. Confirmed the release was signed. Asked MR to share about self.
00:01:20 MR shared background information about self, including living in Patterson Park (PP) for 5-6 years. Lives with husband. The park was a selling point to living in the community.
00:02:02 AM: How frequently do you or you and your husband come to PP, do you have a routine (certain days of week or times of day). MR: goes in phases, weather dependent, every Saturday and Sunday go for a walk together, days off in summer long walk to Pagoda and back for exercise, use it as a way to be active, be outside, and be away from being in the city all the time, walk by pond in the middle. Design of the park is really beautiful, is scenic, really nice for leisurely walk. There are so many different paths, you could get a really good workout.
00:03:48 AM acknowledged that MR answered the question “Where do you like to go?” Summarized prior response for clarification - appears that walking is a real motivator and enjoying different parts of park. Mentioned track (path) sitting in front of and Pagoda seen in distance.
00:04:12 MR: Added use of pool - night swim and water ballet. As a teacher will avoid pool because of number of children. Discusses location of interview as sled hill in winter and avoiding it because of the kids. But will come to park in the snow because it is beautiful. Mentions “recs and parks”. Will use the pool if there is a special event. Also come for Latin Festival, Polish Festival, for festivals but usually go to two a year and not every festival. Music at the Pagoda – one or two a season.
00:05:50 AM you use it in a lot of different ways. When you come do come with other people you know besides your husband or by yourself? Do you meet people in the park? Also ask if MR was comfortable because the sun had shifted and she appeared uncomfortable. The two of us shifted into the shade. Audio picked up sounds of us moving.
00:06:27 MR: As a whole we don’t usually meet new people in the park. We do meet friends at the adult swim events that we already know. Mostly take friends from out-of-town
to Pagoda on a Sunday, read historical placards, Mom moved nearby. She is active person who likes to be outside, walks, in park a ton and get MR out to park.

00:08:02 AM: Have you ever come to the park where something is different than your normal different. Something that stood out. Positive, negative, or different. Used terms of patterns, traditions. MR took time thinking about this “hmmm, hmmmm. Umm, I am trying to think. Ahhhh”. Discussed 250th anniversary of the battle of Baltimore in mid 1800s. MR focused on soccer and games that regularly occur. Discussed people come from outside of area to engage in activity versus those just walking around. AM clarifying question about turf field soccer and other soccer from other areas of Baltimore. MR stated she believes they are not from community around park versus pick-up soccer where tents are sent up, “Latino dudes who are amazing to watch”, football, people with dogs are all different than the soccer teams. MR spoke about the fields in front of us (Annex) are empty and that it was unusual and maybe it is because of the Ravens game. Seems quiet for a Sunday. AM described her experience of pick-up soccer on Annex fields to identify if MR made connection. MR concurred and discussed friendliness of everyone in the groups and mentioned again how empty the fields were during interview.

00:13:01 AM has there ever been an event or activity where it was not as friendly or welcoming as you walked or an activity that MR wanted to participate in. Either spoken or unspoken. MR took time answering this question – but she stated that she has not felt this. She thinks this is because it is clear if it is an activity that is open or one that participants pay to participate. Has not observed many things where it felt like people were excluded. “Yeah, I’m not sure actually.” MR moved on to formal activities such as reserving the Pagoda for parties. No alcohol in park. No bottles or trash out in park especially compared to parks in other cities. People take care of it. AM confirmed observation of lack of trash and graffiti. MR continued with theme of park cleanliness – especially with kids being respectful.

00:16:36 AM When you close your eyes and think about PP, what are your anchor points, what are things that pop up, what do you think about that orients yourself? [background music from car radio in background]. MR states that most people would say the
Pagoda is one thing that feels really unique. Can see it from many points in the park. Nice feeling to get there because of big hill and MR has to go to other part of the park. Likes the historical artifacts of that area of the park [MR points to Pagoda and area. She also points to other areas as they are described]. MR discussed design of park.

00:18:18 AM asks about layout of park and if MR things they are inviting for the community. MR thinks it is a secret. Things connect to it, but once in the park there are many paths [helicopter noise becomes loud and MR raises voice to be heard]. Even in the park, may not see how nice and inviting it is. Identifies corner of park and feels it is inviting. Thinks entrances on east side are pretty. Does not like corner with Pulaski Monument.

00:19:45 AM reflects on MR’s comment about different entrances, markers, signs. MR continues theme of different entrances, one-way street, hidden corner, restaurant on corner, political tension with hydrangeas, place to sit and eat and relax, her attraction to the Annex because of track (walking path). Discusses drum circle that pops up, guy who drums.

00:22:18 AM identifies that she is aware that MR is a musician. Asks if MR has come to the park to play. MR says no, but may have brought a ukelea or something small before. None of the performance series. She describes where she would go, in the park if she did play – near the Pagoda, the pond. She says the bass would be too big to bring. Sax would be better - easier to carry and sound projects better. Compares experiences to Prospect Park in Brooklyn and the number of musicians who would go to play. Sax players in park. Continues conversation about good places to play in PP – possible pavilion.

00:24:23 AM: returned to comment MR made before recording began about having seen things change in park over time. Asked what MR has seen that has changed and what her reflections are on those changes with regards to mission of park which is to “bring people together”. MR discussed increased activity of Friends of Patterson Park [in middle of answer, MR and AM moved into shade, audio picked up sounds of movement], mentions newer idea of garden plot and that she thinks that would bring people together, music series is ongoing, little things – art works added, just more care taken with the park. It feels like people are taking more care of the park. Doesn’t notice much trash and that has improved.
AM asks if, overall, does MR feel that having the park has been a positive influence on the communities and neighborhoods. MR says “I think so” but thinks that people from different neighborhoods come together, that look different, but are in the same space can feel like there is tension. But thinks it is still feels like a positive space to run into people from different neighborhoods or to see that we are all using the space together. Still feels like there isn’t that moment to have a conversation. Not sure if that is true all over the world and that people don’t feel they can strike up conversations with strangers. It feels more positive or relaxed to have this happen in the park than on a random street in Baltimore because both in park to relax, to have a nice moment, to get exercise. It is a positive reason to be there. So whatever negative assumptions one has doesn’t factor in here. AM reflects words with “it is a really important observation” about people crossing paths in the park versus downtown or a few blocks away. MR discusses stereotypes that one has to struggle to be aware of, but in the park, it feels more positive.

AM asks if MR observes tourists in the park and asks how a tourist would be defined in this setting. MR responds with “interesting” and shares observing big groups or older people and describes physical clothing (fanny pack, sporting clothes), may have come from the county [Baltimore County]. May visit with adult children who want to live in the city – Yuppies. Condo development in Highlandtown and Canton. Changing demographics. And “old timers” who have lived there for a long time, generations. Multiple generations. Desirable area. Canton Square, bars. Appealing area. Gentrification versus tourist. Creative Alliance. Arts oriented people.

AM acknowledges time and asks MR if there is anything that she wants to share. MR took time to answer. Likes all the different cultural festival, different cultural identifies can be honored, highlights certain identifies but says that even if not of that identity still feel comfortable joining and maybe breaking some of the barriers.

AM thanks MR for her time.

Recorder turned off.
Audio Log B

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Project Name: Patterson Park: Interaction in Public Spaces
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File 2 of 3

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Length of recording: Hour(s): 00 Minutes: 38 Seconds: 12

Date Recorded: 2019-10-03 Location: Patterson Park – Friends of Patterson Park Office

Interviewee/Event: Katie Long, Program Director and Liaison to Patterson Park’s Immigrant Community (KL)

Interviewer(s): Amy S. Millin (AM)

Subject: Interview with Katie Long on Thursday, October 3, 2019 just after 1:00pm. Interview took place inside the building used by the Friends of Patterson Park as their offices. The building is the former park superintendents home dating back to the 1850s. Interview took place in a former living room of the building and is currently used as a workspace. Loud ambient sounds can be hear throughout the interview as people came and went. People passing through the space held their own conversations during the interview, the doorbell rang several times and Katie’s dog barks. The quality of the interview is good throughout regardless of the ambient noise. The purpose of the interview was to gather data related to Katie’s experiences as an employee with Friends of Patterson Park as well as a resident of a neighboring community. Due to the excessive noise in the space, the recorded interview began after the fieldworker provided background information about the assignment and reviewed the release form – which was signed.

Copyright Owner: Amy S. Millin

Restricted? No, X Yes, Confidentiality Protocols
Sound Quality: □ broadcast  X good  □ fair  □ poor  □ unintelligible

TIME CODE             CONTENT DESCRIPTION
(HH:MM:SS)

00:00:00            AM asked KL to begin by sharing a bit about her job and connections to Patterson Park (PP). KL been with Friend of PP for 10 years. Title is Program Director and Hispanic Liaison. Generally, community outreach. Peace Corps in Honduras, Shriver Peace Workers Fellowship in Baltimore and got Masters in Intercultural Communication. [significant background noise during this opening exchange – other people talking, objects being moved around and KL simultaneously communicating with others via body language and eye contact.]

In second year of fellowship was placed at Friends of PP and she stayed.

00:01:22            AM commented on KL’s “journey” and made comment about former Peace Corps Volunteers (PCVs) living in area. KL talked about high number of PCVs in Baltimore because of the Shriver Fellowship, nursing program at Hopkins, proximity to DC. Many lived in southeast Baltimore. AM shared connection with a Goucher MACS student who lives a few blocks from Friends of PP office. KL became excited about this. [Sidenote: taking this moment to build rapport was important and appeared to refocus KL on the interview despite all the ambient distractions and noise.]

00:02:10            AM asked if KL lives in one of the neighborhoods. KL confirmed that she lives off northeast section of park. AM pursued this topic and asked about her use of the park. If in park as employee and community member. KL said yes – sometimes at the same time. Traverses the entire length of the park to get to work, walk to work with dog, plays tennis, swim, run. Usually any kind of outings or social stuff are done in PP.

00:02:52            Based on above information AM shared that many questions in interview can be answered as community member and as employee with Friends of PP. KL acknowledged this direction. AM asked about people in park engaging only with own group or connecting with other groups. KL stated that she has seen both. Instances of people entering park and sticking with that group. But depends on space. The pool. Pick-up soccer where people go and hang out. People interact. Programs that Friends of PP run that mingle and then go off. The pool can go either way. The rec center there is pick-up basketball with mixing of crowds.
Larger events – concerts and festivals there are people mixing. See it both ways. The dog park is a huge place where people mix and mingle. AM reflects her observations soccer and dog park that confirm KL’s comments. KL state that walking – especially with kids – that people intermingle more. [Pause in audio as AM writes a note – can hear pen on paper.]

