DISSONANT MODERNISM:
MASS HOUSING AS ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE IN THE UNITED STATES

By Michael R. Allen

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

International Center for Heritage
School of History and Cultures
College of Arts and Law
University of Birmingham
March 2024

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

ABSTRACT

While mass housing is one of most common types of modernist architecture built globally during the twentieth century, it has been marginalized in the inscription and identification of modernist architectural heritage. This study focuses its investigation on the problems and prospects of inscribing modernist mass housing architecture within the United States of America, where unlike most nations, vast numbers of mass housing buildings have been systematically demolished. Two case studies illuminate both past problems and current prospects for identification and inscription as heritage: Cochran Gardens Apartments in St. Louis, a public housing development built in 1953 but completely demolished by 2012; and Parkchester in New York City, a larger, private mass housing development completed in 1942 that still stands today. In researching these cases, I explore the dynamic of constructing and asserting expertise between architectural historians, heritage officials, housing officials and housing inhabitants. The question of dissonant valuation is central to the research, although the research aims not simply to note problems but also locate possible points of positive convergence.

In undertaking research, I utilized grounded theory to support semi-structured interviews of actors occupying multiple positions, on-site observational work and interviews of inhabitants. I also undertook review of mass media (especially newspapers), primary source heritage documents and popular cultural forms such as music related to the case study sites. My research explored how inhabitant communities construct and assert value of their housing developments, and how those values intersect with the usually more-dominant values of expert actors. Deploying interpretative models, I identified not simply conflicts in value, but discursive differences between how inhabitants and experts articulate the heritage value of modernist mass housing. I especially focus on the discursive space between valuing housing for aesthetic achievement and valuing the same for its utility and affordability. I conclude by examining the potential connections between dissonant values, and how those connections could serve the inhabitants struggles while confronting the implicit biases in expert assessments.

"But still, there it is for all to see: a new standard of human environment, and a new technique for achieving it. And, although it is not true that any social-economic order which could produce good housing would be *ipso facto* a good system, it is certainly true that any arrangement which cannot do so is a reactionary and anti-social one."

Catherine Bauer, *Modern Housing* (1934)

To all residents of the United States of America who struggle to provide their own housing.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures

List of Tables

List of Acronyms

AHD	Authorised Heritage Discourse
AMI	Area Median Income
AOC	Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez
CIAM	International Congress of Modern Architecture
CGTMC	Cochran Gardens Tenant Management Corporation
CLG	Certified Local Government
DOCOMOMO	Society for the Documentation of Modernism
DOCOMOMO US	Society for the Documentation of Modernism – US Chapter
ELI	Extremely Low Income
HDC	Historic Districts Council
HOPE VI	Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere
HUD	US Department of Housing and Urban Development
ICOMOS	International Committee on Monuments and Sites
LIHTC	Low Income Historic Tax Credit
MLIC	Metropolitan Life Insurance Company
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NHPA	National Historic Preservation Act
NPS	National Park Service
NRHP	National Register of Historic Places
NYCHA	New York City Housing Authority
PHA	Public Housing Administration
SHPO	State Historic Preservation Office
SLHA	St. Louis Housing Authority
TPO	Tribal Preservation Office
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background of Study

The global housing crisis is one of the most significant human rights problems in the world today, with at least 1.6 billion people lacking adequate housing in 2024 and an estimated 3 billion poised for the same position by 2030 (Pruton 2024). The financialisation of market housing has struck urban areas especially hard, as private equity firms and investors buy up rental units for luxury housing, short-term rentals or vacant commodities to be traded. Rising rent costs during the pandemic-sparked inflation have come problematic worldwide, including in the United States where now average rent is unaffordable for around half of the entire population (JCHS 2024). Wars such as those waging in Gaza, Ukraine and Sudan have brought about "domicide," or the deliberate destruction of housing on large scale. Climate and economic changes both are compelling migration, with people often moving to areas lacking adequate available housing. On top of these devastating dynamics, the world's existing supply of publicly-built or publicly-owned mass housing is declining through privatisation and demolition, according to United Nations Special Rapporteur for the right to adequate housing Balakrishnan Rajagopal (Pruton 2024).

According to no less a source than the United Nations, the global housing crisis implicates a form of architecture that can be understood as architectural heritage: mass housing. For this thesis, I define "mass housing" as a housing development in which a standardized multi-family dwelling type or type set is built on a scale housing at least 100 families. The presence of mass housing developments in my native city of St. Louis, Missouri, United States of America, shaped my youthful consciousness of the city skyline. The tower blocks that ringed the downtown were both evidence of a past effort to provide adequate shelter to the masses and a space where class and race differences were on full display, as most residents were nonwhite and working-class or poor. The systemic removal of these housing developments between 1999 and 2015, in the same period when architectural historians like myself were increasingly valuing

modernist architecture, has long struck me as a perplexing question for the heritage field.

Questions raised by my own professional practice within the field that is called "historic preservation" within the United States of America. That field would be called more aptly "architectural conservation" in the authorised heritage discourses of other nations. In my practice, I engaged with two tower block public mass housing developments in the US after they already had been approved by heritage authorities for demolition. My job was limited to creating agreed-upon documentation and performing research to permit their erasure but was not connected to any questions about the need for these housing developments as places to live. I soon observed that the disconnect between these different ways of appreciating the existence of these buildings made my work purely rote documentation within the heritage field and completely useless to the residents.

In this thesis, I have elected to study one of the two public mass housing projects on which I worked, Cochran Gardens Apartments in St. Louis, Missouri. Cochran Gardens has not existed since the last tower fell in 2012, making it an invisible place that belies a very rich and complex history in which the project once was praised by the president of the United States of America as the best example of public housing in the nation (Brown 1998). As a contrasting case, I also have selected the privately-built mass housing development of Parkchester in New York, New York, which today faces a crossroads where both its physical conservation and persistence as affordable housing face major threats. Between the two cases, as discussed further in Chapter 4, there is a juxtaposition of different mass housing forms that have faced similar problems in different moments, allowing for research that benefits from meaningful similarities and differences.

The disposition of modernist mass housing in the US provides a rather propitious entry point into the dissection of implicit bias within the fields that govern expert valuation of architecture, while also demonstrating how the construction of that expertise is contingent on other social, political and cultural structures. While modernist mass

housing remains the single largest effort to build housing in the history of the US, and thus also its most prevalent modernist domestic architectural form, it embeds a past attempt to countenance the dominant US market fundamentalist economic view with both direct state provision of state-owned housing and indirect state structuring of housing to benefit inhabitants and banish profit from its provision (Radford 1996; Glendinning 2021).

In many ways, the fate of modernist mass housing in the US remains dependent on assessments of the larger value of a welfare state, with ascribed deficits of the architectural form less objective and more ideological. Within the US and Europe, too, since the end of the Cold War there has been a general political aversion to maintenance of the welfare state that has impacted mass housing: "[s]ince the downfall of state socialism and the decline of the postwar Western welfare state, mass-housing systems have largely been bound up with capitalist developmentalism, as well as with external factors such as demographic pressures" (Glendinning 2021: 553).

Vale (2019) characterises the US federal approach to affordable housing provision today as "poverty governance" while Glendinning (2021) alleges that elected administrations are only ever invested in housing provision when there is an electoral benefit. Either way, circumstances today do not favor expansion of mass housing for the middle class, the working class or the poor. The most expedient path for the US to realize the availability of a large supply of affordable housing is through the conservation of existing modernist mass housing. While mass housing production today is rampant in South and East Asian cities, the dynamics of economic and population decline in US and European cities complicates both provision and protection (Urban 2012). While I have had a first-hand view of how the field of historic preservation has approached modernist mass housing with a sometimes hypocritical stance, I also know that the field has a major role to play in safeguarding extant mass housing and ensuring its survival as affordable housing amid a pronounced national crisis in the affordability of urban housing.

1.1 Rationale for the Study

This thesis represents the culmination of a long study of the ways in which modernist mass housing are valued across expert and non-expert realms. While there are some published studies that include useful data from these perspectives (Rainwater 1970; Ladner 1971; Kotlowitz 1991; Aubert, Cavar and Chandar 2012; Fuerst 2005; Petty 2013; Austen 2018), none that I have found have compared these perspectives as they relate to heritagisation. Chapters 2 and 5 delve deeper into the paucity of available, published literature that would orient anyone to the question of the value of modernist mass housing. There are abundant sources relying on historic or expert values, as presented further in Chapters 2 and 3, but almost none that even consult inhabitants and other non-expert sources. There literally are no sources in published literature that evaluate US modernist mass housing as heritage explicitly.

Thus, the study's main goal is to overcome the inexplicit sources that have influenced consideration of the value of modernist mass housing. The inexplicit expression of value is a function of ideology under which contingent, value-laden constructs present themselves as objective or neutral perspectives (Williams 1977). Central to the rationale of this study is a need to pierce through ideological assessments and statements and connect to more raw data sources. In order to develop original research, both the collection of that new data and the identification of ideologically-biased narratives—that is, those that privilege sets of expert values without analysing inhabitant perspectives -- in technical literature were required. In order to point toward new ways of valuing modernist mass housing, identification of these biases was essential. There are three categories that define the need of this thesis:

1.1.1 Lack of research on how implicit bias affects the valuation of modernist architecture

The available technical literature concerning modernist mass housing in the US, as fully articulated in Chapter 5, almost always repeats a set of ideological claims that are not usually fully justified. The construction of narratives around modernist mass housing

that are not deepened by evidentiary methods exposes a set of implicit biases in which the assertions of experts are presented as "common sense." The complexity of the subject within architecture, society and politics *prima facie* undercuts the available arguments in most technical literature as they do not disclose underlying assumptions of fact and position that formulate theory. The lack of research that honestly narrates the assumptions that shape values and their application is a serious detriment to available literature around modernist mass housing, especially within the field of architectural history that strongly conditions historic preservation as a field.

1.1.2 Lack of research on the impact of heritage practices on efforts to conserve modernist mass housing as affordable housing

There is little original research on the impact of historic preservation as it directly impacts efforts to conserve modernist mass housing as affordable housing. There are cases in which heritage inscription has been sought, obtained or acknowledged that have left an ambiguous trail. There are five recent cases of inscription in the US that I think underscore the lack of resolution in how historic preservation intersects with the residents' struggles to stay in place by keeping mass housing affordable and intact:

- Julia Lathrop Homes (Chicago, Illinois; 1937-8): A public housing development inscribed in the National Register of Historic Places after the Chicago Housing Authority closed this low-rise early development, the Lathrop Homes' inscription enabled a tax-credit market liberal scheme that led to demolition of half of the original buildings and rehabilitation of the other half as affordable housing. Today, some historic buildings remain abandoned and the cleared areas are good sites for gentrification schemes (Dukmasova 2019).

- Golden Gate Village (Marin City, California; 1955-60): A public mass housing project designed by renowned modernist architects (John Carl Warnecke and Aaron Green) with landscapes by a renowned modernist landscape architect (Lawrence Halprin), Golden Gate Village saw residents get organized in the face of their local housing authority proposing partial privatisation. The residents

secured a National Register of Historic Places inscription based on design history. However, this inscription has not slowed the housing authority's plan to slow-walk privatisation of Golden Gate Village (Halstead 2023).

- Cedar Village/Riverside Plaza (Minneapolis, Minnesota; 1973): A subsidized private mass housing development designed by a prominent modernist architect (Ralph Rapson), this high-rise project was highly stigmatized before it was inscribed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2012. The inscription enabled a historic tax credit rehabilitation that overcame physical decay and allowed the complex to reborn as affordable mass housing serving mostly the Somali immigrant community in Minneapolis (Weber 2012).

- Shoreline Apartments (Buffalo, New York; 1969-74): A subsidized private mass housing development designed by a prominent modernist architect (Paul Rudolph), this low-rise Brutalist development was the subject of an intense advocacy campaign led by outside experts which never gained political traction. The housing development is now demolished (Franklin 2020).

- Atlgeld Gardens (Chicago, Illinois; 1945): A public mass housing project funded under the first available Federal funds has faced years of neglect and deferred maintenance under the Chicago Housing Authority. Organised residents opposed to possible schemes to privatise the low-rise development actually forced the Chicago Housing Authority to fund and direct an inscription in the National Register of Historic Places. The inscription itself does not provide funding for inhabitant needs but has raised the visibility of the cause of improving the development's quality of life (Chicago Sun-Times 2021).

1.1.3 Omission of inhabitant perspectives in discourses of heritage valuation

As detailed in Chapters 2 and 5, there is a dearth of literature around modernist mass housing that includes data sourced from inhabitants. Most of what is available in that area comes through sociological surveys from the late 1960s of public mass housing

residents that certainly illuminate the development of implicit biases noted in this research but do not come close to fulfilling any survey of the values and opinions of contemporary residents. As my entry point to this study was a world of professional practice that revealed unacknowledged biases, I have recognized a need to create a new record of modernist mass housing valuation by recording past and current inhabitant perspectives.

1.2: Research Objectives

This research is driven by objectives that help fill gaps in the available literature around modernist mass housing in the US. The primary research question is:

To what extent is there productive alignment in the valuation of modernist mass housing by experts and the valuation by inhabitants within the United States?

To facilitate the inquiry into the above question there are three main objectives:

1. To identify the values toward modernist mass housing that cause experts and non-experts to argue that it constitutes valuable heritage;
2. To identify the ways in which expert and non-expert values around modernist mass housing intersect, overlap or meaningfully connect;
3. To examine the possible compatibility of the valuation of modernist mass housing as architectural heritage by experts and the valuation of modernist mass housing as affordable housing by inhabitants.

The first objective breaks the impasse already narrated, and aims toward a wide collection of data points that will create an inclusive set of data not found in existing literature around modernist mass housing, The open assessment of values requires an openness toward data sources, especially values articulated in first-hand interviews, in order to truly craft the widest representation of positions toward modernist mass housing.

The second objective moves beyond the simple identification of conflicts and differences toward creating a space for identifying where intersections can be observed. There need to improve upon literature that avoids or disavows these intersections with research that narrates the failures to create productive intersections. This research truly aims to interrogate data to locate overlooked or unanticipated convergences between experts and nonexperts.

The third objective invites a real deep exploration of how heritage inscription motivates actors on the expert and nonexpert sides. The long-term aim, of course, is to locate ways in which inscription can be beneficial to efforts to stay in place and maintain affordability. However, the study must admit that inscription is not always originated in such efforts, and sometimes inscription or studies of inscription originates from agencies that have already permitted erasure or gentrification of mass housing developments. A frank assessment is best for drawing our strategies that might align inscription and affordable housing conservation.

1.3 Methodology

Given the elusive nature of my research subject in available literature, and the need to enhance existing research by creating data demonstrating direct comments from inhabitants and experts, I turned to grounded theory method as well as to the more established method of dialectical materialism. My methodology is described in detail in Chapter 4, where its valuable applicability to this research is fully articulated. In my research, I needed to create data around the values that experts and nonexperts ascribed to modernist mass housing. To accomplish that, I collected data across a wide range of sources: semi-structured interviews, available interview videos and transcripts, correspondence, secondary literature, newspaper and mass media articles and reports, popular media including music and motion pictures and field conditions including physical conditions and observed behaviours at the case study sites. The grounded theory method allows for an expansive sourcing of data, a constructivist ontology, an interpretive epistemology and a value-laden axiology (Strauss and Corbin 2008). Dialectical materialism as a historiographic approach allows me to explore

contradictions between and within value statements as evidence of value formation (Lefebvre 2009).

1.4 Context of the Study

Today, urban housing in the US is in deep crisis as millions of Americans are severely rent-burdened, priced out or living homeless. According to the National Low Income Housing Coalition, over 70% of extremely low income Americans spend over half of their income on housing (Vale 2019). Only one in four of low income Americans eligible for housing assistance even receive any form of aid (Vale 2019). In 2018, there only were 35 affordable housing units available for every 100 extremely low income (ELI) families (Vale 2019). The nation would need 6.8 million new units of affordable housing to solve its current crisis, and there seems to be no political will to even begin to tackle the problem (NLIHC 2023). While new housing is desperately needed, the need to protect remaining mass housing units currently protected as affordable housing by being public housing or by being legally-structured as affordable housing is essential to preventing the US housing crisis from becoming even worse.

This thesis explores both a past failure of historic preservation to play a constructive role in preserving affordable public housing and a current opportunity to provide major support to an effort to keep a private, publicly-regulated affordable housing development from being gentrified. While the research could have focused exclusively on the present problems, the examination of how historic preservation was a barrier to conservation of mass affordable housing sets up a great framework for examining whether there has been significant change in the field that might demonstrate some optimism around the field's ability to craft different outcomes.

The contemporary battle over this thesis' second case study, Parkchester, provides a window into a possible synthesis of valuation that would allow expert appreciation of architectural aspects to intersect with inhabitant valuation of a high-quality, historic, affordable living environment. Parkchester is an exemplary case study because today

there are parallel battles that are central to the questions of this thesis: an effort to designate Parkchester as a New York City Landmark in order to protect its physical attributes, and an urgent effort to secure affordability, improve landlord management and resist a likely attempt to gentrify the development through a rezoning. Parkchester is a striking example of a mass housing development loudly and passionately championed by experts within historic preservation, making it a great test of whether that field can join its values to the values of inhabitants and ensure that all rise or fall together.

1.5 Outline of Thesis

This study presents its rationale, review of literature, methodology, analysis and conclusions in seven chapters. The organization of this study is as follows:

Chapter 1 serves as the Introduction to the research, providing an account of the background that led to my electing to create original research around the conservation of modernist mass housing in the United States. The chapter presents a basic rationale and introduces the objectives, the methodology, the context and the outline of the study.

Chapter 2 is the Literature Review, which examines the relationship of the valuation of modernist mass housing to several key areas: heritage discourses and practices, including frameworks, systems of government, the valuation of built forms and landscapes, and contests between authorised and popular values; architectural modernism, including discourses within the field of architecture, the assertion of significance, criticism and rejection of architectural modernism and heritage conservation; housing as heritage, including the framing of domesticity in heritage, inscription, the presence of mass housing in heritage discourses and current problems in conserving modernist mass housing worldwide.

Chapter 3 reviews the specific contexts within the United States of America that impinge upon this study. This chapter examines the field of historic preservation, including its national exceptionalism framing, its implementation in government systems, the role of

public engagement in the field and implicit biases; modernist architecture in the US, including a historic overview, attitudes and impediments for modernist mass housing to become heritage, progress in valuing and inscribing modernist mass housing, and contemporary problems in valuation of modernist architecture; mass housing in the US, including historic background, its relationship to historic preservation, expert and non-expert criticism of the architecture and its utility, and the need for mass housing within US cities today.

Chapter 4 presents the methodology selected for this study, which primarily is rooted in qualitative grounded theory method with some utilisation of dialectical materialism for historical research and analysis. I present the benefits of a qualitative approach, the strength of the data collection methods within grounded theory method, and the applicability of the constructivist theory-building within grounded theory method to the specific research of this study.

Chapter 5 is the first of two analytic chapters about case studies. This case presents the data collected around Cochran Gardens Apartments in St. Louis, Missouri, a public mass housing development, which was demolished by 2012. Although no longer extant, Cochran Gardens Apartments provides a key set of problems around the ambivalence of authorised heritage discourses, the biases but also curiosities of experts and the assertions of inhabitants. The larger context of a US political economy where white supremacy and market fundamentalist aversion of public mass housing dominated also set up key questions for the study.

Chapter 6 examines the data around Parkchester in the Bronx, New York, New York, which is still standing and faces urgent questions around its conservation both architecturally and socially as affordable housing. Parkchester's problems allow for the expansion of questions aimed at Cochran Gardens, and also allow for an optimistic counterpoint as there has been some success in efforts to conserve and value Parkchester. The living environment of Parkchester also provided a large base of inhabitants from which data could be collected.

Chapter 7 presents conclusions from the study of the two case studies, including some theories about valuation of modernist mass housing as heritage and some suggested ways in which this study could provide support to inhabitant efforts to conserve their homes as well as expert struggles to reconsider modernist mass housing against implicit biases in their fields.

1.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided an introductory narration of the circumstances that led to my designing and completing this study. From the contradictions in the practices within the US field of historic preservation that awakened my consciousness to the exploration of international and national contexts, I was able to determine what useful research objectives might be. I identified and implemented a research methodology that allowed the work to explore and embrace complexity and contingency in mass housing values, and also allowed me to be constructivist as a researcher and writer. Here I have justified the need for this research and briefly provided an orientation to its objectives, methods and organization. Next in Chapter 2 I will review the literature relevant to this study in depth, and demonstrate the lack of availability of any sources already extant to fulfill the objectives of this study.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

Modernist mass housing may be the most abundant form of housing across the nations of the world, and yet it remains a problematic subject for cultural heritage. Mass housing is defined as an artifact of a standardized design and production scheme in which multiple variants of the same domestic house unit are reproduced across a contiguous or noncontiguous geographic area under the same management or administration (Kowfie, Fugar, Adinyra and Abadzie 2014). According to Urban (2012: 1), modernist mass housing is "the most widespread architectural scheme of the twentieth century." As the most common type of modernist architecture ever built, mass housing ought to fill the pages of architectural history books and the lists of inscribed postwar built heritage sites. As architectural historian Miles Glendinning described mass housing, it is "a global landscape of riotously colorful variety and complexity, responding both to the diversity of twentieth century and early twenty-first century state and to the countless permutations of modernist architecture" (Glendinning 2021:3). Yet modernist mass housing is largely an elusive subject on all accounts, and its physical forms have been contentious when they are debated for conservation.

As a reproducible unit, mass housing was never intended to fulfill the specialness or significance that is the crucible of many formal heritage inscription programs or academic heritage valuation projects (Glendinning 2021). Heritage valuation of built space privileges the *genius loci*, or uniqueness that makes a place differentiated from others (Bell 2014). As a reproducible form whose national buildings programs constitute a truly worldwide system of production after World War II, mass housing may not seem to possess that sort of uniqueness. However, given its constancy across systems of government, state ideologies, regional and national identities and climates, modernist mass housing seems to possess something even more significant than a discrete uniqueness.

Mass housing retains a widespread stigmatization of both the architecture, dubbed a "monstrous human catastrophe" by some critics (Cupers 2014: xiii; Glendinning 2021), and inhabitants themselves, who often have reported social othering by non-inhabitants (Rainwater 1970; Hanley 2007; Vale 2009). On the other hand, it also represents an abundant resource, especially in post-socialist European nations, the United Kingdom, Asian nations and parts of South America, North America and Africa (Glendinning 2021). In some nations, such as Germany where it represents one third of all housing, mass housing is the most common or one of the most common types of housing (Engel 2019). Worldwide, the need for more sustainable affordable housing globally is evident, as 330 million households are unable to find adequate or affordable housing (Madden and Marcuse 2016). Thus, mass housing as a valuable architectural form seems obviously utilitarian, but the cultural meaning of the form dilutes an obvious value.

The omission and inclusion of modernist mass housing in architectural heritage necessarily begins with an examination of the field of cultural heritage itself, which is as much a productive endeavor as it is a neutral recorder of worthy material culture. As a mass heritage form, modernist mass housing seems like a universal problem for heritage valuation seeking a universal, or at least international, resolution (Jovanović 2017). Following, the construction of modernism by the discipline of architecture needs interrogation, because there are fundamental proscriptions there that have complicated the acceptance of modernist mass housing as heritage. The construction of domestic architecture, and its reproduction of class and racial categories, also has to be considered to further draw out the position of mass housing as cultural heritage. Finally, the context, current valuation and contemporary problems of conservation of mass housing bears investigation. While ideological obstacles are apparent, there needs to be an attendance to the problems of physically trying to conserve these buildings. This review of literature establishes a set of gaps in research and discourse that are enunciated in the conclusion of this review.

2.1 Heritage Discourses and Practices

While the literature on cultural heritage is profligate, the exact meaning of that term and the valuation that determines what is or is not cultural heritage remains contested. Thus a review of relevant themes in the field of cultural heritage is necessary before relating that field directly to the subject of mass housing. The foundations of cultural heritage need to be examined to present any foundational problems that will impact research into the relationship of evaluating mass housing as heritage. Conversely, the foundations need to be examined also for identification of tendencies and practices that support the incorporation of mass housing into acknowledged or inscribed cultural heritage.

The literature review must begin with an examination of how cultural heritage has been constituted, and what biases, exclusions and uncertainties persist within its practice. Following this review, there are immediate research questions: What are the specific practices in cultural heritage relating to the evaluation of built forms? How do systems of governance internationally and nationally impact the application of heritage practice, since much of it is within the realm of public law? What is the nature of conflicts between authorized heritage discourses and popular narratives of cultural heritage? Finally, specific to the examination of how a mass heritage form can be evaluated, is there inherent conflict within dominant practices between the evaluation of singular heritage resources and those that exist in mass?

