

Cultural Landscapes of Greenbelt:
Telling Stories of Community and Division in a
Local Museum

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Introduction

Sitting across from one of the museum docents at the Greenbelt Museum's docent dinner on June 22, 2013, I got a quick introduction to the boundaries that section off Greenbelt, Maryland in the minds of many city residents. "I live in Greenbelt East," the docent told me early in our conversation. She made this statement as if she was providing a disclaimer. She set herself apart from those living in "historic Greenbelt" and seemed to imply that, in her role as a docent, she had less authority to talk about the story of Greenbelt that is provided in tours of the museum house. This docent introduced another layer of meaning to the boundaries between the different sections of the city when she added that she lives in Greenbelt East "because of the diversity."

As I looked around the room at the group of docents, I noticed there were very few African Americans in attendance. The majority of docents and Greenbelt Museum supporters I encountered at other events were white. However, outside of Greenbelt Museum functions, the U.S. Census data paints a different and more racially diverse portrait of Greenbelt. In 2010, African Americans made up 47.8 percent of Greenbelt's population, whites made up 30.1 percent, Latinos made up 14.3 percent, and Asians made up 9.7 percent (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). In conversations with the Greenbelt Museum's curator, I realized that this lack of racial diversity among the residents living in the "historic" part of Greenbelt and among the supporters of the Greenbelt Museum is seen as an issue that is recognized by the Greenbelt Museum. Yet, the museum staff and board are unsure about how to discuss and address this discrepancy between a diverse city population and an overwhelmingly white group of museum.

The Greenbelt Museum was founded in 1987 by residents of Greenbelt. These residents saw their town's history as a New Deal era, Resettlement Administration project as significant.

They wanted to preserve it through the creation of a museum. In particular, the residents wanted to preserve the history associated with “old greenbelt” or “historic Greenbelt”—phrases that people often use to describe the area of Greenbelt that was built in the 1930s by the Resettlement Administration along with “defense-era housing” built in the 1940s by the federal government (Likowski and McCarl 1997:80). The museum’s collection policy and interpretative focus have continued to focus on the history of this section of Greenbelt.

However, in recent years, the museum’s current curator, Megan Searing Young, has made significant efforts to interpret the history of Greenbelt as a whole. The exhibit was put on display in 2012 in Greenbelt’s Community Center, entitled *Greenbelt: The First 75 Years, 1937-2012*, serves as an example of this inclusive effort. The panels focusing on the 1970s and 1980s describe the building of housing developments, which constitute a number of areas including areas now known as Greenbelt East and Greenbelt West by many residents. Greenbelt East and Greenbelt West are physically separated from government-built Greenbelt as a result of the construction of major highways and the Green Line of the Metro Transit System.¹

While in many ways, government-built Greenbelt, East Greenbelt, and West Greenbelt function as separate communities as a result of this fragmented geography, residents in all three of these sections are all residents of the City of Greenbelt. They all pay taxes to the City of Greenbelt, and, as a result, they all pay the salary of the Greenbelt Museum’s curator. The Greenbelt Museum answers to two entities who provide funding: the Friends of the Greenbelt Museum (a non-profit group) and the Greenbelt City Council. As learned from conversations

¹ Throughout this paper, I will refer to the area built by the Resettlement Administration in the 1930s and by the federal government in the 1940s as *government-built* Greenbelt. I resist using the phrases *old* Greenbelt or *historic* Greenbelt because these labels imply that other parts of Greenbelt have less history or less valuable history. As I have learned from residents and bibliographic research, this is not the case.

with Young, the City Council has been advocating for the museum to become more relevant for all of the city's residents, not just those living in government-built Greenbelt. My museum practicum project constitutes a part of this effort.

As proposed in July 2013, I designed and conducted an ethnographic study of the cultural landscapes of Greenbelt, Maryland during the summer and fall of 2013. I interviewed 14 residents in total, reaching out to residents living in all areas of Greenbelt. I also helped Young to create a travelling version of the *Greenbelt: The First 75 Years, 1937-2012* exhibit, which we took with us to a community event held in East Greenbelt. This paper constitutes one way by which I hope to disseminate the results of my work. These results will also be disseminated through a series of audio recordings that will be placed the Greenbelt Museum's website.²

In short, the ethnographic research I conducted revealed two major themes in the way that the residents I interviewed conceptualized the landscape of their city. First, they conceptualized this landscape as providing opportunities for social interaction and community building. They often referred to the sense of community they felt in Greenbelt and spoke about how this was a factor that attracted them to move to Greenbelt and influenced them to stay. Second, in contradiction with the first major them, they observed significant boundaries within the community of Greenbelt—both physical boundaries that deterred them from walking or bicycling to other parts of town and social boundaries that made them feel less connected to residents living in other segments of Greenbelt.

² See Appendices A, B, and C for transcripts of audio recordings that will be shared through Greenbelt Museum's website (<http://greenbeltmuseum.org/>). Preliminary MP3 files of these audio recordings have been made available to you, the reader, through email.

In this paper, I will further explain these findings and their implications. To contextualize my project, I include a literature review that defines cultural landscapes and discusses the efforts of other museums to become more relevant for the communities they serve. I include a brief history of Greenbelt, explain my methods in more detail, and situate myself and this project in a larger context of museology. In closing, I make recommendations for future research and community engagement.

Literature

In order to provide context for the research I have completed, it is necessary for me to include three subsections of relevant literature: 1.) The new museology and community museums; 2.) Conceptualizing and mapping cultural landscapes; 3.) A brief history of Greenbelt, Maryland.

The New Museology and Community Museums

A set of movements in the museum world, called the new museology by many scholars, is shaping how museum curators and staff conceptualize the roles of their institutions and how museum scholarship is taught in universities. These movements call on museum staff to resist falling into the authoritative and often othering tones of past museum traditions of display. Instead, practicing in a framework of new museology means collaborating with those represented in exhibits and seeking to represent diverse communities' histories, cultures, and traditions of creative expression (Krouse 2006; Sandell 2002). Susan Applegate Krouse (2006:170) explains, "the 'new museology' seeks to be more inclusive, more democratic, more representative of diverse communities."

In this way, my practicum project for the Greenbelt Museum and the Greenbelt Museum's shifting mission toward inclusivity—inclusivity of changing demographics and neighborhoods that had previously been seen as ahistorical—are part of the movement toward a new museology. My project and the museum's changing mission seek to represent the diverse histories and experiences that exist in Greenbelt.

One of the ways in which to effectively represent the varieties of groups of people who make up a community is to collaborate with these groups, allowing their voices and curatorial decisions to show in interpretive products. Mary Jo Arnoldi, Christine Mullen Kreamer, and Michael Atwood Mason (2001) write about the process of collaboration that they undertook with African stakeholders in order to create the *African Voices* exhibit now on display in the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History. However, the processes of collaboration that various museums engage in are often quite different. In the case of *African Voices*, the curators created an advisory board made up of stakeholders—people from African nations and others—in order to aid in decision making about the exhibit (Arnoldi et al. 2001).

The Greenbelt Museum's situation contrasts from that of the National Museum of Natural History because the Greenbelt Museum is a local museum, displaying local history and subject matter. Local and community museums have the advantage of being able to create sustained relationships with local organizations and individuals. However, local museums do not necessarily create relationships with all subgroups within a community.

Teresa Moyer (2004) provides a useful example in her book chapter about the Bowne House in Flushing, New York. She describes how outreach efforts at this historic house museum engaged groups of first and second generation immigrants who had recently moved to Flushing.

According to Moyer, these outreach efforts were successful because they involved asking members of these groups, who had previously not attended programs at the museum, to participate in the creation of interpretive content. In this way, the museum's interpretation was made more relevant for the people living and working around it. It gained more museum supporters and visitors through collaborative processes.

As I will explain in more detail in the methodology section of this paper, in my project for the Greenbelt Museum, I also aimed to facilitate a collaborative process by which new museum content is co-produced by myself and members of the groups with which the museum is seeking to build relationships: residents of *all* parts of Greenbelt and racially diverse residents. In this way, my project seeks to contribute to the Greenbelt Museum's efforts to be a space of inclusivity in Greenbelt, rather than an institution that caters only to residents of government-built Greenbelt.