00:05:28 AM reflects on different types of soccer as it relates to engagement and interaction. In the question, AM also asks what the separate east section of PP is called. KL clarifies that the free youth soccer clinic is at Friends of PP activity and provides several names – mostly in Spanish – of what the park section is called, including Annex. Discusses how Linwood Avenue divides the park. KL discusses how there are no permits allowed in the Annex, that it is more of a pick-up area for soccer, describes different parts of the park and recreation areas. Clarifying questions on programming and organization of soccer and activities through Friends of PP. KL stated only free programs through Friends of PP. Most programming is focused on youth. Utz Field is through for-profit sports leagues. AM asked about youth football. KL stated that is interesting because the coach works at the rec center and a football league. The observed football practice could have been from either. Discussed tone and approach is different.

00:09:39 AM asked about “tourists” and defining tourists. KL said yes tourists are observed, especially in the eastern section of the park. Mistake Friends of PP building for tourist center. Pagoda is a draw since it is used in Baltimore guides – mainstream and quirky. PP is also located near Fells Point, downtown, inner harbor so it is a draw. Hopkins medical campus draw for students and families. Also, people come to PP for certain activities such as festivals, Lantern Parade, Barktober Fest, and other events.

00:12:32 AM when you close your eyes what do you, what comes to your mind in terms of orienting yourself. Sense of direction as well as “in your heart”. KL Pagoda and flagpole are high so they can be seen, but KL does not have a relationship with them. Uses those as points of reference when giving directions to other people and can say they are near the fountain. Pulaski Monument is also a point of reference and is near festival site and Friends of PP activities. Ice skating rink and pool. The boat lake is not because it is hard to see, especially
with leave on trees. Same with Casino building and rec building. The extension field [Annex] tend to be a point as well as dog park and tennis courts as north-south markers.

00:14:42 AM asked how KL would use PP during free time. KL shared that her role is so blended. She clarified that she is answering the question as a community member. Focused on tennis court and attraction that they are aligned lengthwise. Girlfriend likes to go to Pagoda and Pagoda Hill and read under tree and have snack or lunch. Only likes it because she does it with her. Also likes the Extension Field [Annex] at sunset because it is like NY at night. A really cool green space in the middle of urban. Go to the corner and get tacos and eat up there. Also likes the boardwalk of the Boat Lake, when there is not too much marijuana smoke. Hidden out of way of the street. See blue herons. AM talked about similar experience in the community gardens. Both discussed about forgetting the surroundings. KL uses pool for lap swimming in the early mornings. Heaven. Serene. The park is just waking up. Favorite time is winter to go sledding or snowboarding down Pagoda Hill or Elwood Avenue. “I love it... That might be my favorite thing to do in the park, but it might only be a couple times of year. Maybe that is why I like it.” AM shared MR’s sharing of favorite place in park and that answers are similar with winter and sledding. KL it feels a little less hectic. No festivals. When it snows, it is just really beautiful. AM’s response “it is a special place.”

00:19:40 AM asked about activities that appear to be a closed group. KL said yes for the “pay to play” activities because that is the definition of them. Example of high school private ice hockey. KL clarified about would be public, but isn’t. AM “unspoken vibe”. KL thoughtful in answer - pause. Reflected on who you are and what you are perceiving. Focused on “men’s pick-up stuff”. Does not think she would be comfortable. If women there, she might be more likely. Discussed Zumba, but aware that people may be intimidated across language. Intimated to speak another language. AM shared some observations of Zumba regarding race/ethnicity and gender.

00:22:59 Is the park an additive value to the community? KL definitely. AM could things be done for the future? KL yes. Jane Jacobs, “Rise and Fall of Great Cities”. For most people within walking distance it is a net gain. Yet, talk focuses on crime and trash. Used to be lighting, but that has been improved – speaks to crime and safety. Things can be improved.
Better communication. Working on tensions and people don’t feel welcome. More trash cans, better trash pickup, better education on trash. Driving in the park. Parking in the park. People co-existing. Lots of different groups co-existing in this popular park. For Friends of PP, keeping it free and accessible. Past, perception that park was known for drugs and prostitution. As these changes, does it become privatizing and have to pay for festivals. Is every use of turf field a pay-to-play. AM stated that MR shared that her opinion is that it is clean. KL was pleased to hear this. Lots of groups working to keep it clean. [Dog barks. People entering. People talking. Interruption of conversation.]

00:27:20 AM states that is it [feeling that KL was distracted again and had given her time.] KL shares information about community meeting in the rec center next Thursday and invites AM to attend. Rec and Parks 2020 [security system and people entering door]. AM asks how a meeting like this is communicated to community. KL discussed website, calendar, e-blast, doesn’t use Spanish listserv because they don’t use it, connected to Spanish community group and uses their Facebook site or meetings, charter school, What’s Ap, text people, does not call, email is the worst, mayor’s office immigrant affairs listserv, schools, churches, nonprofits, community school coordinator and everyone speaks Spanish, flyers for school, yellow sign boards around park. Sends information out in English and Spanish. Community leaders often started out as volunteers and now are employees and are in the know and can get the word out.

00:31:28 AM again tries to close the interview. Both AM and KL agree they could keep talking. AM shares information about Capstone and potential of continued research in PP and would give the final product to Friends of PP for community. KL discusses “liminal space adjacent” based on AM’s explanation of project prior to starting recording. Single use versus multiuse space. Ecuavóley from Ecuador – a type of volleyball with a soccer ball. KL talked further about tennis courts and dog park and changes in use over the past several years. Ecuavóley taking over the two most dilapidated courts, dog park. Two most northern tennis courts are the nicest because they are renovated since two others were used for dog park. Example of request for Ecuavóley, people not happy. KL believes the complaints had some ethnocentric undertones because complaints not about tennis players, but more about music.
and noise. Community meetings. [Dog barks.]. Latinx parks tend to be full of single use parks. [Security door sound.]. What happens in spaces and what can’t happen as a result of introducing a specific use. Discussion of structure, use, behavior. KL discusses planting trees and not bushes because it disrupts site lines which results in people not feeling comfortable entering due to safety.

00:38:12 Interview ended.
Subject: Interview with Susie Cramer on Tuesday, October 8, 2019 around 3:00pm. The interview took place in the Patterson Park Audubon Center offices located across the street of the northeast corner of Patterson Park. The office is located on the second floor of a row house with a neighborhood restaurant on the first floor. Sounds from the intersection, immediately outside of the room that the interview took place in, can be heard during the interview – specifically sirens and truck noises. Despite the interference, the interview is audible and sound quality is good. The purpose of the interview was to gather data related to Susie’s experiences as the Director of the Audubon Center. Susie completed the release form in advance of the recording beginning, although she did not give permission for her name to be used until the conclusion of the interview. Susie wanted to be sure that she was comfortable with information she shared being attributed to her. Again, she felt comfortable with this at the end and signed the information.
AM asked SC to share a bit about herself including name, focus of organization, and about job. SC shared that she is the Center Director of the Patterson Audubon Center which is part of the National Audubon Society. They look like a small, local non-profit, but are part of a large national/international organization. Discussed mission in Patterson Park, southeast Baltimore, and beyond. Blighted pocket spaces, work done, and goals.

Firetruck and siren. Comment about street noise and busy intersection. Listening to goals of neighbors and what they want to achieve. Partnerships with community.

AM asked about geographic breadth of programming. Consider themselves “Baltimore’s Audubon Center”. Only center in the country without a physical center. Just offices and “classrooms” is the park. If groups come to them with interest, they try to make it happen. No geographic perimeters. Has worked there for 10 years.

AM asked what changes has SC seen over the course of 10 years? Strategic plan – bird conservation is mission, required to respond to national strategic plan (00:05:25 siren). Incorporate social action. Include elementary student education. Elementary programming is a three-part programming over course of academic year – in park and in classroom. Over course of elementary the curriculum spirals through the years. Adult programs. Programs is about multiple visits, not single visit. Principals in schools makes decision for longer-term programs. When elementary students become middle school students they become “counselors”. Intentionally about fostering leadership within students of color. Greenfield being a white field an trying to give opportunities for former participants. Leadership. Changing narrative.

AM asks about number of staff hired through the mentoring program. Answer explained summer and other programming. Described opportunity to different audiences.

AM summaries themes of community and park, organizations-communities-park. AM asked if SC lives in one of the surrounding neighborhoods. SC stated no, does not
live in area. No current (permanent) staff live in neighborhood – she is not happy about that. Patterson Park is a second home. Identifies pros and cons. Wishes and thinks they should be hiring locally.

00:11:18 Discussed partnering with different organizations. Friends of Patterson Park: who uses the park and why? Oldest and strongest partnerships. Collaborating to having joint volunteer days. Different festivals. Removal of invasive species. Rewriting the Master Plan in the park in Fall 2015 after several years of work and listening. Ecological functions of the park, Site lines – hearing each other concerns and perspectives. Park and Rec is another partner, but not for programming. More logistical.

00:15:07 AM asked about communication of events and opportunities. SC discussed different forms of social media – especially What’s App. Call. Cultural norms about how to communicate. Attend community meetings as capacity allows to be present on a regular basis. English and Spanish.

00:17:56 Three staff are fluent in Spanish and English. Partner organizations will share events: public schools, Friends of Patterson Park, neighborhood groups work together to share. There is a strategy.

00:18:45 AM asks about observation of instances of engagement: inclusion, closed groups, pick-up activities, events that Audubon hosts, joining in, visible/invisible boundaries. SC states that language can be a boundary. If walking by and you don’t know language or rules of engagement that is a barrier. Example, Zumba class – music and instructions in Spanish. SC states she doesn’t think about it. She states what she would think if she walks by. Discusses donation versus paying. Rules of human engagement. Explores “right way” of doing events. Bilingual. Economic assumptions and family/social structures. How to present information for those who enter late. SC states she is a logistical planner. (car goes by).

00:23:41 SC switches topics and brings up the question how do we know who is using the park and those not coming to the park. Suggests that AM talk about this with Jennifer from Friends of Patterson Park. Topics came up through the Master Plan process of Patterson Park. Black neighbors not feeling welcome. There are people that do not feel they are welcome in the park. Worth digging into why people do not come to the park.
AM connects comments about who is not coming to Patterson Park with communication of information and being on social media lists to hear about information. AM reflected observations about different demographics of people being present in different areas of the park.

SC shared a lot of Spanish speakers one needs to time sharing information to just a few days ahead. Shared story about events near Boat Lake in Patterson Park and that Latinx female feeling unsafe to go into the park because of vulnerability and safety, therefore—not going to events. SC adapted events and process so she walked young mothers and toddlers into the park to attend event. Ongoing concerns and fears of crime and safety due to undocumented Latinx community. Many issues that influence others.

AM shares some observations from field site visits about different ethnic group locations in the park. SC asked if only seen Latinx on the periphery and the Annex. Hugging the periphery. (siren)

SC continued with question/statement about demographics of neighborhood in proximity to park and what is seen observed. Makes comment about different playgrounds.

AM asks about what represent the park for SC. Takes time to answer. Clarifies if open ended why. AM clarifies physical anchor as well as emotional connection.