2.1.1 Frameworks of cultural heritage

Cultural heritage refers to a discourse of claims of value of objects, places, customs and other artifacts of the past (Smith 2006; Arrhenius 2012). The field of cultural heritage incorporates the subjective nature of these claims as key to understanding the production of heritage. Behind these claims lies the concept of culture itself, which has had variable meanings since its inception. "Culture" was once synonymous with "civilisation," but in the 19th century the term split to incorporate the connotation of including the material, social and aesthetic expressions of the human spirit – not simply those cultivated and acceptable, but increasingly intended to include the entirety (Williams 1977). Cultural heritage consequently includes more than it excludes, and constantly is including more

(Lowenthal 1998). The additive nature of cultural heritage has prompted this study, which examines the prospect of heritagising even more cultural products, that of surviving mass housing projects. There are competing heritage discourses that instantiate two distinct tracks in heritagisation: a popular, or community-led movement, and the professionalised discourses led by institutions and governments (Waterton 2010; Cooper 2015).

The professionalised track in heritage is often known as Cultural Resources Management (CRM), and what unifies this track are management and conservation protocols, techniques and procedures (Smith 2006). Disciplines that inform the professionalised field of cultural heritage include archaeology, architectural conservation, museum studies, history, geography and anthropology. Smith (2006) has argued that professionalised cultural heritage production rests upon authorized heritage discourses (AHD), which assert a legitimacy to institutions, state agencies and disciplines as the authoritative evaluators of significance (Smith 2006: 31).

Early AHD practices favored claims over bounded objects, sites and landscapes with finite physical features, but evolution in practices has admitted more aspects of culture as heritage, including food, dances, musical traditions and language (Smith 2006). AHD risks nominalising heritage, by claiming that entities -- buildings, monuments, landscapes, folk practices -- are the object of heritage rather than actions -- discursive claims, cultural and political uses and personal identity formation practices (Skrede and Hølleland 2018). This nominalization allows dominant social powers to reproduce themselves hegemonically, since discourse can be controlled to exclude competing claims (Abu El-Haj 2001; Smith 2006; Harrison 2012; Fouseki 2022). Harrison (2012) convincingly argues that the AHD is a force that usually marginalises or ignores "significant affective qualities of material things and the influences the material traces of the past have on people in the contemporary world" (Harrison 2012: 228). Because, contrary to some AHD charters and documents, heritage is not a self-evident property of anything, AHD can be an instrumental practice that creates and legitimates standards of significance around specific objects, forms and practices (Cooper 2015).

The AHD is germane to much of the analysis of how systems of government and expert fields have failed to positively respond to modernist mass housing in the US, but its reflection of dominant social values makes the AHD an unlikely space for broader appreciation. For housing sites, the AHD perpetuates a class bias against sites associated with the poor, working class and lower middle class (West 2010). Within the AHD, repeated forms associated with ordinary life and its traumas are "dangerously abundant" and thus devalued as too quotidian to carry "outstanding" and "universal" value (Allais 2015). Given the opacity of modernist mass housing within AHD, nonexpert community valuation may provide a stronger sense of how and why such housing is culturally valuable. Vergunst et al. (2019) present case studies in which community inclusion in research design allowed for heritage to become a research process productive not simply of inscribed or inventoried material artifacts, but of non-archival knowledge of place. The construction of meaning around places remains subjective and contingent between community knowledge, attitudes, values and feelings, and professional insights, methods and bodies of knowledge (Hawke 2012). Community participation in shaping valuation is vital to overcome the limits of AHD, but the AHD may retain a worthwhile interface with state and market actors that have the power to conserve, alter or obliterate place-based heritage. In other words, the AHD may be a necessary pragmatic for mass housing's paths through systems of government while ultimately not the locus of full valuation.

Both AHD and popular heritage discourses can assert that their standards of claiming significance for certain artifacts or customs constitute "common sense," when in fact these standards are always subjective and ascendant (Cooper 2015). Discourses often pursue strategies of asserting their values as common sense, despite internal contradictions, as a means of claiming political power (Robinson 2005). Both popular and authorized heritage discourses seek political or social power for their value systems through heritagisation.

As heritage has grown in number and type of cultural forms, it risks becoming a simple recitation of all cultural expression, but many scholars note that instead cultural biases

still appear (Lowenthal 1998; Smith 2006; Keough 2011). Heritage has instantiated itself as a scholarly field and academic discourse, but critics assert that it is disinclined to examine its own constitution as a discourse (Byrne 2014). The phenomenon of nostalgia often pushes heritage toward the conventional or, germane to this research, the beautiful or visually evocative. Nostalgia often subordinates or suppresses the specifically signified in favor of the broad, open signifier (Velikojna 2015). Heritage as a field continues to grapple with this contradiction, and the attendant human tendency toward it.

Lowenthal (1998) notes that dominant modes of heritage production tend to achieve one or more of these aspects: veneration of nationalism, including ethnic identity; inscription of elite power, from political regimes to upper classes; revisionism that seeks to change the past by making a new claim; commodification that renders heritage as an economic good to be consumed; and production of an incoherent narrative that includes too many irreconcilable parts. Lowenthal is critical of the overproduction of heritage, while Smith (2008) notes that even still what cultures try to "save" reveals much about their value systems.

The expansion of heritagisation of mass housing might contradict mass housing's own intentions. The manner in which heritage claims are made often relies on selective construction of universality, by rendering the claim of a small group into the claim of a larger one. Assertions of "common heritage" and calls that destruction of heritage is a universal concern, such as the global response to the fire at Notre Dame Cathedral or calls to spare artifacts and historic sites from ISIS destruction, mask their subjective nature and historic specificity (Arrhenius 2012:138). The construction of any heritage object as universally valued relies on discourses that ignore that heritage has significance "not by proof of origins but by present exploits" (Lowenthal 1998:127). However, present conditions may more than justify claiming mass housing as heritage, even if the AHD has not been able to reach any consensus point in the US.

Inherent in the impulse to revise the past in ways that draw attention to overlooked aspects is to challenge, transform or replace symbolic orders of power (Rancière 1994). Revisionism, of which heritage production plays a part, assumes that "nothing happened such as it was told" (Rancière 1994:36). The paradox of this work is that one telling is replaced by another telling, and neither actually *is* the past. Trouillot argues that the "production of traces depends on silences" so that every assertion of one side of a story silences the other (Trouillot 1995:29). Although the chain of revisions of the past can seem arbitrary, it actually produces strong senses of personal identity and value of places (Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge 2007). Heritage production thus reflects a mechanism of political and cultural dissent (Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000:58). While there may be no such thing as heritage due to its overproduction, the actual official inscriptions within the AHD worldwide excludes sites of conflict, genocide, trauma and oppression, often deliberately (Allais 2015). The "authorised" rarely includes any site whose recognition as valuable would undermine dominant social or political values. Within the US, mass housing continues to challenge the dominant market fundamentalism and thus carries a fundamental barrier to acceptance within the AHD.

A central concern of the heritage field has been the relationship of heritage resources to the concept of cultural pluralism (Wells 2007; Lowenthal 1998). Given the loose construction of heritage as a field, pluralism potentially opens heritage to becoming almost anything. However pluralism can also diminish the control over heritage production posed by nationalisms, elite classes, financialization of heritage sites and privileges of certain disciplines. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) argue that heritage resources subject to competing claims and valuations constitutes "dissonant heritage." Kisić, studying resources related to the heated cultural conflict of Balkan wars of the 1990s, has asserted that "all heritage has dissonance" (Kisić 2013: 25).

Current research in heritage has identified key contemporary problems: diversity of types, affiliations and locations of heritage; profusion of inscribed heritage leading to lost prestige or identity; uncertainty of heritage conservation in light of conflict and political economy; and transformation of heritage related to climate change (Harrison 2020).

Heritage has become a legally-defined object in international, national, regional and local conventions and laws worldwide. For this research, the main question here is whether increased valuation and inscription of mass housing will achieve a desirable end. That is, would it lead to increased conservation, and, if so, for what purpose? This question necessitates the detailing of why mass housing is valuable, and what kind of conservation is thus requisite.

There is a risk of inscription enabling a political co-opting of mass housing, which could be beneficial or detrimental to inhabitant desires. After all, the World Heritage List's inclusions and exclusions often mirror patterns of global political and economic power (Lowenthal 1998; Keough 2011; Meskell 2018). In recent years, there has been greater contestation of inscribed and marked heritage because of association with regimes or ideologies of racism, genocide or other forms of oppression (González 2019). Simultaneously there is a growing sentiment across the world that "cultural loss," or the deheritagisation of places, customs and traditions, is a major threat to identity (Berliner 2020). Claims made on the built past now can distort the intended purpose of the built past to serve current ideological efforts (Velikojna 2015; Berliner 2020). Contemporary nostalgia for socialist architecture, which might be seen as positive trend for modernist mass housing, can neutralize the political value of the housing (Molnár 2013). Stripped of political value, modernist mass housing could simply revert to a fetishised architectural form, limiting its valuation as heritage to a discrete specialized category, and reducing its conservation to designed aesthetic features rather than enduring use as affordable housing or the imprints of inhabitants.

2.1.2 Systems of government and heritage

Systems of government determine how Authorized Heritage Discourses (AHD), moral valuation and popular standards have legal impact, and whether inscription leads to conservation. AHD, moral and popular systems of valuing heritage all have their own sway within political systems. For mass housing, which is located worldwide, there is no straightforward, universal standard of law that would guarantee its inscription as official heritage and their conservation as material forms. While nations such as France and

England began adopting national conservation laws in the nineteenth century, the contemporary systems of government that impact heritage almost exclusively have been created since World War II (Smith 2006; Blake 2015). These systems of government divide the power of defining, inscribing and conserving heritage into local, provincial, national and international powers.

The 1945 founding of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) set into motion a very specific agenda of creating a universalising movement in international heritage convention and inscription, which has achieved much political power but also accumulated much critique and outright opposition (Meskell 2018). UNESCO remains enigmatic as a supposed global effort created and funded by nation-states, some of whom have more influence over the organization than others, and some of whom are ambivalent participants. UNESCO's policies are driven by an expert- and politician-driven narrative that historic sites face the threat of cultural loss, which often asserts nationalist or imperialist interests (Berliner 2020). In its inscription and advocacy programs, UNESCO privileges sites that meet expert standards of uniqueness or irreplaceability (UNESCO 2023), which often are not the traits that cultures themselves value most about sites of heritage. However UNESCO asserts a public neutrality on heritage valuation that conceals its implicit biases (Meskell 2018; Berliner 2020). Thus, "[o]ne of the major challenges that UNESCO faces is to create a common heritage in the absence of any identification with its policies" (Berliner 2020:100).

Another crucial moment was the adoption of the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments (the "Venice Charter" in 1964. The Venice Charter, which expanded AHD standards to include not simply architectural forms but also their settings, and to equalize urban and rural cultural settings as significant, established a foundation for expanding the valuation of historic architecture (Smith 2006; Wells 2007; Blake 2015). The Charter's authors simultaneously created the International Committee on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), an non-governmental organization that advocates for adoption of AHD standards worldwide, but whose

constituency in the realm of architectural heritage privilege architectural historians over other stakeholders.

UNESCO successfully led the multi-national adoption of the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1972, which created the World Heritage List and protocols of inscribing heritage internationally (Smith 2006). While the World Heritage List initially favored iconic monuments and sites known worldwide, today UNESCO tends to inscribe sites that are the best examples representing nations, regions and cities (Blake 2015). UNESCO has expanded international heritage governance to include intangible and marine heritage, but as a convening body does not have the power to compel member states to adhere to heritage conventions (Blake 2015).

Thus nation states retain primacy of heritage powers that impact the protection of historic architecture. Each nation has its own laws, and they range from those that impose multi-valent systems of evaluating and inscribing heritage to others that enact narrow standards that favor sites of highest national recognition (Blake 2015). Therefore the disposition of modernist mass housing depends on the national heritage laws that impact it. Furthermore, in nations divided into states, provinces and territories, often those jurisdictions have superior power to interpret and implement national laws (Blake 2015). Indigenous nations also may retain their own heritage laws that apply to sites on their lands. Municipalities often have their own heritage laws as well, and those can be the strictest in terms of the protection that inscription provides (Murtagh 2006, Blake 2015). Inscription across all levels does not guarantee protection from alteration or erasure, though, especially in systems where common law allows private property owners to hold superior rights over state agencies even over inscribed property (Blake 2015).

Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge (2000) posit that places – such as mass housing projects – function as heritage artifacts at different scales, from local to international, and valuation is necessarily different at each level due to both social and official

standards. Heritage function remains culturally contingent as well, so that there is no universal function that a subject like mass housing plays across the cultures. The variables thus make inscription, or its denial, less a formal determination of immanent value and more a result of interplay between professional heritage actors and social actors (Cooper 2015). Even AHD remains challenged from within, constantly, so that the criteria used by institutions and state agencies might be interpreted differently depending on individual actors and what sorts of social and political demands are present. The communities around places often drive valuation by being the first to make claims of why places matter to them, and through formal and informal public engagement of inscription can shape how heritage agencies define the values of places (Waterton 2010; Cooper 2015). The variable heritage charters and laws open the value of affective dimensions, such as emotional and identitarian valuation of places (Tolia-Kelly 2016). However usually community discourses are where those dimensions are stated openly, although often presenting modes of value production that official heritage standards fail to reciprocate (Tolia-Kelly 2016; Skrede and Hølleland 2018).

2.1.3 Valuation of built forms

The identification of heritage intrinsically rests on subjective valuation, that it, determining whether places, material forms or intangible cultural forms have value. While value sometimes has a specific definition under heritage laws, in popular and scholarly contexts "value" remains a variable construction. Heritage forms can carry single or multiple values, depending on perspective, and the privileging of values follows no customary convention, leading to criticism that heritage is a completely subjective construct (Lowenthal 1998). Valuation, however, is a foundation to all heritage discourses, no matter how subjective. Heritage as a field itself has modern roots in the formation of nation-states and the veneration of cultural forms that supported specific nationalisms (Bandarin and Van Oers 2012:1). Again, the project of mass housing, as an international endeavor that cut across nationalisms, may be at odds with cultural heritage's moorings.

Riegl (1903/1981) was an early commentator on heritagisation, and theorized that heritage forms have multiple values. According to Riegl (1903/1981), the growing European interest in monuments illustrated at least two ways in which societal actors claimed the value of monuments and historic sites: as sites with "art-value," or aesthetic significance through design innovation, artistic genius or both; and "age-value," which was rooted in these forms' ability to invoke collective memory of historic events. However, these were not discrete tendencies, but rather combined when the interest in a form was driven by contemporary cultural fashions or debates, in which case monuments revered for their age-value could suddenly gain art-value, and vice-versa. Riegl (1903/1981) concludes that the conservation of built heritage forms already was significant cultural practice, demonstrating the interplay between tendencies in value.

Mass production originating in the early twentieth century accelerated the creation of potential forms of heritage, including architecture. Not only did production become faster, but now forms could be produced in multiple, raising the question of whether the prototype or the replica held the intrinsic value of the form – or both. Benjamin (1936/1968) suggested a compounding factor to the uses of the theory of Riegl (1903/1981). Writing about singular and usually commemorative works, Riegl offered an understanding of heritage valuation of exceptional works. Benjamin explores the ways in which mass production transformed the meaning of a work of art by accelerating the pace of making multiples. According to Benjamin, architecture is in an ambivalent position since shelter has always been a mass art, but an art valued through its use (or touch) and decoration (or sight). The world of mass media and production potentially would remove the intangible cultural value of works perceived to be singular ties to a past, or what Benjamin termed "aura" (Benjamin 1935/2008: 22). "Aura" seems to synthesize Riegl's two valuative terms, but also suggests the problem of valuing instances of a mass-built form.

The International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, or Venice Charter stipulates what values built heritage must possess to be worthy of conservation (ICOMOS 1964). Article 1 states that architectural works and, if indelibly

related to the work, their settings can have merit for conservation. Article 3 expounds the valuation of architectural heritage to state that built forms are valuable "no less as works of art than as historical evidence." In this article, the aesthetic value is made equal to historic value, such as associations with events, individuals or organizations. Article 7 echoes this standard of equalizing valuation by stating that monuments are inseparable from the histories to which they bear witness as well from their physical settings.

The Venice Charter disavows any aim that conservation of built forms is in the service of stylistic unity in settled landscapes, and thus endorses the ideas that multiple forms, styles or eras of built work can have equivalent value in a place. Even ruins, expressly mentioned in Article 15, hold value worth conserving. While Article 5 lays down that conservation of built work should preserve the aspects of layout and decoration, and thus connects heritage conservation directly to the practice of physical preservation, it does not carry any explicit bias toward a particular historic form for buildings and landscapes that have changed over time, nor does it endorse restoration.

In 1977, UNESCO formalized the ten criteria establishing the Statement of Outstanding Universal Value for World Heritage List inscription. The criteria expanded the range of values that a site or form could possess, but have also been modified multiple times since formalization (Belcher 2014). Several criteria are notable for their application to built heritage: Criterion I, which connects built forms to artistic or aesthetic vales; Criterion II, which allows site and forms to possess cultural values; Criterion III, which established a privilege for uniqueness and rarity for significant forms and sites; Criterion IV, which establishes the greater value of exceptional sites or forms over common examples; and Criterion V, which privileged the value of a site or form if it was characteristic of types of architecture, construction or settlement identified by scholars.

Subsequent to the UNESCO standards, the Australian Burra Charter (1979) marked a key formalisation of a much wider version of AHD. The Burra Charter shifted the heritage authority from experts to publics – including marginalized groups -- whose own

affinities and traditions could be evidence of significance (Australia ICOMOS 1999). The Burra Charter has been associated with cultural relativism and the deconstruction of any universal aims to heritagisation (Wells 2007). The charter also defines the value of "spirit of place," a phenomenological term whose aspects are largely immaterial (Australia ICOMOS 1999; Rifaioglu and Sahin Güçan 2008). Sometimes this term is commensurate with "sense of place," another intangible value that refers to how natural and shaped places form individual and group consciousness (Ashworth and Phelps 2002). The Burra Charter thus expanded the material objects of heritage to include large sites, districts, traditional cultural properties and intangible customs and art forms. The charter coincided with a larger turn in heritage, charactised by some as postmodern, in which practices expanded from the inscription of tangible material forms such as archaeological remains, buildings and monuments to everything from urban historic districts to collections of historic locomotives (Lowenthal 1998; Wells 2007; Meskell 2018).

Key problematising conditions remain in the valuation and conservation of urban built heritage in particular. Foremost is that cities are marked by their capacity for continual change in form and population, so neither the built environment nor its meanings remain fixed (Kong 2000; Kaufman 2009; Bandarin and Van Oers 2012). Discussed later at length, mass housing remains a venue where both material changes and symbolic instability occurs. Symbolic meaning in the built environment remains an expression of dominant power, so that it remains constantly open to challenge from marginalized, oppressed or insurgent cultural forces (Rapaport 1987; Trouillot 1995; Hayden 1995; Levinson 1998; Smith 2006; Kip 2017). Buildings, monuments and designed landscapes also can transit from protected by dominant power relations to denigrated by counter-political forces to being redeemed by subsequent forces (Levenson 1998; Boym 2001; Kip 2017).

Modernist mass housing remains symbolic of state regimes and ideologies, some of which are accused of perpetrating racism and colonialism (Molnár 2013, Kip 2017; Austen 2018; Engel 2019). As the long debates around symbolic monuments related to

colonialism and slavery around the world demonstrates, the perpetuation of certain symbols remains an offense to many people (Farber and Lum 2019). Application of objective standards like those of the Venice Charter at the UNESCO Statement of Outstanding Universal Value remains subjective, and no built heritage can be said to be inherently worthy or unworthy of inscription and protection. Urban conservation charters have gradually expanded consideration for inscription and protection from material objects meting positivist criteria to sites, districts, and even intangible aspects that demonstrate cultural pluralism and complexity (Wells 2007). There are scholarly and popular calls to deliberately inscribe landscapes and built forms that provoke public understanding of social structures of power (Hayden 1995; Kisić 2013; González-Ruibal, González and Criado-Boado 2018; González 2019). However, the "inclusive shift" in heritagisation still renders the interpellation between popular and professional valuation more of a power struggle than a consensus (Parkinson, Scott and Redmond 2015).

2.1.4 The valuation of cultural landscapes

As a setting where tangible and intangible aspects of heritage bear on valuation, modernist mass housing environments constitute cultural landscapes. Modernist mass housing typically has been researched as a landscape through its intersection with the formal plans of landscape architects. In scholarly literature, "cultural landscape" is simply any human-shaped environment that has cultural meaning (Mitchell 2008; Mitchell, Rössler and Tricaud 2009; Calcatinge 2012; Gordon 2018). Cosgrove (1988) defines landscape as both social product and visual experience, making all landscapes cultural in the real sense. Williams (1973) also defines the landscape as an entirely cultural product, and in part a signifier of how the relationship between nature and urbanization is an expression of modernity. Cultural landscapes clearly contain polysemic social meanings, as significant texts on the subject assert (Meinig 1979; Jackson 1984; Mitchell 2008). The beholder of the landscape often determines what values it carries (Meinig 1979; Mitchell 2008). The cultural landscape transmits mythic and religious values (Tuan 1977), or even their striking absence (Augé 1995). Cultural landscapes also offer opportunities for societies to retain spaces associated with

uncomfortable changes, such as wartime destruction or deindustrialization and subsequent ruin (Storm and Olsson 2013; DeSilvey 2017).

Arrangement and location of roads, layouts of settlements, solar orientation, plantings, maintenance regimes and other aspects can illustrate cultural identities, customs and traditions as well as power structures (Tuan 1977; Jackson 1984; Calcatinge 2012). Cultural landscapes thus are frequently inherently dissonant, as they offer records both unique and replicated, patriotic and subversive, beautiful and ugly, comfortable and traumatic. In this regard, Constant (2012) points out that diminution of the role of landscape design as secondary to the role of architecture has been a constant problem in architectural historical valuation of mass housing. Considerations of built form, and defenses of the utility and performance of mass housing against critics, dominate secondary literature on modernist mass housing (Urban 2012; Hunt 2015). Critical writings about mass housing as a habitat tend to emphasize the built forms' psychological and social reception (Kotlowitz 1991; Austen 2018). Yet several significant recent works on modernist mass housing imbricate housing in larger social value-making projects, such as state socialist and Communist building programs, collective expressions of identity-formation dependent on the built environments of mass housing and perception of the built environments in mass media (Hanley 2007; Molnár 2013; Boughton 2018; Engel 2019). The repeated built forms – emphatic evidence of coordinated value-making -- across large areas might make the most significant visual aspect of mass housing its constitution as a cultural landscape.

Given the ambiguity surrounding the valuation of built forms, and the tendency in contemporary heritage conservation toward expanding the objects of conservation, mass housing perhaps is not best evaluated through attendance to specific buildings or groups of buildings, but larger inhabitation environments. Identification of buildings as material heritage also can divorce them from time and change, rendering them almost ahistoric, while also objectifying values as intrinsic physical features (Bell 2011). The ways in which housing built to be occupied by masses changes over time might elude conventional architectural valuation. Many mass housing estates in Europe, such as

those in East Berlin, New Belgrade or New Zagreb in the former Yugoslavia or planned modern United Kingdom cities like Milton Keynes, are components of larger, evolving landscapes where mass housing is a repeated element and generations have left cultural imprints and created layers of place knowledge. Even if evaluation as architectural heritage remains a useful tactic for addressing heritagisation, understanding of mass housing seems to benefit from understanding its role in constituting cultural landscapes.

The UNESCO World Heritage Committee has defined cultural landscapes as those which represent the "combined works of nature and man" (Mitchell, Rössler and Tricaus 2009). UNESCO further elaborates that the cultural landscape is evidence of techniques of land use, biodiversity and the evolution of human society and settlement (Mitchell, Rössler and Tricaud 2009). The UNESCO *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* (2011) advanced the conceptualisation of cultural landscapes as larger assemblages of built heritage forms potentially worthy of inscription and also more participatory forms of management. The UNESCO doctrine admits that there are evolving definitions of culture, and acknowledges that urban environments are not static but dynamic places constantly changing in response to cultural, economic, cultural and governmental shifts (UNESCO 2011). Under this doctrine, the AHD moves past individual sites and buildings to related groups that are still actively evolving. As such, there is potential for the management protocols of cultural landscapes to incorporate intangible values such as social cohesion, public participation, economic development and participatory planning (UNESCO 2011). Still, subsequent UNESCO framing around the historic urban landscape framework have remained faithful to the problematic outstanding universal value finding of the World Heritage List inscriptions as well as to strict management of physical changes to inscribed buildings (UNESCO 2013).