Conceptualizing and Mapping Cultural Landscapes

People have long been interested in how humans alter and conceptualize the landscapes in which they live. Carl Sauer (1963) first coins the term "cultural landscape" in 1925, defining a cultural landscape as "all the works of man that characterize the landscape" (342). He emphasizes how humans shape the non-human environment.

Since the time when Sauer was writing, the cultural landscape concept has been adopted and redefined by many other scholars across disciplines (Lewis 1983; Mathewson 2009; Mitchell 2003). Don Mitchell (2003) argues that theories of landscape have to include concepts of capital circulation, race, gender, geopolitics, and power. He calls for redefining landscape studies as a field that intentionally furthers social justice agendas.

Jeremy Korr (2002:509) describes a model for researching and writing about cultural landscapes that recognizes a “dynamic triangular relationship” between humans, artifacts (non-human objects or features modified by humans), and non-human nature. He explains that humans, artifacts, and nature influence and shape each other. The relationships between these three categories of actors are continually changing, shaping and re-shaping landscapes. Korr (2002:510) concludes that analysis of cultural landscapes illuminates insights about “humans’ beliefs, values, and conventions.” In my analysis of the data I have created³ with Greenbelt residents—through oral history interviews, ethnographic interviewee-drawn maps, and field notes—I rely on Korr’s model as a fruitful approach to how different categories of actors in Greenbelt’s landscape influence one-another over time.

A Brief History of Greenbelt, Maryland

Before Greenbelt was constructed, the land in Prince George’s County, Maryland, where Greenbelt now sits, was home to farmers (Virta 1997). Before farmers moved into the area beginning in the 1680s, the land was home to groups of Susquehannock Iroquoian-speaking and Algonquin speaking Native Americans (Miller 1992; Joseph and Botwick 2012). The first houses that are known as Greenbelt today opened to residents in 1937, when the town was built as a New Deal era program under President Franklin D. Roosevelt (Fogle 1997). A federal government organization called the Resettlement Administration (RA) planned Greenbelt and two other RA planned towns: Green Hills, Ohio and Greendale, Wisconsin. Rexford Guy

³ Throughout this paper I will use the terminology of data *creation* and *production* rather than data *collection*. The term collection has connotations of a one-way exchange in which the active researcher takes data from passive interviewees or participants. In the projects in which I am involved, I see myself as jointly creating data with interviewees.

Tugwell headed the RA, and John Lansill served as director of the Suburban Resettlement Division (Fogle 1997:25).

The reasoning for selecting Greenbelt's location was based on the housing market in Washington, DC. The city's population was increasing, there was a perception that it was becoming crowded, and its rents were high compared to the wages earned by workers (Fogle 1997:25). The 12 acres, which would soon become Greenbelt, adjacent to the National Agricultural Research Center were purchased by the RA, and plans to build a greenbelt town that included recreational areas, farmlands, affordable housing, and cooperative businesses were approved by President Roosevelt and supported by Eleanor Roosevelt (Fogle 1997:25).

Constructed by African American and white laborers, Greenbelt began its history as a racially segregated town. Only whites were allowed to apply for housing in the newly constructed town (Knepper 1998:8). It had originally been conceptualized as racially integrated, but the local sentiment against this idea and the widespread practice of segregation in the area influenced the RA to use the practice of racial segregation. It was religiously integrated, which was unusual for the time period. Yet, only specific proportions of Jewish and Catholic, applicants were selected. The majority of residents were Protestants. Its affordable houses and cooperative design were not open to everyone by any means. There was also an income range specified for applicants. Families needed to make between \$800 and \$2,200 per year in order to live in Greenbelt in the early years (Gournay and Sies 2010).

A product of these practices of discrimination that were widespread in the 1930s, Greenbelt began as both a place praised for its cooperative, utopian spirit and a town that excluded whole categories of potential residents based on race. Gournay and Sies (2010) observe

the demographic patterns of the present that I mentioned early in this paper: government-built Greenbelt continues to be less racially diverse than other portions of Greenbelt, which were constructed after the New Deal and defense era housing.

Greenbelt's Resettlement Administration housing included specific landscape design elements that the planners believed would facilitate cooperation between residents (Knepper 1998). Row housing, pedestrian underpasses, homes facing shared green space, a centrally located community center and school, and centrally located cooperative businesses all contributed to a landscape that was designed to encourage its occupants to uphold ideas of cooperation, community, and self-reliance (Knepper 1998).

The legacy of these community design elements continues to live on to some extent. Gournay and Sies (2010) argue that Greenbelt residents have continued to organize themselves in order to devise ways to keep Greenbelt walkable, sustainable, affordable, and full of green space. Even in the Greenbelt housing developments and apartment complexes that were built after the government-built housing, some of these same design elements, like centrally located swimming pools and community centers alongside shared green space, tend to be included in these new spaces (Gournay and Sies 2010).

The landscape of Greenbelt continues to change, through the building of new transportation routes and new housing. Community groups have organized themselves in order to amplify the voices of many individual community members in discussions of how these landscape changes should occur (Konsoulis 2008; Gournay and Sies 2010). This history of shaping the landscape through community self-governance continues today throughout Greenbelt. However, as a result of the Baltimore-Washington Parkway, the Capital Beltway, and

Kenilworth Avenue that intersect the city limits, Jim Cohen and the Urban Studies and Planning Program Studio Team (2008) observe that Greenbelt's landscape and residents have become fragmented.

Methodology

The methodology that I used for this project was carefully planned in June of 2013 when I began talking with Megan Searing Young at the Greenbelt Museum and writing my practicum proposal. Yet, some of the methodology I used shifted during the research process as I responded to changing circumstances. In this section, I will describe my preparation for research, recruiting interviewees, touring with the traveling exhibit as another way to recruit interviewees, creating data (oral history interviews, ethnographic maps, and field notes), analyzing data, and creating audio products for the museum's website. Throughout this description of methodology, I will emphasize my efforts to work collaboratively with Greenbelt residents in order to ensure that the archive of materials and products we created reflected their experiences and perspectives.

Research Preparation

One of the first steps in undertaking this ethnographic research was to develop a consent form for conducting oral histories for the Greenbelt Museum (See Appendix D). I modeled the language in this consent form after the National Park Service's oral history release form. The purpose of signing this agreement is twofold: to record contact information for interviews and to ensure that the organization initiating the interview legally has the right to use to audio and transcript that is created. The process of presenting the form in an interview also initiates a conversation between the interviewer and interviewee about how the recording and transcript will be used.

Recruitment

Another early step in this project was interviewee recruitment. I chose to limit my interviewee population to current Greenbelt residents because I was interested in how people are using the landscape in the present. I also intentionally set out to interview residents who lived in the various parts of Greenbelt (government-built Greenbelt, Greenbelt East, and Greenbelt West). One of my methods for recruitment was to post a brief announcement about this research in Greenbelt's local newspaper, the *Greenbelt News Review* (See Appendix E). This announcement was published on June 27th and elicited five responses. I interviewed four of those who responded and turned down one respondent because he was not a current Greenbelt resident. During this process, it became necessary to start a list of those who wanted to be interviewed whom I could not accommodate in the scope of my project. This list will serve as a resource for the Greenbelt Museum. Instead of having to seek out individuals to interview, the museum will already have a list of potential interviewees to contact.

Out of the four announcement respondents that I interviewed, two were living in government-built Greenbelt, one was living on the outskirts of government-built Greenbelt near Buddy Attick Park in an area that is still considered to be part of "old Greenbelt" according to the residents with whom I spoke. Only one of the announcement respondents was living in Greenbelt East, and none of those who responded to this announcement were living in West Greenbelt.

This rate of response revealed that I needed to consider other recruitment techniques in order to include data from residents in *all* parts of Greenbelt. In an effort to address this challenge, I relied on the Greenbelt Museum's existing network, contacting people that were

recommended by Megan Searing Young. Using this sampling method, I was able to make contact with and interview six more residents: one living in government-built Greenbelt, two living on the outskirts of government built Greenbelt in areas that are still associated with “old Greenbelt,” two living in Greenbelt East, and one living in Greenbelt West. At this point in my research, I was left an overwhelming majority of interviewees who lived in either government-built areas or other areas closely associated with “old Greenbelt” (See Table One). Although my goal was never to get a quantitatively representative sample of the residents living in different parts of the city, I was concerned that the voices of those living in the areas of Greenbelt that were cut off from the original development by major highways (Greenbelt East and Greenbelt West) would not be heard in the interpretive products that I was aiming to create.