SC answers with “the park” as the anchor for the neighborhood. Patterson Park chosen as the site for Audubon because it is a stopping point for migratory birds. But also, because of the diversity and the different kinds of people that can get involved. The park is an anchor. The neighborhoods are spokes of a wheel into different neighborhoods (race, ethnicities, socioeconomics). Hesitates because of those that do not feel welcome in the park. Sees some success with this because of community meetings. Comraderies around challenges. Still divisions. Highland Avenue, Fayette, Eastern – creating divisions. Highways creating barriers. Obstacles to cross. Does not think of Pagoda. Spends a lot of time in the park so always knows where she is. Lake is a feature. Hear the sirens and know what street she is on. Perhaps “uphill/downhill” as markers of where she is. Landscape. More uphill towards the Patterson Park. Compares to ballfields and concerts. Thinking out loud. Topography as the identifier in term of locating self. Not sure what she thinks about when she is not in the park.
Connections to the gardens. May think about specific pieces of the park and how they tie into the park. Or the trees.

00:34:07 AM reflects on SC’s comments and her passions, topography, human movement, and connections to bird. Comments on needing to end. Pause by AM and continues to summarize conversation. Asks if park is an additive value to neighborhoods. SC, yes because free and in walking distance to neighborhoods. Free. Audubon programs are free or low cost. AM pursues, if Audubon work is an additive value to the community. SC, “I think so” based on feedback from neighborhoods. Audubon arrived in 2002 and part of neighbors wanting to “take back their park”. Reflected on past with prostitution, drugs, etc and the changes that have made. Increased activity in the park. SC states that there is work to do with sharing information to parents of school children. Different racial demographics if through schools and those who sign up. There is a gap and have not solved it. Have recognized it, but have not solved it. How to connect with parents through the schools. Parent leaders as candidates for advisory board. Building bridges in other ways. Seeing mostly one demographic – mostly white. (traffic sounds).

00:40:01 AM reflects on SC’s comments validating observations from fieldsite visits on racial/ethnic/programmatic divisions among activities all through observations. SC continues this thread of racial and ethnic divisions based on activity. Wants to observe it along interior/exterior as well as programming. AM responds with comments about observations of three types of soccer and who participates in each type of soccer. SC is interested in these observations and comments about school groups as being an additional group.

00:42:55 AM again references time and attempts to end the conversation. Reflects comments made by SC and benefits of listening to comments. SC states that she is interested in findings from AM’s work. SC asks if AM has met with Friends of Patterson Park. AM says yes. SC asks if they discussed the barriers of entering the park. SC then discussed Katie Long from Friends of Patterson Park and number of people who are former Peace Corps volunteers (SC’s phone alarm sounds). Discussed what it means to be a Peace Corps volunteer and working in the area and if there is a correlation. Discussed the Shriver Peace Corps Fellowship
and Spanish speaking community. How to recognize the relationship of Peace Corps volunteers and the work that has been done and is being done.

00:47:23 AM concluded interview and stopped recording.
Audio Log D

Researcher: Amy S. Millin
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Project Name: The Public Park as Liminal Space: A Study of Spontaneous and Intentional Behavior and the Impact on Community
Date Logged: 2020-07-27

File Name: 2020.PP.CS.ASM.pond1.wav
File 1 of 7

Format:
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Length of recording: Hour(s): 00  Minutes: 00  Seconds: 31

Date Recorded: 2020-07-26  Location: Patterson Park – Main Section (Boat Lake)

Interviewee/Event: Boat Lake: Birds and Runner

Interviewer(s): N/A

Subject: Boat Lake: birds and runner

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Summary: The sounds birds around the pond in Patterson Park on a Sunday morning echo and reverberate across the Boat Lake and among the trees. Includes the sound of a runner’s feet as she passes by. Sound captured with exterior microphone attached to recording device (iPhone XS Max).

Key words, names, & places: Patterson Park, pond

Sound Quality: ☑ broadcast  ☑ good  ☑ fair  ☐ poor  ☑ unintelligible

TIME CODE CONTENT DESCRIPTION
(HH:MM:SS)
00:00:00  Birds chirping throughout recording
00:00:07  Siren with runner’s feet.
00:00:18  Sound of runner passing by.
00:00:23  Car horn and the sound of the runner’s feet grow faint.
Audio Log E

Researcher: Amy S. Millin
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Phone: 443-421-2322
Email: amy.millin@goucher.edu

Project Name: The Public Park as Liminal Space: A Study of Spontaneous and Intentional Behavior and the Impact on Community
Date Logged: 2020-07-27

File Name: 2020.PP.CS.ASM.pond2.wav
File 2 of 7

Format:
- Digital file type: BWF X WAV MP3 Other:
- Bit Depth: 16 X 24 Other:
- Sample Rate: 44.1kHz X 48kHz 96kHz Other:
- Sound field: Mono Stereo Multitrack (# of Tracks=
- Bit Rate (MP3 Only): 320kbps 192kbps 128kbps 96kbps Other:
- Bit Rate Encoding (MP3 Only): Constant (CBR) Variable (VBR)

Length of recording: Hour(s): 00 Minutes: 00 Seconds: 32

Date Recorded: 2020-07-26 Location: Patterson Park – Main Section (Boat Lake)

Interviewee/Event: Boat Lake: Birds and Girl Talking

Interviewer(s): N/A

Subject: Boat Lake: birds and girl talking

Copyright Owner: Amy S. Millin Restricted? No, X Yes, Confidentiality Protocol

Summary: The sounds birds around the Boat Lake in Patterson Park on a Sunday morning echo and reverberate across the pond and among the trees. Includes the sound of a girl’s voice as she talks to her father while they walk by. Sound captured with exterior microphone attached to recording device (iPhone XS Max).

Key words, names, & places: Patterson Park, pond

Sound Quality: broadcast good fair poor unintelligible

TIME CODE CONTENT DESCRIPTION
(HH:MM:SS)
00:00:00  Birds and sound of girl talking to parent.
Audio Log F

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Date Logged: 2020-07-27

File Name: 2020.PP.CS.ASM.pond2.wav
File 3 of 7

Format:
- Digital file type: □ BWF  □ WAV  □ MP3  □ Other:
- Bit Depth: □ 16  □ 24    □ Other:
- Sample Rate: □ 44.1kHz  □ 48kHz  □ 96kHz     □ Other:
- Sound field: □ Mono  □ Stereo  □ Multitrack (# of Tracks=   )
- Bit Rate (MP3 Only): □ 320kbps  □ 192kbps  □ 128kbps  □ 96kbps  □ Other:
- Bit Rate Encoding (MP3 Only): □ Constant (CBR)  □ Variable (VBR)

Length of recording: Hour(s): 00  Minutes: 00  Seconds: 1:18

Date Recorded: 2020-07-26
Location: Patterson Park – Main Section (softball fields/northside)

Interviewee/Event: Softball Fields: active game

Interviewer(s): N/A

Subject: Softball Fields: active game

Copyright Owner: Amy S. Millin       Restricted? □ No, X Yes, Confidentiality Protocol

Summary: The sounds of two adult recreation softball games. Sound captured with exterior microphone attached to recording device (iPhone XS Max).

Key words, names, & places: Patterson Park, pond

Sound Quality: □ broadcast  □ good  □ fair  □ poor  □ unintelligible

TIME CODE CONTENT DESCRIPTION
(HH:MM:SS)
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<tr>
<td>00:00:00</td>
<td>Voices of softball players in background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:00:10</td>
<td>Louder voices as someone makes a play on the field.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:00:56</td>
<td>Motorcycle in background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:01:06</td>
<td>Airplane.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:01:09</td>
<td>Sound of bat hitting the ball.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Audio Log G

Researcher: Amy S. Millin
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Project Name: The Public Park as Liminal Space: A Study of Spontaneous and Intentional Behavior and the Impact on Community
Date Logged: 2020-09-06

File Name: 2020.PP.CS.ASM.SB.2020.09.06.wav
File 4 of 7

Format:
- Digital file type: ☑ BWF  ☑ WAV  ☑ MP3  ☑ Other:
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- Sound field: ☑ Mono  ☑ Stereo  ☑ Multitrack (# of Tracks= )
- Bit Rate (MP3 Only): ☑ 320kbps  ☑ 192kbps  ☑ 128kbps  ☑ 96kbps  ☑ Other:
- Bit Rate Encoding (MP3 Only): ☑ Constant (CBR)  ☑ Variable (VBR)

Length of recording: Hour(s): 00  Minutes: 54  Seconds: 35

Date Recorded: 2020-09-06  Location: Patterson Park – Main Section (Circle)

Interviewee/Event: Stephanie Brown
Interviewer(s): Amy S. Millin

Copyright Owner: Amy S. Millin  Restricted? ☑ No, ☑ Yes, Confidentiality Protocol

Summary: Interview with Stephanie Brown. Cicadas are heard throughout the interview. At times, voices are muffled due to face masks. In addition, Brown’s dog moved around creating additional background noise. Brown’s voice is audible throughout the interview. Brown is a volunteer Zumba instructor in Patterson Park through Friends of Patterson Park.

Key words, names, & places: Patterson Park, Mt. Vernon, Zumba, Pagoda, Boat Lake, Pagoda Hill, Pulaski Monument, Pride Month, Latino Fest, Black Lives Matter, COVID, Rec Center, Annex, Highlandtown, Malindi, Patterson Park Charter School

Sound Quality: ☑ broadcast  ☑ good  ☑ fair  ☑ poor  ☑ unintelligible

TIME CODE CONTENT DESCRIPTION
Sound check. Confirmed consent form was read and signed electronically. Background noise of cicadas throughout interview. In addition, both Amy and Stephanie are wearing face masks due to COVID-19. Therefore, our voices are muffled at times.

Stephanie provides general background information about herself. Helps teach Zumba classes in the park – one online and one in person with another teacher. Been teaching in Patterson Park for almost two years with Malindi, co-teacher. Stephanie is a Zumba instructor outside of the park.


“What about the park was attractive to you?” (asked in reference to Stephanie’s move from Mt. Vernon to the Patterson Park area. Beautiful and greenspace – especially in city. “It provides an escape.” Describes the space that the interview is being conducted – which Stephanie chose as her favorite place in the park “a magical space.” Descriptive.

The Circle as alone space and shared with friends and family. Quieter area in park, helps to de-sensitize new dog.

Other places like to go: Pagoda for view. Walking around duck pond [Boat Lake] on boardwalk because magical. Between Pagoda and duck pond there is a garden.

Escape: way to rejuvenate self. In park at least twice a day. Moves through all different spots.

Observations related to people using the park with people who they know or making new connections (interacting with strangers): see both, seeing more of the later. Lived around Park for almost 13 years. Personal answer – met a lot of people just from teaching Zumba as well as having dogs. Come to park with neighbors and friends to attend events and picnic. Meet new people through current friends – “an intermingling”. Dogs and children are impetus for adults meeting each other. Families of different backgrounds, ethnicities, races that interact because of the children. “It forces the parents to interact.” “See a lot of social, racial lines, walls come down.” Stephanie talked about children walking up to her, which results in her talking to the child’s parents. Otherwise, would not have talked.
Continuing theme of interactions through specific activities. Zumba as example. Describes race and ethnicity, gender, age, type of athleticism. Break in class (for water) observes interactions between different attendees that would not have otherwise.