While the UNESCO historic urban landscape approach offers the admission of intangible values, especially thoe ascribed by inhabitants, ultimately there remains too much emphasis on sanctity and stability of architectural forms. Scholars assert that cultural landscapes record tangible and intangible attributes evenly (Taylor and Lennon

2011), although some question that dichotomy in favor of more integrated thinking about space (Smith and Campbell 2017). According to UNESCO, the cultural landscape is a heritage space in which the social, economic and cultural forces that shape space – internally and externally – can be closely observed (Mitchell, Rössler and Tricaud 2009). The cultural landscape thus constitutes a space demonstrating a symbiotic relationship between elements rather than a dichotomous once, and demonstrates the integration of natural, material and social aspects (Taylor and Lennon 2011; Gordon 2018; Myga-Piątek 2020). However the inscription of landscapes as cultural sites faces challenges in the ephemeral nature of the synthesis, whose aspects – built, social and even natural -- often change especially in urban contexts (Lincova et al. 2015; Myga-Piatek 2020). Application of the UNESCO framework has not necessarily transcended the limits of the original UNESCO heritage convention (Allais 2015; Rodwell 2018).

Embedded in cultural landscapes also is the imprint of uneven development, which gives cultural landscapes a value as keys to understanding discordant economic production and financialization under capitalism, and global ideological divisions (Soja 1989; Smith 1996; Harvey 2012). Urban landscapes particularly can serve as a record of the emergence of new social orders and the collapse of old social structures, as spatial arrangements and types of built forms can attest (Marx and Engels 1846/1998). Another value of the cultural landscape is its ability to encode the records of dispossession, colonization, cultural suppression and genocide (Scott 1998; Bhandar 2018). The cultural landscape often records the formation of race as social concept, which is especially relevant to modernist mass housing in France, the United States and other places where minority populations have ended up being the dominant occupants of mass housing (Bhandar 2018). Another related value is the ability of cultural landscapes to express regimes of property and common law that expand the production of private property (Blomley 2004; Carman 2005; Kedar 2014; Braverman, Blomley, Delaney and Kedar 2014).

Since mass housing largely is an urban form, its constitution as a cultural landscape intersects with claims made that cities encode the most concentrated amount of cultural

information (Williams 1977; Appadurai 1996; Smith 1984; Harvey 2012). While Williams (1977) positions the city as the product of capitalist modernization in the nineteenth century, and thus a possible culprit in cultural homogenization, Appadurai (1996) finds that the city has become a refuge for multiculturalism, its visual expressions and its creation of vital spaces for identity formation. Anderson (1983) locates the pivotal spaces for nationalism and nationalist identity spaces in urban cultural settings, while Augé (1995) sees that the banality of repeated, supposedly neutral, boring spaces such as airports, shopping malls, office parks and large expressways actually encode cultural value-making very openly. Mass housing is a repeated form of urban modernity, whose residents often are immigrant, minority and working-class people whose cultural expressions are at once part of multicultural diversity and omitted from many accounts of significant domestic spaces.

2.1.5 Conflicts between authorized and popular valuation

While AHDs drive much of the heritage practices of governments and non-governmental organisations, they often conflict with popular values by attempting to narrow what aspects of culture define heritage (Lowenthal 1998, Smith 2006, Harrison 2010). Furthermore, AHD and popular valuation may not include or even respond to the cultural values of minority populations. Lowenthal (1998) presents AHD as arbitrary conventions, because as they expand to admit more material, the lines drawn to exclude lose meaning. However the tension within heritage rests upon a larger dialectic between original and mass aspects of culture. Williams (1976) writes that until the twentieth century, "culture" connoted popular habits and customs, in contrast to "civilisation" that connoted refined tastes and customs. In the twentieth century, "culture" began to be used in an exclusionary fashion to describe desirable social practices, customs and values, elevating its subjects.

Within heritagisation, there is a reproduction of distinctions between what is worthy and authentic, and what is popular and inauthentic (Zukin 1995; Smith 2009; Bordieu 2012). This distinction bears upon the valuation of mass housing, because as a repeated form housing ordinary individuals, it is an architecture whose main value may not be

aesthetic. The reduction of aesthetic forms to the meanings of one's own life has been deemed by some cultural gatekeepers to be barbaric or low-minded (Bordieu 2012). Smith (2009) states that AHD always have been most occupied with that which is grand, old or aesthetically pleasing, and have been intentionally exclusionary from inception, although there is significant movement against these tendencies today (González 2019). Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) claim that the production of heritage itself relies on the projection of contemporary values on the past, and that all assertions of the originality and authenticity of certain cultural aspects are suspect.

The determination that some culture has high significance worthy of inscription, and other culture has low significance as it is fundamentally disposable, naturalizes assumptions that are ideological rather than objective (Hoggart 1957; Williams 1977; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Lowenthal 1998; Smith 2006; Bordieu 2012). Ideological discourses do not admit the social determinants that compose their assumptions, and Eagleton (1991) asserts that there is no thought that is not socially determined. Social determination that some architecture is superior to others reproduces cultural biases that lack objective bearing, rendering taste contingent and arbitrary (Bordieu 2012). Biases often reflected a denigrating othering of different and misunderstood cultures, constituting racism and orientalism (Said 1979; Bordieu 2012). The political power of marginalized groups in many systems of government is minimal or insurgent, so official discourses do not represent their cultural values.

The significance of the reproduced, popular form interested materialist, Marxist cultural critics in the twentieth century, such as the Frankfurt School of sociology (Benjamin 1936/2008; Adorno 1998). The English cultural studies movement after World War II extended this interest to series investigation of the cultural meanings of mass cultural forms valued by working class people, such as comic strips, films, television, popular music and even jokes (Hoggart 1957; Williams 1977). Cultural studies scholars understood these forms not be inferior to supposed "high" culture but simply expressive of a different class position and relationship to cultural production (Hall 2016). Cultural studies endeavored to decentralize the idealist position that aesthetic works must be

produced by an autonomous subject (the artist or architect) to contain real cultural significance (Adorno 1998).

From within aesthetic theory, Goodman (1978) presents cultural value-making as an epistemological project. The weighting of certain cultural forms constitutes an emphasis and does not negate other forms, but simply aids a cultural actor in forming a world that expresses meaning (Goodman 1978). The process of selecting some forms over others as valuable is "exemplification," where an example stands for a larger cultural value (Goodman 1978). Within heritage, the process of exemplification operates within supposedly objective AHD. Zukin (1995) notes that state heritage agencies often favor heritage expressive of the values of dominant cultural groups, while denying inscription to sites valued by minority groups, using the same supposedly neutral standards. The question becomes not which site or building is valuable, but whose and which values are being enacted in heritagisation (Zukin 1995; Wells 2007; Kaufman 2009).

Aesthetic values, often based on arbitrary standards of taste, remain dominant in AHD practices relating to built forms. Some scholars who have researched how built environments constitute social meaning systems have written that aesthetic concepts of beauty or taste do not impact the cultural value of places (Lefebvre 1971 and Augé 1995). Lefebvre (1971) writes that social spaces interpenetrate each other, so that even in a framework of distinguishing an architecturally valuable place from an inferior one adjacent, the social values of the two places are interrelated. Nora (1989) distinguishes the ways in which "history," or official discourses, record spatial information and in which "memory," or popular culture records it. Certeau (1988) echoes this dichotomy, suggesting that spatial knowledge divides into "strategies," which come from official or institutional observers usually using deductive reasoning, and "tactics," which come from inhabitants and other ordinary users of places, using inductive reasoning. Heritage practices still tend toward privileging the more authoritative value of built environments, leaving mass housing as an insurgent, rather than established heritage subject.

2.2 Architectural Modernism

Given the imbrication of mass housing with architectural modernism, this research needs to interrogate the concept, discourse and cultural image of modernist architectural heritage. While architecture as a discipline often attempts to naturalize its own formation of architectural heritage through its own historical methods, the perception of mass housing as a part of human history is not constrained within disciplinary policing. Mass housing is emblematic of state commitment to people across many scholarly disciplines, social work and human rights advocacy projects, journalistic accounts and political action campaigns. Architectural heritage has often been synonymous with works privileged by architectural historians and the architecture profession, who predominantly value works evincing aesthetic originality, significant authorship or technological innovation. Some examples of mass housing have those traits, but the vast majority of developments repeat aesthetic or technological breakthroughs, and many were designed by architects of marginal significance in those disciplines (Urban 2012; Glendinning 2021).

There are key questions in the interrogation: What constitute the modernist discourses that define modernism as a distinct and meaningful tendency in design? What standards established within architecture attempt to exclude certain kinds of modernist architecture from definitions of architectural significance? What criticisms of modernism are relevant to this research, and do they apply to mass housing as much as they do to more commonly-valued modes of architectural modernism? Finally, what is the relationship between architectural modernism and heritage valuation, and does that relationship seem to support increased inclusion of mass housing, or to present a barrier instead? Across the following sections I will explore these questions across technical literature.

2.2.1 Modernist discourses in architecture

Mass housing in the twentieth century generally adhered to the tenets of modernism, although earlier and later projects fall into different categories. There is no strict

definition of what constitutes architectural modernism, and scholars differ on whether it can fairly be considered a style or a philosophy. The Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) offers this definition of modernism on its website:

> Rejecting ornament and embracing minimalism, Modernism became the single most important new style or philosophy of architecture and design of the 20th century. It was associated with an analytical approach to the function of buildings, a strictly rational use of (often new) materials, structural innovation and the elimination of ornament. … The style became characterised by an emphasis on volume, asymmetrical compositions, and minimal ornamentation (RIBA 2024).

Whyte (2004) differentiates between modernity, a postfeudal era in which new social institutions emerged and the pace of change became rapid, and modernism, which is the creative response to these changes. Harvey (1990) instead connects modernity and aesthetic modernism to the rise of financialization of real capital. Aesthetic modernism related to capitalist modernization thus obscures the circumstances of its own production by asserting only "one meaning and direction in history" (Rancíere 1994:21). Modernist art, of which architecture as a discipline claims a part, embraces modernity as the fulfillment of destiny, rather than an expression of a specific historic set of relationships, and thus fails to illuminate its contingent relations to the tastes and customs of its financiers.

Cohen (2012) locates the origin of modernism in architecture in 1889, although other scholars offer alternative dates in the nineteenth century (Whyte 2004; Scully 1961; Mumford 2009). Two events identified trends within modernist practices that could be discernibly linked: The first meeting of the International Congress for Modern Architecture in Switzerland in 1928 (Mumford 2019), which attempted to institutionalize modernism, and the 1932 exhibition *The International Style*, curated by Philip Johnson and Henry-Russell Hitchcock, which offered he first major recognition that a set of

recent buildings in the US and Europe were obviously congruent around similar principles.

The beginning is more contested than the endpoint, generally agreed to be by the end of the 1970s when postmodernism as a design philosophy superseded modernism (Jencks 1977; Frampton 1980; Huyssen 1986; Mumford 2019). It is important to note that while modernism became a dominant hegemonic practice in US and Europe by the end of World War II it never was exclusive, nor does it include the only significant architecture of the twentieth century. Architectural historians, however, often express modernism as a rupture point on a progressive linear development of ideas, forms and technologies, characterizing its early development as avant-garde (Frampton 1980; Mumford 2019). Histories of modernist practice generally adhere to cataloging specific designers and their concepts, centering individual contributions to movements within modernism rather than social and political factors (Frampton 1980; Jameson 1989; Prudon 2008; Cohen 2012).

Pevsner (1936; 1960) remains a pivotal and widely-cited historian of the genesis of architectural modernism, narrating the rise of modernism in the twentieth century from early influences, and examines the careers of key figures such as Frank Lloyd Wright, Walter Gropius and Otto Wagner. Pevsner's consideration of residential architecture begins with architect-designed single dwellings, such as C.F.A. Voysey's Perrycroft (1893) and Adolf Loos' Steiner House (1910). Pevsner (1936; 1960) gives no attention to early mass housing design. Scully (1961) builds on Pevsner's location of modernism's most significant traits in acts of individual genius that have demonstrable influence on subsequent acts of individual genius. Within this historicizing, the definitive significant traits of modernist architecture consist of certain case studies, individual architects and temporalized styles. Ordinary architecture, including mass housing, has no presence in this scheme (Scully 1961).

The ambivalent placement of mass housing within architectural history's narratives of modernist practices may stem in part from the lack of a coherent architectural agenda

around mass housing within CIAM (Mumford 2009; Kallis 2023). Inspired by early successful experiments in prototyping building forms, such as Gropius' ten-story slab boarding house and Ernst May's low-rise Frankfurt housing estates, CIAM met in Frankfurt in 1929 to devote serious consideration to the question of the modern dwelling (Kallis 2023). At this conference, May gave a keynote lecture in which he introduced the idea of the "minimum" acceptable dwelling standards, and spoke of the dwelling unit as the "vital cell" of modernist architecture as well as a the "elemental unit" of modular urban plans (Kallis 2023:120). Gropius also spoke, opening the long debate over the suitability of high-rise versus low-rise architectural forms that will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3, the Context. Despite CIAM's exploration of a formula for "the dwelling for the subsistence minimum" or the "minimum dwelling" at both the 1929 Frankfurt and 1930 Brussels conferences, no formal development ever emerged although, not insignificantly, mass housing remained an aspirational conviction of CIAM members (Kallis 2023:6).

The lack of resolution of CIAM, which may have deterred some historians from diverting their teleological narratives of modernism's unproblematic ascent, but for others, this sort of contradiction in design thinking is at the forefront of narrating modernist architecture. Revisionist accounts of modernism break from preceding emphasis on the architect, and provide alternative bearings. Tafuri (1976) deliberated on modernism's tension between the "completeness" of a designed form and the "assemblage" of urban environments consisting of multiple forms. The quest for completeness subordinates histories of financing, political power and nation-states to narratives that present modernist works as examples of ideal plans made into forms. Tafuri (1976) rejects this tendency in architectural history, and connects modernist architecture to contingent and unfulfilled avant-garde tendencies in visual art. Tafuri accords with Whyte (2004), who states that the contradictions of modernity and sense of imminent revolution drove architects toward the inherently contradictory practices of modernism, which failed to become a coherent set of practices or discourses.

Frampton (1980) expanded the discourse of architectural modernism by breaking from narratives privileging technology innovation and functional rationalism. Frampton, like Tafuri (1976), sought to relate modernist architecture to Enlightenment political philosophy, especially utopianism, in order to understand the drive to aesthetically rupture architecture from precedent. Consequently, Frampton expands the consideration of modernist architecture to include "regionalism," or differences in approach across nations and regions within nations. Frampton moves past a version of architectural history that seeks individual geniuses to one that looks at material circumstance, long and wide sets of influences and the significance of place in design. Frampton's consideration of mass housing is limited, and primarily concerns the English Council House projects between 1949 and 1959 (Frampton 1980).

Vidler (2008) responds to rejection of modernist architecture's master narratives by noting that the discipline of architectural history constructed histories of modernism as theories of practice rather than objective, critical discourses. Indeed, the earliest historic accounts promote the exceptionalism of modernist practice and assert its reliance on singular monumental works (Gideon 1939). Updated histories of modernist architectural and urban design practices have in turn investigated the contingencies between modernist practices and urbanism, mass production of buildings, political economy and nationalism (Mumford 2009; Cohen 2012). New literature still retains narrative anchors to identification of authorized designers: architects, collaboratives, organization of designers and schools of architecture. The ordinary modernist architecture represented in the reproduced unit of mass housing still is most likely to be mentioned in such history only if its architect has a foothold in conventional architectural history.

2.2.2 Architectural modernism and standards of significance

As a mass, reproduced type of architecture, mass housing falls outside of the conventional valuation framework of modernist architectural heritage, because that framework has been defined by architectural history as a discipline. The heritage field, especially in governmental and NGO settings, carries the input of architectural history as the definitive way of evaluating modernist architecture, and thus also architectural

history's fixations on originality, beauty and authorship. Dissonant, mass-produced and difficult modernism thus beguiles most valuation. Modernism as a historical category has become associated with aesthetic production that embraces functionalism, rejects explicit revival of precedent and often asserts an ideological affinity with new politics. Modernism asserts a universality to the program of its architecture, and rejects continuity in history in favor of narratives of progressive rupture. Yet modernist architects' assertion of universality in their design practices collapses when confronted with the failure of modernism to develop a sustained architectural language (Derrida 1986). Modernism has become historicized as a period with definitive stylistic traits, contradicting its own values (Colquhoun 1983).

The tendency within architectural history has been to narrate architecture through a set of historicizing eras, where styles and modes of construction formed hegemonic alignments. Yet those eras are defeated by subsequent eras, which assert new styles, such as the supposed succession of modernism by postmodernism (Jencks 1977; Wright 2008; Cohen 2012). Unfortunately, this narrative omits the complex material culture of each era, and often conceals the extent to which styles are associated with a diverse set of material production practices, inclusive of exclusive and popular works. Mass modernist architectural culture, from neon signs to trailer parks, have been dissociated from dominant discourses and have been championed often by counter-narratives that privilege popular culture (Venturi Scott Brown Izenour 1977; Liebs 1985; Jakle and Sculle 2011).

Esperdy (2007) presents the struggle of non-orthodox modernist architects to be incorporated into established canons of architectural modernism. The formation of orthodoxy by practitioners became a crucible for later historians, so that histories of significant modernism have been challenged and expanded largely on the basis of asserting the alternative affinities of specific designers (Esperdy 2007). The expansion of modernist canon to include dissident practitioners seems also to rest on inscribing deeply historicized narratives, so that excluded architects are only included when they

can be narrated as having advanced a new idea of trend in design – not when their practices complicate or problematize existing narratives.

Heritagisation often resolves incomplete, uneven scholarly valuation, and can elevate marginal historic subjects to popular symbols. Frieling and Kip (2017) suggest that postwar modernism needs to pursue two avenues toward popular acceptance: commodification through playing up aesthetic uniqueness, so that conservation is more financially worthwhile than demolition; and reclamation of the historic era's bureaucratic welfare states and Communist states as a comfortable, almost exotic popular memory, so that artifacts of those state modes of production become as intrinsic to local sense of place as the older artifacts of similarly vanished eras of social relations. Certainly both approaches have been adapted in local conservation efforts in Europe and the United States (Macdonald 2013), but their strategies reinforce certain, perhaps unavoidable, biases toward the singular architectural work and the mystification of the past.

Mass housing has evaded most projects of revision of the architectural past within the AHD, although its image has attained a space in contemporary popular culture discussed in both chapters 5 and 6. Mass housing orbits a strange space of simultaneous omission from dominant histories and inclusion in popular nostalgia especially for lost socialism (Wright 2008; Hanley 2007; Molnár 2013). Projects that have reclaimed "popular" modernism have usually privileged landscapes of middle class leisure and architecture that is aesthetically exotic or ironic (Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour 1977; Hess 1986; Jakle and Scully 2011). Mass housing fails to embody any kind of comfortable popular culture (Molnár 2013; Boughton 2018). The architecture intrinsically embodies state programs of construction, and thus carries a strong ideological cast that separates it from the less politically pronounced, more enjoyable popular modernist architecture of roadside filling stations, restaurants, movie theaters and bus stations.

Several scholars have asserted that modernist mass housing should be reappraised through collection and evaluation of the valuation of inhabitants (Pendlebury,

Townshend and Gilroy 2009; Krivy 2017; Engel 2019; Thoburn 2022). In the case of the Byker Wall in Newcastle, England (1968-82), Pendlebury, Townshend and Gilroy (2009) argue that heritage value is inherently socially contingent and not universal at all. Interviews with inhabitants demonstrate that valuation of the housing development for its architecture alone is insufficient event within the terms of the AHD criteria for inscription, and that inhabitants are far from passive actors in the construction of values around their home (Pendlebury, Townshend and Gilroy 2009). Krivy (2017) offers an analysis of Czechoslovakian mass housing development that deflates the supposed dichotomy between state-mandated uniformity and individual resident desire, by reviewing the co-making of housing developments playing out as architects, bureaucrats and ordinary people engage each other in original design as well as modification. Architectural critic Owen Hatherley strongly rebukes the AHD bias against mass housing' supposed uniformity by pointing to the value of affordability as paramount (Krivy 2016). Hatherley notes that mass housing's interiors are understudied in architectural valuation, and also that the built forms relief of housing instability for inhabitants allowed their lives to have more meaning. Thoburn (2022) presents Robin Hood Gardens within the context of state housing policies, including neoliberal privatisation schemes under Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. The urgency of state housing policy, and the deficit of affordable housing that followed privatization, adds a non-aesthetic social value to mass housing developments often invisible to keepers of the AHD (Thoburn 2022).

2.2.3 Criticism of architectural modernism

One perpetual criticism of architectural modernism has been that its avant garde tendencies constitute an assault on traditional cultural values. In the twentieth century, Adolf Hitler's Nazi government was adamant in is position that modernism had a deleterious effect on social order (Cohen 2012). In the postwar era, US political conservatives asserted that modernist architecture, especially mass housing, was socialist in essence, although few modernist architects there were on the political left (Hunt 2015). Today there is a resurgent right-wing political claim that modernism is inherently hostile toward traditional values and market liberalism (Mathieson and

Verlaan 2019). Political figures including US white nationalist Paul Joseph Watson, British philosopher Roger Scruton and Dutch politician Thierry Baudet have denounced modernism in recent years (Scruton 2018; Mathieson and Verlaan 2019). Center-right market liberal and right-wing nationalist governments in North Macedonia and the United States have promoted classical architecture as the true expression of their ruling ideologies, and have subsequently promoted destruction or alteration of architectural modernism (Brsakoska 2021; Allen 2021).

These overtly ideological critiques of modernism align with a litany of arguments that accuse modernism of being an elitist mode of cultural production that failed to offer coherent meaning against alienating social order (Wolfe 1981; Dutton and Mann 1995; Mumford 2019). Critic Lewis Mumford accused modernism in architecture of dulling the complex potential of modern life by embracing mass-produced materials, recycling repetitive building forms and removing symbolic qualities from buildings (Mumford 1975a; Mumford 1975b). Thus the postmodern return to tradition is a search for lost meaning and social stability, but ultimately treats architecture as merely a device that encodes cultural meaning, not an agent for changing social structures (Dutton and Mann 1995).

Much of the deep resentment toward modernism in the realm of urban design and planning stems from the attack made by Jacobs (1961), whose astute observations about the diminishing quality and spatial order of older US cities led to claims that Le Corbusier's architectural theories were to blame. As urban clearance and rebuilding commenced in the US and Europe after World War II, indeed planners implemented some ideas from CIAM, of which Le Corbusier was a vocal member (Mumford 2009; Mumford 2019). Yet many of the defenders of traditional vernacular urbanism, with its complex social orders, have continued to blame the clearance of cities and the impact of automobility on supposed modernist doctrines (Jacobs 1961; Sennett 1990 Kunstler 1993). The fixation on tradition led to the rise of the New Urbanism movement, which built on work by Aldo Rossi, Gordon Gullen, Christopher Alexander, Colin Rowe and Fred Koetting and other figures who probed traditional, often working-class or

conventional built environments as sources for redirecting architecture. The New Urbanist movement aligned with some aspects of the heritage "crusade" as it utilized historic forms to advance contemporary values (Lowenthal 1998).

Beyond ideological and disciplinary critiques, there remain more specific critiques of the functionalism of modernist buildings. Abramson (2016) details ways in which specific modernist buildings failed due to implementation of new, untested techniques of building that led to failures in climate control, waterproofing and fundamental utility. Brand (1994) also details the pitfalls of modernist architecture that ignored traditional understandings of adaptability, solar orientation and ventilation. However, a repeated theme in the specific complaints about modernist buildings returns to the harshness of materials, especially concrete (Hanley 2007; Forty 2012). One author who lived in Council housing in Birmingham names the nemesis of ordinary people as "ugly concrete" (Hanley 2007: 98). Ellard (2015) has studied the negative psychological impacts on study participants when confronted with blanks walls and "hard" material surfaces, such as concrete, steel and non-transparent glass. Modernism is not necessarily the culprit, because reinforced concrete exploded in worldwide application after its standardization in the early twentieth century made it the most affordable technique for building large buildings (Banham 1986; Slaton 2001; Forty 2012).