Table 1: Spatial, Racial, and Immigrant Identities of First 10 Interviewees

Part of the city in which residents lived	Total number of residents interviewed	Racial Identification			
		White (not first generation immigrant)	Black (not first generation immigrant)	Latino (not first generation immigrant)	First generation immigrant
Government-built Greenbelt and areas associated with “old Greenbelt”	6	6	0	0	0
Greenbelt East	3	1	1	0	1
Greenbelt West	1	1	0	0	0

This challenge that I had with sampling underscores that the Greenbelt Museum—comparatively—has a much denser social network in the government-built portion of Greenbelt and other areas associated with “old Greenbelt” than in Greenbelt East or Greenbelt West.

Touring with the Traveling Exhibit

As part of the plan I proposed in July, Megan Searing Young and I also had developed plans for me to use an alternative method of sampling by conducting shorter “mini” oral history interviews at an event in Greenbelt East: the Greenspring Multicultural Picnic, held on September 21, 2013. The museum would also have a presence at this neighborhood event for the first time by showcasing a recently developed travelling exhibit. I helped to facilitate the creation of this travelling exhibit, another version of *Greenbelt: The First 75 Years, 1937-2012*, by providing consultation about durable and lightweight traveling exhibit materials.

We had several motivations for arranging these plans to attend the picnic. The Greenbelt Museum had received a grant to create this traveling version of *Greenbelt: The First 75 Years, 1937-2012*, and this exhibit included some photos and details about the construction of Greenbelt East and Greenbelt West. We hoped that these arrangements—bringing the exhibit, which features history outside of government-built Greenbelt, and asking event attendees to share brief oral histories to contribute to the museum’s archive—would not only introduce residents to the Greenbelt Museum as an organization but also emphasize for them that the Greenbelt Museum is interested in their stories. We wanted them to see that the Greenbelt Museum was moving toward a more inclusive narrative of Greenbelt’s history.

Part of these arrangements were thwarted by a rain storm: we were only able to briefly pull out the travelling exhibit panels and show attendees certain panels that featured Greenbelt East before the rain became too intense. With the sound of heavy rain prominent in the background, I was able to record mini oral histories with four residents. This table shows how

my sampling totals changed after I used this alternative method and expanded beyond the Greenbelt Museum’s existing network (See Table Two):

**Table 2: Spatial, Racial, and Immigrant Identities of ALL 14 Interviewees
 (Full length and mini oral histories)**

Part of the city in which residents lived	Total number of residents interviewed	Racial Identification			
		White (not first generation immigrant)	Black (not first generation immigrant)	Latino (not first generation immigrant)	First generation immigrant
Government-built Greenbelt and areas associated with “old Greenbelt”	6	6	0	0	0
Greenbelt East	7	2	2	0	3
Greenbelt West	1	1	0	0	0

This method of engaging with residents at an already established community event—bringing the Greenbelt Museum to them and hoping to demonstrate the museum’s value of their history—was useful for my project sampling. As demonstrated by comparing Table One with Table Two, this engagement method expanded the spatial diversity (where they lived in Greenbelt) of those I was able to interview, and it also allowed me to interview a group of people with more diverse experiences as African Americans and first-generation immigrants. It is my hope that being a part of this event, the Greenspring Multicultural Picnic, also contributed to the process of building relationships between the museum and residents of Greenbelt East. If I had been able to extend the time frame of this project, I would have strived to organize a similar event in Greenbelt West.

Creating Data

For the purposes of this project, I collaborated with Greenbelt residents to produce the following data: 10 full length oral history interviews (from 30 minutes to two hours in length), four mini-oral history interviews (from four to 10 minutes in length), contact information for interviewees, eight ethnographic maps drawn by interviewees, field notes from June 2013 to the present, and photos of interviewees and events in Greenbelt. Throughout this process, I considered that I—in collaboration with Greenbelt residents—was producing historical records not only for my own research purposes but also for the purposes of the Greenbelt’s Museum’s archive. This dual purpose meant that I had to plan accordingly. I had to separate private information like complete dates of birth and addresses from information—like the transcripts of interviews—that should eventually be available for future scholars and museum-goers.

While the consent forms that each interviewee signed specified that the Greenbelt Museum would have the legal right to use all information that residents provided in their interview, Megan Searing Young and I discussed how we both felt that the museum had an ethical duty to make sure that the interviewees approved of the transcripts resulting from their interviews. As a result, I initiated at least two rounds of interaction with each interviewee, and this process is still ongoing. First, I interviewed the 14 residents individually in the museum house, community center, or at the Greenspring Multicultural Picnic using one set of questions for the full length oral histories and another set for the mini oral histories (See Appendices F and G).

After transcribing each interview, I sent the transcript to the interviewee by email, mail, or personal delivery to their home. The interviewees took the varying amounts of time that they

needed in order to go over the transcript and provide editing consultation. In some cases, interviews wanted to clarify points they had made. In other cases they wanted me to remove portions of the transcript that they considered to be embarrassing in hindsight. This process of editing in this collaborative manner facilitated an avenue for me to continue conversations with these residents, to build stronger more long-term relationships between them, myself, and the museum, and to gain further insights about the topics we discussed. As mentioned, this process is still ongoing. While eight residents have completed this process, six are still using time to look over their transcripts. I am committed to continuing to work with these residents to make sure that they are happy with how their interview transcripts reflect their intentions, perspectives, and experiences.

Another process of collaborative data creation, which will be described again in the “Looking Forward” section of this paper, is the process of working with interviewees to edit the audio recordings I have produced for the Greenbelt Museum’s website.⁴ The interviewees will be asked not just to approve or disapprove of the use of their voices in these audio products but also to provide advice about how to make these products more interesting and more reflective of their experiences as residents.

Finally, the eight ethnographic maps that residents created for this project make up another important part of the methodology for this project. At the end of each full-length interview, I asked interviewees if they would like to draw a rough, not-to-scale map of Greenbelt, including some of the places in Greenbelt that we had discussed in the course of the interview. I emphasized that this map did not need to be an accurate or precise depiction of Greenbelt and told them to think of it as their “mental map” of Greenbelt that includes the places

⁴ See page 26 for the Looking Forward section of this research paper.

they go frequently and the places that are important to them for one reason or another. Although two of the ten residents with whom I conducted full length oral histories declined to make a map, others spent 10 to 15 minutes using colored pencils and blank white paper to draw their mental maps of Greenbelt. As Cristina Grasseni (2012:99) points out about community mapping projects, the important part of this mapping is not so much the resulting map but the process of mapping and the discussions the process elicits. This was certainly the case with the mapping process in the context of this project. The mapping process was very useful because it allowed the residents another lens through which to consider and explain the landscape of their community and how they use the space.

Analyzing Data

In order to effectively analyze that large amount of data that I and the Greenbelt residents had created, the first step was to transcribe the interviews. While I transcribed 12 of the 14 interviews myself, I also solicited the help of two undergraduate students in anthropology who were interested in learning about the process of transcription and the use of data analysis software (Atlas.ti). These two students, Becca Lane and Katie Hutchinson, were very helpful in the time-consuming transcription process, and, since they were unfamiliar with Greenbelt's history and geography, they also served as valuable sounding boards for how to tell the story of Greenbelt to visitors who are unfamiliar with the city and its history.

After all the interviews were transcribed (and after many had been edited collaboratively with interviewees), I imported the transcript documents into the previously mentioned program, Atlas.ti. Atlas.ti is qualitative analysis software that can be used in a multitude of ways. It has proven helpful for me in previous ethnographic projects because it helps the user to navigate

large amounts of data and to track patterns in the data by “coding.” For each transcript and also some of my field notes, I went through the document paragraph-by-paragraph and created “codes” to describe the content of a given sentence or group of sentences. For example, one of my codes was “Greenbelt: Sense of Community.” Another code was “Landscape: Playgrounds.” I had many codes that started with either “Greenbelt” or “Landscape.” After coding all the interviews, I was then able to use Atlas.ti to pull together all the quotes from interviews and field notes that I had designated for a certain topic. For example, I was able to look at all the instances of people talking about Beltway Plaza, a shopping center in the area known as Greenbelt West.