Paired Zumba with youth soccer so parents in Zumba while children are in soccer. That increased participation. Used to be at Pulaski Monument and my reflection of observations last fall.

Location chosen because off of path (so not interrupt walkers), safety for COVID, easy to get to/central, easy spot to find. Also, flat. Accessible, does not interfere with other park users, visible.

During class looked up and saw two families dancing who were at the top of the Pagoda Hill while the class was occurring at the bottom of the hill (participation from a distance).

Who is missing from the park? Different times of the year – families that live north of Fayette and Orleans (north of the park) are not coming to Patterson Park. Summer is different because walk together. Safety reasons in between home and park. Especially as it gets darker. Maybe with school. Doesn’t think they are aware of the activities.

How does information get shared? Thinks information not getting out. Shared example of going into community north of Patterson Park, with a smaller park, and providing activities there to demonstrate free activities that are available in Patterson Park (tennis, soccer, and Zumba). “Hard to get people out of their homes to attend.” Need to delve deeper into what is going in that is preventing this: “social, economics, race, comfort, safety”.

Clarifying question about the neighborhoods are predominantly Black. Stephanie said that Black community members living close to Patterson Park use the park.

Further away, don’t come. “It is a shame because it is their park too.” It is only 4-5 blocks, not that terribly far.
Amy asked about access. Stephanie said residents who live north of the park do not feel like the park is accessible.

Stephanie discussed how it can make people worry about accessibility. Example with dogs and receiving negative posts. Makes people feel that they won’t go into park because of complaints.

Example of boys carrying baseball bats and complaints on social media – assumptions of race. Results in not feeling welcome. Double edged sword with social media – informative, but also pushes people away. So, sees people not using park because of posts.

Accessibility and use of specific park facilities and programs. Stephanie talked about historical use, versus park specific use. Example of tennis being historically a white sport and that it continues in Patterson Park. It is just something that happens because of things before. Example, the basketball courts are used predominantly by young, Black men. In the community it is the sport of choice and what they do. Yet, in pick-up games there are white men and women too. Reflects that people could see it, and not feel invited, but thinks that has to do with more historical patterns.

Zumba and access/open: wants it to be more diverse. Especially because Black women dance. Always thinks one could do more to include everybody.

Discusses observations of changes in the park since COVID (March 2020) and George Floyd’s death and BLM. Stephanie discussed BLM signs in people’s windows. Murals on south side of park. Points out that they are huge, and drivers can see them.

Observes that people are being more conscientious and polite. As well as what people are wearing: t-shirts and facemask with messages of BLM, Ceasefire, groups, social equality. Talked about new programming by the park to promote the movements. Picnic for BLM and gay pride during Pride Month. “very cool” because for years Latino Fest, but not others. All new. “Really, really, really exciting.”

Results in increased attendance. Lived around park for over a decade and seeing more events and activities that are bringing people to the park.
“When I first moved here, you didn’t come here at night.” Talked about the changes – well lit, evening activities, more inclusive, more neighbors, more users, results in increased pride of the park.

Discussed “camp in the park” which was an activity that has been revived from the 1960s and 1970s. Tying back into the “old traditions” and “old Baltimore”.

Is the park an additive value for the neighborhoods. Stephanie said yes. Continued with reflections on people staying in the community and not moving out once they have children. Multiple factors, but the green space is one of the reasons.

Spoke to personal benefits of the park – meeting people in the park and continuing them outside of the park (dinner dates).

What image comes to mind when think about the park? A brick walkway with trees surrounding it, with changing seasons. Pictures green space, nature.

Hear “happy birthday” being sung faintly in the background – father/child with another woman and two dogs (photo of group taken after interview)

What orients you in the park? Pagoda (see it anywhere in the park). Rec Center entrance as a focal point – identified place to meet. It is Stephanie’s entrance and exit to the park. On the east side of the park – uses the ice-skating dome.

Question about use of indoor spaces: Stephanie only uses Rec Center to teach Zumba during winter.


Spoke about using Annex when lived in Highlandtown (which is near the Annex). Shared story about being introduced to Zumba and her journey with Zumba. Also Zumba and Malindi and Patterson Park. Resulted in volunteer and good friendship with Malindi.

“I learned about Zumba from the park, and now I’m back giving Zumba to the Park. And I’ve gotten a great friend out of it as well.” “It is amazing what this park can do.”

Asked if there is anyone else I should talk to. Stephanie suggested a neighbor of hers that is a multi-generation black family from the neighborhood that uses the park. Another perspective of a family that grew up using the park. Amy invited Stephanie to share email with the family. Also suggested a neighbor whose child attends the Patterson Park Charter School.
00:53:10  Question about attendees on virtual Zumba versus live Zumba. Some of the same. Able to include people who moved from the area.

00:54:35  Interview ended.
Audio Log H

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Project Name: The Public Park as Liminal Space: A Study of Spontaneous and Intentional Behavior and the Impact on Community
Date Logged: 2020-09-10

File Name: 2020.PP.CS.ASM.ML.2020.09.09.wav
File 5 of 7

Format:
- Digital file type: □ BWF  □ WAV  □ MP3  □ Other:
- Bit Depth: □ 16  □ 24  □ Other:
- Sample Rate: □ 44.1kHz  □ 48kHz  □ 96kHz  □ Other:
- Sound field: □ Mono  □ Stereo  □ Multitrack (# of Tracks= )
- Bit Rate (MP3 Only): □ 320kbps  □ 192kbps  □ 128kbps  □ 96kbps  □ Other:
- Bit Rate Encoding (MP3 Only): □ Constant (CBR)  □ Variable (VBR)

Length of recording: Hour(s): 00  Minutes: 54  Seconds: 35

Date Recorded: 2020-09-09  Location: Patterson Park – Main Section (Pagoda Hill, bottom)

Interviewee/Event: Malindi Lankatilleke

Interviewer(s): Amy S. Millin

Copyright Owner: Amy S. Millin  □ Restricted? □ No, X Yes, Confidentiality Protocols

Summary: Interview conducted with Malindi Lankatilleke, a volunteer Zumba instructor in Patterson Park through Friends of Patterson Park. Over the course of the interview, it was learned that Lankatilleke also serves on the Board of Friends of Patterson Park as well as has been involved in park programs for 10 ten years. Cicadas, park participants, and general park noise are heard throughout the interview. At times, voices are muffled due to face masks. Cicadas and sirens in background.

Key words, names, & places: Patterson Park, Zumba, Pagoda, Pagoda Hill, Elmwood Park, Highlandtown, Canton, Druid Hill Park

Sound Quality: □ broadcast  □ good  □ fair  □ poor  □ unintelligible
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<tr>
<td>00:00:48</td>
<td>Malindi confirmed receipt of consent form, read it, signed, it. No questions. Very glad that research is being done. Clarified if research is general parks or Patterson Park specifically. No further questions.</td>
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<tr>
<td>00:02:09</td>
<td>Malindi talked about not living near park. Came to Baltimore in 2008 and lived in neighborhood then, Canton, married, and moved since then. Now Federal Hill. Spent a lot of time in park. Serves on Board of Friends of Patterson Park and now chair the committee of capital projects. The park is very important to Malindi and spends a lot of time in park. Been doing/teaching Zumba for 10 years. “It is a big part of my life, even if I don’t live here. I keep coming back here.”</td>
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<td>00:03:56</td>
<td>Relationship between park and the neighborhoods: strong neighborhood associations. Park issues are central to those organization. This is such an asset. People buy houses because of the park. People chose to live here because of access to the park (knows this thru Zumba). It is a huge amenity. It is your background. Not just green space. Programs. Programs for kids. Two schools use the park for their field space. A good marriage between the neighborhood and the park, they depend on each other. Because of the strong neighborhood...the neighbors value the park so much there is a lot of investment and care in the park (trash, trees). People participate in caring for the space. A lot of investment in caring for the park... Compared it to other parks in the city where this does not happen.</td>
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<tr>
<td>00:06:10</td>
<td>Change over 10 years? Yes. Safer – clean, better lighting makes it safer. More organizations are catered towards having programs in park. More accessibility. More programs. Example: Latin American community in the park. This has increased over time. Friends of Patterson Park has been key to helping other organizations make this happen. Helping to get permits for concerts, food festivals, cultural activities. This has increased over time. More organized. Polish Festival in September. Halloween Lantern Parade. Activities are more ingrained in life of the park. More organized.</td>
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2004 lived on Baltimore Street. Did not feel as safe. A lot of police activity, especially in the evening. Clarified in park or on street. In park. Now programming in the park into the evening.

Amy reflects on not seeing many police. Malindi confirms observations.

Groups who have benefitted more from programming: Friends of Patterson Park worked with another organization to take successful programming to Ellwood Park “up the street that is not in great shape.” Did soccer, tennis, and Zumba. Started slowly, but people got engaged. Started reaching the kids. Some folks, on north side of park, are coming more. Reaching out. If COVID didn’t happen we would have continued that programming in those neighborhoods.

Amy asked clarifying question that people living north of the park are predominantly African American. Malindi confirmed. “Yes. Yes.” A good way to reach out that community. It works both ways. Discussed comfort of coming to park. When we took our programs there, all these kids came out on a Saturday. Malindi shared about her Wednesday programming in Patterson Park and some people came into Patterson Park. Amy asked about still coming, Malindi said some.

Malindi talked about woman from “that neighborhood” [Ellwood Park] that started a walking group, posting photos from Patterson Park and other neighborhoods. Great to see her bring groups of people to different neighborhoods.

Who is not in park: That is a tough question. African-American, we could do more. It has increased, but we could do more. Good representation of other ethnicities. There is something for any age to do something and feel safe. “We can check a lot of boxes.” Returns to African-American. Friends of Patterson Park is doing surveys to see how to get “that” population involved. More music that is representative of that population. Or food.

Question about multigeneration. Malindi laughed and said no – not her. Talked about others multi-generation, specifically Eastern European population. Conversation about multi-generation versus people who move in post-college. Malindi talked about that demographic is more transient, so moves on. Story about person, from Zumba, who was supposed to move, but decided to buy house and stay working for Hopkins.
Sports leagues/social leagues meeting others, married, kids, and moving out. People who move are the ones who run out of space. The housing stock is not much.

Church bells

Accessibility and welcomeness of park and programming. Spoke to free programming. (in background hear conversation). Activities are open, but we can definitely always do better to surrounding neighborhoods. The Hispanic community is becoming more and more involved and use the park a lot. Talked about program that does outreach to “that” population and provides access. Income accessibility is great – free. Just show up.

Women interrupt and ask about use of space where interview is occurring.