2.2.3 Architectural modernism and heritage conservation

Although largely excluded from architectural historical discourses of modernism, mass housing in the US faces the same tenuous position in heritage valuation as the bulk of architectural modernism. Conservation approaches to modernist architecture are relatively recent, and Macdonald (2013:3) describes the effort to include modernist architecture in official inscription and unofficial inventories of cultural heritage the project of valuing the "not yet loved." The relationship of modernism to the destruction of earlier architecture in the US remains a central problem in its conservation (Longstreth 1992; Prudon 2008; Mitchell 2014).

Modernist urban renewal programs sparked heritage conventions opposed fundamentally to clearing urban architecture. The Venice Charter (1964) extended global heritage programs away from monuments and toward entire districts (Jokilheto 2018), while the Historic Preservation Act (1966) in the US enshrined the first nationwide protection of entire districts (Murtagh 2006). Modernism initially seemed like a threat to heritage conservation, because its interventions rejected the slow evolution of urban districts in favor of programmatic planning and deliberate, total intervention (Mumford 2009).

The US National Register of Historic Places created a standard of "exceptional significance" for the inscription of any property newer than 50 years, and although that was not a restriction it widely became viewed as a prohibitive standard (Murtagh 2006). When heritage conservation advocates began pressing for the inclusion of modernist architecture as heritage, they acknowledged the complication of such work. Longstreth (1992) opened the question by pondering how to deal with "the present" becoming "the past." Other considerations were the nature of the rapid post-World War II development worldwide, which produced an abundance of new architecture that was too recent to have been well-researched or well-understood (Macdonald 2013). The aversion to this architecture by gatekeepers of cultural heritage was a fundamental early problem (Longstreth 1992; Shapiro 2007; Prudon 2008).

Prudon (2008) argues that modernist architecture faces a perceptual barrier in being seen as designed with built-in obsolescence. The promise of modernist architecture to solve specific design problems using new principles and materials has instilled the idea that somehow it is more prone to obsolescence than older architecture (Prudon 2008). The US standards of inscription rely on a standard of material authenticity that holds replacement of materials as a demerit, which overlooks that resources from the recent past often utilized materials with shorter lifespans that earlier construction. Evaluating the material integrity of modernist architecture often leads to "complicated and contradictory" conclusions (Prudon 2008: 44). The standard in the National Register of Historic Places that requires exceptional significance to be demonstrated for properties

less than 50 years of age also impinges efforts to conserve modernist architecture, especially mass-produced architecture like housing projects whose designs are part of a national building program and individually often cannot meet standards of exceptional significance (Shapiro 2007).

As architectural heritage conservationists integrate the principle of ecological sustainability into practices, modernist architecture has met uncertain outcomes. The perception that modernist buildings are inherently built contrary to sustainable practices persists (Mitchell 2014; Abramson 2016). Modernism often embraced contemporary manufactured materials with short life-spans, such as curtain wall systems of glass and metal panels as well as prefabricated interior claddings, floorings and surfaces, all of which are designed to be replaced continually (Mitchell 2014: 110). Furthermore, modernist buildings often relied on voluminous interior spaces which require high carbon loads for climate control maintenance. As a result, there is widespread perception in heritage conservation that modernist buildings are difficult to adaptively reuse and make sustainable (Mitchell 2014).

Modernist buildings in urban renewal settings often replaced higher-density architecture set in walking environments with lower-density architecture designed to for easy access by automobiles. Some preservation advocates have even called for their demolition and replacement with high-density, high-performing buildings (Wilson 2016). Rapid urbanisation worldwide presses cities to develop more density while also creating highly competitive demands on public resources (Bandarin and Van Oers 2012; Mumford 2019). The conservation of less-appreciated modernist architecture competes with demands to maintain conservation of well-known sites of local, regional and national patrimony, while modernist architecture often evokes uncomfortable associations with socialist and Communist pasts (Frieling and Kip 2017; Engel 2019). Sustainability as an overarching value also subordinates the political and cultural valuation of modernist buildings, and flattens their conservation prospect to only technical considerations (Abramson: 153). There remains implications for mass housing in in modernist

architectural conservation problems, but as of yet not a large body of literature on specific conservation principles and methods.

2.3 Housing as Heritage

In order to understand the need for targeted research into modernist mass housing, an inquiry into the general cultural construction of housing as human heritage is necessary. The ensuing literature review investigates the context in which mass housing itself has been considered as heritage. Key questions in this section of literature review are: How has "domestic architecture" been constituted as distinct from other forms, and what are its exclusions and inclusions?; how does the valuation of the cultural significance of inhabitants impact valuation of housing itself?; how do disciplinary considerations from architecture influence the valuation of housing?; what housing has been inscribed as heritage, and why?; what are the impediments to conserving modernist mass housing?

These questions explore the larger potential problems in the valuation of modernist mass housing, because such valuation may be impinged by limits, precedents or consensus in the overall heritage value of housing. Beyond the question of architectural modernism and its ascendancy, architecture as a disciplinary practice may present other exclusionary definitions of significant housing divorced from style or period but connected to privileging of certain forms of housing, certain novel approaches to housing design, certain patterns of authorship (such as whether an architect was even involved in designing a building) and certain aversions to buildings and sites that problematize the discipline of architecture. Alongside the need to interrogate architectural discourses is the need also to look at overall societal biases that may create the margins of significant and insignificant housing.

2.3.1 Domestic architecture as cultural heritage
There are several key tensions within the valuation of domestic architecture, including the binary sets of the extraordinary and the ordinary, the urban and the rural, and the high style and the vernacular. Mass housing occupies the problematic position of being both ordinary and extraordinary, both urban and rural and both high style and

vernacular, while simultaneously lacking a common, compelling cultural image. From the worker's cottage to the baronial mansion, many widely-cherished domestic buildings fit into a public picturesque with roots in certain painterly landscape traditions (Cosgrove 1984). Mass housing as architectural heritage thus requires an investigation and resolution of foundational binaries in the valuation of domestic architecture.

The inclusion of domestic architecture in heritage discourses has been gradual, beginning in the eighteenth century with the expansion of heritage practices to include dwellings of monarchs seen as nationally significant (Jokilheto 2018). In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, there was a gradual expansion of what domestic architecture became widely viewed as heritage (Smith 2006; Jokilheto 2018). The Athens Charter in 1933 recognized the heritage value of traditional settlements such as urban districts and villages, but "ordinary" or "vernacular" housing would not be widely examined, claimed and inscribed as heritage until the post-World War II era (Jokilheto 2018).

Until the advent of inscribed urban districts, the most prevalent domestic heritage form may have been the house museum. The house museum both conserved a version of the past and reproduced a set of tastes and images connoting the desired attributes of domesticity (Teague 2001). House museums have long persisted by performing an illusionary recollection of the past that serves as much as a contemporary dream as an authentic setting (de Gorgas 2001). Nostalgia is a driver for experience, with museums not simply narrating grand architecture and important lives, but also social attributes such as the functions, activities and practices of past occupants (Teague 2001; Hodge 2011). Many scholars of heritage have characterised house museums as spaces that privilege and perform the values of social elites, masculinity and nationalist narratives (Smith 2006; Oram 2012; Mikula 2015; Kolk 2019). House museums can idealize notions of aristocracy, class, lineage and elite family histories (Oram 2012; Allais 2015).

A turn in the 1960s and 1970s, discussed briefly already in section 2.4, sought to assert the value of traditional and vernacular built environments as ideal settlement forms. The aversion of modernism drove the re-appraisal of ordinary dwelling forms around the

world, from the stacks of apartments above shops in Lower Manhattan (Jacobs 1961) to the houses of Italian villages (Rossi 1984). Rudofsky (1964) champions "architecture without architects," in a temporally-long survey of traditional built forms that includes sacral, unit, nomadic, commercial and fortification architecture from around the world. Oliver (1977) rebukes architectural history's emphasis on universalizing standards of value, stating that architecture must be related to the values of the society that built it for scholarly research to have any merit. Oliver (1977) fits into an era of emergent cultural relativism in built environment studies, and claims that much study of architecture is Euro-centric in assuming that all societies even understand architecture to be aesthetic in the same way that many Western architects and scholars understood. This turn is in accord with critique of modernist design as disinterested in visually relating to surrounding historic built environments (Frampton 1981).

Modernist mass housing has value as both a designed and a vernacular built space. The domestic aura produced by variation in decoration, furnishing and exterior elements such as balcony treatments and gardens expresses non-universal cultural identities (Oliver 1977). However mass housing does not meet simply the common definition of traditional settlement, in which morphology of space over time demonstrates an adherence between older and newer built elements (Dimitsantou-Kiemezi 2008). Modernism's tendency toward universalist architectural languages places modernist mass housing projects at odds with older settlement in style, form and layout. However there remains a need for research on whether the architectural forms rupture or continue social forms of traditional settlement, as well as how modification and decoration of mass housing environments may forge a new sort of traditional settlement pattern (albeit disjoined from previous forms of settlement).

The rising interest in industrial heritage since the 1980s has led to increased value ascribed to worker and laborer housing, which once was neglected even from consideration of industrial heritage (Caffyn 1983; Shackel 2004). The expansion of heritage tourism to include middle and working-class audiences descended from workers fosters even a contemporary nostalgia for the places associated with common

workers (Smith 2006). Worker housing is necessary for industrial and extractive landscapes to represent a full picture of material culture and power relations (Wodz 1994; Adams 2006; Njoh, Chie and Bigon 2020). The size, scale and location of worker housing in industrial landscapes or within cities is a testament to class and power (Dragaset 2017; Njoh, Chie and Bigon 2020). Heritagisation of worker housing allows for a diachronic presentation of social history that makes contradictions, struggles and oppression evident and interpretable (Dragaest 2017). Worker housing also constitutes a mass architectural form, in settings ranging from designed mass company-built housing, speculative tenement flats and state-sponsored mass housing. The discourses around worker housing largely still exclude state-sponsored modernist mass housing, but provide a discourse that expands domestic architectural heritage from the elite and the singular to the popular and mass form – or from the spectacular to the vernacular (Padawangi 2015).

The model of dominant, residual and emergent cultural forms framed by Williams (1977) offers a way to understand the position of marginally heritagised domestic architecture. Williams (1977) positions dominant forms as those widely accepted, or "authorised" in heritage terms, while the residual is the accumulation of elements of the past within present discourses. The residual forms are informed by construction of the dominant, and can wane in significance depending on changing cultural tastes. The emergent forms are those whose symbolic values are excluded from the dominant forms, so incorporation is not simply an expansion of dominant discourses toward new cultural "residue," but the sanctioning of new values. Mass housing as a heritage form could well fit the emergent position in this model (Williams 1977). However, pre-modernist traditional settlements, urban neighborhoods and worker housing all once occupied the same position before eventual recuperation into dominant heritage discourses.

2.3.2 Heritage inscription and housing

Much of the early heritagisation of domestic architecture discursively widened what was considered nationally significant, allowing homes of social elites and historic figures beyond monarchs, nobles and presidents to be considered worthy of conservation

(Smith 2006). In some cases, such as the English country house, the houses also encoded intangible values such as modernization of society following feudalism, the expansion of landed middle classes and the expansion of civilized attributes such as decorative arts and good architecture (Smith 2006). The claiming of such heritage legitimated the tastes of contemporary middle classes by providing historic precedent (Lowenthal 1998; Smith 2006). Authorised heritage discourses privileged grand, architect-designed domestic architecture that often came with complementary material forms such as designed landscapes, refined furnishings and artifact collections (Smith 2006). Gradually modernist dwellings fitting these standards became more widely heritagised, especially when associated with significant architects such as Frank Lloyd Wright or Le Corbusier.

Although popular and scholarly valuation accepts a much wider range of domestic housing forms as heritage, AHD has been slower to incorporate these valuations. The World Heritage List reflects the contradiction between the wider understanding of many actors outside of the heritage sector and the narrower set of inscriptions that actually constitute official global heritage. The aporia within the World Heritage List practices and operations have been investigated (Meskell 2018), but germane to this thesis is the specific treatment of housing. Today, the World Heritage List inscribes 21 palaces, 14 castles and nine dwellings or classes of dwellings. Of the eight latter inscriptions, 6 are inscribed for architectural values that are aesthetic, one is a royal dwelling, one is a set of houses associated with vintners and laborers in France's Champagne region and only one is a set of mass housing sites, inscribed as the Berlin Modernism Housing Estates. The Berlin mass housing inscription is based largely on aesthetic value, but does incorporate housing architecture as a mass entry. Within other categorical inscriptions for Le Corbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright are examples of housing, mostly single dwellings but also including Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation mass housing project in Marseille, France (1952). There are traditional dwellings of workers and middle class people inscribed in several listings of city centers or urban districts, but the named and inscribed domestic architecture largely echoes tendencies in AHD to privilege buildings associates with social elites and widely famous, canonical architects.

National, regional and local inscription of housing, however, shows that ordinary dwellings and even mass housing can be inscribed or protected by lower levels of government. In England, Germany, Serbia, the United States and other nations, there are examples of middle class suburbs, workers housing, company towns, state mass housing, traditional settlements and dwellings off enslaved people that have met criteria and have been officially inscribed as heritage. These inscriptions follow variable sets of criteria and do not offer a coherent set of sites, but are not as exclusive as the World Heritage List inscription.

2.3.3 Mass housing as cultural heritage

Scholarship in recent years have made the case that mass housing across the world is indispensable to understanding architectural and social heritage. Subjects covered in recent publications include Council Housing in the United Kingdom (Harwood and Powers 2008; Broughton 2018), Communist housing projects in Germany, Russia and Ukraine (Engel 2019), the suburban French *banlieu* (Cupers 2014), projects of several types across the Middle East (Gharipour and Kilinç 2019), urban and suburban housing projects in Communist Hungary (Molnár 2013), socialist housing estates in former Yugoslavia (Jovanović 2017; Stierli and Kulić 2018) and comparative international similarities across housing tower forms in Chicago, Paris, Berlin, Brasília, Mumbai, Moscow and Shanghai (Urban 2012).

Scholars differ on the value of mass housing as a form of heritage, though. To some authors, it has value as architecture, both as a significant flourishing of modernist design but also as a mode of construction (Urban 2012). Another value is that it embodies congruent global social reform measures across states whose ideological systems were vastly different (Urban 2012; Molnár 2013; Gharipour and Kilinç 2019). The proliferation of global mass housing also remains an artifact of the organization of professional fields including planning, architecture and construction on an international scale (Molnár 2013). To contemporary housing advocates, historic post-World War II modernist mass housing represents a successful and daring achievement undone by

subsequent decades of neoliberal policies that have privatised existing mass housing and halted the construction of additional units (Kockelhorn 2015). The spectre of the Iron Curtain lingers in valuation, however, with projects in post-socialist nations often maligned for ideological associations. However, in some post-socialist locations, such as Budapest and Prague (where the Czech *Panelky* housing remains), mass housing retained favorable valuation for quality and even aesthetics after the fall of communist states (Ther 2018). Still another value may be the fundamental indeterminacy of mass housing's importance – whether built forms or intangible, social aspects make it most worthy of inscription (Engel 2019).

Official heritagisation of mass housing is limited despite the growing literature outside of AHD. There are lingering questions about how to inscribe a heritage that exists in reproduced, repeated forms (Urban 2012). Saint (1996), writing about England specifically, posits that postwar modernist architecture possesses several key differences from preceding modes of architecture, including notably number (there is a proliferation) and appeal (it typically polarizes publics into admirers, detractors and the indifferent). However, the affective markers of inhabitants have rendered blocks, buildings and balconies as less visually repetitive through each year. Decoration, curtains, balcony or porch screening and even window replacement infuse differentiation across supposedly monotonous building elevations. Gerasimova (2022) notes how residents of Soviet communal apartments placed tables in common kitchens and used furniture in common halls to mark inhabitation and exercise rights. Gartman (2009) describes how working class residents of Le Corbusier's Pessac mass housing near Bourdeaux, France, altered units to replace the architect's bourgeois customs and aesthetic tastes with their own. Specifically, residents removed partitions separating parlors and kitchens to create a large commons around the kitchen and also adorned his steel window ribbons with applied wooden windows and even classical pediments. Other mass modernist heritages are imbued with similar attempts to render the universal spaces specific and comfortably domestic, including trailer houses trailer houses, Oliver (1977).

A small number of published studies exist on resident valuation of modernist mass housing (Darling 2000; Pendlebury, Townshend and Gilroy 2009; Bell 2011; Aubuert, Cavar and Chandani 2012; Krivy 2016; Krivy 2017; Engel 2019; Thoburn 2022). Bell (2011) examined the everyday performative practices of residents at the English Grade II-listed Spa Green estate (Lubetkin & Skinner, architects; Ove Arup, engineer; 1949) in North London. One effect of inscription was the arrival of new "expert" residents who fetishized the architecture of the building and the attributes, such as original remaining kitchens and fixtures, noted in the inscription documents (Bell 2011). These residents often restored details and paint colors, and furnished flats in period-specific furniture. Longer-term residents were less likely to value the design or heritage inscription as a reason to enjoy life at Spa Green, and their attitudes attracted the scorn of new residents (Bell 2011). Longer-term residents, however, saw their preference for nettings and full window coverings to the newcomers' blinds or bare windows as more historically conventional (Bell 2011). To Bell (2011) the practices of the residents are not an intrinsic value, but rather a persuasive knowledge of place that operates as an intangible aspect. This knowledge and its conflictive tendencies can counterbalance the suspension of time that inscription of a place for its physical attributes can bring (Bell 2011). Perhaps the knowledge of inhabitants represent the triumph of "situated agency over abstract forces and contingency over determinism" (Cupers 2014: xv).

2.3.4 Current problems in the conservation of modernist mass housing

The conservation of modernist mass housing faces several significant problems: a negative cultural perception or image of the architecture; negative critique of the architecture itself in terms of adaptability or quality; the stigmatization of its occupants, whose supposed anti-social behaviors are often conflated with the architecture; demands on urban real estate markets, where privatisation and demolition of projects create opportunities for capital; and the current limitations in material conservation of reinforced concrete due to a need for more research and problems in current methods. In some ways, these challenges are not unique, and have been faced by other types of architecture (While 2007). The relatively recent age of many mass housing projects,

built since World War II, also presents a limit to cultural understanding of mass housing's value.

Foremost, modernist mass housing faces a threat through its troubled associations, or its "bad image in external perception and professional discourses alike" (Engel 2019: 143). Evaluations of mass housing environments for their values as architectural and social space, architectural and urban design, cultural significance and social significance often dwell on negative aspects to justify finding mass housing as of minimal or no value (Engel 2019). Modernist mass housing is often conflated with avant garde, elitist aesthetics (Bigaj 2018), the legacies of communist states (Lahusen 2006; Iacono 2019) and the lingering persistence of poverty in affluent nations (Vale 2000). The association with communism, especially in Europe, often leads to cultural association of mass housing architecture as a component of a larger system of trauma, oppression and even terror (Iacono 2019). As the collapse of communism in Iron Curtain states did not always lead to prosperity or consistently democratic government, mass housing also can be an unwanted reminder of a more cohesive, if problematic past (Molnár 2013). Rising appreciative nostalgia for socialist architecture is evident, however, visible in recent museum exhibitions, publications and popular Instagram accounts (Hatherley 2015; Rusu 2017; Tumbas 2018; Livingstone 2018; Borodacheva 2019). Social media valuation of heritage is beginning to influence inscription (van der Hoeven 2019). Preservation efforts have followed recent engagement (Erizanu 2019; Nikolova 2020).

Another leading problem in the perception of mass housing is the long strain of dismissive architectural critiques of various projects that have a cumulative effect. Certainly high-profile demolitions such as that of Pruitt-Igoe in the United States, and disasters like the Grenfell Tower fire in England have come to sensationalise the supposed failures of the buildings. Even more mundane accounts reiterate the allegation that mass housing projects widely contain poor building conditions (Engel 2019). Some of the housing indeed was designed on strict cost efficiency lines, with limited budgets necessitating low-quality materials (Lizon 1996; Urban 2012). Other

systems of construction were not intended to yield permanent, or even long-lived, building forms (Urban 2012; Engel 2019). State resources for maintenance after construction often were scarce based on developing state economies (Lizon 1996; Urban 2012; Engel 2019) or beliefs that that state resources should be limited to discourage long-term occupancy (Vale 2000; Broughton 2018). After full or partial privatisation of formerly state-managed post-socialist mass housing projects, often maintenance of the overall buildings is left to informal, uneven agreements (Pojani and Baar 2016).

Other persistent arguments against mass housing developments claim that these developments lack urbanity in their plans, are visually monotonous places, and remain anonymous spaces without expressions of collective or individual identity (Engel 2019). The case of the massive Bijlmermeer project in the Netherlands, which ultimately was extensively remodeled, often is cited as proof of all of these conditions (Olsson and Loerraker 2013). Yet these claims ignore the ways in which traditional urban environments evolve and improve over time, and conflate several iconic and mostly European and US projects with all modernist mass housing (Urban 2012). Projects like Bijlmermeer, however, are detached from center cities and adjacent urban fabric, creating a sense of isolation (Engel 2019). The detachment of European housing estates from city centers and public transportation has meant that their occupants rely on automobiles to reach the housing, and inadequate automobile parking means that open spaces – even those designed for recreation -- are often full of automobiles (Engel 2019).

Interior space poses a problem in conservation, due to the perception that it is static and uninteresting. In fact, English Heritage has opined that few English housing estates will have any significant interior features, and that their significance must come from exterior designs (Bell 2011). An equally common critique of the buildings in modernist mass housing projects is that their layouts are static and difficult to adjust, so that the building type lacks the flexibility of other heritagised building types, such as factories and warehouses. Certainly modernist mass housing's use of durable precast concrete

panels or block walls make apartments challenging to adapt (Urban 2012; Huuhka and Saarima 2018; Engel 2019). Occupants often find it impossible to implement their own solutions to modifying their units, in contrast to other forms of apartment housing that rely less on concrete construction (Urban 2012). Yet arguments against the conservation of modernist urban renewal projects that claim they are inadaptable more often than not lack rational ground, and are cloaking hostility toward the architectural forms (While 2007).

Darling (2000) examines the tension between expert and inhabitant role in design of mass housing in England, suggesting that architects now realize that the lack of tenant agency in design contributed to design deficiencies often narrated as failure. Huuhka and Saarima (2018) researched the changing family sizes of occupants of Finland mass housing, and found that the lack of ability to change layouts led to economic and racial segregation as more affluent native-born families moved out. Yet the authors also studied the ways in which apartments could be combined to expand space. Similarly, although Peter and Alison Smithson's Brutalist housing blocks at Robin Hood Gardens (1972) were demolished, architects had developed workable recombinant plans to adapt the sizes of apartments to contemporary desires (Powers et al. 2010; Bell 2017). Energy efficiency, a common complaint about the buildings, also has a resolution according to many experts (Powers el al. 2010; Abramson 2016; Engel 2019).

Many critiques of the design of modernist mass housing conflate social problems with urban design deficiencies (Olsson and Loerakker 2013; Vale 2013; Boughton 2018; Engel 2019). Newman (1972) offered an early critique of mass housing in the US, especially high-rise buildings, which he faulted for poor concern for "territoriality" in their plan. According to Newman (1972), humans associate open lawns leading to unsheltered entrances, bare and wide open elevator lobbies and bare open corridors with potential harm, because there are no protective elements in case of attack. Furthermore, the lack of elements that define boundaries between public, semi-public and private space produce more crime and anti-social behavior (Newman 1972; Cupers

2020). The variable in attention to detail, landscaping and entrance and circulation worldwide, however, prevent universalising the territoriality critique.

The characterisation of the inhabitants of mass housing also impedes valuation. Many accounts of mass housing suggest that the typical resident is poor and uneducated, criminal and outcast from mainstream society (Vale 2000; Urban 2012; Vale 2013; Prokopljevic 2015; Engel 2019). Urban (2012) found that much literature forges the housing projects into symbols of social conditions found generally across local housing geographies, and also fails to valuate success on their ability to alleviate housing problems. In some projects especially in Europe and the US, the occupants are generally poor or working class, and often racial minorities. However, accounts that other the occupants seem to outweigh those that provide a fuller account of the wide range of people who dwell in mass housing worldwide. In the case of English Council Housing, there are simultaneous claims that the housing estates were bastions of normalcy and popular, widely-shared culture (Hanley 2007), and also those that claim that occupants of the estates were more likely to cause urban rioting than other city residents (Boughton 2018). Often mass housing has fallen under strict managerial rules that treat residents as if they are less civilised than the general population (Prokopljevic 2015). The perceptual othering of residents also others the architecture.