Again, Becca Lane and Katie Hutchinson were helpful in this process. While I coded all the interviews, I also shared my methods with them and they coded a few of the interviews so that were able to have discussions about how our coding for specific interviews differed and why.

Creating Audio Products

The latest step in this project has been working to create audio files in order to share the content of these recent oral history interviews and the findings about Greenbelt’s cultural landscapes—findings that I am interpreting collaboratively with the residents I interviewed. I have been using open-source audio editing software called Audacity to create these audio products. To date, I have created three episodes, ranging from 10 to 12 minutes in length. Like the interview transcripts, I will again initiate conversations with the residents whose voices are featured in these episodes in order to ask, not only for their approval, but for their curatorial advice. I will seek to understand if they believe their experiences are being represented well and

how the products could be more representative of their experiences. Ultimately, my goal is for us to have productive conversations about how to represent the stories of Greenbelt.

Findings

All of these processes that I have described in the methodology section illuminated two major themes—along with many subthemes—about the way in which the residents I interviewed conceptualized the landscape of Greenbelt. For the purposes of this paper, I will focus on the two major themes I see as emerging from the data: 1.) Residents in all parts of Greenbelt conceptualized Greenbelt’s landscape as providing opportunities for social interaction and experiencing a sense of community; 2.) In contrast with the first major theme, residents observed significant fragmentation or divisions within the community of Greenbelt in the form of physical barriers in the geography and also in the form of patterns of interaction between residents living in different sections of the city.

First, to explore how the residents I spoke with talked about the sense of community they feel in Greenbelt, Patrick Hyoussé, a resident of Greenbelt East who moved to Greenbelt in 2013 had this recollection to share about why he and his family recently made the decision to move to this city:

“I moved to Greenbelt back in April, so a few months ago, and the reason we moved here was because we felt Greenbelt is a community that still tries to keep alive a spirit of being in a community. Whereas a lot of other neighborhoods that we looked into, were really not coming together, especially around events such as Christmas, 4th of July, Labor Day. Other communities were just like you live there and live there, that’s it. You pay your homeowners’ dues, pay your taxes, and we’re fine. In Greenbelt, we felt like it was a good environment for kids to grow up in. There’s a community, like I said. There’s a pool that we can go to. There’s a community center that actually offers a lot of classes and just to be able to have that opportunity, we felt it was a good thing.” (September 21, 2013).

I heard similar accounts from other residents about how they decided to move to Greenbelt (both government-built Greenbelt and other parts of Greenbelt) because they were consciously looking for a place to move that had a sense of community. Some residents made a choice to move back to Greenbelt after leaving because they felt a sense of duty to Greenbelt and a desire to be part of creating a sense of community for Greenbelt in the present. Barbara Simon shared this about why she moved back to the town after leaving:

“And I remember coming back [to Greenbelt] and I had a whole life there [in New York] with my art and everything, and I remember coming back and saying, thinking to myself very strongly, ‘This town has given me so much—so much stability and so much security.’ I was glad that I was going to be able to raise my daughter here. And I remember thinking, ‘I want to give something back.’ Because that was how I was raised, because my parents had come here to build Greenbelt. That was how I was raised. I was raised knowing that my parents had come here to be the first Greenbelters, to build Greenbelt. They have dedicated themselves and much of their time and energy to creating Greenbelt. They told me stories when I was a teenager about things they had done and how important it was to them, and I remember when I came back I said, ‘Well, I want to give back something in my adult life.’” (July 22, 2013)

Other residents spoke about the landscape that was created for government-built Greenbelt by the New Deal planners and how they believed that landscape facilitated interaction in the community.

“I think when we first sort of were here and even when we built our house we never thought ‘Oh, we’re going to end up here.’ You know? But now I think we are going to end up here because we have a lot of connections in various ways with the community. And I think that the community itself, the physical layout, the ease of interaction, facilitates those connections and kind of...it’s very hard for me to imagine. I’ve never lived maybe in a community...I think it’s really unique.” (July 28, 2013)

While mentions of Greenbelt’s sense of community show up in all the interviews I did with residents, it is interesting to note how sometimes this sense of community was attributed to the physical layout of the landscape, while other times it was attributed to the actions of the residents in the community. My interviewees often mentioned both of these factors. Within the

realm of this subject matter, Korr's (2002) model of cultural landscapes becomes a useful lens for thinking about how human action, the built environment, and the natural (non-human) environment all simultaneously influence each other and how these interactions play out over time. Using Korr's (2002) model, it seems likely that a whole host of factors—the designed community environment, the selection of early residents who were likely to be active in the community, the original income limits that facilitated the development of volunteer and cooperative organizations, the choices made by other residents to move to Greenbelt because they were seeking a place with a sense of community, and the choices of later planners to replicate and contribute to walkable community designs—have contributed to and reinforced a strong sense of community in Greenbelt.

It is necessary to explain what I mean when I write about a “sense of community” in Greenbelt. In some cases, “sense of community” and “community” are the exact words of residents whom I interviewed. Looking at how they used these phrases and the examples they provided, I interpret that they used the word community to describe the opportunities that Greenbelt provides for human interaction—those opportunities are provided in the landscape, through events organized by residents, and through a combination of these factors. Talking about the sense of community she felt in Greenbelt, Ana Gasper, who moved to Greenbelt from Costa Rica, used the word *opportunities* to describe how Greenbelt facilitates human connection and, at the same time, how it is the choice of individuals whether or not to act on those opportunities:

“[On] Thanksgiving, many people do not have visitors. [They do] not have anybody enjoying around the table the dinner. What Greenbelt made it, everybody can come in, in the morning early, and walking around the park or running around the park with the Turkey, ‘gobble, gobble, gobble,’ you know? This is making happy people who are alone this day, and actually made *opportunities* because it's something that I have in my family, not only because I live in Greenbelt. It's something I had before the Greenbelt, is in

Christmas time or days like that, you know somebody are alone, you invite them to our house. In the mornings, when people are walking around the [Greenbelt] Lake, you can meet somebody, and somebody maybe needs somebody to listen to them. You say, ‘What are you doing today?’ and say, ‘Oh, I went with my family, made the dinner, cooked the turkey, have the turkey in the oven.’ Whatever, and the person might be alone: ‘My son is not here.’ You have the opportunity to open your heart.... Greenbelt does have this. Greenbelt gives many opportunities for the people, open their hearts. [Whether or not] the people make the decision [to] open our hearts, is other question, other problem.” (August 2, 2013)

In the example that Ana Gasper provides, the lake—a public space available in the landscape—and community organizers who have planned the events on Thanksgiving that she describes both contribute to making Greenbelt a cultural landscape that offers opportunities for people to connect with each other and, thus, making Greenbelt a place that seems to have a “sense of community” for many residents. There are other similar examples within the interviews that I had with Greenbelt residents: examples in which residents describe an event organized by community members that takes place in a public space in the landscape and that allows them to interact with other residents with whom they might otherwise miss connecting.

Apart from contributing to a sense of community in Greenbelt, the built environment and histories of human interaction also play a role in divisions in the community’s landscape. When divisions in Greenbelt starting emerging as a prominent theme in the oral history interviews, at first I was concerned that this might be a result of one of the questions I included in my full-length interviews: “Are there different parts or sections of Greenbelt and what are they?” Yet, when I examined the interviews to see when in the course of the conversations the discussions of divisions were coming up, I found that this topic was brought up by residents before and after I specifically asked about sections in Greenbelt. In fact, the topic of boundaries and divisions in Greenbelt was also brought up in the mini oral histories in which I did not include this question about the parts of Greenbelt.