Anchor point in park: Pagoda. Also thinks about how busy it is. Come by at 10:00 at night and playing sports – leagues and on own. Image of it always being an active space. Returns to topic of accessibility. Anyone feels free to come and do something – such as the “two girls who just came by” and asked if can use the space to work out. Used to live near Druid Hill Park and compared that beautiful park that no one used. Scenic, but not used.


Meet husband in park? No, he live over there and I lived here. Met through work. He had been playing football here. Have friends that met here and got married. Still have friends here. Sense of community. Community building. Zumba – people have made friends because of Zumba and formed friend groups through Zumba. Makes me happy because I know they met here. Forms a community. If I miss a class, they get upset. People are drawn to various activities.

Interaction between strangers? So much interaction between people. Happy to see each other in class. Has become everyone’s thing to do on Wednesday night. Makes me happy to see that interaction between people. Moms have come since their children were in strollers and now they are teenagers. They can do all the songs. It is awesome. There is a group chat – announces we are having Zumba today and everyone just shows up. It has been really great. There is a huge community.
Amy – I can see your smile under your mask. Malinidi: best part of my week.

Some people will say it is the best part of their week. Everyone is busy, hard to drag yourselves out, when it is done everyone is happy.


Malindi started discussing variety of programming in park. Interrupted by boy about 10 years old. Two other younger children with him. Two women coming down Pagoda Hill. Boys voice loud in recorder – yelling in Spanish up hill to women. Talks to Malindi and me in English. Asking about Zumba and announcing he will translate. Asked if mother and another lady can join Zumba.

“Stephanie will translate.”

Discussed changes since March 2020 and COVID as well as BLM: Malindi discussed cancelled classes, painting of mural. Led Friends of Patterson Park to ask themselves “have we been doing enough to reach out to that population?”. How do we provide more outreach and programming to the Black community? To the communities to the north where there are more of them. More discussions about this.

Increase in park use? Yes – non-organized park activities. Walking. Malindi’s friends, who live around park, would tell her it was packed. Her friends in Federal Hill would go to Patterson Park to get away.

Taught Zumba virtually until about one month ago. Virtual and live – similar groups of people. People who moved away were joining virtually. Keeping Mondays virtual and Wednesdays in person. Virtual classes are smaller. Harder for people to log onto Zoom and figure out technology.

Amy commented on time and aware that Malindi needs to teach. Asked if there was anything else, she wanted to share. [voice gets very quiet]. Malindi said, “this is personal”. Shared personal story about moving here in 2008 and becoming a single mom overnight. Lived in Highlandtown and son attending Hampstead Hill Elementary School. Going through a lot of trauma. Katie Long invited her to join activities. Tons of activities to fill time. Found Zumba. Soccer. Getting involved helped us. New to town and didn’t know anyone. [voice shaking]. It
got us through. It is a healing space. [can hear increase of background noise with Stephanie using measuring tape, the families speaking Spanish, overall increase of activity].

00:37:37 Favorite space: Pagoda and hill. And other side of park. The boat lake. Malindi returned to park as healing space. 20-year-old and 6-year-old. Amy connected with children of similar age. It was great to have this amenity. To meet people like Katie. When she was depressed, Katie would say let’s go running. Soccer, volunteering. Getting involved. Became instant friends.

00:40:08 Malindi shared she has a degree in urban planning. Small talk about that as interview ended.

00:41:12 Concluded with invitation from Malindi for me to reach out to her if I have more questions.
Audio Log I

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Project Name: The Public Park as Liminal Space: A Study of Spontaneous and Intentional Behavior and the Impact on Community
Date Logged: 2020-09-13

File 6 of 7

Format:
- Digital file type: BWF, WAV, MP3, Other
- Bit Depth: 16, 24, Other
- Sample Rate: 44.1kHz, 48kHz, 96kHz, Other
- Sound field: Mono, Stereo, Multitrack (# of Tracks=)
- Bit Rate (MP3 Only): 320kbps, 192kbps, 128kbps, 96kbps, Other
- Bit Rate Encoding (MP3 Only): Constant (CBR), Variable (VBR)

Length of recording: Hour(s): 00 Minutes: 54 Seconds: 04

Date Recorded: 2020-09-12 Location: Patterson Park – Main Section (Fountain)

Interviewee/Event: Carol Hartke

Interviewer(s): Amy S. Millin

Copyright Owner: Amy S. Millin Restricted? No, Yes, Confidentiality Protocol

Summary: Interview conducted with Carol Hartke, a longtime volunteer with Friends of Patterson Park. Occasional background noise from conversations of people walking along paths near the fountain. Hartke reflected on her 41 years of living near or across street from Patterson Park and the changes she has observed.

Key words, names, & places: Patterson Park, Fountain, Bull Circle, Pagoda, Pagoda Hill, Boat Lake, Tree Team, Baltimore Street, Utz Field, Lantern Parade, Casino

Sound Quality: broadcast, good, fair, poor, unintelligible

TIME CODE CONTENT DESCRIPTION
(HH:MM:SS)
Sound check. Confirmed consent form was read and signed. Carol stated she has no questions about the research project but is curious if findings will be shared with Friends of Patterson Park.

Community resident? Patterson Place and now Patterson Park Neighborhood. Across the street from the park – north.

Types of volunteer activities. Pagoda docenting, boat lake cleaning, used to be a boat lake guide when first redone, volunteer every Thursday in the garden/White House/fountain. Pick up trash whenever comes to park.

How long lived in neighborhood and volunteered? Moved to SE in 1979. Lived on Washington Street for 11 years [Upper Fells Point]. Lived across the park for 30 years. Volunteered in park before there was Friends of Patterson Park (ad hoc neighbors and community people).

Changes in park since 1979? Connectivity? Yes. When first moved to Baltimore Street, people were afraid to come into the park. Would not go in at all. Carol never felt that way. Improved hundredfold since then. Used to be only dog walkers in morning and evening. Now, filled with people. Tells people to look at trees when they go up Pagoda because there are only old trees and young trees. Nothing in the middle. No one took care of them in between. People ignored the park. A ton of people moved to park and do not know the history. Used to be ramshackle. Just use park and don’t have to contribute. Have to make sure there is sustainability and buy in. COVID-19 has been a friend because increase use.

Who is using the park? Mostly from the neighborhood, except maybe dog park users.

Changes of park use since COVID? So many families. More people picking up trash and pulling stuff out of the Boat Lake. Increased usage makes it more obvious. Tremendous number of families in the park.

Does Carol use park other than as a volunteer? Recently joined gym so will walk diagonal across park to access gym. If extra time, will sit. Knows too many people and too many dogs so can’t be alone. Tries to do that.

The park is big. Fountain needs to be fixed – need to find the plans.
How do people use the park? Used to be that people would be siloed. Fear of drugs and prostitution. Now, more comfortable. Will ask directions or talk about other parts of the park.

Increased interaction. Pagoda has become a magnet. "One of the first words that children learn." Toddlers are drawn to the Pagoda – results in parents interacting. Same with Boat Lake. Story about 80-year-old man who lived in the area for long time. Having features is helpful in having people interacting.

Are there features that prevent people from interacting? Not really. People all over the place. Wish there was something for the Casino. A beautiful building, but not available for the public because it is a senior center. Better if it was more available.

[background noise of people walking by]. Best thing they ever did was make the Pagoda accessible. Carol worked on master plan and was surprised that they were going to have it open. But good – everyone feels they are a part of it.

Carol was docent when I went up Pagoda for Dance Party last December.

Anchor point: the Bull Circle. Love the big old head, he doesn’t get enough love.

Shared history of Bull – part of a spring and water came out of his nose. He is old and worn.

When closes eyes, Pagoda comes to mind.

So many Pagoda stories. Just keep your mouth shut and listen to their stories.


Who do you see using the park? Moms, Dad, kids. Groups playing badminton, volleyball. Dog walking. Other examples. Asked about demographics. A ton of Hispanics who are very comfortable using the park. Better with African American. Hispanics do not have that history. Friends of Patterson Park has done a lot to connect with bilingual.

Another volunteer activity: the tree team. Describes activity and shared history with this team. Feels this is the most social team and was “grumpy” when couldn’t plant anymore. Found a way to remain involved. Mascot of the tree team. Continued to feel included. True for the volunteer experience.

What about those who don’t volunteer? Eventually they should volunteer.
Returned to statement that Patterson Park was a “white park”. Story about Butch as a child. Black kids came across Baltimore Street and police chased them out. Butch did not say anything. Feels bad to this day. It was a “white park”. Tough to get African American involvement. Since COVID, there may be an increase. Carol had not thought about it. Maybe couples. Will be a good thing if there is a shift. Feel comfortable. Continue to come.

Access. Physical access – the steep steps on Baltimore. Will go up, but not down. 30 of them. Leave by exiting the corner. Most things are accessible. At least what the Friends of Patterson Park are involved in. Can’t speak to Little League and ball fields. Trump’s first year – how horrible that was. Reflected on Latinx event and welcome and safe. Due to ICE concern. Does not think ICE has been present, they would not be welcome. BLM art and park people taking them down and neighbors called. It is for people to do stuff.

Do park relationships carry into neighborhoods. Spoke to volunteering at a school (The Commodore John Rodgers School). It is hard for there to be people that I do not know. Every now and then I meet someone. Social group – is from people met in the park. Multigenerational groups. Tree Team has had more engagements and marriages than any other teams. Often stay after marriage or move back if they have moved away.

Is park additive to the neighborhoods. Yes. It is the engine that drives the whole train. Probably the only thing in all of SE that everyone agrees upon. Everyone loves the park. It is all about the park. It is the only unifying feature. Where you come from the concerts. Love to watch the kids grow up.


Carol’s background. From Elkridge. When 13 came to city for high school and “I never looked back.” Elkridge was insular. In city, everyone involved and knows everyone. “I escaped.” “My mother said me I knew you were going to move to the city...”. Story about move from Washington Street to Baltimore. Original woodwork, plaster, rosettes, gas jets. Hated to leave 200 block of S. Washington because liked the people. 2300 block of Baltimore because
of the room. Each community couldn’t believe she was safe in the other community “it is so dangerous”. People believe if you live north of the park you must have bullet holes.

00:44:51 “I inadvertently became a parkie.” [I did not follow-up well on this statement - ugh...].

00:45:41 The Extension or the Little Park. Tried to name it the East Park. Shared former name for Pagoda Hill, used to be Cannon Ball Hill. Hard to change a name. Reflected on Friends of Patterson Park doing stuff in west side of park and said tension that east side was not receiving attention. Less so now.

00:48:05 Use the east side? Walking. “A nice walk” and for the Lantern Parade. Discussed Lantern Parade and is usually a Marshall. Reflected on activities that people have done to help through COVID – in neighborhoods, not park activities. Outgrowth of the park. Shared on neighborhood association sites, not the park sites.

00:51:06 Discussed grass and the lack of mowing. [reflective of attentiveness to upkeep of the park]. Wants field below Casino to be turned into a meadow with buttercups.