Remaining mass housing projects also face the threat of market liberalisation, which can impinge integrity of physical form through remodeling but also integrity of use as housing. Mass housing built near city centers in the postwar era, when their sites were devalued slums or war-damaged ruins, now seem to be excellent sites for new private housing development (Vale 2000; Boughton 2018). In London, for instance, 36% of Council Housing units have been privatized, with greater than 50% in some districts (Madden and Marcuse 2016). Previously enumerated accounts of mass housing's supposed social ills can lead to situations in which planners "blame design for social disorder to create opportunities for developers" (Boughton 2018: 274). In post-socialist Europe, the question arose of what "social housing" meant in a market liberal context (Lévy-Vroelant and Reinprecht 2014). Governments shifted housing production from

smaller projects targeted to workers and the poor to larger estates charging higher rents that attracted mostly middle-class tenants (Lux and Sunega 2014). Many nations privatised housing units, which effectively normalized homeownership and further socially segregated renters into an underclass (Lux and Sunega 2014; Hegedüs, Lux, Sunega and Teller 2014). In privatized projects, the overall maintenance and conservation of designed features often become ambiguous responsibilities (Pojani and Baar 2016; Engel 2019).

The reliance on reinforced and precast concrete in modernist mass housing architecture presents a special challenge for conservation. Reinforced concrete allowed for the proliferation of original forms, including the modern slab apartment building (Bigaj 2018). The mass housing form actually has many variants worldwide, despite claims that the type is monolithic (Urban 2012). However the material, with its straightforward economical use, remains an underdeveloped area of conservation practice as it has inherent challenges as a largely unproven and environmentally-intensive architectural material (Macdonald 1997; Prudon 2008). The size and scale of mass housing makes conservation of concrete structures, floors and surfaces prohibitively expensive. There remain questions about the longevity of reinforced concrete (Macdonald 1997; Prudon 2008). Repair methods often mar surface integrity by introducing patching, over-spray or coating that contrasts with or conceals historic surfaces in appearance, color and texture (Macdonald 1997). Matching original finishes is difficult and techniques still leave traces of difference (Prudon 2008). However the gradual wreathing of reinforced concrete creates a perception of age that could build perception that modernist mass housing is definitely architectural heritage (Prudon 2008: 99).

2.4 Conclusion

A key gap in the literature surrounding modernist mass housing is how to identify discursive strategies that support heritagisation (formally or informally) while also accurately characterising the nature of the built form. This indeed is a form of construction that is repeated globally, yet remains largely ambiguous as an architectural heritage. Heritage and historic discourses that push mass housing advocates to

exaggerate the distinctiveness and intrinsic uniqueness of each development, or buildings within developments, distort the very reason that this type of housing exists and its non-intrinsic international dispositions. Yet there remains an unproven public that a self-professed mass, repetitious, international heritage form might generate to ensure its support. Part of the tangle for modernist mass housing remains locating its values to distinct constituencies. A larger part may be whether an engagement with AHD for modernist mass housing will do more harm than good for its survival as a housing form for ordinary people. This dissertation will investigate the position of modernist mass housing as architectural heritage in the United States, where its widespread erasure indicates that there both is a definite ambiguity toward its built forms but also an insufficient body of research to support a more nuanced approach to decisions regarding conservation.

CHAPTER 3: MASS HOUSING, MODERNISM AND PRESERVATION IN THE US

3.0 Introduction

This chapter expands on the literature review in order to relate the international context to the specific arena of the heritagization of modernist mass public housing in the United States of America (US). For this project, I define *mass housing* as the congregation of multiple dwelling units in buildings based on repeated prototypes, built through public or non-market private funding either as part of state-led planning or incentive programs and intended for working and middle class residents or the poor. I define *public mass housing* as mass housing developed under federal housing development programs beginning in 1937 in which the federal government made direct expenditure for construction of mass housing, and state entities (usually municipal) owned and managed the completed mass housing buildings. In this context chapter, I examine the historic development of mass housing (public and private) in the US as well as factors that have problematized its conservation in the US: the national exceptionalist framework of the US heritage AHD which disavows international forms like mass housing, implicit bias in the US AHD against architecture of non-elite people, the negation of "ordinary" architecture from canonical accounts of modernist architecture,

historic allegations against modernist mass housing in the US and lastly the enduring political economy of housing in the US, where market primacy threatens remaining mass housing's intended uses.

The research on the conservation dynamics of my US case studies requires attendance to the distinction between the AHD in the US and those active elsewhere, the native understanding of modernist architecture and the national history of efforts to develop social and especially public housing. The US context allows this research to more carefully understand the barriers to conservation faced by some of the case studies, as well as to analyze the successful valuation of some others. While the US dynamics offer endemic problems in conservation of mass housing, the issues laid out in literature review on the international scale are not discrete. After all, modernism's practitioners often proclaimed their work as an international aesthetic program (hence the "International Style"), and much of the vernacular architecture claimed as native in contrast to modernism itself is the fruit of global cross-influence. The interdependence between the US and in rest of the world may be disavowed by some actors and practices, but is manifest even in some of the pronounced national traits in engaging architectural heritage.

3.1 Historic Preservation in the United States

The AHD in the United States of America is known as "historic preservation," a term rarely used in other nations but one that is enshrined in the US' organizing heritage law, the National Historic Preservation Act, as well as in the name of the national heritage advocacy trust, the National Trust for Historic Preservation (Murtagh 2006). The distinction between historic preservation and heritage conservation denotes a limitation in valuation to material forms whose integrity, authenticity and significance are defined in law (Tyler, Tyler and Ligibel 2018). Thus intangible, fragmented or otherwise complex forms are marginal in official surveys and inscriptions, and only recently being valued in non-official channels of the AHD.

Historic preservation also has remained faithful to market fundamentalism in the US political economy, treating private property rights as paramount (Kaufman 2004). Consequently, inscription is largely voluntary at the local, state and federal levels, with owner objection a barrier obeyed by state agencies (Tyler, Tyler and Ligibel 2018). In policy and advocacy, the AHD also follows suit with dominant narratives that embrace voluntaryism and profit motive in heritage conservation. Kaufman (2004) notes that the resulting record of heritage through official inscription largely mirrors the values of capitalist actors rather than the pluralist values of the general public. Official inscription has privileged sites associated with national history, the lives of elites (usually white and male) and famous architects, excluding sites associated with workers, immigrants, minorities and women (Kaufman 2009).

3.1.1 National exceptionalism: Historic preservation in the US and heritage conservation worldwide

Early European doctrines on heritage conservation and architectural restoration influenced practices in the United States, but eventually a schism grew (Jokilehto 2018; Wells 2007). A key event in the divergence in terms and doctrines came when the US delegation to the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments rejected the Venice Charter in 1964. Although the US delegation claimed that the English translation was unavailable in time to make an informed decision, the real basis for rejection came from a rejection of the Charter's approach to restoration and reconstruction (Miller 2006).

The Venice Charter based its principles in the "anti-scrape" doctrine that supported treating and evaluating the whole of a building or site for heritage purposes – that is, changes over time, including restorations, reconstructions and additions (Miller 2006). These principles also were adopted in the previous Athens Charter (1931), whose authors sought to avoid the perceived removal of truth through restorations that removed or replaced "inauthentic" later changes (Wells 2007). In the US during the 1930s, architectural conservation was driven by figures such as Charles Peterson, an architect engaged by the US government in the restoration of buildings in Philadelphia.

Peterson broke from the European anti-scrape doctrine, and sought to use restoration as a method of uncovering the "authentic" version of a historic site, usually tethered to its original construction or appearance during a specific historic event or period (Miller 2006). Wells (2007) deems the US approach as "material fetish." The reconstruction and restoration of Colonial Williamsburg in the 1920s and 1930s also evinced the US practice, although in New York City early preservationists engaged and accepted modernization of architecture in conservation practices (Mason 2004).

The vocabulary of the Venice Charter deployed a terminology at odds with the US, whose conservation proponents galvanized around the term "historic preservation" to describe their practice (Miller 2006; Wells 2007; Tyler, Tyler and Ligibel 2018). Consequently, there is no appearance at all of the word "conservation" in the National Historic Preservation Act or any of its program rules (Miller 2006). AHD stakeholders such as the National Trust for Historic Preservation, academic degree programs and state and local advocacy organizations have largely followed suit, with some exceptions (Miller 2006; Wells 2007; Tyler, Tyler and Ligibel 2018). The US AHD has had some impact on Canadian heritage practices, but largely stands alone in the world. US engagement of international programs is uneven, although the US has been an active nominator of World Heritage Sites starting with the Peterson-restored Independence Hall in Philadelphia (Jokkilheto 2018).

The US has been reticent, however, to sign several UNESCO declarations on intangible heritage, and stopped paying dues to UNESCO altogether between 2017 and 2023 after UNESCO accepted the membership of Palestine (Charlton and Lee 2023). The US break from international customs in heritage conservation, especially its reliance on theorizing the authentic versions of buildings, landscapes and places, limits the potential inscription and valuation of mass housing, whose physical forms elide any easy "authentic" version as they change over time. The limitation of US historic preservation law's preoccupation with built forms and its distinction between natural and human-made environments also challenge efforts to value wider districts or areas of

75

inhabitation whose inhabitants may see the significance of landscape, built form and place itself as inseparable (Murtagh 2006).

3.1.2 Systems of government in US historic preservation

The US system of heritage government distributes powers across federal, state and local levels, but places the most power at the state level. A major function of the US heritage system is the provision of inscriptions needed to attain investment tax credits for historic preservation, making the system very reactionary to market forces. As a federal republic, the US provides relatively weaker ultimate authorities to its federal agencies, which in heritage have principle powers to manage federally-owned sites, determine the impact of actions by federal agencies on heritage sites, determine final federal inscription in the National Register of Historic Places and National Historic Landmark lists, evaluate applications for federal historic rehabilitation tax credits, coordinate the system of state heritage offices, and coordinate training of state heritage officials (Murtagh 2006; Tyler, Tyler and Ligibel 2018). The federal heritage function is housed within the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior, despite the lack of overlap between natural and heritage conservation laws. There is a federal Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP), composed of experts appointed by the president, who can rule on certain appellate matters, craft programmatic agreements for federally-owned properties and issue policy statements. Federal historic tax credit applications for buildings are reviewed by the National Park Service for impact on historic features, but if the project seeks state-level historic tax credits, the state leads to review process.

State governments are required to maintain State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPOs), which have greater powers in cultural resource surveys, primary review of nominations to the federal inscription lists, decisions on distributing preservation grants to local governments and organizations, coordination of adverse impact reviews, maintenance and administration of state historic rehabilitation tax credit programs, coordination with indigenous Tribal Preservation Offices (TPOs) and coordination of Certified Local Governments (CLGs). TPOs are separate from SHPOs due to

76

indigenous sovereignty, but their relationship to the heritage government system is usually more advisory than definitive. The federal rules on adverse impacts are governed by Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, which requires review of any use of federal funds or activity within certain federally-regulated areas (such as telecommunications) that might adversely impact an inscribed or uninscribed heritage site (Tyler, Tyler and Ligibel 2018). The Section 106 process allows formal participation in decision-making by local governments, state and federal agencies and non-governmental agencies as well as public comment. All of the decisions to renovate or demolish publicly-owned mass housing have had to go through Section 106 process, which again is coordinated at the state level.

Local governments hold the right to enact preservation protection ordinances that can regulate demolition, rehabilitation and new construction within heritage districts, and they can create the strongest laws against destruction of heritage sites (Tyler, Tyler and Ligibel 2018). Many larger cities have their own historic preservation or cultural heritage offices with professional staff as well as public commissions of experts and non-experts who have powers to make advisory or absolute rulings on matters of local heritage law. Although local government has the strongest powers in the US system, use of available tools can be constrained by the relationship between local political actors and the real estate industry (Molotch and Logan 1987). In New York City, for instance, only 5% of the entire city is within any kind of local heritage district, mostly in Manhattan (Rypkema 2020).

For mass housing owned publicly, the actions at all three levels can impact an valuation. For the two case studies, though, the decision-making at the state level (Cochran Gardens) and city level (Parkchester) as primacy, with the federal government either a passive reviewer of decisions or not involved at all. First, the origin of any decision to demolish or alter comes from the local housing authority, which is free to act with its own funds unless a property is a local landmark or within a local heritage or demolition review district. If federal funds are involved, the local housing authority must consult the SHPO which will then undertake a process to determine if any action impacts heritage –

but only heritage found eligible for inscription would be considered worthy of any kind of mitigating action, which could be physical conservation but most often is a recordation to offset alteration or demolition (Tyler, Tyler and Ligibel 2018). In rare cases have SHPOs pushed for inscription, as the case studies will illustrate. If the mass housing is owned by a private entity, the only real path against erasure or grave alteration is at the local level.

3.1.3 Public engagement in preservation policies

Historic preservation has been a critical driver of community planning, where the valuation that creates historic districts or inscribed sites meets other values, such as sense of place, economic revitalization, ecological sustainability and walkability (Tyler, Tyler and Ligibel 2018). In some instances, local historic preservation laws may the best tools for US cities to use for achieving aims based in other values. Thus historic preservation has a widely positive image as a component of pluralist community planning (Hayden 1995; Kaufman 2009; Hurley 2010).

Yet many scholars imbricate historic preservation with elitist values and association with architectural practice, and find it lacking as a field that advances a wider valuation of built spaces (Hayden 1995; Wells 2018). Kaufman (2004) assails the field's willingness to capitulate to capitalist real estate market forces at the expense of competing cultural groups. Hayden (1995) claims that historic preservation's fixation on built forms limits its creative potentials as a mechanism for public engagement of changes in the built environment. According to Hayden: "People make attachments to places that are critical to their well-being or distress" (Hayden 1995: 16). The fixation on physical integrity enshrined in the federal standards of inscription, insisting that buildings, landscapes and forms remain as identical as possible to their "historic" appearance, is at odds with public recognition of heritage (Little 1997). The AHD in the US does not formally open space for the popular attachment that opens into competing, sometimes conflicting claims of the value of place.

Some scholars argue that the entire basis of historic preservation is a set of elitist biases and doctrines that are insurmountable without replacing the AHD and federal laws with new ways of engaging heritage (King 2016). Others argue emphatically that historic preservation actors have marginalized the role of minority groups in valuation of sites (Hayden 1995; Kaufman 2009; Fly 2016). SHPOs may even actively discourage consideration of survey and inscription of sites related to Black history (Fly 2016). The field's leaders widely acknowledge that public engagement has often been buried under bureaucratic procedure and expert values, but also celebrate progress made in opening AHD forums to historically-marginalized groups and perspectives (Murtagh 2006; Van Baloogy 2016; Tyler, Tyler and Ligibel 2018).

Gibson, Hendricks and Wells (2018) assert that the bureaucratic practices of the Section 106 process reify an orthodox approach to AHD, and thus reproduce marginalization, segregation and exploitation of non-dominant cultural groups including Black Americans. The procedures that begin with expert-led processes and privilege government agencies, non-governmental organizations and private property owners foreclose open public processes of collecting and evaluating attachments to place (Gibson, Hendricks, and Wells 2018). More participatory protocols could widen the use of historic preservation laws as opportunities for the non-expert public to help shape conservation policies toward places, but they require revising at least bureaucratic practices, at most revising the National Historic Preservation Act itself and regardless reforming the AHD to welcome wider non-expert valuation (Kaufman 2009; King 2016; Gibson, Hendricks and Wells 2018).

3.1.4 Implicit bias in historic preservation practices and policies

Even mainstream textbooks on historic preservation note that the field's attachment to elite associations and uniqueness in buildings and sites is an impediment to its progress (Tyler, Tyler and Ligibel 2018). An early fracture in the movements to conserve natural and built environments also makes the field's scope limited and its methods rigid (Murtagh 2006; Hayden 1995). The formation of the AHD also was detached from the discipline of anthropology, where any site, artifact or building that is a consultable record

of human experience has value (King, Hickman and Berg 1977). The historic preservation field's biases toward the ability of buildings to possess "truth" and the inherent superiority of "authentic" physical fabric are at odds with many other domestic ways of valuing human environments (King, Hickman and Berg 1977; Wells 2007; Kaufman 2009).

Martinko (2020) writes that the inception of US preservation movements in the nineteenth century instilled inherently moralizing values, where well-preserved specimens of collective memory could abate the unrestrained, anti-moral free market of real estate development. The fixation on moral value thus precluded the value of all of the built environment, or of any part that could not meet criteria of collective value defined usually by pious elites. Thus much of early preservation activities in the US revolved around preserving and often restoring houses of morally-upright citizens such as white US presidents, political figures, military leaders and industrialists. The twentieth century development of historic preservation is almost a record of discarding this emphasis in favor of broader valuation of the built environment, including sectors inhabited by working and marginal people (Hayden 1995; Murtagh 2006). Koziol (2008) posits that historic preservation is inherently an assemblage of four competing discourses, which he deems populist, entrepreneurialist, essentialist and privatist. The problem for the field is that the essentialist discourse has dominated the AHD (Koziol 2008; Wells 2018).

A major bias in historic preservation that impacts the conservation of residential districts of working people, including mass housing, is the emphasis on material authenticity. Although the public image of historic preservation often is of a movement that promotes a synthetic valuation of entire urban districts, the AHD and the official policies often betray this perception. The most ambitious vision of urban preservation might be stated thus: "Preservation is never about historic buildings alone, it is about urbanism, preserving the whole city…" (Gratz 2020: 75). Hurley (2010) argues that preservation can unify competing urban groups into coalitions that resist demolition and gentrification, and popularize historic valuation of neighborhoods. Yet Hurley (2016) also

argues that these same neighborhoods are not well-served by the actual rules of inscription, regulation and financial incentives. Hurley (2016) concludes that only if inscription standards relax physical integrity standards will much of the urban built environment – especially areas where Black Americans systemically were deprived access to capital -- marked by disinvestment, building loss and vacancy will never meet criteria despite popular value.

Hurley (2016) also argues that the period of significance, which is the basis of the "scrape" conservationists who largely dictated the twentieth century AHD in the US, should be abolished completely for inscription and conservation purposes. Nieves (2016) even makes the case that digital reconstruction be allowed to substitute for lost buildings associated with Black urban experience, but recognizes that the policy framework for inscription would need major reform. Many scholars have argued that intangible aspects of the built environment should be permitted to weigh in valuation of sites, even where buildings are now gone (Hayden 1995; Kaufman 2009). For mass housing, where alteration, demolition and change are constant aspects, the reform of the AHD and especially inscription criteria may be essential to conservation. Many mass housing projects that have been lost fell because they could not meet inscription criteria (McGhee 2016).

3.2 Modernist Architecture as Heritage in the US

Architectural modernism in the US has been heritagised in the US according to the constraints, biases and trends within the historic preservation field. Consequently, modernism's elevation as a subject of heritage conservation has perpetuated emphasis on association with designers, styles, technologies or elements privileged by the discipline or architecture. As the literature review has shown, however, the valuation of modernism in the US is commensurate with similar tendencies worldwide. However, the trajectory within historic preservation suggests that there is an increasing interest in recognizing the varied reasons why people value modernist architecture.

Much of the literature on the field of historic preservation still modernism as a novel challenge (Murtagh 2004, Macdonald 2013, Joyner 2016, Tayler, Tyler and Ligibel 2018). The intersection of this positional ambiguity – modernism as an unresolved heritage subject – with efforts to challenge and expunge the overall biases in historic preservation could be fruitful. Since modernism only recently became an institutionalized aspect of heritage production in the US, its valuation remains dissonant and open to interpretation. However, there remains a strong bias toward the primacy of the disciplinary concerns of architecture in interpreting the value of modernism.

3.2.1 Modernism in US architecture

Extensive literature on the development and shape of modernist architecture in the US emphasizes its relationship to European precedents, technological innovation, and quests for new architectural expression (Scully 1961; Jordy 1972; Prudon 2012). There is a preponderance of literature emphasizing the roles of certain architects in advancing aesthetic novelty, but for this dissertation other aspects bear more strongly. By the time that mass housing explored in subsequent chapters was built, modernism was actually an established, nearly-conventional approach to much of the US built world (Wright 2008). Wright (2008) locates modernism's domination of US architecture between 1946 and 1964, after which architects began rebelling against its flailing senses of novelty and innovation. Thus mass housing actually epitomizes US modernist practices and constitutes no outlier, although it has been recorded as a "small but controversial aspect" of US modernism (Wright 2008: 177). Even academic gatherings where public mass housing architecture has been central to discussion, such as the 2012 Fitch Colloquium at Columbia University's Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation (entitled "Why Preserve Public Housing?") have emphasized the controversial and problematic aspects of the building type over aesthetic, political or technological appreciation.

Another key aspect of modernism germane to this research is its popularity. Upton (1998) writes of modernism's simultaneous pervasiveness in industrial and product

design, fashion, art, film, music and architecture. Modernism figured prominently not just in architectural periodicals but across all avenues of popular culture from detective magazines to television programs. The nature of modernism thus is as a mass, popular style that influences the choices of people of all classes, races and educational levels in the US. Heritagisation, however, largely does not reflect the popular aspects of the style, instead promoting narratives of originality and exclusivity.

Yet there are historians who have studied the popular dimensions of modernist architecture. In the 1980s, several key books pointed architectural historians and historic preservationists toward the modernism of mass culture: gas stations, grocery stores, coffee shops, bowling alleys and more (Liebs 1985; Hess 1985). Jakle and Sculle (2011) point out that the ephemeral modernism landscapes of the US highways are collectors of mass memory, with widely divergent valuation of places based on individual experience. Wright (2008) poses that modernism exhausted its *avant garde* moorings through its replication, and that by the mid-1960s even architects sought to break from its conventions. Although critics of mass housing in the US would raise its supposed socialist affinities, by the time that the case studies discussed here were built, most modernism was built by capitalist forces, and was dominant in bank architecture, mansion design and interior furnishings in corporate offices – hardly connoting any deep connection to leftist movements, but rather a widespread apolitical acceptance (Wright 2008).

3.2.2 Attitudes and impediments toward heritagisation of modernist architecture

Although now more widely admitted as a subject of the heritage field in the US, modernist architecture faces a crucible of the framework of the National Register of Historic Places: proving significance. Since the National Register of Historic Places requires exceptional significance to be demonstrated for properties less than 50 years old, this disadvantages modernist architecture that cannot demonstrate an "exceptional" quality (Tyler, Tyler and Ligibel 2018). Exceptional significance has usually excluded ordinary modernism, including mass housing, unless there is a significant architect, landscape architect or artist involved in design or construction. Longstreth (1992)

advocated for expanding historic preservation beyond masterpieces and into the realm of the ordinary built forms, including modernist ones. In ensuing years, this perspective has gained traction as the number of modernist buildings inscribed in the National Register of Historic Places has grown especially after 2000 (Tyler, Tyler and Ligibel 2018).

Even buildings designed by famous architects faced challenges in securing inscription in local and national lists, as they were viewed against the standard of age enshrined in the National Register of Historic Places policy. Heritage officials for generations taught that policy as the "50 year rule," which itself was based on an earlier heritage law's "25 year rule" (Joyner 2016). In fact, properties can be inscribed using the National Register at any time, but do have to meet the exceptional significance standard.

Modernist architecture still faces hostility from advocates for traditional building, who often are vocal proponents of heritage conservation when it comes to non-modernist buildings. Many proponents of traditional urbanism have propagated similar arguments that modernist architecture is monolithic, disruptive to traditional places, ugly and a threat to the conservation of traditional environments (Jacobs 1962; Kunstler 1993; Semes 2009). Modernist architecture associated with urban renewal remains especially stigmatized: by preservationists, who associate it with the mass destruction of traditional architecture of superior heritage value, and by minority groups who associate it with racist policies of dispossession (Longstreth 2006).

The New Urbanist movement that emerged in the 1970s waged war on modernist design, claiming that its forms were inimical to human needs, urban vitality and sense of place. The perception that modernist functionalism is alien to the patterns of the traditional American family, by preventing adaptation of interior spaces, persists (Gartman 2009). Wilson (2016) argues that preservationists should promote higher urban density and walking-friendly cities, and allow or even advocate for the demolition of lower-density modernist forms that he considers automobile-centric.

Perhaps the largest threat to conserving modernist architecture is that there is so much of it. After World War II, the US rapidly built its suburbs and rebuilt large parts of its older cities, producing a massive amount of new architecture (Longstreth 2006). The bulk and pace of development in the US meant that much modernism was demolished, remodeled or forgotten before anyone even considered that it may possess heritage value (Tyler, Tyler and Ligibel 2018). Tyler, Tyler and Ligibel (2018) argue that it was not until the 1990s that the historic preservation movement began to seriously consider the fate of modernist architecture. Even then, the life span of many materials used in modernist architecture, from curtain wall systems to mass-manufactured siding, meant a distinct loss of or threat to physical integrity that other eras of historic buildings had not faced (Prudon 2008; Macdonald 2013).