In my interview with Brian Gibbons, the only resident I was able to interview who is currently living in Greenbelt West, he described the sections of Greenbelt like this, before I even had the chance to ask my specific question about sections in Greenbelt:

“Greenbelt is basically six pods. You know, there’s the Belle Point area, there’s Franklin Park, there’s the Greenbelt [National] Park itself, there’s the historic Greenbelt, there’s East Greenbelt, and they’re all divided because of the way the highways divide up the area.” (July 19, 2012)

Greenbelt East resident Carol Malveaux said that she saw the following divisions when I asked her if there were different parts of Greenbelt: “I see Franklin Park, which keeps changing its name, I see Greenbelt East there, and I see old Greenbelt” (August 1, 2013). Government-built Greenbelt resident Jennifer Stabler lived in Greenbelt West in the apartment complex that is now called Franklin Park when she was attending University of Maryland. At that time, the complex was called Springhill Lake. She had this to say about how the different sections of Greenbelt are defined:

“Well, there’s Greenbelt East, which I guess is, it’s it just seems so separated from the rest of Greenbelt because there’s you know the BWI Parkway and Greenbelt Road sort of make it, I know there’s the bridge over the parkway, but it’s it doesn’t, it just seems separated from the rest of the town, and even like Springhill Lake and all. This is something that came up when I was working with park and planning on this recent update to the Greenbelt sector plan and that was, that was a point that came up often when you know people were talking about, they wanted more connectivity and everything and really its these huge roads that really separated the different parts of the town.” (July 28, 2013)

As Stabler and Gibbons both observed, the major highways that have been built and intersected Greenbelt’s city limits have created the separate parts of Greenbelt to some extent. These highways make walking between “sections” difficult, unpleasant, and even dangerous according to the residents I interviewed. Yet, Stabler and Scott Fifield (July 21, 2013) speak in

their interviews about how the city is trying to create more connectivity despite the physical landscape barriers by designing innovative bicycle paths, for example.

However, again, taking a cultural landscape perspective, the physical barriers in the form of highways are not the only factors that reinforce existing boundaries in Greenbelt's landscape. A history of racial segregation is another factor. Carol Malveaux, who identifies as an African American, shared this memory about when she first moved to Greenbelt in 1988:

C. Malveaux: "So we came to Greenbelt. About, for the first few years we were here, this [government-built] was kind of... a difficult part of town to come to. So we just stayed basically in Greenbelt East, they call it."

E. Barbery: "Really?"

C. Malveaux: "It wasn't very friendly. We weren't made to feel very welcome."

E. Barbery: "Hmmm. I heard about that, and that seems like that's a very painful side of Greenbelt."

C. Malveaux: "Well, if you're an African American, it a reality. So it's not, it's not painful to us anymore. You look at it as a way to try and communicate with those people and help them to see another side." (August 1, 2013)

Malveaux also told a story about trying to navigate the landscape of Greenbelt when she first moved to the city in 1988. Specifically, she explained that she was looking for hair products, and when she followed the only African American man she saw in Greenbelt, she hoped he would lead her to a section of town where she might be able to find those products. She was laughing when telling this story, recounting how she felt: "I said, 'I need to see some of my people. Where's the ghetto?'" (August 1, 2013).

Although some residents in Greenbelt East spoke about moving to Greenbelt specifically because they perceived it as racially and culturally "diverse," other residents also brought up the perceived differences in demographics between the government-built part of Greenbelt and the

other parts of Greenbelt. Government-built Greenbelt resident, Douglas Miller made this observation, connecting the history of segregation with demographic trends in the present:

“There’s the old town, historic Greenbelt where we are now, which yeah it’s like a—this part is both in history, character, even demographics, completely different from the rest of the area, both incorporated in Greenbelt and unincorporated areas around [here]. Yeah, I haven’t [...] studied the demographics [thoroughly] but this area is definitely very, very white relative to the rest of PG [Prince George’s] County, and that’s probably definitely an echo of Greenbelt’s discriminatory origins.” (July 14, 2013)

An *echo* is an apt term to use to describe the patterns in the landscape that have broken down in some ways but also reinforced themselves in other ways over the years. Using a cultural landscape perspective, the physical barriers and histories of social interaction—including racial discrimination—all contribute to how residents perceive divisions in Greenbelt’s landscape in the present.

Looking Forward

As I have tried to emphasize throughout this research paper, my collaborative relationships with the Greenbelt Museum and Greenbelt residents are ongoing. I still have work to complete in making sure that all of the interview transcripts from this project are archived appropriately in the Greenbelt Museum’s records. I also have a commitment to working with both the museum and interviewees to ensure that the podcasts I have produced with residents are accurate representations of those residents’ experiences and perspectives. In fact, I would love to continue to make more podcasts about the cultural landscape in Greenbelt in order to add to the series of three that I have produced so far. I would also like to improve upon the quality of the audio in these podcasts. There is more rich content within the oral histories and the ethnographic maps that the residents and I created this summer. I do not want to see that content go un-shared with the rest of the Greenbelt community.

Conclusion

In an effort to conclude my writings about Greenbelt's cultural landscape (for now), I return to the topic of how this practicum project contributes to the discourse about the changing roles of museums and how I, as a researcher, am situated in this museum context. I hope that the podcast episodes I have created play a role of instigating dialogue among residents of Greenbelt about the divisions in their cultural landscape, especially those that have been reinforced by histories of racial segregation. Too often, this part of the story of Greenbelt gets left out or glossed over by those residents and town promoters who speak of the community's landscape as a potential utopia. This role, as an instigator of dialogue, is one general role that I imagine for local community museums in the present and future. I believe they will serve their communities best, not only as repositories of items and stories, but facilitators of dialogue, bringing together the different perspectives within localities, just as I have tried to accomplish through the podcast episodes.

One of the realms of material culture that the Greenbelt Museum aims to curate—through its historic house tour and walking tour discussions of community planning—is the shared landscape of Greenbelt as material culture. The issue of racial segregation should be included in these discussions of the landscape because, while it violates a narrative of potential for utopia, it is part of the collective narrative of Greenbelt. As the sampling difficulties I faced during this research underscore, the Greenbelt Museum has challenges to face in curating collective narratives of Greenbelt because the institution needs to develop more relationships with residents living in the various parts of Greenbelt. The creation of a travelling exhibit and this project's efforts to include the oral histories of residents living in all parts of Greenbelt are steps in this direction of dialogue and inclusivity.

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Appendix A: Podcast Episode One Transcript

Podcast One: Introducing Greenbelt and the Idea of Cultural Landscapes

Barbara Simon Oral History

BS: Well, I think the thing is, I always say, when people ask me where I grew up, I say, “I grew up in a very small town that you probably never heard of, but I grew up in an experiment.

EB NARRATION: Hi Greenbelt Museum podcast listeners. Welcome to the very first episode. My name is Ennis Barbery, and I wanted to jump in here and say that the clip you just heard is from an oral history interview that I did with current Greenbelt resident Barbara Simon in July 2013. Let’s hear some more from Barbara about what she means when she says she grew up in an experiment.

Barbara Simon Oral History

BS: And my dad in 1939—both my parents were living in New York City—[they] weren’t married yet. And my dad saw the Greenbelt exhibit at the World’s Fair in 1939, and family legend is that he saw the Greenbelt exhibit and went to my mom, who at that time was living in Greenwich Village, she was an artist, and said we’re getting married and moving to Greenbelt. [laughing] That’s the family legend. So at any rate, they arranged it. He wanted to volunteer for the war, and he figured if he signed up early, he could arrange to be sent to Washington, which is what he requested.

BS: So my parents moved to Washington, lived in a little apartment in Washington, and then applied to live in Greenbelt right away.

EB: Very good.

BS: So I think they moved here in [19]41. I'm not sure of the exact date, but I'd say they moved here in 41.