00:52:52 Small chat at the end. Mention of Leslie – Director of Volunteering. Everyone wants to talk about the park. [not sure Carol wanted to end]
Audio Log J

Researcher: Amy S. Millin  
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Phone: 443-421-2322  
Email: amy.millin@goucher.edu

Project Name: The Public Park as Liminal Space: A Study of Spontaneous and Intentional Behavior and the Impact on Community  
Date Logged: 2020-09-13

File 7 of 7

Format:  
- Digital file type: MP3  
- Bit Depth: 16  
- Sample Rate: 44.1kHz  
- Sound field: Mono  
- Bit Rate (MP3 Only): 320kbps  
- Bit Rate Encoding (MP3 Only): Variable (VBR)

Length of recording: Hour(s): 00  
Minutes: 54  
Seconds: 29

Date Recorded: 2020-09-12  
Location: Patterson Park – Main Section (Pagoda)

Interviewee/Event: Jessica Markiewicz

Interviewer(s): Amy S. Millin

Copyright Owner: Amy S. Millin  
Restricted? No

Summary: Interview conducted with Jessica Markiewicz, a volunteer with Friends of Patterson Park. Lots of background noise from nearby conversations. Interview took place at the Pagoda which is a busy site. Sirens and helicopters are heard off and on during interview. Music is played towards the end.

Key words, names, & places: Patterson Park, Pagoda, Boat Lake, Highlandtown Train, Audubon Garden, Pulaski Monument, Bull Circle, dog park

Sound Quality: broadcast  
good  
poor

TIME CODE   CONTENT DESCRIPTION  
(HH:MM:SS)
Sound check. Confirmed consent form was read and signed. Jessica stated she has no questions about the research project.

Describe role of volunteer in the park. Jessica is a dance teacher in Anne Arundel County public schools for past 10 years. Born and raised in Maryland, graduate school in NYC, and came back Baltimore. Chose Patterson Park because grandmother from here.

Beautiful. Used to come here as a child. Loves the Pagoda. Learned of volunteer team for Pagoda. Wants to be a steward of the Pagoda. Met lots of nice people. Describe jobs.

Tomorrow starting on the Boat Team.

Explored family connection to Patterson Park. Jessica is from Severn, parents are teachers in Anne Arundel. Grandmother lived in Severn. Grandmother’s sister lived in house in Patterson Park that she was born in. Close to them because of grandmother and mother being raised. NOTE: when asking clarifying questions, I couldn’t get clear answers.

Discussed multigeneration versus moving to area as a young adult. Compared to NYC. Discussed pros and cons of city living.

Volunteering experiences: most consistent volunteers are Jessica’s parent’s age or older. Jessica is 34 – thinks she looks younger than she is. Talked about connecting with volunteers. Wanted to be inside the Pagoda. Names specific people. Pagoda team also does Highlandtown Train Garden. Lives with fiancée. Started volunteering to meet people. Happens they are all 65. Likes people older than herself. People her age don’t seem to be interested in volunteering. Jessica thinks it is a good, productive use of time. Would be out here anyway, wants to make it look nice.

Meet husband in park? No – bartender. Midway between job locations.


Who visits the Pagoda? Mix of “all of the that”. Tourists, from community but don’t really speak English – they are Latino. Young, people and couples are exercising, parents in town, great view. Wide range of people. Older people have a hard time with the steps.


Who is not using the park? People with handi... look around right now and you see one person. Maybe it is this part. But if you go to the basketball courts you will see them. Talks about the pool and that she went one time and everyone else was black. Depends on the activity and where you are in the park.


Accessibility – beyond physical. No one is actively excluded. But I am not going to play soccer with Latino people or basketball with Black people. But those aren’t my activities. I did Zumba and that was mostly Latino. Didn’t go back – but that is because of the time. I am a 34-year-old white lady. People aren’t excluded because we don’t want them. It is because of their interests. Group of volunteers is not very diverse in age or anything else. I am the youngest one. Sign for Pagoda docents is two languages. Everyone invited in communication. It is more about what is chosen. Does not dance in the park (Jessica is a dancer). Does she see people playing music – not unless it is paid. Butcher’s Hill folks play and do stuff in this area of the park (west side/Pagoda area).

Do relationships formed in the park carry back to the neighborhood? Gave examples of a few Pagoda volunteers doing train garden. Example about woodworking person. People who invest here (park) also invest in the community. Jessica and her fiancé are drawn to the park and not willing to move away from the park. People want to be a part of it. It is beautiful. No other green space that is this well cared for with an association/organization that
sets up events. The stewardship of the park. Friends of Patterson Park have an understand that there are generations who have used the park. They understand that this is a special place. A significant space. Compared to Central Park and other parks. Housing is less expensive.

What do you co-workers think of you living in the city [Jessica shared earlier that she teaches in a school in Anne Arundel County]? They think she is insane, so do her parents. News does not do a good service to the city. Car broken into 3x in first 6 months. “Why do you live there? It is so unsafe.” Her salary would not give her what she has here: community, volunteer experience, green. It is worthy the things that aren’t great. Does not have children. High taxes do suck. Doesn’t need more space. They assume everything is violent, boarded up. I have met nicer people here than in Anne Arundel County. I have never experienced violence. Property crime can be fixed. Pride for what she has done to help care for the park. Would think differently if wasn’t volunteering. She would see how much stuff sucks. “I don’t see or interact with people that are making it worse here. Even the one, even people.... crack house. It looks like a real party. They are enjoying living in their community too. I don’t think it is a bad place to live,” T Talked about knowing neighbors. Talked about seeing regular people in the park – even if don’t know them, see them. “People’s routines include this place.”

Use of park outside of volunteering. Yoga. With mom, not dad. Fiancé. Comes to park to do something or walk through park to do something. Doesn’t have a lot of free time. So, free time is spent volunteering. Sad that the Pagoda is not open this year. Regular personal routine includes volunteer work. I spend my time here, but I don’t feel that I am giving something, I get stuff. I get a chair for concerts.

Changes since COVID. Yes – more people. More groups of people. Drinking responsibly in the park. [Points to groups sitting near us as examples of park use since COVID]. Hopes it continues. Don’t have to go to bar and people’s houses. Can do carryout and eat in the park.

moved? Wanted to move out of parent’s house. Good price for house – good equity. More people buying, less renting. Parking harder. Bike lane. Gentrified. Opinion about making an old house look like a “spaceship inside”. Discussed not respecting old houses, preservation, integrity. Told story about taking neighbor’s materials from house renovation (tiles, wood, etc). Gentrification – tearing up and changing something that was fine for a long time. Then leave after you have two kids because you want a better school. Then have a house that is $700,000 that no one can afford. If you go four blocks north, there are people who can’t afford to live on the park. It is getting younger, but the younger do not want to invest in the city. Not always true. There is more movement. Not sure if it is good for the long-term health of the city.

00:50:35 Favorite memory or moment in the park? Took time to answer. Reflected on her mom visiting the Pagoda back in the ‘60s with her aunt. Then Pagoda closed. Good to see her visit the Pagoda with Jessica and that she now volunteers here. Hopes she will have a good memory after getting married at the Pagoda. Feeding the ducks. I like it here. I hope everyone likes it too. It is a good neighborhood. There are really good parts of the city. I am just trying to make it nice. Showcase its value.

00:53:30 Amy talked about Executive Summary to Friends of Patterson Park. Jessica said the park should be for everyone. It is Baltimore’s backyard.
Appendix D: Executive Summary

The Public Park as Liminal Space: A Study of Spontaneous and Intentional Behavior and the Impact on Community

Executive Summary

by Amy S. Millin, MSW
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Cultural Sustainability
Goucher College, Welch Center for Graduate & Professional Studies
Baltimore, Maryland
December 2020

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Purpose

The research strives to answer the question “how do we encourage cultural health and equity in a diverse and unequal world through the use of public space?” By extension, it encourages exploration of what this means for surrounding communities. Field documentation in Patterson Park (Baltimore, MD) provides data to augment academic research.

Observing happenchance intersections, or avoidance, of park participants begins to inform and answer questions as to whether public parks fulfill their missions, hints to how they could adapt, and provides information about the impact on communities.

Background

Patterson Park, founded in 1827, is the oldest park in Baltimore. It is reported to be the most “intensively used large park” in the city and is located two miles east of Baltimore’s Inner Harbor.

The 137-acre park is divided into two unequal sections, the larger western section and the smaller eastern section. Six neighborhoods immediately surround Patterson Park and serve to define the park with stark transitions from green space to urban environment.

Patterson Park serves as a community resource for the surrounding neighborhoods – in most cases park visitors live within walking or biking distance. From its beginning, the park has been viewed as a vital resource for people and organizations that live and work outside its hard boundaries.
Introduction

Public spaces, such as parks, provide a space and time that exists outside of the familiar. They are set apart from the everyday, thus providing opportunity for engagement in activities, exploration of behaviors, and interactions with others. They are temporal spaces - ones that are intentionally entered and left. Parks may be viewed as spaces which host liminal opportunities – expected and the unexpected.

Intrinsic relationships exist in the intersection between public space and community. Public spaces may be used to support and partner with communities to create sustainable cultures and strengthen relationships within and across demographic groups. Increasing understanding of relationships is important to sustaining cultural vitality and equity in a diverse and oftentimes unequal world.

Sustainable cultures include traits such as bonds exhibited between people, engagement in activities, appreciation of self and others, repetition and exploration of familiar and new rituals, as well as the expression of care of self, others, and space. Quantifiable data, such as rates of housing occupancy, racial and ethnic diversity of neighborhoods, crime, education, and physical health should be used to further augment the qualitative data collected in this research.

Additional Considerations

Structural Racism: Institutional racism and segregation have become increasingly divisive in recent years. Research in Patterson Park included observations of demonstrated support for racial justice that highlight the ways in which public spaces become the site for community engagement and protests.

COVID-19: Maryland issued a stay-at-home order in March 2020 in response to the spread of COVID-19. Use of permanent park structures was restricted, face coverings became compulsory, and individuals were required to maintain six feet of distance from each other. Over the course of the research period, restrictions fluctuated in response to CDC recommendations and mandates by Baltimore and Maryland.

The impact of these additional considerations was integrated into research findings.
Key Points

The meaning and purpose of parks is complex. Research findings suggest that the Patterson Park provides space and time for participants to make connections to self and others as well as to find meaning in their everyday.

Participants in parks share resources, are involved in park governance, intersect with each other, and are on display. There are benefits that emerge as a result of engaging in public spaces and there are tensions that must be navigated due to shared and finite resources.

Patterson Park’s complex history, including use as a public green space, serving as the site for military encampments, and host of demonstrations provides examples of adaptation, threat, and reinterpretation.