3.2.3 Progress in the inscription and valuation of modernist architecture

In the 1960s, the US preservation movement began including the recent past in the scope of built heritage, but largely focused on Art Deco or Art Moderne works instead of more recent modernist architecture (Prudon 2012). For a long time, the icon Frank Lloyd Wright and a small number of other famous designers dominated US historic preservation discourses around significant modernism, mirroring the European heritage field's attention to Le Corbusier, Gropius and other famous architects (Prudon 2012; Tyler, Tyler and Ligibel 2018). However, the attention on famous architects did inspire interest in and appreciation for the works of lesser-known figures working in similar styles. The Society for Commercial Archaeology, founded in 1977, blazed a path away from consideration of modernist architecture for purely architectural reasons, as it promoted the buildings' associations with consumer culture, retail brands and finance.

The formation of the Frank Lloyd Wright Building Conservancy in 1989 and the creation of the US branch of the International Committee for the Documentation of Modernism (DOCOMOMO US) in 1995 demonstrated institutionalization of the projects to heritagise modernist architecture (Prudon 2012). The first Preserving the Recent Past conference took place in Chicago in 1995, and inspired more interest in heritage inscription and high-profile restoration projects like that Philip Johnson's Glass House (1949) and Mies

can der Rohe's Farnsworth House (1946). Again, the emphasize on the significance of modernist buildings remained tethered to associations with architects seen as visionary or original, despite outlier perspectives like the Society for Commercial Archaeology. This implicit bias remains embedded in the work of DOCOMOMO US, whose exemplary work is focused almost exclusively on the aesthetic value of modernist architecture. As the National Register of Historic Places already privileges associations with elite values, the impact of modernist advocacy has enabled rather than undercut that bias (King 2016).

Today, hundreds of modernist buildings are now inscribed in the National Register of Historic Places, including historic districts of ranch-style houses, gas stations and hospital complexes (Tyler, Tyler & Ligibel, 2018). Local heritage inscription of modernist architecture also is very common. The National Trust for Historic Preservation began promoting preservation of modernist architecture in the 1990s, and by now commonly includes examples on its annual endangered lists, among its preservation award winners, in its publications and on its social media channels. The Association of Preservation Technology has convened gatherings specifically to share study of conservation matters affecting modernist buildings. State and local preservation organizations also regularly include modernist architecture on endangered lists, showcase such work on tours and share examples on social media channels (Tyler, Tyler & Ligibel 2018). DOCOMOMO US has a robust array of local "friends" organizations, most of which were founded independently among amateur fans of mid-century modern design.

The attention on modernist architecture, however, has not widened the values that it represents to historic preservationists. Almost all of the aforementioned activities that have enhanced the visibility of sites and districts has been based on valuing its architectural design as significant heritage. Although sometimes modernist buildings have been inscribed in the National Register of Historic Places for industrial, racial/ethic heritage or other areas of significance, most of the advocacy promotes architectural-historical valuation of remaining works.

3.2.4 Contemporary issues in the conservation of modernist architecture

Recent US debates around the conservation of modernist architecture have focused on the preservation of architectural brutalism, which has resurrected the long-stand popular debates on the beauty of modernism (While 2007). Publicity around preservation battles to save brutalist buildings show that modernism has become a normalized subject of US heritage; in fact *The Architect's Newspaper*'s round-up of 2020 preservation battles leads with a large photograph of Paul Rudolph's now-demolished Burroughs Wellcome Center (1972), whose fate polarized opinion in North Carolina where it is located (Editors 2020). Former President Donald Trump's late-term executive order mandating classical architecture for federal buildings also directed agencies to demolish, remodel or otherwise not preserve modernist federal buildings (Grover and Waytkus 2020). Trump and many journalists alleged an elitist favoring of modernism and a popular disdain, with one writer even calling brutalist federal buildings "totalitarian" and un-American (Harsanyi 2020). Of course, architects and architectural historians have fiercely argued that brutalist buildings are worthwhile, and that as time passes they will be accepted as heritage by non-experts (Mitchell and Hobson 2018; Grover and Waytkus 2020). Trump's order may be overturned, but even local governments have been demolishing brutalist public buildings without any of Trump's ideological spin, but sometimes with claims that the buildings are not energy efficient and their hard concrete materials make them difficult to remodel.

A hopeful trend is the dissemination of modernist architecture through social media, which allows for users to ascribe their own valuation on buildings, which often can be sentimental. A prominent Instagram account is that of Hood Mid-Century Modern, created by Jerald Cooper. Hood Mid-Century Modern seeks to document and showcase the ordinary modernism of "the 'hood," a term widely used in the United States to describe poor or majority-minority neighborhoods (Budd 2020). Cooper's large following has allowed him to increase the visibility of culturally Black valuation of modernism, which breaks the white dominance of heritage discourses as well as expanding valuation beyond the preoccupations of the architectural profession. Hood Mid-Century

Modern also exemplifies what George Lipsitz has identified as a strong drive in Black art and creative expression toward expressing the "spatial aspects of racial identity" (Lipsitz 2011: 60).

Another matter of significance for conservation is the deterioration or replacement of original materials. Prudon (2017) argues that preservationists may need to accept that many modernist and postmodernist buildings and landscapes may require reconstruction in order to survive, due to low-life-span original construction. This possibility would conflict with the requirements of the National Register of Historic Places, which requires an evaluation of physical integrity and a finding of substantial retention of original materials for inscription (Murtagh 2006). Additionally, the conservation problems evoke long-standing debates in heritage conservation around "authenticity" of place, and raise the question of whether a building that has been substantially or completely rebuilt with new materials remains the same building. Alteration poses another obstacle to inscription, since the requirement of integrity finds new cladding a demerit (Murtagh 2006). Reinforced concrete buildings with deterioration problems often are parged or coasted in exterior insulated finish systems (EIFS), especially when owners – including state agencies and cooperatives that own mass housing -- have limited funding.

3.3 Mass Housing in the United States

Mass housing in the US always has occupied an ambiguous space in cultural consciousness. In a nation whose fundamental traditions include self-sufficiency and private property, the mass housing project represents a potentially alien form of domestic architecture. The inception of mass housing as a public good fought a cultural and political headwind that deemed its very possibility as antithetical to the nation's moral, economic and political values (Radford 1996; Vale 2000). Esteemed architectural critic Lewis Mumford dismissed mass housing production as a race toward cheap solutions based on faddish technologies (Mumford 1975a).Thus from the start mass

housing in the US has been hampered and stigmatised, even while it offered meaningful support to the well-being of many Americans.

The US first developed mass housing through private, nonprofit relief and settlement organizations. As early as the late 19th century, social reformers like Jacob Riis in New York City condemned private slum housing and advocated for legal reforms such as the 1901 New York City tenement law. Municipal regulation of private housing proved onerous and difficult to enforce, however, and even when ideal apartment buildings were built, affordability relative to the income of poor and working-class people was dubious. Urbanisation rose starkly in the early twentieth century, as poor rural people responded to the increase in industrial employment in major and smaller cities. These cities, though, scarcely had adequate space for new residents, and what it did have for new arrivals without wealth was pitiful and overcrowded. The collapse of the US stock market and resulting economic depression in 1929 further exacerbated the problem. The rise of the CIAM study of dwelling standards and mass housing coincided with the start of the Great Depression in the US, and influenced American social reformers and architects (Kallis 2023). By the early 1930s, the "houser" movement arose to advocate that the US emulate successes in social mass housing seen in England, Germany, the Netherlands and other parts of Europe (Wood 1931, Bauer 1934).

Led by Catherine Bauer, Lewis Mumford, Carol Aronovici and Albert Mayer, the Housing Study Guild strived to match the "houser" demand for new low-rent housing with progressive architectural ideas for planning prospective new developments (Aronovici 1934; Mumford 1995). In 1934, the houser movement's arguments received a major public exhibition, *America Can't Have Housing*, at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City. The catalog for the exhibition summarized the social values of providing adequate low-rent housing for all Americans, as well as the aesthetic values of embracing European modernist ideas (Aronovici 1934). In the catalog, the housers celebrated the International Style housing developments newly built around Europe as well as the International Congress for Modern Architecture (or CIAM, based on its name in French) concept of "towers in the park," where new high-rise housing forms would be

set on sites were most of the land would be left open for recreation and planting (Aronovici 1934; Mumford 1995).

The first federal provision of funding for mass housing came in the 1930s during the Great Depression, first through experimental "new town" developments then through the 1937 Housing Act which provided direct federal assistance to local public housing authorities. That funding was amplified by the 1949 United States Housing Act, which brooked a period in which high-rise forms became standardized for supposed cost savings. Most of the mass housing built under these two waves of funding was modernist in design. Several other forms of direct provision and financial assistance for mass housing continued until 1973, after which the US federal government pursued policies of systemic diminution, semi-privatisation and neoliberalisation of public housing, resulting in the disappearance of many mass architectural forms. Today, only about 2% of the population resides in some form of public mass housing, compared to rates in other industrialised nations that often exceed 20%. As a subject of heritage, modernist mass housing in the US remains elusive, although incipient fervor for conservation of modernist architecture coupled with an urgent need for urban affordable housing may favor increased valuation of remaining mass housing for both heritage and utility.

3.3.1 Modernist mass housing in the twentieth century US

Mass housing always has been an unlikely political triumph in the United States. The trajectory of beginning as an insurgent cause in the early twentieth century to ending up as one of the largest national building programs in the middle and late twentieth century remain an impressive one (Radford 1996; Urban 2012). For a start, the United States differs from most nations in ceding primacy in urban planning to private property owners (Logan and Molotch 2007). Housing planning in the US is largely a function of local government, and federal coordination has been rare (Logan and Molotch 2007: 147-150). Advocates for the federal housing programs initiated in 1937 and 1949 made bold, unprecedented calls for the federal government to become involved in housing, which the state had previously treated as a private matter (Madden and Marcuse 2016). The

first federal public housing act enacted in 1937, called Wagner-Steagall, subsidized construction only, while the postwar 1949 United States Housing Act expanded funding to site acquisition and clearance provided sites were "slum neighborhoods." The 1937 act created the United States Housing Authority (USHA), which was succeeded by the Public Housing Administration (PHA) in 1949. When the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) was created in 1967, HUD assumed the federal planning, funding and management of public mass housing as well as regulation of private mass housing finance.

Private production of mass housing has been limited mostly to major cities, with New York City providing some key examples. After planners observed that the private sector was unable to accommodate the demand for affordable middle-class housing, the state of New York amended the New York State Insurance Code in 1938 so that life insurance companies could make direct investment in moderate (not low) income housing (Plunz 1990: 253). While capitalist forces preferred that mass housing remain a private market function, with generous tax write-off for the investors, they eventually would oppose more schemes like the 1938 New York law as antithetical to the supposedly American way of allowing private profit to be the primary good in housing production. Nonetheless, several projects in New York City were built under the provisions of the 1938 law, including one of my case studies, Parkchester (Plunz 1990).

Yet the direct US federal investment in mass housing was relatively short lived, with heavy criticism of the social and built environments of mass housing projects coming from scholars, architects and journalists in the 1960s and 1970s (Bloom, Umbach and Vale 2015: 10-11). Unlike mass housing in Europe and Asia, mass housing in the US never became a mixed-income environment. To appease conservatives who initially opposed mass housing's construction in the first place, federal housing officials adopted rules to exclude middle- and upper- class residents from mass housing projects (Bristol 1991; Urban 2012: 25). The USHA relegated standards for quality of location to local housing authorities, leading many to locate projects on undesirable or remote sites (Jackson 1985).

Racial segregation became a hallmark of the earliest New Deal public housing projects, built by the Public Works Administration (PWA) before the establishment of the USHA. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes directed the PWA to implement the "neighborhood composition rule," which required public mass housing projects' residential populations to match the racial composition of the populations of their surrounding neighborhoods (Rothstein 2017). The neighborhood composition rule was adopted by the USHA and the PHA until the US Supreme Court issued its 1954 *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision prohibiting racial segregation of public accommodations (Rothstein 2017). Local housing authorities thus generally segregated new mass housing projects according to determinations of racial makeup of areas, often making excessive or incorrect determinations to support segregationist practices. Eventually, tenancy in most public housing was typified by very poor people, so that public housing ended up reproducing the same concentrations of poverty it was supposed to mitigate (Heathcott 2015). Thus the mass public housing projects seemed unable to provide cures for structural poverty, racial segregation and crime reduction, despite some successes in tenant self-organisation and self-management (Sharkey 2013; Bloom 2008, Umbach and Vale 2015; Levenstein 2015; Hansman 2017).

One significant effort to produce mass housing for moderate-income residents came in New York City, where the state government of New York partnered with the city government to produce 105,000 units of moderate-income housing between 1955 and 1975 (Schwartz 2019). Known as Mitchell-Lama, after its legislative sponsors, the New York program targeted public financing and tax abatements to projects creating market rentals of cooperatively-owned projects restricted to moderate-income tenants (Schwartz 2019). The program eased the gap between public housing and non-regulated market housing, and at least 70,000 Mitchell-Lama units remain in service with income restrictions in place, including those at Co-Op City (1966-73) in the Bronx, New York City, New York (Fuerst and Sims 2005; Schwartz 2019). Co-Op City, built on the towers in the park model, remains the largest housing development of any kind in

the US, but there has never been an effort to achieve heritage inscription for the project or any of its buildings.

In the late 1960s, HUD responded to criticism of the scale and deficiencies of public mass housing projects by initiating several new programs of production: the "Turnkey" program, in which the federal government provided local housing authorities funds to purchase buildings (on scattered sites to avoid concentration) fully-built end developed by private developers for a profit, and the rental assistance funds created by section 236 of the 1968 Housing and Urban Development Act, which provided federal funds to cover owners' mortgages for private housing developments for working-class occupants (Burstein 1967; Edson 1970). After these experiments, the federal government placed a moratorium on direct federal spending for public housing production in 1973 (Lasner 2016). HUD expanded its "Section 8" rental voucher program in 1974, where it subsidized the gap between restricted tenant rent (capped at 30% of income) and actual rent in private housing, a program that effectively accelerated both the erosion public ownership of housing as well as protection from racial discrimination (Meyer 2000). Fennell (2015) characterizes the decline in mass housing production as aligned with federal policies that shifted from a Fordist-Keynesian welfare state model, where the state would provide a social safety net to address economic downfalls, to a neoliberal communitarianism model, in which individuals and cities would be responsible for solving their own economic problems.

In 1990, HUD began experimenting with selective demolition and replacement of troubled mass housing projects. By 1993, the US Congress enabled a systemic federal housing grant program called Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE VI). HOPE VI provided funding to local housing authorities to demolish and replace mass housing, especially tower blocks (Vale 2013). The HOPE VI Program funded demolition of 98,592 units of public housing between its codification in 1993 and sunset in 2010 (Gress, Cho and Joseph 2016: 11). In that same time period, HUD spent $6 billion on demolition and new construction on public housing sites (Oakley, Frazer and Bazuin 2015). Only 57% of replacement units were public housing, with the remainder being

owner-occupied, affordable private and market rate private units, with 43,274 public housing units lost in the period (Gress, Cho and Joseph 2016: 11). The diminution of public housing units through the erasure of modernist mass housing was part of larger federal retreat from direct provision of housing and financial aid to poor Americans, which started under the "new federalism" policies of President Richard Nixon in the 1970s and was basically completed under the "end of welfare as we know it" regime of President Bill Clinton in 1990s (Goetz 2003; Oakley, Frazer and Bazuin 2015). In the HOPE VI regime, persons who would have dwelled in public housing units are encouraged to participate in the real estate market either through dwelling in privately-managed replacement housing or through using housing vouchers to fund leases with private landlords (Vale 2013; Oakley, Frazer and Bazuin 2015; Madden and Marcuse 2016).

Critics of the HOPE VI program allege that it represents an abandonment of the state's past role in housing provision. Some critics have called HOPE VI a manifestation of neoliberalism in government policy, and consider the post-HOPE VI reduced supply of public housing in the US grossly inadequate for affordable housing needs (Fuerst and Sims 2005; Arena 2012). Neoliberalism is the deliberate "withdrawal of the state from many areas of social provision" (Harvey 2003: 3), and represents a contemporary rejection of the twentieth century liberal or socialist welfare state. In city after city, HOPE VI aligned with larger programs of revanchist redevelopment of urban centers that were driven by desire to create surplus profit for the private real estate finance sector (Arena 2012; Vale 2013; Goetz 2015). By recapturing land that was rising in values and inserting a financialised aspect to provision of affordable housing, while also raising the net rents of public housing sites, HOPE VI represented a profound abandonment of the original expressed tenets of public housing (Vale 2013; Fennell 2015). Of course, provision of public housing was never purely anti-capitalist as case studies from Atlanta and Chicago demonstrate (Vale 2013).

Some housing advocates claim that the US never has had a strong national housing policy, despite the investment in mass housing, so the contemporary situation

represents a long status quo (Madden and Marcuse 2016: 119). The number of public housing units in the US fell from above 1.8 million in 1999 to under 1.6 million in 2009 to slightly over 1 million units in 2016 to 958,548 units by 2018 (McDonald 2011; Docter and Galvez 2016; Zonta 2018). By 2022, only 835,000 households in the US were living in public housing units, with many units unable to be rented due to deferred maintenance (JCHS 2024). Housing vouchers are used by 2.3 million households as a distributed substitute for mass public housing (JCHS 2024). Today, the largest concentration of remaining public mass housing units is inn New York City, where the state operates 178,458 units (NCHPH 2016). Among the twenty largest public housing authorities in the US, 14 operate less than 10,000 units each (NCHPH 2016). Furthermore, HOPE VI also disrupted the economic stability of public housing residents, with detrimental impact on their wealth formation (Goetz 2013).

3.3.2 How historic preservation policies and practices impact modernist mass housing

As heritage, mass housing has become a polarized subject, weighed down by its concurrent inability to meet changing public policies around affordable housing provision and to be an easily-recuperated subject of architectural history. Consequently, the disposition of mass housing through heritage practices has yielded a range of contradictory results. Selected projects have been listed in the National Register due to associations with famous architects, but most have been altered or demolished. In 1996, HUD issued a viability test for remaining high-rise mass housing that resulted in a twenty-year federal program that has nearly removed every last publicly-owned mass housing tower in the US (Vale 2013). Heritage officials and advocates have either remained silent, or struggled to understand how to assess significance. The primary national advocate, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, has never featured a mass housing project in its annual list of Most Endangered heritage sites (McGhee 2016).

Under the NHPA and its Section 106 stipulation, numerous mass housing sites have been identified as eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), but few have actually been inscribed. Jourdan (2012) found that there were fewer than

one dozen public housing sites inscribed, but also that inscription was a largely useless protection. While significant non-public mass housing projects like the Carl Mackley Homes in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (1933) and Neighborhood Gardens in St. Louis, Missouri (1935) were inscribed for social historical significance, these represent pre-public projects that are widely documented in scholarly sources.

A further challenge to the inscription of modernist mass housing has been its complicit role in racial segregation in the nation. Public mass housing projects were often located in manners that allowed for clearance of Black neighborhoods, and federal officials overtly encouraged not rehousing many Black residents (Vale 2013). In cases from Atlanta in the 1930s, public housing restricted for whites was built in place of Black slum neighborhoods (Vale 2013; Rodriguez 2020). In St. Louis, the placement of public mass housing projects "maintained the logic" of juridical and extra-juridical segregation, with projects intended for white and Black residents situated within informally-partitioned white and Black neighborhoods until desegregation in 1955 (Heathcott 2011: 99).

By 1954, when US Supreme Court mandated the desegregation of all public accommodations -- including public housing – much of the public housing building stock in the US had been built, including one of the two case studies for this research. The lack of non-white participation in decision-making on placement, design and planning for mass public housing in the US also presents a problem, with many non-white people in the US maintaining negative attitudes toward mass public housing. Thus, pre-1954 public housing could be considered to be "imposed architecture" designed in service of white supremacist segregation (Wyeneth 2005: 41). However, as the case studies will demonstrate, non-white valuation of mass public housing is not uniform, and residents have often struggled to assert positive valuation even of projects built under segregation regimes.

The first wave of public projects, including the Techwood Homes in Atlanta, Georgia (1935), Allen Parkway Village Homes in Houston, (1944) Texas St. Thomas Homes (1941-2) and Jean Lafitte Homes (1941) in New Orleans, Louisiana that were inscribed

in the NRHP ended up demolished under the federal HOPE VI program (Ng 2008; Jourdan 2012; McGhee 2016; Piper 2017). All of these projects were low-rise projects in the first wave of total federal funding of mass housing. Techwood had been inscribed in 1976, early in the program, but that provided no bulwark against erasure. Hence the preservation of the low-rise Julia C. Lathrop Homes (1939) in Chicago, Illinois utilizing the National Register of Historic Places inscription remains an outlier for the first wave of public housing projects, but the designation only secured historic tax credits to preserve half of the buildings as affordable housing with the other half demolished for market-rate housing. HUD asserted than little of federally-funded mass housing was eligible in 1999 (McGhee 2016), but the standards of valuation were not fully explained.

The distribution of decision-making authority over remaining mass housing sites places the primary power within the individual State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPOs). The SHPOs rarely have demanded that any public housing building scheduled for demolition be preserved or even inscribed, despite many findings that the buildings are eligible for NRHP inscription. Under HOPE VI, SHPOs rarely rejected demolition as a viable option, and never impinged upon the erasure of buildings and units despite findings of NRHP eligibility. Predominantly, SHPOs have required recordation instead of physical preservation as mitigation under the NHPA Section 106 program. Some of the recordation have pushed for larger programs of evaluation and inscription, but rarely has that work followed (Allen, Slocum and Shepard 2014). No tower groups have been inscribed in the NRHP despite many eligibility findings by SHPOs, and almost none of the housing projects funded under the 1949 United States Housing Act have been listed in the NRHP. A recent resident-led drive to inscribe Golden Gate Village (1955-60), located in Marin City, California, into the NRHP is a remarkable achievement, but one that raises the limits of inscription. In the US, inscription does not bring any resources to public or private owners for conservation, and ultimately does not prevent demolition as an end result. By December 2023, the Marin City Housing Authority began taking steps toward selling Golden Gate Village to a private limited partnership in which the authority and a private developer would co-own the site (Halstead 2023).

Beyond questions of heritage value, there are very real concerns for physical conservation of remaining public mass housing projects in the US. Surveys have found that 49% of all remaining public housing buildings and 51% of all remaining units were built before 1975 (Docter and Galvez 2018). A HUD survey of conditions found that 20% of remaining buildings scored in the 60-80 range, our of 100. Another 8% scored lower than 60, marking severely deteriorated conditions (Docter and Galvez 2018). The fate of preserving these units is not simply a question of housing policy, as the role of SHPOs under the NHPA also has a determinant factor in compelling federal preservation of the buildings in which these units are located themselves. The NHPA continues to separate heritage valuation from larger question of the utility of buildings or the need for housing units, rendering the heritage defense limited to the standards of the NRHP.

3.3.3 Criticism of modernist mass housing in the US

Sociologists and historians long have documented how mass housing in the US has furthered the spatial isolation of Black and low income Americans (Hirsch 1983; Hunt 2009; Sharkey 2013; Rothstein 2017). Although federally-funded mass housing originally required income means testing, across the 1950s and 1960s housing authorities reduced requirements to allow the very poor a decent housing option (Sharkey 2013). As public housing projects aged, and some families' conditions improved, the middle classes left public housing, rendering it housing of last resort by the end of the 1960s (Sharkey 1960). Furthermore, as Hirsh (1983) documented with Chicago, local housing authorities placed projects and limited tenancies to deliberately overconcentrate poor and Black people in public housing. Public housing thus constitutes the same condition of "ghetto" that it was intended to remove (Logan and Molotch 1987; Sharkey 2013). Duneier (2016) outlines that "ghetto" has both an empirical meaning as well as a social connotation, and it often is used as much to describe a physical place as a social status that always is racialized as nonwhite. Today, 91% of public housing residents are within the federally-defined Extremely Low Income (ELI) group, defined as persons making 50% of Area Median Income (AMI) (Docter and Galvez 2018).