Barbara Simon Oral History

BS: And that always interests people. They say, "What do you mean you grew up in an experiment?" And I say, "Well, that's what it was." I say, "My parents came here because it was going to be an experimental community built on cooperation, built on community life. They were trying to build something that was very, in the 1930s, that was just considered very special and very unique. And my parents loved it. They loved the idea that they could be part of the generation of people to build something new. It was just very idealistic. And we thought, you know, everybody thought, FDR, everybody thought that this was the wave of the future, that they were going to build thousands of cities all across the country. And of course it didn't happen. But now, now people talk about, now it's all this new movement. The last 10 years or so bringing people back to this idea that they should be able in a town—whether it's in a city or town—where you can walk to your center of the community. And that's why people are moving back to Washington DC, isn't it? Because they want to be part of the center of the neighborhood. And all this emphasis on you know, "Look at Reston! Look at Columbia!" And I say, "All you're doing is bringing people back to the way

Greenbelt was conceived, the idea that you're building a livable community, where the people are actively involved in creating their own community, where it's not a builder who's imposed on you. But you are creating your home. And that is what, you know, makes us unique, is that we created Greenbelt. All they did was build the blocks. Everything in Greenbelt is here because the people created it on some level. And that's what people have to understand, is that, you know, community comes because you create it. Greenbelt was an experiment, that the experimental part was could these people create a community? Given the tools, given what the government built us, given the buildings, given the plant community, given all the underpasses, given the green trees surrounding us, given all that, it was kind of like well you give a child a pile of blocks, and you say, "Build me a building. I'll give you all the tools, but what do you do with it?" That's what I think is really unique is I think Greenbelt is very, very unique in that way because there are very few places where people can say—yes, we were given all the tools—but we actually build a successful community out of it.

EB NARRATION: These utopian ideas about cooperation and a green, walkable, sustainable community are exactly why—as anthropology student at the University of Maryland—I got interested in working with the Greenbelt Museum and in talking to residents here. I did 14 oral history interviews with current residents in the summer of 2013 and those interviews make up the content of this podcast, this episode and the ones that follow.

I remember when I first heard about Greenbelt's history and design, when I learned that it was something more than the last stop on the green line of the Metro Transit System in DC. It was a few years ago and I was talking to a fellow graduate student in

anthropology, an archaeologist named Mike Roller, and he mentioned Greenbelt for some reason. He described that it was planned in almost a spiral shape—I think he used the word spiral—and that there was a community center in the middle; it was organized around utopian ideas. And he mentioned that it was built as a New Deal program and supported by Franklin D. Roosevelt and Eleanor Roosevelt. Ever since then, Greenbelt sort of stuck in my mind, as this place that was so close to me—living in College Park—and that I wanted to learn more about.

As Barbara Simon was describing, Greenbelt was built by the federal government, by an organization called the Resettlement Administration. The first residents moved in in 1937, meaning Barbara's parents were among some of the first since they moved in in 1941. The idea was that the cities, Washington DC and others, were unhealthy environments for people to live: overcrowded, dirty, overtaken with dangerous automobiles. And Greenbelt, along with two other green communities that were built, were supposed to be an answer to those problems. Let's hear from another Greenbelt resident who moved to Greenbelt when it was still a government owned town. This is—another Barbara in fact—Barbara Bonham Young who moved to Greenbelt with her mother. Tragically, her father had died when she was only two years old, and she moved to Greenbelt with her mother in October of 1937, the house she moved into was the 28th house available for residents. Many of the other homes weren't built yet. And she talks about seeing Greenbelt for the first time and those very early days of Greenbelt.

BBY: Oh, it was an amazing place. There were no street lights. We were in the midst of nowhere, you know? It was dark, and we had no services to speak of. There was a little tiny pseudo-store. [...] You could get bread and milk and stuff, not much.

...

BBY: Well, I remember someone drove us to Greenbelt before we came to live here, my mother and I. She didn't have a car, of course. So they drove us around and there was nothing but mud and a few houses and my mother said, "Barbara, this is where we were going to live!" [Laughing] I thought, "oh Lord." To a little kid it was a long [way] from DC. I never went anywhere, so what did I know? And suddenly here [I was in] this muddy place, where we were going to live. So I remember that.

EB NARRATION: Just to jump in here, Greenbelt didn't stay a muddy place with no services for long. Here's Barbara Bonham Young again talking about the landscape of Greenbelt as a planned community when she was growing up.

Barbara Bonham Young Oral History

BBY: [The town] was beautifully landscaped. See, in the early days, the government [owned] it and ran it, you know? Well, good lord, they maintained it so meticulously [that] all you had to do was lift up the phone and say something was wrong, [and it was fixed]. [...] Visitors came from all over the world, [and sometimes even peered in people's windows]. [...] [Greenbelt was] kept as a showplace. So it was green and beautiful. And the lake. I love the lake.

EB NARRATION: What Barbara Bonham Young is talking about here—Greenbelt as a show place, a place that actually attracted international visitors—well that’s because Greenbelt and the other two towns that the Resettlement Administration built, they really were seen as the wave of the future—just as Barbara Simon was saying. The way that the landscape of this community was planned, the design elements that were included to encourage cooperation, to encourage a sense of community, to make the town walkable, to keep pedestrians and cars separate from each other in the landscape. It was all carefully planned, and Rexford Guy Tugwell, the head of the Resettlement Administration, is often given a lot of credit for creating and implementing this design. But as Barbara Simon was saying, she believes that a big a part of the reason that the community was considered as success was also a result of the residents’ actions, how they interacted with this planned community landscape.

So this question of landscapes, how they influence people and how people are influenced by them is something we’ll be coming back to in the next episode. I’ll leave you with a preview of that—a short clip from my interview with another resident, Susan Gervasi who moved to Greenbelt in 1977 and who talks about how the landscape has influenced her decision to stay:

Susan Gervasi Oral History

SG: I think when we first sort of were here and even when we built our house we never thought “oh, we’re going to end up here.” You know? But now I think we are going end up here because we have a lot of connections in various ways with the community. And I think that the community itself, the physical layout, the

ease of interaction, facilitates those connections and kind of. It's very hard for me to imagine. I've never lived maybe in a community. I think it's really unique.

Appendix B: Podcast Episode Two Transcript

Exploring Greenbelt's Cultural Landscape: From Inner Walkways to Major Highways

Susan Gervasi Oral History

SG: There's a tree on Crescent Road, a spot on Crescent Road where Eleanor Roosevelt surveyed the building of Greenbelt. And they planted a tree there. I think the original tree died, but there's a plaque that the women- the garden club put up there and it's something to this effect. "The first Greenbelt-something. The first garden community in the land, planned for the uplift and unfolding of the human spirit." And I think—that's not the exact phrase, but the intentionality was to create a utopian ideal, almost socialistic society where people would interact, cooperate—that's a huge-cooperation—which is not necessarily always good. You know, you need dissent. And there's—we've seen plenty of that in Greenbelt. But I think that to me is sort of a spiritual statement, "the first garden community in the land planned for the uplifting and unfolding of the human spirit."

EB NARRATION: Hi Greenbelt Museum Podcast listeners. Welcome to episode two. You just heard the voice of Susan Gervasi, a current Greenbelt resident. Susan was talking about a spot in Greenbelt that commemorates Greenbelt's early history as a planned community. It was designed and built by the federal government's Resettlement Administration in 1937. In the first episode of this podcast, we heard from some

Greenbelt residents who moved into the Greenbelt in those early years. During this episode, we're going to focus more on the legacy of the community's planned design and how residents move through Greenbelt's landscape in the present. Let's hear from Susan Gervasi again about her experience moving to Greenbelt and her perspective on some of these planned elements:

Susan Gervasi Oral History

SG: So, I didn't really discover Greenbelt till...I guess it was '77. I had been here but I had no idea where I was. But in 1977 with my then-fiancé—we've been married for a good many years now, second husband—we had an apartment in Greenbelt very briefly, then we bought one of the townhouses. And then we got married.

...

EB: What comes to mind when you think about Greenbelt?

Well, what comes to mind for me is the coherence of the community, the wholeness of the community and the self-contained quality of the original Greenbelt. The beauty of the planning going into the city to facilitate people getting together, communicating, organizing. [...] So that's what I think of when I think about Greenbelt. The wholeness of the town. And over the years how much I appreciate that sense of coherence. And part of it is totally physical, like having a library there, having the park there, I walk around the lake just about every day, that's my exercise. I'm involved with Greenbelt access television and the Film Festival which is you know, basically right here in the community center. [...] I think it's a beautiful town and I think the inner walkways really

illustrate that. I—when we built our house—tell me if I’m veering off too far, but in the mid-eighties, we joined with some other people who—most of us lived in the townhouses and were growing families and would like a larger place to live. I had four kids at the time. So we bought a piece of property on Research Road that was just kind of a forested area. We bought it from a developer who had had quite a battle with the city over development [...] So we got this property, and then we—you know, we subdivided it and built a house up there. And I have a house that I love but what I noticed was I really wanted to keep my connection with the older part of the town so I started taking walks from Research Road and it’s about forty-five minutes from my house to here kind of the circuitous way that I come through the inner walkways and it really—I felt disconnected for a while.