There is a constant shifting and re-organization of one’s understanding, meaning, and positioning of self in Patterson Park. People’s connections and relationships are re-ordered numerous times. Findings indicate that some individuals and groups experience acceptance while others do not.
Patterson Park has been reimagined over the course of its history as a result of changing values of park use, political pressures, neighborhood demographics, financial fluctuations, and community efforts.

The impact of COVID-19, in 2020, provided opportunity to compare participant behavior before and after laws restricted movement and activity in parks. Evidence of altered behavior is seen in movement on paths, exercise classes relocated from gyms to park, an increase in the number of people in the park, and the reimagining of park structures.

Participants’ connection to space is influenced by access. Access is explored through two different, yet complimentary, perspectives.

It may be described as a participant’s relationship to the built space – how one engages with and in physical environments.

Access also speaks to experiences and feelings. It calls into question whether individuals feel included and represented. When examining access through this lens, barriers and accommodations are more subtle than the built environment. This leads to an understanding of access in relationship to the meaning of objects and people, such as messages conveyed to demographic groups about the history of space, infrastructure, and programming as well as how people treat each other.
Movement patterns often reveal the ways in which participants of different races, ethnicities, and genders experience public spaces as accessible. Incorporating an understanding of historical context is important to interpreting use patterns and fostering inclusion, access, and connections. Differences of use in Patterson Park is evident in white, Latinx, and Black communities.

Friends of Patterson Park and the Patterson Park Audubon Center have worked intentionally, in part as a result of recommendations from the 2016 Patterson Park Master Plan, to create an environment in which Latinx community members feel seen and validated. Recognizing and celebrating difference is important to understanding park use, thinking about programming, and understanding the relationship between park and neighborhoods.

Partnering with community members gives agency towards planning and use of space that is reflective of their values and ideals. Gathering community input for the 2016 Patterson Park Master Plan and subsequent work completed, are evidence of the importance of community voice. It is recommended that these efforts continue and are expanded.

The presence of shared public spaces provides opportunity for a “coming together” in unique ways. The intersection of people in the park, either intentional or accidental, results in personal interpretations and understandings of the events. Patterson Park represents different meanings for different demographic groups. Connectivity to place and person creates bonds and influences the cultural health of communities.
Patterson Park, like many shared public spaces, is not a place of equality; rather, the park is a space in which behaviors are negotiated. Some behaviors become normalized over time while others are excluded, or marginalized. The quality of the connection and negotiation of place results in feelings of inclusion or disconnect. In Patterson Park, it may be a determining factor for answering questions regarding access and use.

Research finds that Patterson Park is overwhelmingly viewed as an attribute for those who access the park. The park provides opportunities for new relationships to form and for established connections to strengthen. Activities provide opportunities for meeting others through shared interests. There is a differentiation in participation and connection between programs sponsored by park organizations and those that are initiated by park users. Site research suggests these activities are perceived to be closed to outsiders. Additional conclusions suggest there may be unspoken barriers - such as race, ethnicity, gender, and age - that prevent outsiders from engaging.

Recommendations
Community at Center

The research represents a glimpse into Patterson Park and the impact that public spaces have on communities. In order to draw concrete conclusions on the ways in which public spaces may be used to sustain communities and inform vibrant cultures, it is important to work in direct partnership with the communities that are impacted by the presence of public spaces.
Partnerships

- Partner with community groups to increase understanding of the meaning and value of the park. Identify how information informs future infrastructure and programming such that a goal of supporting vibrant cultures is developed and executed.
- Continue, and expand, conversations with different demographic groups living around Patterson Park whose presence in the park is minimal or absent. Incorporate methods used for engaging those who are absent to ensure cultural appropriateness and familiarity. Work in collaboration to identify new programming that speaks to a broader range of demographic groups that is reflective of their values and communities. For example, programming that is reflective of members of Black and Asian communities as has been successfully accomplished with the Latinx community.
- Strive to understand the absence of youth in Patterson Park. Partner with youth to identify types of programming in which they would be interested in participating. Work directly with youth to be program planners and leaders.

Programs

- Clarify if the goals of the park are to provide opportunities to strengthen relationships both within, and across, demographic groups. Placing communities at the center, what do they want and how might the park support them?
- Conduct an audit of volunteers in the park to determine if they represent the demographic diversity of the surrounding communities. If limited, identify whether and how to become more demographically inclusive. Develop volunteer training to include information about community residents such that unconscious bias does not convey messages of discrimination or exclusion.
- Continue to offer programming and activities that invite members of different communities to come together to strengthen interpersonal relations and to learn about each other.
Research

- Identify, or develop, a metric to measure cultural vitality such that public spaces and neighborhoods might work in partnership to jointly identify goals and programming in the park that speaks to their communities. Explore further the ways in which the metric speaks to quality of life, community well-being, and social capital.

- Conducting research in Patterson Park during a period of two significant events (COVID-19 and racial justice uprising) was an unintended benefit. Each event altered park use and behavior in a matter of weeks. It is recommended that observations of park use continue in order to track patterns. In one year, identify if programming and new park use, spontaneously and intentionally introduced into Patterson Park, remain and are further developed.

Methodology

The research design incorporates a traditional ethnographic toolkit and methodology. Interviews conducted for this project focus on personal experiences and reflections of behavior in a public space. The research emphasizes culture rather than individuals. Information obtained from interviews is used to provide data of park use and participant behavior. The data is compared to conclusions drawn from academic research in order to gain an understanding of the dynamic relationship between public spaces, participants, and their communities.

An Expedited Institutional Review Board application was approved by Goucher College. Data was gathered via interviews and site visits conducted over a 16-month period from July 2019 through November 2020 — excluding winter months. Throughout the research period, visits focused on outdoor activities and locations. Documentation was recorded via written fieldnotes, photographs, audio recordings, and videos. Observation of park activities, formal and informal, reflect the interactions, patterns, and movement through qualitative methods. Approximately 35 hours, over the course of 24 site visits and one virtual interview, were spent observing Patterson Park. By the conclusion of the fieldwork period, observations had been made of spontaneous, informal behaviors as well as planned, structured activities.

The recent global health crisis, caused by COVID-19, was considered prior to each site visit and interview. Participants interviewed in 2020 were given the option of being interviewed on a virtual platform. During each in-person interview conducted in 2020, CDC recommended safety standards were practiced by both the researcher and participants.
With appreciation to Friends of Patterson Park, Patterson Park Audubon Center, and park visitors and interview participants whose words and images combine to tell the story of a public space.
During the presentation, I intend to touch on five topics as they relate to the larger theme of behavior in public spaces and the potential impact on communities. In addition, I will reflect on my journey.
Over the past two plus years, friends and family asked me countless times why I decided to return to graduate school. Over the past 10 months, the questions I received were along the lines of “why Patterson Park” and what does liminal mean?

In the paper, I acknowledged that I gravitated to living in communities within walking distance of public spaces and the importance that the spaces had on my life. That is only part of the story.

The other influencer is the ways in which the experiences I had, while working as a social worker, influenced my thinking. I was less interested in being a therapist, and more interested in understanding the resilience and sustainability of individuals, families, and communities despite all the “disrupters” that impacted their lives. My clients, time-after-time, pointed to relatives, friends, and strangers that crossed paths with their lives in happenchance intersections. These connections altered the course of their lives – ultimately, the connections sustained them.

For more than 20 years, I considered the ways that spontaneous and intentional behavior impacts people and their communities. Twenty years ago, I did not know what to do with my questions or ideas. At the time, my husband told me I had a research project. I laughed at him and stated, “I don’t do research.” Little did I know.

In the years since, I began asking questions, I kept pecking away at work, watched people, I thought about the health of our communities, and I tried to find a way to educate and support people in the process.

This is the “why” of the research and what led me to Patterson Park.

The photos on this slide capture a few moments in time that represent how space and behavior partner in a type of dance or routine:

For example, the upper right photo, of the East Playground this past June, is an example of the attempts to prevent park visitors from using the structures. Yet,
the fencing has been pulled off. In my paper, I included an image of two people working out on this playground, having re-imagined its purpose.

• The other photos are examples of different uses of the park - people spending time in familiar groups or alone. The bottom right photo provides an example of an interesting event – the man had walked up to the woman fishing and entered her personal space, but never asked her what she was doing or how the fishing was going. Then he kept walking. It offers an example of an invisible barrier that prevents participants from engaging each other.

Who am I (in the research)?

• I believe that I had a strong understanding of what I brought to Patterson Park as well as to the research overall. This includes my visible, physical characteristics as well as intangible strengths and weaknesses. Sometimes, to a fault, I remained cognizant of how my presence could impact behavior and influence conversations. For example, in some interviews, I hesitated asking what would have logically been “the next question” for fear of prying too much. Later, when writing the paper, I wish I had asked the unasked questions and given the interviewee the power, agency, or opportunity to choose whether to answer. I realize that my “not asking” is also part of what I brought to the research process – the “not asking” is part of my upbringing and informs who I am in the space.

• Deborah Kodish and Margaret Kovach remain great resources for me in terms of thinking about positionality, the role of the fieldworker, approach to work, and keeping the community at the center. I thought of their work even when reading the 2016 Patterson Park Master Plan and thinking about where research, park, and communities were positioned in relationship to each other within the document.

Impact
I feel that the impact of my positionality in relationship to the park and participants led to certain results and findings. To some degree, it may have resulted in who I interviewed (white woman). My prior career as a social worker in Philadelphia and Chicago most definitely impacted my observations of race, ethnicity, activities, the dynamics between people as well as thinking about access to the park and to specific areas or activities within the park.

It is my prior work and lived experiences that impacted what I observed in the park and captured my attention while reading articles and books. Examples include:
- Thinking about the abandoned scooter in the lower right-hand photo and wondering who had access to the scooter and felt they could abandon it next to the Boat Lake?
- Who participated in Zumba, in the lower left-hand photo, and where do they position themselves in the group? As well as who is watching and from where.
- What are the dynamics taking place in the recreation social softball game in the upper right-hand photo, why are there no fans watching, what is the meaning of the game to those engaged?

Correcting Perceptions
- I began the research with a set of perceptions or assumptions about what I would observe in the park. Similarly, I forecasted my conclusions. Some were accurate, but I also had to correct my false perceptions along the way.
- The most striking example was about stranger interactions. In 2019, I observed almost no stranger-to-stranger interactions. This led me to assume that the park was not a place to develop new connections outside of one’s known community. Even the dog park, in the middle left of this slide, played host to insular behavior. This surprised me based on my experiences in dog parks – my dog park experiences were that the spaces provide amazing opportunities to make new connections. I am not convinced that is the case in this dog park. Use of cell phones and ear buds.
- Yet, in 2020, through interviews, I heard personal examples from at least four interviewees, as well as stories of their friends, of meeting new acquaintances in the park.
- This served as an important reminder to remain open to really hearing what one is being told in interviews and to work to make observations from a more neutral frame. In addition, my experiences served as opportunities to compare and contrast different observations as well as to work towards understanding the meaning of those experiences for each person.
Framing the paper felt a bit like what it might take to build a park. I wanted to start with the foundation and then build up and out.