The deliberate construction of what Hirsch (1983) deems the "second ghetto" has engendered substantial criticism from experts studying urban conditions. Social psychologist Fullilove (2004) argues that the involuntary displacement of Black Americans in the urban renewal era has created as long sense of lack of ownership of public housing since there was no resident agency in planning such housing. There is ample environmental psychological analysis of the modernist mass housing projects as spaces in which physical isolation and social homogeneity are fostered (Fennell 2011). Urbanist Jane Jacobs observed that mass housing projects' planning placed the views of residents distant from sidewalks and public spaces, so that there were few "eyes on the street" to promote socially normative behavior and safety (Jacobs 1961/1993: 45). These arguments were expounded by Newman (1972), whose study of several mass housing projects yielded his theory that criminality and social apathy were prevalent due to the lack of design elements to promote surveillance, territoriality and senses of ownership. Studies of the decline of the Pruitt-Igoe housing project in St. Louis, Missouri throughout the 1960s form a key locus of expert opinion about high-rise public housing more generally (Moore 1969; Rainwater 1970; Ladner 1971). These studies generally examined the supposed "pathology of a low-income, high-rise public housing project and its deleterious effects on residents, especially the children" (Moore 1969: xiii).

In a famous work, Kotlowitz (1991) tracked two years in the lives of two children living in the Henry Horner Homes in Chicago, Illinois, presenting their environment as "the other America." The account is full of straightforward depictions of the deterioration of the housing units, youth violence, crime and poor educational options, but it also relies on distancing this world from a supposedly normal world outside. At the conclusion, there is a familiar assertion about public housing: "[I]f there is one constant at Henry Horner, it is the violence" (Kotlowitz 1991: 302). The outsider narrative omits the ways in which tenants were actively organizing against the Chicago Housing Authority over these very conditions, perpetuating an anti-agentic depiction of public housing adult residents. In fact Chicago public housing residents waged campaigns, often with little political support, against poor conditions throughout the 1980s and 1990s (Hunt 2009; Levenstein 2015; Austen 2018). Venkatesh (2000) observed that much of the scholarly

literature about public housing emphasized social distress and ignored residents' productive social structures. However, studying resident-led efforts for improvement at the Robert Taylor Homes in Chicago, Illinois throughout the 1990s, there was neither strong evidence that state actors supported improvements, nor that the residents had enough successes to feel like the future of the project was secure (Venkatesh 2000).

First-hand accounts offer a more complex set of attitudes than outsider publications. Oral histories of Chicago public housing residents who lived in high-rise mass housing demonstrate that most residents narrate deep senses of attachment to their dwellings and their housing developments, even when their accounts are generally negative (Fuerst 2005; Petty 2013). The documentary *The Pruitt-Igoe Myth* (2011) also presents a set of five interviews of residents of perhaps the most notorious mass housing project in the US, with some subjects extolling the quality of the "poor man's penthouse" and others recounting days spent in fear and anguish. The quality of specific towers in specific years is constant control variable in both sets of accounts, as well as in the accounts of life at Chicago's Cabrini-Green housing project recorded by Austen (2018).

However, there is a demonstrable conviction for retaining and improving public housing throughout its history. In Boston, Massachusetts, public housing tenants brought several lawsuits against the Boston Housing Authority forward in the 1970s to prevent the decline of public housing, with some success (Vale 2000). At the Cochran Gardens Apartments in St. Louis, Missouri – one of the case studies for this research -- tenant Bertha Gilkey advocated for tenant management, which once achieved in 1986 led to the complex receiving more than twice the federal repair dollars of any other St. Louis project (King 2014). Many public housing residents sued local housing authorities to resist the demolition of their buildings in the HOPE VI period, urging repair and improved management instead of relocation and demolition (Vale 2013).

Endemic to the appraisal of modernist architecture is the lauding of projects associated with certain prestigious designers, although that trend can benefit efforts to conserve mass housing. One good example is Lafayette Park in Detroit, Michigan, which is the

subject of an anthology of resident perspectives, histories and essays (Aubert, Cavar and Chandani 2012). Privately built with significant subsidy from HUD, the best-known residential buildings in the superblock were designed by the renowned architect Mies van der Rohe for a middle-class population. The enduring investment by residents in the architectural design and its integrity demonstrate that a mass housing project can be appreciated by residents and experts alike for its architectural significance (Aubert, Cavar and Chandani 2012). This valuation benefitted the decidedly less-genteel Riverside Plaza as well, as the subsequent chapter will show. In Buffalo, New York, residents of the Brutalist Shoreline Apartments (1969) designed by Paul Rudolph enjoyed the active allyship of DOCOMOMO US, which has begun increasing its activism around mass housing. However, few mass housing projects enjoy associations with internationally or even nationally-regarded modernist architects, and much of it remains rather aesthetically ordinary.

3.3.4 Criticism of mass housing as anti-American

After Catherine Bauer and her allies succeeded in securing the 1937 passage of the Wagner-Steagall Act, which authorized the first federal funding of mass housing, they faced tremendous opposition from political conservatives opposed the expansion of the federal government under President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (Radford 1996). The conservatives aligned with the real estate industry, whose lobbies fought any effort to use federal funds to build rental housing that would compete with privately-owned housing, even slum housing. To the coalition that opposed public housing, the very idea of public housing was communist and anti-American, because it expanded the federal state and created publicly-owned housing that deprived private landlords of rent (Argersinger 2010; Austen 2018). This rhetoric also advanced the deeply-engrained Puritan ideal that housing should be a private space, with a concomitant long-standing aversion to multiple dwellings in general (Vale 2000). In the 1930s opponents relied on rhetoric of proclaiming the free market as the only true American way, but after World War II when the Cold War developed, these opponents began associating public housing directly with the Soviet Union and its supposed subversion of US society (Radford 1996; Argersinger 2010).

Many political voices declared that the 1949 United States Housing Act was communist, but leading anti-Communist conservative Senator Robert Taft of Ohio came to support the bill and draw many conservative votes (Argersinger 2010). Taft, however, insisted on significant limits to public housing, especially the number of units that could be funded each year. In 1954, Republican President Dwight Eisenhower supported legislation that would increase the annual funding allocation from 135,000 to 140,000 units and also to expedite construction of 33,000 units approved but not built. Three out of four congressional Republicans opposed the legislation, with many declaring the bill to constitute "socialism" (*The Decatur Review* 1954: 22). Representative Ralph Gwinn of New York declared: "The Communists live in the public housing units and form their cells here to agitate for more communism" (Gwinn 1954). Gwinn wrongly claimed that public housing in the US was modeled after the 1936 USSR Constitution's provision for public housing, and that state provision of housing increased criminal delinquency (Gwinn 1954). Earlier, in 1952, Gwinn had added an amendment to the annual public housing authorisation act to prohibit renting any public housing unit to a "subversive" person, which was added again in 1953 before failing in 1954 (Goldstein 2010).

As for the stark modernist forms of the mass housing, especially high-rise towers, archival information reveals little interest in the style from local or federal officials. In Chicago, records demonstrate that the use of plain, stripped-down concrete slab towers was driven by the precise budget requirements set by the federal Public Housing Administration (Hunt 2015). In St. Louis, architect Yamasaki set the city's first high-rise public housing towers in a plan that included four towers of four, six and twelves stories each, so that the form would not be monolithic, and each unit would have a view. By the time that Yamasaki designed the Pruitt-Igoe towers, the budget constraints increased, as did pressure from Eisenhower's administration to simplify construction. Yamasaki originally intended to house families in more traditional townhouse units, with towers reserved for single or elderly residents. Instead, the federal government compelled Yamasaki to redesign the project with all towers being one of two variants on the same

generic form. The insistence of political conservatives that budgets for towers be extremely limited influenced the appearance of the towers.

The ideological narrative around the towers her benefits from coincidence. In 1954, Soviet Premier Nikita Khruschev called for the industrialization of architecture and a program of functionalist state housing, simultaneous to Eisenhower's legislative push and the construction of towers in the United States (Urban 2012). However, the subsequent program of developing low-cost, prefabricated, stripped-down housing blocks known popularly as *khruschevka* came after the US already embarked upon its value-engineered modernist housing program (Glendinning 2021). Prior Soviet mass housing typically had been decorated with art or terra cotta relief panels. The tenuous link between the United States and Soviet programs provided a useful cudgel to anti-Communist politicians in the United States, but it distorted facts about the United States towers and supplanted the reality that the Soviet program in fact followed the United States program. The few truthful connections between United States mass housing and Communism, such as the cluster of residents at Philadelphia's nonprofit, non-public Carl Mackley Houses who were affiliated with the Communist Party USA's Teacher's Union, are coincidental (Radford 1996). A survey of popular narratives around two of the most prominent of the tower projects, Pruitt-Igoe in St. Louis and Cabrini-Green in Chicago, demonstrates that the popular conflation of mass housing with Communism and the Soviet Union remains. Various characterisations of the blocks as "Soviet-style," "anonymous," "drab," and "box-like" proliferate in popular accounts (Granitz 2011; Myers 2017; WTTW 2018; Smith 2020).

3.3.5 The need for mass housing in US cities today

Despite the direct effort to remove and replace publicly-owned mass housing, it remains a key urban housing type in the US, although in diminished and insufficient capacity for national needs. Federal public housing devolved into a voucher program under the HOPE VI program, therefore making much "public" housing actually privately-owned and not protected from erasure. Surviving public housing buildings face $70 billion in deferred maintenance costs according to HUD (Volner 2023). Some historic mass

housing remains in service, especially low-rise unites built with the funds from the 1937 housing act, towers in New York City built with the 1949 housing act and other funds, and publicly-funded buildings whose ownership fell to non-profit organizations. Mass housing in New York City remains a well-managed and stable supply of housing available below market rates (Bloom 2008). The New York City Housing Authority, which owns and operates the city's public mass housing, has navigated federal cuts to operating funds successfully in recent years (Bloom 2008: 251-255). As New York City has weakened rent control and other policies of curbing rent rates, its public mass housing remains a strong and necessary measure of preventing displacement of long-term working class city residents (Madden and Marcuse 2016). Elsewhere, remaining public housing in historic or post-HOPE VI forms varies in condition and quality, but generally continues to deepen concentrations of poverty and racial segregation (Sharkey 2013).

Nationally, the US is experiencing a need for increasing the supply of rental housing that working people can afford. Between 2012 and 2017, there was an increase of over 5 million rental housing units costing more than $1,000 a month (JCHS 2020:2). At the same time, the percentage of rental units costing less than $600 a month declined from 33 percent to 25 percent. Rent rates rose by an average of 150% between 2010 and the third quarter of 2019 (JCHS 2020: 3). The number of severely rent-burdened residents—those who pay more than 30% of their income for rent and utilities—had declined before 2018, but has begun rising again (JCHS 2020: 4). The impact of the coronavirus crisis on the economy will no doubt see that number rise sharply. Housing advocates widely use the term "the right to the city" to note that the struggle is larger than lower rent or more affordable units, but a right for people to live where they wish (Harvey 2012). The turnover of renters in US cities leads to rapid cultural succession, unstable social structures and often decline in cultural vitality in neighborhoods (Mallach 2018: 117).

Renters in the US face unprecedented shortages on affordable housing as well demands on their incomes for adequate shelter. Stagnant wages and the high costs of

urban housing present a clear demand for renewed public involvement in housing (Lasner 2016; Gowan and Cooper 2018). At least 25% of Americans spend 70% of their income on rent and utilities (Desmond 2016). The number of American households who spend between 30-50% of income on rent rose from 8 million to 9.8 in 2007 million in 2017 (Gowan and Cooper 2018). For households spending 50% or more, the number rose from 9 million to 11 million in the same period (Gowan and Cooper 2018). For nearly half of all renting households, 30% or more of their income goes to rent (Day 2018). In some cities, especially large, expensive coastal cities, the numbers are quite staggering. For instance, in Los Angeles, the average percentage of income spent on rent is 49% for all renters (Lasner 2016). Simultaneously, there has been a rise in the use of lawful or unlawful ("informal") evictions to remove tenants who cannot afford their rents (Desmond 2016). In Milwaukee, at least one in eight households involuntarily relocated due to eviction between 2009 and 2011 (Desmond 2016). In 2022, there were on average 582,715 homeless Americans each night, a 0.3 percent increase since 2020 (JCHS 2024). Most of the unsheltered homeless people in the US are homeless because they cannot afford housing, and the unsheltered homeless population increased 35% in the US between 2015 and 2022 (JCHS 2024). Docter and Galvez (2018) found that 6% of new public housing residents were homeless prior to residing in public housing.

Public housing programs are inadequate even for housing the poorest Americans. For federally-defined Extremely Low Income (ELI) households, 11.8 million in 2018, there are public housing options available adequate to house only 46% of them (Gowan and Cooper 2018). Only 2.5 million of ELI households (or 22%) have public housing vouchers, called Section 8 vouchers, while others rely on limited public programs and subsidized market housing.

Since the 1980s, federal and state governments developed Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) incentives to replace public provision of housing, with the aspiration to lure private developers to providing affordable housing (Lasner 2016). LIHTC definitions of affordability are tied to Area Median Income (AMI), so buildings built or

rehabilitated with LIHTCs must rent units that could be affordable to persons making a certain percentage (often 60%) of AMI (Lasner 2016). Some cities, such as New York City, have passed legislation requiring any project that received public subsidy to set aside a mandatory minimum number of affordable units. New York City has spent, on average, $1.4 billion a year in subsidies to residential real estate construction in recent years, so some policymakers think that subsidy should be utilized to resolve the lack of affordable housing (Day 2018). However the LIHTC and local tools for developing affordable housing define "affordable" in ways that exclude many ELI households, and have failed to produce anything capacious enough to match the earlier public mass housing projects' abilities to generate large reserves of affordable housing units divorced from private market logic and indifference (Madden and Marcuse 2017).

Among architects, urban planners and policy advocates, an incipient, revived movement toward advocacy a mass affordable housing solution is strengthening today. As designers of the LIHTC-funded affordable housing projects that largely have replaced public mass housing, architects have observed that complexities of private development utilizing public incentives create opportunities for wasteful spending and slow production schedules (Schindler and Moyer 2022). Successful public and private mass housing remaining in New York City, New York and Cambridge, Massachusetts demonstrates that well-conserved affordable mass housing is achievable despite public narratives against direct spending on housing in the 21st century (Bloom 2009; Schindler and Moyer 2022). As the US continues to provide tax deductions for mortgage interest, it effectively subsidizes single-family owned housing while continuing to shrink the supply of public mass housing (Lasner 2016). The contradictory stance of federal housing policy in the face of excessive urban housing costs continues to draw support for a return to public housing production (Narefsky 2015; Madden and Marcuse 2016; Lasner 2016; Schindler and Moyer 2022).

3.4 Conclusion

The future of mass housing projects in the US is urgent as a social question, as US cities have failed to sustain affordability for many Americans and municipal planning and housing agencies continue to embrace neoliberal policies that have both literally erased public mass housing and continually have imperiled the affordability of private mass housing. Heritage plays a crucial role in the public question of how cities can house everyone fairly and affordably, as it governs the disposition of housing deliberately built to be the right of all people. The intersection of heritage and mass housing could be a productive and impactful one if those who keep, interpret and implement the AHD overcome systemic implicit biases and open up valuative frameworks. The problems of housing in the US, especially in major cities, continue to get worse, with notably disturbing trends in lack of affordability, housing income burden and homelessness since the COVID 19 pandemic began in 2020 (JCHS 2024). The question of what role heritage plays is a question of what values might bind the work of conserving modernist mass housing toward the goals of protecting and expanding affordable housing in the US.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.0: Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methodology that I developed and implemented in this study, through an examination of the theoretical basis for the methods, a presentation of the selection of case studies and a detailed explanation of the application of methods. Key underpinnings of my research methods are ontological positioning, epistemological orientation, axiological bearing and focusing on dialectical materialism as historical method (see Table 4.1). Foundationally, this research embraces the proposition that social sciences are inherently political sciences, in that they "seek not only to describe but also to orient action" (Salmon 2023: 105). This includes the field of heritage, which simultaneously occupies the position of a discipline and the space of interdisciplinarity in which social scientific and historical research methods are inclusive, alongside other specialised methods (in my case, those derived from the discipline of architectural history). The interdisciplinary space of heritage allows for claims about objects, sites and practices to be made not simply for intellectual knowledge production but also for social transformation.

Case study selection aimed to locate two exemplary sites that illustrated a meaningful difference in data. The goal was to include a site where the housing development was demolished, since the bulk of US mass housing sites have been demolished, and a site where the housing development still stood. Given the history of demolition of mass housing in the US, it seemed like a representative (not comprehensive) data set needed to include a missing development. The split between the demolished development and the living development has allowed this research to develop a rich contrasting data field. The demolished case study produced data more strongly titled toward expert sources, while the living case study produced data from inhabitants alongside some experts. The juxtaposition of the two sites created a useful framework for observing how expert valuation has changed, including shifts toward more favorable attitudes, and also how inhabitant perspectives have responded to expert valuation. In the end, the two case

studies' differences produced data that allowed a fuller exploration of the overall US valuation of mass housing than two extant or two demolished sites would have.

For the purpose of this research, ontology – the study of the nature of being -- is useful as a way of understanding whether the constitution of social entities and groups is best analysed through the frames of objectivism or constructivism (Bryman 2008). Objectivism posits that social phenomena are inherent or structural and cannot be altered or influenced by individual social actors (Bryman 2008). This framework has recently been questioned by some social scientists as rooted in a historical understanding that marginalises the impact of individualism in society (Salmon 2023). For my research, I am working within the framework of constructivism, because that framework allows for the dynamism, contingency and nonlinearity of people's efforts to locate meaning in their societies in order to build ontological models that explain their social circumstances (Creswell 2009). Constructivism inherently ascribes to people a subjective process of locating meaning and building understandings, and thus admits a complexity of available views. For my research, constructivism has required me to examine the width of potential views, and to anticipate that social groups are not monolithic in thinking about the places that they call home.

In terms of this research's orientation toward epistemology – or the theory of knowledge – the social sciences categorisation of theories into the two schools of positivism and interpretivism has assisted in developing a position (Bryman 2008). Positivism claims an empirical method of constructing knowledge, in which data and hypotheses create a fixed understanding of social reality in which individual actors' perceptions have no research value (Bryman 2008). In contrast, interpretivism describes the process of constructing knowledge through social construction, and while contexts are concrete and quantifiable, knowledge held collectively or individually within social groups is fluid and conditional (Creswell 2009). Interpretivism admits that the ways in which people know their habitats are conditioned on other social dynamics, and that knowing is a process rather than the production of a product (Bryman 2008). Interpretivism suits the complexity of the two case studies of this research, in which the lives of tens of

thousands of people across over fifty years of time have produced knowledge about place.

For axiological bearing, this research utilizes the value-laden approach rather than the value-free approach. The relationship of value-formation to society vis a vis the built environment clearly requires an approach that examines the accumulation of values rather than their disavowal. Kuppermann (1996) declares that there always is a social dimension to morality and values creation, so that axiological questions are always social. As sites of dwelling for large numbers of people, my two cases are inherently sites of social value creation, as much by their inhabitants as by their observers and interpreters. The formation of values also entails the differences in reasons and methods across social actors, as not all produce values for the same reasons or in the same way. Sometimes value formation is based on inherent motivations, but sometimes not (Kuppermann 1996). The model that Kuppermann (1996) establishes for the ways in which social actors make values has very much informed the axiological position of this research. Kuppermann (1996) poses four ways in which social actors make values: replication of what others have said; expressions of existing motives and patterns of behavior; noting what seems implicit in experiences; attempts to draw out the values found in new experiences. In this thesis, I study the ways in which actors across several expert positions as well as inhabitants have developed narratives around and behaviours toward modernist mass housing architecture. The actors that I study are constantly engaging in value-making that this study seeks to understand. All four tracks have been useful in analysis of participant interviews as well as of secondary source quotations.

For this research, there are numerous questions of historic analysis beyond the evidence of interviews and contemporary literature. For historiography, I have selected the methods of dialectical materialism as most generative of useful new knowledge. Derived from the philosophy of G.W.F. Hegel but developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, dialectical materialism poses that reality is constructed through material forms and not ideational forms or concepts (Williams 1977; Lefebvre 2009; Chatterjee and

Ahmed 2019). Dialectical materialism in social research is useful because it is a method of examining manifestations of historical structure within ordinary social relations (Lefebvre 2009; Chatterjee and Ahmed 2019). The utility of dialectical materialism for analysis is through its attendance to contradiction or opposition especially between material form and ideas, a process that reveals ideology or false consciousness (Williams 1977; Lefebvre 2009). For this research, exposing such contradiction has been an indispensable source of framing the need for qualitative research involving interviews, field work and observational work. According to Williams (1977), the shifts of historical change are first observed as lived social reality or "structures of feeling" by individuals before official sources begin to record the changes (Williams 1977). Another useful dimension to dialectical materialism is that it allows for the development of data across all versions of reality, as under its terms "nothing is wholly or 'indisputably' true, nothing is absurd or false" (Lefebvre 2009: 15).

In this research, dialectical materialism has allowed me to understand how different actors have constructed models of the truth of the two case studies. The contradictions between inhabitants' locating positive values, including political agency, in a place like Cochran Gardens Apartments while simultaneously experts deemed the same place a locus of social anomie and hopelessness reveal not simply the contrasting views but the assumptions and values that construct the views. Dialectical materialism also can be a tool of analysis within specific contexts, and a cudgel against determinist frameworks of explanation (Lefebvre 2009; Chatterjee and Ahmed 2019). While mass housing has been subject to several universalizing narratives, as the literature review demonstrates, the research into my two cases demonstrates that these narratives falter in the face of concrete examples. The version of dialectical materialism that I have utilized asserts that "[c]oncepts are not transhistorical but are produced by humans living in real social and historical circumstances" (Moufawad-Paul 2020: 100).

Table 4.1: Research paradigm for this study.
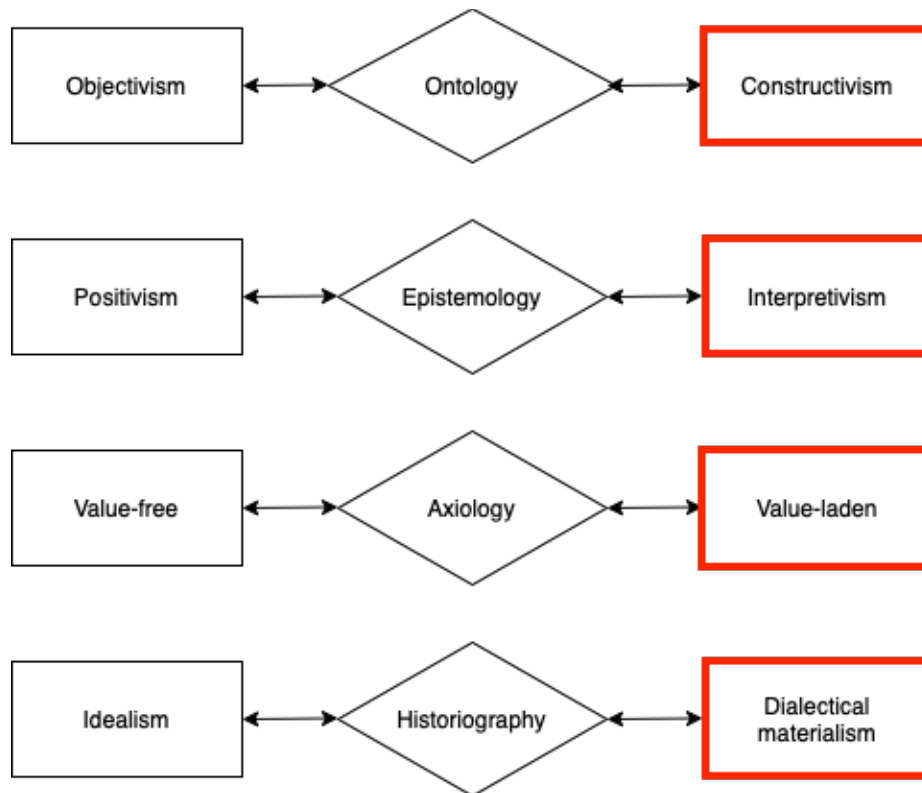
This research aimed to study the contractions and convergences in the valuation of two mass housing sites in the United States, Cochran Gardens Apartments in St. Louis, Missouri, and Parkchester in New York, New York. The study focused on two case studies in order to develop meaningful contrasts that could help create useful information for the different types of mass housing architecture and the different dispositions. Since Cochran Gardens Apartments is no longer standing, its research program was rooted more in secondary sources attenuated by primary source interviews, documents and field work. The second case study, Parkchester, still stands, so the research program for that site was led by primary source interviews, field work and observational activities, supplemented by primary documents and secondary sources. Both research programs utilized grounded theory methodology, which allowed me to craft theories from research practices so that research sources could be as wide as possible with little initial exclusion. The remainder of this chapter presents data collection methods, data collection processes and data analysis methods and limits.