EB NARRATION: There are a few interesting things about Greenbelt’s landscape that Susan Gervasi brings up here. She talks about when she was living in a townhouse, part of government-built Greenbelt, and how connected she felt to the center of town. Besides the centrally located businesses and public spaces that make government-built Greenbelt feel self-contained for her—she talks about another design element of Greenbelt: the inner walkways. These are sidewalks that cut through the green spaces between rows of town houses and apartments, and these sidewalks are not beside the roads. They are one of the community design elements that the Resettlement Administration planners used to help to keep pedestrians separate from cars.

These inner walkways are a part of the landscape of Greenbelt that influences how people move through it, and the patterns of movement that start to develop among residents.

Another interesting thing that Gervasi talks about is her choice to move out of the government-built housing at a time when she had four children in the house. The government-built houses are all pretty small, especially by conventions of house sizes in the U.S., and some residents make that choice to move into larger houses in other developments that are built later. Susan Gervasi makes the distinction between government-built Greenbelt and other parts of the city by using the phrases “original Greenbelt” and “older Greenbelt.”

Some of these developments that were built later within the city limits feel much more disconnected from government-built Greenbelt according to the residents I talked with because they are separated by major highways: Baltimore-Washington Parkway, the Capital Beltway, and Kenilworth Avenue. Let’s hear from some other residents now about how they define these different areas of Greenbelt.

Brain Gibbons, Oral History

BG: Greenbelt is basically six pods. You know, there’s the Belle Point area, there’s Franklin Park, there’s the Greenbelt Park itself, there’s the historic Greenbelt, there’s East Greenbelt, and they’re all divided because of the way the highways divide up the area.

Carol Malveaux, Oral History

EB: What are the different sections that you see in Greenbelt and how are they divided up?

CM: I see Franklin Park, which keeps changing its name. I see Greenbelt East there, and I see old Greenbelt.

Jennifer Stabler, Oral History

JS: Well, there's Greenbelt East, which I guess is, it's it just seems so separated from the rest of Greenbelt because there's you know the BW Parkway and Greenbelt Road sort of make it, I know there's the bridge over the parkway, but it's it doesn't, it just seems separated from the rest of the town, and even like Springhill Lake and all. This is something that came up when I was working with park and planning on this recent update to the Greenbelt sector plan and that was, that was a point that came up often when you know people were talking about, they wanted more connectivity and everything and really its these huge roads that really separated the different parts of the town.

EB NARRATION: We've just heard the from Brian Gibbons, Carol Malveaux, and Jennifer Stabler—three current residents of Greenbelt describing the divisions they see in the landscape of Greenbelt. In the next episode we'll focus in on those divisions more: on what they mean in the lives of the residents I interviewed and on how they have been created and reinforced—not just by the highway construction but also by how people in these different sections of the city have interacted with each other. For a preview of that, let's go to a short clip from my interview with J. Davis, Greenbelt's current mayor. She is a resident of the area people refer to as Greenbelt East and here she talks about her first campaign for city council. Also, those sounds you're about to hear in the background—that's rain and children playing. We did this interview at an outdoor event in Greenbelt East.

Judith Davis, Oral History

JD: And so the next thing was door knocking, and I went to my first door in Boxwood, and I knocked on the door, and I'm all, you know, smiling. This guy comes to the door and he looks at me. And I said, "I'm Judith Davis, J. Davis, and I'm running for city council." And he said, "Well, where do you live?" I said, "Over in Greenbrier." [impersonating the man's reaction] "Never vote for someone from Greenbelt East," [sound effect of door slamming], and he slammed the door in my face. I said, "This is my first door, door knocking, and this is the reaction?" So, but the rest of the campaign went fine, and I got on council so I was really, really happy about that.

Appendix C: Podcast Episode Three Transcript
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East, West, and Old: Fragmentation in Greenbelt's Cultural Landscapes

Carol Malveaux, Oral History

CM: So we came to Greenbelt. About, for the first few years we were here, this [government-built Greenbelt] was kind of a difficult part of town to come to. So we just stayed basically in Greenbelt East, they call it.

EB: Really?

CM: It wasn't very friendly. We weren't made to feel very welcome.

EB: Hmmm. I heard about that, and that seems like that's a very painful side of Greenbelt.

CM: Well, if you're an African American, it a reality. So it's not, it's not painful to us anymore. You look at it as a way to try and communicate with those people and help them to see another side.

EB NARRATION: Hi Greenbelt Museum Podcast Listeners. You just heard Carol Malveaux speaking about her experiences as an African American woman feeling uncomfortable or unwelcome in the government-built portion of Greenbelt when she first moved to the community in 1988. She felt unwelcome in what residents often refer to as old Greenbelt or historic Greenbelt. Carol and her husband moved into what people call East Greenbelt, where they still live today. This episode, like the last one, will bring together voices of residents talking about the divisions that exist in the landscape in Greenbelt. Let's hear another longer clip from my oral history interview with Carol Malveaux. Oh, and the man she refers to in this next clip as John Henry. He is well known in Greenbelt. His full name is John Henry Jones. He recently was awarded Outstanding Citizen of the Year award in Greenbelt in 2012 , and—importantly for Carol's story—he is African American.

Carol Malveaux, Oral History

CM: When we moved to Greenbelt, after I saw the sign and I said, you've got to be kidding, my husband he just sat in the car and he smiled. I said, "You have to be out of your mind. You think I'm moving to this small town?" So anyway, he went to work, and I was shopping, getting the place, you know, shopping or what we were going to put in the place and everything and also looking for a job at the same time. Well, I said, "I'm going to find the ghetto." So I drove around. I came down Ridge [Road]. I came down Crescent Lane, ended up in the same place. So I

went to old Greenbelt. I called my husband. I said, “Where is the ghetto?” [laughing] I said, “I need to see some of my people. Where’s the ghetto?” So he was laughing. He said, “I’ve got to go to a meeting. I’ll call you back later.” So I drove over down Ridge. I drove down Crescent. I drove down Kenilworth. I turned. I came back, and when I came back, I saw John Henry [an African American man] walking down the street. I said, “Oh, this is that ghetto!” So, anyway, I drove around. I didn’t see anybody else. I kept driving on these same streets. I was getting a little frustrated by then because I needed some hair products, and I didn’t know where to go and get them. So I saw John Henry again. I said, “Oh, I guess he’s going home.” I said, “Is that the only person?” So that’s my John Henry story. John Henry was my first experience of looking for the ghetto in Greenbelt, but he wasn’t it [laughing].

EB: Now, later in my interview with Carol Malveaux she explained that she doesn’t feel like this about government-built Greenbelt in the present. She emphasized that she loves Greenbelt and that playing a role in planning the town’s 75th anniversary celebration in 2012 was really meaningful for her. And, in fact, other residents I interviewed, specifically talked about Greenbelt’s diversity as one of the reasons they moved here. Here’s a clip from my interview with Johnny Rogers, followed by a clip from my interview with Eulalie Lucas:

Johnny Rogers, Oral History

EB: Ok, and you said 21 years ago was about when you moved to Greenbelt. Why did you move to Greenbelt?

JR: A lot of different reasons. Mainly because I needed a place to live and Greenbelt was a nice spot. [laughing]

EB: Yeah.

JR: After moving around to a couple places around the DC Metropolitan area, I met my wife and we were looking for a house, Greenbelt seemed like a prime location due to its diversity, so we chose Greenbelt, and we've been living here ever since.

Eulalie Lucas, Oral History

EL: We moved here in 1990, and we moved because we... I read about the green cities in geography class in high school in Trinidad, and I was very curious. I'm a Geography major, and I was attracted by the planning philosophies. And I went to graduate school at University of Cincinnati. There is the Green Hills [Ohio] there, which is one of the three green cities. [...]

EB: Yeah

EL: It's just a great place to live, and I love my neighbors. And the city of Greenbelt is always very receptive to different cultures, so.