- Providing context and history of 19th century parks and the Recreation Parks Movement generally, as well as Patterson Park and Baltimore specifically, felt important to the process. In this case study, history informed use as current use informs future use and experiences.

- The research and writing felt interactive and iterative—there was a lot of back-and-forth movement between my house and the park as well as within my own head.

**Topics of Focus**

- **The Commons**
  - Thinking of public spaces as a commons was an “a ha” moment for me. There are two important variables in the commons—resources and differences:
    - Recognizing that resources are finite: be they the space itself, the number of swings at the playgrounds, or types of programming
    - Park visitors bring very different experiences and understandings of how public spaces are used. Such as the Ecuavoley and tennis players. Thus, producing tension and the need to work towards acceptance or exclusion—which was much of my interest.
  - The Commons serves as a draw for most of the communities around the park. Susie Creamer described it as the center of a wheel with spokes extending into the neighborhoods. Even visually the streets situated perpendicular to the park boarders creates a feeling of spokes—as seen in the upper left photo on this slide.

- **Liminal**
• The shift in my understanding of liminal from being a “place” to that of “an experience” was important in understanding the impact that public spaces have for participants and their communities.
• It called into questions about identity, positionality, agency, and intersectionality.
• I also observed the transition of use and the meaning of space may be dependent on who was using it. In addition, I observed the changes of behavior based on who was around that might influence or alter that of others.
• This past Tuesday, the “New York Times” contained an article titled “If There are No Crowds, Is it Still Times Square” which covered the past reputation of Times Square as a “seedy” place which had transitioned into a tourist destination, but more recently is attracting 1/3 of the usual crowds, while serving as the site for BLM and Biden rallies as well as an increase in people living on the streets. One visitor is quoted as stating “It’s the same place, but it’s a totally different experience. It’s totally opposite of what it used to be.”
• I suggest that Times Square, already the site of liminality, continues to be so today as the identity and meaning of the space shifts and adapts. It also highlights what I have found to be true in Patterson Park – those in the space help give meaning to the space and that meaning may shift over the course of time. Yet, I do not think it means that Times Square, or Patterson Park, stops being those places.

• **Access and Connectivity**
  • Access and Connectivity, in many ways, speak to each other throughout my paper.
  • While I am very interested in how infrastructure influences the participant’s experience, I am most interested the visceral experiences that one has while in public spaces that makes them feel included and connected or excluded. This is where I examined race, ethnicity, acknowledged gender, and barely mentioned LGBTQ+ identifiers.
  • Access and Connectivity circle back to what it means to be in a commons and be willing to experience temporal spaces, all while exposing oneself to the possibility of change.

• **COVID and Racial Justice**
  • One of the biggest choices I had was to consider the impact that COVID placed on the project. With the pandemic, I myself entered a liminal period. Yet, the restrictions imposed on behavior, because of COVID, as well as the early summer energy supporting Black lives, provided a remarkable opportunity to document behavior during a period of crisis and change.
  • The commons became a stage for liminal moments and highlighted situations of access and connectivity. To some degree, the people I interviewed, were more attuned to patterns of park use than they may have otherwise been.
  • Those “disruptors” that intrigued me when I was a social worker, returned and set into motion increased park use as well as new types of use.
  • As I stated in my paper, I will be interested to see if some of the observed changes – such as increased use by Black visitors - are sustained or if behavior
reverts back to pre-COVID and pre-George Floyd patterns. Interviews with Malinidi and Katie suggest that efforts by Friends of Patterson Park may invite further growth.

- From the moment I first visited Patterson Park, I was aware of subtle racial segregation and absence from the park of specific demographic groups. I was also a bit overwhelmed by the vast space of the park and felt I was not going to be able to capture the many micro-communities within the park borders.
- In the end, I felt like I managed to represent the park in broad brushstrokes. What ended up being sacrificed were the deep dives into the spaces and communities such as the Latinx soccer players in the Annex (as seen in the lower right-hand corner). I also think it is important to conduct deep dives into exploring the understanding of the meaning of the park within the Black communities. Research of this demographic group is all but absent in past work. The changes that occurred over this year give even more reason to better understand park use, behavior, and impact on communities. The art installation along Eastern Avenue, as seen in the upper right photo, is a remarkable example of adapted use of the park. A side note, I want to emphasize that the paintings faced out of the park towards Canton and were not visible to park visitors in the park. They were visible if driving on Eastern Avenue, walking on the sidewalk, and to the neighborhood residents. It was an interesting installation even when considering for whom it was installed. Who is the intended audience?
- I also believe that my research is more representative of the experience IN the park and does not fully connect to how the park impacts surrounding communities, except through interviews and tracking of park use. Extending the study into the neighborhoods as well as looking at the border – the actual streets surrounding the park as shown in the upper left photo – should be considered as part of the next steps.
• Last, I want to draw your attention to the photo in the bottom left corner as it serves as symbol of who is missing. You are looking at hair extensions on S. Linwood Avenue – close to the pool. I took the photo in August 2019. At the time it highlighted the differences park visitors bring to the space as well as reminder of who is absent or possibly not made to feel welcome.

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<th>Cultural Sustainability</th>
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<tr>
<td>• Bonds</td>
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<td>• Engagement in Activities</td>
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<td>• Appreciation of Self &amp; Others</td>
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<td>• Familiar and New Rituals</td>
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<td>• Cultural Vitality (Jon Hawkes)</td>
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<td>• Distributive, Procedural, and Interactional Justice (Setha Low)</td>
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• The importance of this work is applicable to specific communities - Black, Ecuadorian, and Ukrainian as some examples – but also to the larger communities in the surrounding neighborhoods, the city, and the region as a whole.

• The efforts put forth, by Friends of Patterson Park and the Patterson Park Audubon Center, to celebrate and recognize the Latinx communities – as I noted in the paper – is commendable. However, I question if this success unintentionally marginalized the Black and Asian communities around the park.

• I believe that work in public spaces should be mindful not to over-emphasize any particular community at the expense of another. I share this observation knowing that resources are limited, but the efforts feel skewed even as the Latinx community is reported to have reaped benefits from the programming and attention.

• Each of the interviewees were passionate when discussing the importance and value they feel the park provides them, individually, as well as in the surrounding areas, as a whole. As I shared in my paper, one respondent stated that if the park was not here, no one would live in the area. From my perspective, I enjoyed watching visitors walk, run, and bike into the park from the surrounding neighborhoods. Actually watching participants make the transition from home to leisure was informative – there was evidence of bonds to the park and engagement in activities.

• Returning to Jon Hawke’s book “The Fourth Pillar of Sustainability” was a helpful suggestion by Heather. His work served as reminder for me that the relationship
between public space and communities is two ways – cultural vitality flows both directions, into the park as well as back into the neighborhoods.

• Towards the end of my research and writing, I recognized that the entire paper could have been organized around Setha Low’s framing of “fairness in space” and her three concepts of justice (distributive, procedural, and interactional). In some instances, I feel that I naturally spoke to Low’s concepts of justice, but could have teased it out even further. This framing, along with the questions Low poses, while thinking intentionally about behavior in the park, could be used to better think about the influence of park on communities and cultural vitality to which Jon Hawkes speaks.

As I moved through the MACS program and transition to the next stage, I find myself reflecting on five important topics.

**Liminality**

• I find the concept of liminality to be extraordinarily intriguing and challenging. It feels almost like a mosquito – it is there one moment and then gone, only to return.

• I would like to explore liminality further. A question I have been considering is whether liminal moments stop becoming liminal when they transition to being familiar or commonplace.

• In the instance of public spaces - when going to the park becomes a part of one’s regular routine, do parks than no longer offer opportunities of the “betwixt-and between” that Victor Turner discusses in his writings? Or, because of the very nature of public spaces, do parks continuously provide the possibility of the “unexpected”? Or, is it a bit of both?
The New York Times article that I referenced earlier speaks to the fluidity of spaces that I am pondering.

**Self in Space**
- Awareness of self, in relationship to space and others, is likely an innate trait that I developed through my work as a social worker, athletic coach, and general life experiences. The research I completed for the Capstone likely exploited this awareness and led me to more closely attune to it in myself, as well as when I observed behavior in Patterson Park.
- The impact that COVID-19 had on the work, and me personally, produced additional dynamics for myself in space. Processing my own feelings, in conjunction with observing “other” yielded unexpected feelings and emotions in the park. I touch on this in the thesis as well as connected to Maribel Alvarez’s article “Folklife in the Age of Pandemics.”

**Movement in Time**
- Self in Space flows into Movement in Time. Conducting field research during a pandemic plays havoc with one’s sense of time. Yet, what I observed, over time, was important to the research results.
- The movement in time was evident from 2019 to 2020 as well as from June 2020 to November 2020. If I were to return to Patterson Park today, I would expect it to be altered yet again.
- Perhaps it is the liminal aspect of the park that lends itself to thinking about behavior in time. Malindi, one of the Zumba instructors, talked about her observations of watching the children of her Zumba students grow over the past 10 years. Carol, the 80-year-old volunteer, was also focused on movement in the park over time. In her interview she discussed something as simple as the care of trees, changes with infrastructure, as well as who was in the space – such as the changes in racial and ethnic participants.

**Silence & Absence**
- As I reflected earlier, I entered Patterson Park thinking about who was absent as much as I did about who was present. Similarly, in interviews I thought about what was said as well as what was left unspoken – such as Jessica’s veiled opinions about seeing the “bad parts of the park,” the crack house nearby, and that the basketball courts are where all the Black people go.
- There were also places, in the park, that were silent. Many of my photos of the park did not contain people – even when the park was busy. I think it is reflective of a combination of where people feel they had access as well as the overall vastness of the park.
- In my research, I believe there are absences and room for more work to be done in order to create a more robust document. I touched on some of those areas earlier when I discussed what was missing.

**Connections**
- One of the aspects that I enjoyed about this project, and that I learned the most from, academically, was connecting research to field observations – or what I liked to call, “lived experiences” of myself and participants.
• I loved bouncing back and forth between articles and the park. For example, reading about 19th century parks and the Recreation Parks Movement, their structure, and intent and then going to Patterson Park and seeing examples in front of me. As well as vice versa, observing patterns of behavior such as where members of the Latinx community most frequently visited, hearing confirmation in interviews (without me prompting for the information), and then reading about the history of the park and Baltimore.

• Connections extends beyond the “here and now.” My curiosity continues to grow – how does the research apply to museums? Streets? Festivals? Schools? Office spaces? Airports?

• The research is really about intersections between people as well as the intersection of people and space and the influence that these experiences have on each person as well as the space.

• The experience, for me, has not just taken place in the park. It has also been the impact of the conversations the four of us have had as it relates to this project as well as in prior classes, over the cafeteria table at Goucher, and through email exchanges.

• Thank you Lisa, Heather, and Rob for your guidance and questions along the way which helped to inform my thinking.