EB NARRATION: Johnny Rogers and Eulalie Lucas, the residents you both heard from live in what is commonly called Greenbelt East, the same part of Greenbelt that Carol Marlveaux chose to live in. Even though these voices are celebrating the racial diversity that exists in Greenbelt today, I'm still left with the observation—an observation that other residents I interviewed brought up—that government-built Greenbelt seems really white compared to the rest of Greenbelt, and the rest of Prince George's County. I

wonder why that is, why that pattern in demographics continues to exist in the cultural landscape of Greenbelt. Here's another resident, Douglas Miller, speaking about that topic and Greenbelt's history.

Douglas Miller, Oral History

DM: There's the old town, historic Greenbelt where we are now, which yeah it's like a—this part is both in history, character, even demographics, completely different from the rest of the area, both incorporated in Greenbelt and unincorporated areas around [here]. Yeah, I haven't [...] studied the demographics [thoroughly] but this area is definitely very, very white relative to the rest of PG County, and that's probably definitely an echo of Greenbelt's discriminatory origins, and you know, it's interesting looking through—I forget the book—the big coffee table book on Greenbelt. There are, even into the 80s, there are almost no non-white people in any of the pictures [in that book], and when you contrast that to [the broader historical demographic trends of] PG county and some of the [other] towns around here, yeah it's interesting.

EB NARRATION: As Douglas Miller speaks about here, Greenbelt was racially segregated, like the rest of Prince George's County, when it was built in 1937. It's not well documented but, in the lore of the town's history at least, the first African Americans to move into Greenbelt probably didn't move into the government-built portion of it. They probably moved into new developments that were built later. And the demographic patterns may have been reinforcing themselves in Greenbelt's cultural landscape ever since, influencing how people think about and section off the spaces: place they feel

comfortable, place they feel less comfortable. These divisions in Greenbelt's landscape are part of the story of Greenbelt. In the next episode, we'll talk some more about these perceived divisions in Greenbelt's landscape and about the idea of a shared heritage in Greenbelt. What would that heritage be? Who would contribute to a shared Greenbelt heritage? As a preview of that topic, I'll close with a clip from my interview with resident Barbara Simon.

Barbara Simon, Oral History

BS: Under normal circumstances, East and West Greenbelt would be separate communities. They really would not be, they are so physically separated from us, you know that under normal circumstances they would just be separate little bedroom communities. But they are not. So we have to figure out a way to make them part of us.

EB: They're within the city limits right?

BS: Yeah. They are part of Greenbelt, but it is more than just saying that we want people to be more integrated. It's partly that the people of my generation and my children's generation we do have a Greenbelt heritage, and this is and it's very important for the children growing up here whether they live in East Greenbelt or the center of Greenbelt or wherever they live, that that understanding, that they live in a very unique and special place and why it's unique and special needs to be continued. They need to understand that.

Appendix D: Oral History Interview Release form for the Greenbelt Museum

**INTERVIEW AGREEMENT FOR
 Greenbelt Museum Oral History Collection**

This agreement is entered into by _____, interviewee, and the Greenbelt Museum in Greenbelt, Maryland. Both parties enter into this agreement in order to facilitate the future use of the oral history interview conducted on this date, _____, for research, historical, and educational purposes.

The Greenbelt Museum conducts oral history interviews as part of its research, education, and interpretive programs. Audio recordings, video recordings, photographs, and transcripts resulting from interviews conducted for the Greenbelt Museum become part of its collections and are housed in Greenbelt at the museum’s facilities. They will be made available for Greenbelt Museum uses and may be made available to members of the public. Typical uses may include publications, audio/video recording in all existing and future media, interpretive talks, public exhibits, Web sites, online venues, and other media deemed appropriate.

Interviewee:

1. Consents to voluntarily participate in this interview as provided by this agreement.
2. Authorizes the Greenbelt Museum to record, transcribe, and edit the interview, and to use and re-use the interview recording, transcript, and photographs taken at the interview in whole or in part.
3. Understands that the Greenbelt Museum shall have no obligation to use the interview and has no expectation of financial compensation for participation in this project.
4. Agrees to give and assign all rights, title, and interest, including copyright, of whatever kind from this information and interview to the Greenbelt Museum.

Date of interview: _____

 Full Name of Interviewee (print)

 Full Name of Interviewer (print)

 Signature

 Signature

 Phone number and/or email address

 Phone number and/or email address

 Address

 Address

 City State Zip

 City State Zip

 Date

 Date

Appendix E: Announcement to be sent to the *Greenbelt News Review*

Suggested Headline: UMD Grad Student and Greenbelt Museum Collect Oral Histories

When did you first move to Greenbelt and why? Which places in Greenbelt are most important to you? This summer, University of Maryland graduate student Ennis Barbery is partnering with the Greenbelt Museum to collect oral histories from Greenbelt residents. These oral histories will be archived at the Greenbelt Museum, and Barbery will use them in the creation of content for the museum about Greenbelt's "cultural landscape." A "cultural landscape" includes not just the ecology and architectural structures of a place, this concept also includes how people choose to move through, use, and change the spaces around them. This project focuses on how Greenbelt's landscape shapes residents' activities, how residents shape Greenbelt's landscape, and how all of this has changed as the community has evolved—from before Greenbelt existed, to its construction and history, right up to the present.

Do you have a Greenbelt address? Are you a resident of Greenbelt East, Greenbelt West, or any other part of Greenbelt? Do you want your story to be included? Please contact Barbery at ebarbery@umd.edu or 304-920-2379. Since she is primarily working over the summer, she has limited time to conduct the oral histories and will only be able to collect a certain number, so be one of the first to call or email. The oral histories will be taken primarily in a room in the Community Center, but alternative arrangements may be available. Also, even if you cannot be interviewed over the summer, the Greenbelt Museum plans to continue collecting oral histories in the future and will keep a list of people who are interested in sharing their stories.

Appendix F: Questions for Full-Length Oral History Interviews

Greenbelt Oral History and Cultural Landscapes Project

Interview Questions

2013

**At the beginning of each recording, the interviewer will state the date, time, location, and his or her name*

**Please note that the interviewer will ask the listed questions, but he or she may also ask follow-up questions and allow the interviewee to speak freely.*

General Oral History Questions:

1. Please state your full name, including your maiden name if applicable.
2. When and where were you born?
3. How would you describe your childhood and teenage years?

Suggested follow-ups:

What do you remember about school?

What did you do for fun?

Did you have chores or jobs?

4. How would you describe your adult life?

Suggested follow-ups:

What jobs have you held?

Did you continue going to school?

Where have you lived or traveled?

What important relationships have you had?

Did you have children?

What did you do for fun?

What have been some of your proudest moments or achievements?

Greenbelt Questions:

1. When did you move to Greenbelt? Why?

For those born in Greenbelt, a more appropriate question might be the following:

Did you move away from Greenbelt? When and why?

2. What comes to mind when you think about Greenbelt?

3. Are there different parts or sections of Greenbelt and what are they?

4. What makes Greenbelt different from other places?

5. What makes Greenbelt similar to other places?

6. What are your favorite memories of or stories about Greenbelt?

Cultural Landscape Questions:

1. Which places in Greenbelt do you visit frequently?

2. How often would you say you visit these different places?

3. Describe walk, bike, or drive through Greenbelt?

Suggested follow-up:

Are there specific routes you take to go to different places in Greenbelt?

Are some of these routes more or less pleasant and why?

Do you need to leave Greenbelt for certain activities?

4. What are the most meaningful places in Greenbelt for you?

5. Please draw a rough, not-to-scale map of Greenbelt, including some of the places we have discussed.

Appendix G: Questions for Mini Oral History Interviews

Greenbelt Oral History and Cultural Landscapes Project

(MINI Oral History) Interview Questions

2013

**At the beginning of each recording, the interviewer will state the date, time, location, and his or her name*

**Please note that the interviewer will ask the listed questions, but he or she may also ask follow-up questions and allow the interviewee to speak freely.*

General Oral History Questions:

1. Please state your full name, including your maiden name if applicable.
2. When and where were you born?

Greenbelt Questions:

1. When did you move to Greenbelt? Why?

For those born in Greenbelt, a more appropriate question might be the following:

Did you move away from Greenbelt? When and why?

2. What comes to mind when you think about Greenbelt?
3. What are your favorite memories of or stories about Greenbelt?