4.1: Rationale for a Qualitative Approach

I have chosen to approach this research using qualitative research due to its applicability to the dissonance of valuation already apparent with the subject of this thesis, mass housing architecture in the US. As each of my case studies has been a living cultural landscape as well as a built form, I required a research methodology that would generate rich, meaningful social information from inhabitants and people who have interacted with inhabitants. The subject itself has a discernibly complex position within the AHD, and therefore suggested the need for an approach that could collect and analyse information that would explore rather than diminish that complexity. Qualitative research allows for deep research study and opens itself to social dynamics that quantitative research does not admit as the subject of study (Charmaz 2006; Corbin and Strauss 2008). In a qualitative approach, the researcher does not conduct study to test a hypothesis but develops and tests theories through continuous processing (Charmaz 2006). I have also chosen to develop theories through inductive reasoning, a process in which theories are developed after collecting and analysing multiple sources of information (Corbin and Strauss 2008).

The qualitative approach allows me to navigate the divergent expressions of value across sources that include semi-structured interviews, participant observation, field work, archival research, media research and historical analysis. Again, an approach that allows me to work within an invited complexity is important to create meaningful, original research around mass housing architecture. As Strauss and Corbin (2008: 8) state:

> There are no simple explanations for things. Rather, events are the result of multiple factors coming together and interacting in complex and often unanticipated ways. Therefore any methodology that attempts to understand experience and explain situations will have to be complex.

The aim of this research is to resist the simplifying biases around valuation of modernist mass housing architecture discussed in the literature review. One of the key strengths in

qualitative analysis is that it allows for creative approaches to the research that are neither purely science not purely art (Strauss and Corbin 2008: 49). Thus, a qualitative research approach is essential to avoid reproducing the shortcomings of dominant valuative sources.

4.2: Research Approach: Grounded Theory Method

For my research, I utilized a grounded theory method, a common mode of qualitative research that has allowed me to yield developed theories about my cases. Grounded theory method is a recognized mode of research that studies human behaviour and facilitates a researcher's being able to make claims about how humans view social reality (Suddaby 2006). Glaser and Strauss (1967) defined grounded theory as the discovery of theory from data and developed their theory in response to the limits of sociological research methodology at the time. Namely, Glaser and Strauss (1967) rejected the view that qualitative research was a preliminary thought exercise leading to qualitative inquiry, and they also rejected the positivism within sociological inquiry (Cullen and Brennan 2021). Grounded theory offered theory as a methodology to utilize empirical data to develop an explanatory model (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Grounded theory method can be considered a pragmatist approach, and its fundamental trait is to evaluate the adequacy of any theory against the research process used to derive it (Cullen and Brennan 2021). The method gained popularity within disciplines such as anthropology and sociology starting in the 1980s (Bryant and Charmaz 2007).

Grounded theory method offers a systemic, inductive and comparative approach to undertaking research inquiry in order to construct theories (Charmaz 2006; Bryant and Charmaz 2007). Anselm Strauss and Barney Glaser first developed grounded theory method in their study of family members' experiences of deaths in their families, *Awareness of Dying* (Strauss and Glaser 1965). Grounded theory method allowed for the researchers to record and analyse subjective personal experiences as data (Cullen and Brennan 2021). The two founders eventually parted ways in their operational definition of the method, with Glaser claiming a "classic" approach to grounded theory

method in which the method's purpose is to implement a model of exploring data that precedes subsequent verification studies (Charmaz 2006). Glaser also accepts the equivalence of qualitative and quantitative data in inquiry using the method (Bryant and Charmaz 2007). According to Glaser, grounded theory method must be based on strong conceptual abilities (Bryant and Charmaz 2007). On the other hand, the path of developing grounded theory method advanced by Strauss – "Straussian" grounded theory – presents the purpose of the method as hypothesis generation as well as data verification (Corbin and Strauss 2008). Corbin and Strauss (2008) hold that grounded theory method allows a researcher to pre-suggest influences on individual behaviour. The divergence between the founders' schools of thoughts has led Bryant and Charmaz (2007) to define grounded theory method as a "family of practices" rather than a unitary practice. The Straussian school is openly constructivist in its ontological position (Charmaz 2006). Charmaz (2006) claims that grounded theory method has no rigid guidelines and allows researchers to interpret principles in ways that tailor research methods to specific social problems.

Cullen and Brennan (2021) assert that across both schools, there are consistent elements of grounded theory method:

> (i) coding, (ii) development of concepts/categories, (iii) constant comparison of data, (iv) theoretical sampling, (v) theoretical saturation, (vi) theoretical integration and (vii) use of memos to reflect researchers' analytical thought processes.

Other practitioners make similar claims about the essential components of the method, although there is divergence on questions such as theoretical integration and the use of memos (Bryant and Charmas 2007; Cullen and Brennan 2021). For this research, I have generally adhered to the tenets enumerated by Cullen and Bryant (2021). I have chosen to work in the principles Straussian school of grounded theory method by embracing the idea that humans are active agents in constructing their own realities, accepting the subjectivity of meaning construction, permitting myself to pursue theory

construction through an emergent process of analysis of data and keeping my sources of data open-ended as I have pursued questions. Since Corbin and Strauss (2008) advocate for the development of coding based on the availability and types of data sources, I have devised my own coding of data that accords slightly more with the classic grounded theory method (Bryant and Charmaz 2007; see Table 4.4).

4.2.1: Rationale for using grounded theory method

One of the reasons for this research is the lack of available studies in the field of heritage that have reccognised the valuation of modernist mass housing architecture. Most of the prominent recent publications that have explored values have done so within the field of architectural history without any deep collection of inhabitant and non-expert perspective (Urban 2012; Glendinning 2021). Specific to the United States context, most studies that analysed non-expert perspective are either focused on specific mass housing developments or are focused exclusively on public mass housing (Williams 2004; Hunt 2009; Howard 2014; Fennell 2015; Austen 2018; Rodriguez 2019; Vale 2019). Since fundamentally a grounded theory method is more focused on building theories than testing them, and there is no direct precedent for this research, the method has proven to be appropriate for the comparative study I am developing (Cullen and Brennan 2021).

The constructivist inherent in grounded theory method has allowed me to examine available data and find useful sources already extant in print and mass media, and then to identify missing sources and create those through semi-structured interviews, archival research and mass media analysis. The method has allowed me to undertake inquiry generative of rich information about both an extant place, Parkchester, and a demolished place, Cochran Gardens, in service of developing comparative theories drawing on data around both places. Grounded theory method allows useful techniques of developing and analysing non-empirical, non-numerical social data, including from unconventional sources such as mass media and built environment conditions. Through grounded theory method, I have been able to work comparatively as analytical categories emerge and theories begin to build (Charmaz 2006). The method allows for

the construction of arguments that reveal relationships between categories and concepts, as well as drawing upon coding tailored to the data (even transforming in the face of new types of data sources). Fundamentally, grounded theory method makes me an active agent in identifying useful data sources, creating useful data, developing analysis and constructing theories. Corbin and Strauss (2008) characterize researchers as translators of other person's perceptions and experiences, and translation is an active and constructive practice, not a passive one (Corbin and Strauss 2008: 49).

Another reason that grounded theory method is suitable for my research is that my subjects are built spaces, and built spaces are highly symbolic of encoded social values and official state policies (Yanow 2000). Mass housing architecture communicates state policies that directly or indirectly supported the development of low-rent, affordable mass housing in the United States, and that communicative property impacts valuation. However, built spaces are not didactic in communication, as user and inhabitant perception decode meaning and reincodes space as people construct their social reality (Rapoport 1987; Yanow 2000). Visible exterior aesthetic properties, often promoted as key values by experts, are not necessarily the most significant to users and inhabitants as use, emotional and physical responses and sensory experience (light, sound, smell) can influence value. My search for data on the subjective perception of my case studies makes grounded theory method appropriate. Also, the constructivist model of the Straussian school accords well with the constructivism evident in contemporary heritage theory around object forms. As Harrison observes, "[m]ost practitioners would now recognize that heritage value is not intrinsic; value is something that is *attributed* to an object, place or practice by particular people at a particular time for particular reasons" (Harrison 2010: 25).

Within the field of heritage studies, several recent studies have applied grounded theory method to subjects ranging from the urbanism around a World Heritage site to intangible cultural knowledge (see Table 4.2). However, the use of the method within heritage studies remains more recent, but again, the method accords with the move of heritage theorists away from the essentialist view of object forms like built spaces

(Smith 2006; Harrison 2010). With my case studies, the built spaces that constitute my two case studies have been shaped by planners, designers, builders, inhabitants, users, reporters, artists and musicians, police officers and social workers. The range of experiences and records of experience that I have constructed is wide and deep, and the records range from interviews to letters to rap music videos. Grounded theory method serves me as it helps me identify and explain decision-making, policies, experiences, perceptions, representations, experiences and behaviours of expert and non-expert actors. Grounded theory method is the most expansive, creative and informative approach for allowing me to develop theory around modernist mass housing architecture.

Table 4.2: Examples of application of grounded theory method in recent heritage research.

Title	Author	Aim of study
Negotiating Identities and "Sense of Place" in a World Heritage City: The Case of George Town, Penang, Malaysia	Bakri (2018)	Examination of the ways in which local communities construct their own senses of place and negotiate their spaces within a UNESCO World Heritage site
The Entanglement of the Heritage Paradigm: Values, Meanings, Uses	Apaydin (2018)	Examination of the ways in which value and meaning of a heritage site can be distinct for local communities.
"Grounded Theory" in Conservation Research; a Methodology for Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (Indigenous Knowledge)	Rahiminia, Gharaati and Zamanifard (2016)	Examination of the applicability of grounded theory method to the study of indigenous cultural knowledge.

4.3 The Selection of the Cases

After examining several possibilities for this research, I selected Cochran Gardens Apartments in St. Louis, Missouri, and Parkchester in New York, New York, as the two most data-rich and meaningfully related cases. Between 2020 and 2022, I visited additional mass housing sites in the United States, including Riverside Plaza in Minneapolis, Minnesota; Golden Gate Village in Marin City, California; Co-Op City in New York, New York; and Altgeld Gardens and the Julia Lathrop Homes in Chicago, Illinois. Using the grounded theory method, I undertook initial surveys of available technical and non-technical literature and undertook field work, including walking interviews, in order to identify key concepts in the valuation of modernist mass housing. Most sites were eliminated from further study due to a lack of deep information, reticence of non-expert voices to be interviewed, or a sense that the concepts embodied by the sites were not useful for developing any original theories. The two case studies that I selected demonstrate two distinct sets of attributes (see figure 4.3).

Table 4.3: Attributes of the two case studies.

Case	Attributes
Cochran Gardens Apartments	- Public mass housing - Demolished - Small (12 towers, 704 units) - Stark modernist design - Built for poor and working class
Parkchester	- Private mass housing - Still standing - Large (53 buildings, 12,271 units) - Ornamental sculpture in design - Built for middle class

I selected Cochran Gardens Apartments based on the fact that it was demolished and thus demonstrated a site that met an impasse of positive valuation, and also because its

data sources were all local to me and thus richly available. Additionally, I had a previous professional engagement as a heritage (or historic preservation, in the US terminology) consultant who documented the last tower to be demolished there. That position exposed me to internal deliberations between heritage and housing experts as well as impacted my own stance toward mass housing architecture. In grounded theory method, the researcher's own experiences can be sources of information if they are locations of meaning and not bias (Corbin and Strauss 2008: 80). My experiences opened my inquiry around mass housing and did not create any strong biases that would preclude a responsible study of Cochran Gardens Apartments.

Parkchester became the second case study later in my research, after other sites proved to be limited sources of data and thus unable to provide meaningful comparison to Cochran Gardens Apartments. Initially, a colleague had recommended Parkchester for my research, but I had been more interested in limiting the research to public mass housing sites. However, I continued to encounter Parkchester's complex dynamics in literature, through word of mouth and in the newspaper accounts of resident struggles for affordability and expert calls for heritage inscription. Due to key similarities and differences with Cochran Gardens Apartments, Parkchester became a worthy comparative case capable of generating data of symmetrical type, variety and richness.

I had begun collecting data on Cochran Gardens Apartments from archival and published sources in August 2021 and was already familiar with potential interview subjects and the site where the development had stood. I conducted additional site visits in fall 2021 and spring 2022 to test whether field work could generate any significant data. In winter and spring 2022 and into 2023 I conducted semi-structured and informal interviews around Cochran Gardens Apartments and undertook online research to try to locate former residents. Many key figures involved in significant events in tenant management and the effort to fight demolition had passed away. Alongside this research, starting in August 2021, I explored useful second case studies by visiting the aforementioned mass housing sites.

After I decided on Parkchester as a site of research, I gathered available archival and print sources as well as mass media sources. I made an initial visit in May 2023 to conduct observation, studying both the built environment and behaviours such as uses of public space and the ways in which people seemed to observe and engage with the built environment. I returned and stayed in AirBnB rental apartments at Parkchester in June and July 2023, where I was able to conduct observation of interior spaces, participate in events, conduct semi-structured interviews, obtain archival information sources and meet with experts outside of Parkchester. Between and after these visits, I participated in online Facebook groups about Parkchester, conducted virtual and phone semi-structured interviews with expert and non-expert sources, and also gathered additional information by email.

With both cases, I wanted to be certain that I could assemble data in several key categories: archival and print sources, mass media (including newspaper), expert perspectives, non-expert and inhabitant perspectives and artistic representations. Given that Cochran Gardens Apartments was demolished by 2013, and many residents had moved away or were now deceased, I knew that its data would be distributed differently than at Parkchester, where I could literally interview dozens of current inhabitants in a single day. By symmetrical data, I mean symmetrical in overall span of coding, balance of expert and non-expert perspectives and richness from which new theories can be developed, and not simply a literal equivalence of types of data. In the end, Cochran Gardens Apartments and Parkchester both yielded sufficient data for meaningful comparative analysis of the two situations to be completed.

4.4: Data Collection Techniques

With this research, I elected to undertake a hybrid-source approach allowing for the analysis of perspectives demonstrated in several types of data: technical and nontechnical literature, semi-structured interviews, observation (both participant and non-participant) and forms of popular creative expression. Every source of data has been constructed by people trying to make sense of the reality of modernist mass

housing, and my approach as a researcher has been to avoid imposing a categorical imperative that would privilege any kind of perspective or source or create a hierarchic stance toward significance. However, I also understand that the purpose of data collection is to support analysis, and the researcher has to cease data collection at some point in order to produce any real knowledge (Corbin and Strauss 2008). The process of analysis itself is also dynamic in that the researcher is constantly testing concepts in order to refine some and eliminate others (Corbin and Strauss 2008: 46). Given the limits of this research, I was mindful of the need to identify sufficiency within data sets in order to allow for deep and meaningful analysis of data. There always could be further data collection especially around Parkchester, with its large population.

In collecting data, I chose to engage in an ethnographic research approach known as "short-term ethnography" (Pink and Morgan 2013). Ethnography is a method of researching the lives of other people in which the researcher develops accuracy of representation and reliability of account through prolonged first-hand experience and observation (Pink and Morgan 2013). For the research around my case studies, where experience and observation are generating some but not all of the data for my analysis, the traditional model of ethnography was neither necessary nor desirable. A deep ethnographic study of either the experts or non-experts around the two case studies would have entailed longer engagements with individuals, meetings, online forums and the sites themselves. My semi-structured interviews and short, intense visits were modeled on the practice that Pink and Morgan (2013) consider to be "short-term." In this approach, intensity of experience and observation, empathy with subjects and dedication to accuracy are still present, but the data collection is understood to be a limited engagement supporting a project typically with wider goals than simply representing types of personal experience at places (Pink and Morgan 2013). Nonetheless, I consider my engagements at both case studies to follow a general ethnographic model, and also to have been prototypical efforts that could be expanded at modernist mass housing sites for more exclusive studies, such as inhabitant perspectives on decorating their apartments, or expert participation in community events.

4.4.1: Technical and non-technical literature

This research uses technical and non-technical literature quite extensively within analytic work beyond the literature review chapter. In grounded theory method, technical literature is an important basis for developing research questions and suggesting areas for data sampling, but it can also dampen curiosity by closing the imagination of a researcher (Corbin and Strauss 2008). In the case of this research, technical literature has been a tremendously useful source for constructing concepts largely through the ambiguity or absence of my larger subject – modernist mass housing architecture – and thus it forms a basis inspiring greater creativity in this work, not less. Since expert perspective is key to my analysis, the technical literature assisted in deciding which experts could yield valuable data, and in framing questions. Additionally, technical literature has been a site for data collection around the historical perceptions of expert and non-expert actors in both case studies, especially at Parkchester where there is an entire social historical account available as a book laden with historic accounts and the author's own interview data (Gurock 2019).

Concepts derived from literature have been utilized to generate comparisons with my collected data at the property and dimensional levels, and not to stand for data themselves (Corbin and Strauss 2008: 37). Concepts such as the supposed superiority or innovation of certain types of modernist architecture, notions of what attributes are prevalent in social images of domesticity and the stigmatization of sites of segregation have helped drive questions in semi-structured interviews that have created comparisons between statements made by interview subjects. Technical literature also provided a source of overrepresented, ideological or contradictory claims made around modernist architecture, mass housing, heritagisation and domesticity which I could identify both in deploying dialectical materialist techniques of identifying contradiction and grounded theory method techniques of utilizing literature to avoid repeating overused professional concepts.

A wide range of nontechnical literature has also been utilized as data in this research. In grounded theory method, non-technical literature can be used to generate data and to supplement interviews and observations (Corbin and Strauss 2008: 39). Of course, I undertook archival searches at local historical societies for both case studies to yield maps, building and site plans, historic photographs and correspondence. Newspaper articles were initially a source for historic information not available in technical literature but ended up becoming an indispensable source of data about perceptions of social life, quality of life, domesticity, racial succession, crime and other attributes impacting valuation of the case studies. Online nontechnical literature also became a significant part of data collection, especially at Parkchester. Across online forums, Facebook pages and Instagram accounts, I encountered contemporary commentary about both case studies, memories of growing up at each place, shared photographs and factual information. Another valuable source of nontechnical literature came through the email and paper correspondence of heritage authorities, as well as reports commissioned to document the heritage value of the two case studies and their counterparts.

4.4.2: Semi-structured interviews and survey

I undertook a variety of modes of semi-structured interviews for both case studies in order to gather perceptions, attitudes, feelings, thoughts and memories of 20 expert and non-expert participants. For the semi-structured interviews, I pre-selected participants by reviewing technical and nontechnical literature for authors and quoted figures. After pre-selection, I made inquiry about willingness to participate. In most cases, I also asked prior to or during the interview for recommendations for other participants, which often yielded additional willing participants. Since my participants included architectural historians, heritage officials and advocates, a housing official, former residents and current residents, I tailored interviews to subjects. Subjects received information forms and filled out participant consent forms (see the Appendices for forms used in this work). I developed initial lists of questions that were more broad than specific, so that interviews would be conversational and include moments for follow-up questions, factual clarifications and additional unplanned discussions (question themes are found

in the Appendices). For most of my expert participants, interviews occurred through Zoom or over the telephone. The advantage of Zoom was the ability for these experts to share photographs, maps and diagrams visually in support of their claims, and the features that allowed for both recording and easy transcription. In a few cases, I conducted an initial brief phone call to assess general interest and develop some goals for information seeking in the semi-structured interviews.

At Parkchester, I was able to offer a variety of possible forms of interview: at home, in a public space or walking. Two interviews occurred within dwelling spaces and included some walking through the apartments where I could inquire about decoration, renovations and other expressions of personal identity. These two interviews required ethical sensitivity, as disclosures of identity through spatial or personal details could expose subjects to repercussions from building management. Residents could also show me what they thought were problems with their buildings and dwellings. For interviews conducted in public space, these occurred on benches at the Metropolitan Oval. These interview recordings also captured sonic properties of Parkchester's central space and provided participants with an ability to point toward visible buildings or features, comment or wave to on persons passing by and also ask me about my feelings of the visible built spaces around us.

One Parkchester resident agreed to a walking interview, and that became more conversational as he pointed out buildings he had lived in, buildings where some famous residents had lived, site conditions, the ways in which ordinary people management workers we observed were violating rules and the different approaches to remodeling lobbies and public spaces. An architecture critic whose mother grew up at Parkchester, Alexandra Lange, also participated in a walking interview with me. One former resident asked me to enter his vehicle and provided a driving tour that included sites around Parkchester central to past Jewish and contemporary Muslim culture. Walking and driving interviews render the place itself a second participant in the research (Trell and van Hoven 2010). During all interviews, the participant's facial and bodily gestures were key in underscoring attitudes and crafted follow-up questions to

unpack obvious sources of emotional investment. I recorded all in-person interviews on my iPhone with permission. All data was stored only on my personal electronic devices with no ability for anyone else to have access, in accordance with university policy.

At Parkchester, I also met many people during field work or through participants who did not have time to meet or failed to keep appointments with me for semi-structured interviews. Given the large population, too, I observed early that residents of the north end of Parkchester did not necessarily know or recommend residents of the south, and vice versa. Thus, to supplement structured interviews, I created an online survey by a Google form that deployed many of the same questions I had asked residents in semi-structured interviews. I shared this by email and text message with participants who could not schedule an appointment with me or missed scheduled interview appointments, and all of those people were able to fill out the survey. Additionally, I shared the survey in the Parkchester Watch Group Facebook group twice and received eleven responses in the end. I allowed participants to remain anonymous and provide as little personal detail as possible, but all answered the questions and provided at least basic information about location within Parkchester. The survey allowed me to feel confident that my data sample was balanced across inhabitant location and the renter/owner divide.

4.4.3: Observation

Observation as a research technique allows a researcher to examine behaviours that occur naturally in places or social situations that can help generate data (McCall 1984). In established sociological theory around observation, there are four observer positions on a spectrum from deep involvement to deep detachment (Gold 1958). According to Gold (1958), the four positions are:

- *complete participant*: concealed identity; close subject relationships; direct experiences;
- *observer as participant*: disclosed identity; focused on observation but may develop subject relationships;

- *participant as observer*: disclosed identity, focused on participation; direct experiences; observation secondary.
- *complete observer*: concealed identity; observation; avoidance of direct participation or direct subject relationships.

A researcher may choose to switch between positions depending on research goals, situational factors and permissions from subjects. Specific to built spaces, the participative experiences of a researcher can be a significant proxy for subjective experiences, as a researcher can experience the feelings of occupying and moving through spaces (Yanow 2000).

Participant observation is a vital method of understanding the complexity of social settings and individual meaning-making through prolonged experiential research (Bogdan 1973; McCall 1984; Jorgensen 1989; Bryman 2008). McCall (1984) presents a version of participant observation that is fully constructivist, in which a researcher may be able to produce a theory of how multiple participants are organized to produce or manage social events. A key to participant observation is to establish "trust and a free and open exchange of information" with participants (Bogdan 1973: 305). Thus, the researcher must develop intense understanding of the social world of participants in order to be successful, although this understanding is rarely achieved *a priori* and usually through the research itself. Bryman (2008) advocates that researchers move between modes of disclosure based on some anticipation of what a successful position might be. Certain behaviours could "blow cover" when not desired, and certain communities may not be accepting of certain modes of engagement. Overall, it is important to understand that the processes happening in place are the subject of research, but that the researcher's own presence is embedded within those processes even in a covert role (Yanow 2000; Charmaz 2006; Corbin and Strauss 2008).

For Cochran Gardens, I undertook limited observation since the built spaces have been replaced. However, I made several visits to the former site to record any remaining built traces and place names as well as possible traces of infrastructure such as sidewalks, fences and streets. There I was a complete observer even when noting behavioural

responses to the housing development that replaced Cochran Gardens. At Parkchester, I had the advantage of several visits where I switched between positions. On my very first visit, I simply walked through the site as a complete observer. I made notes, took photographs and observed behaviours ranging from inhabitant use of play areas to delivery persons' methods of knowing their way to different buildings.

On subsequent trips to Parkchester, I stayed in AirBnB rental units where I revealed my identity to my hosts, which elicited interviews. I planned my personal activities around Parkchester, so that I built experiences such as using the subway, buying a coffee and grabbing lunch at Parkchester into my days. I scanned Facebook groups for events to plan attendance, although the only event that coincided with my visits was a monthly concert at the Metropolitan Oval. I located maintenance work projects on various buildings for observational work. Residents helped guide me to find aspects of the architecture and its deterioration worth my documentation. Online, I deliberately used disclosure to arrange virtual exchanges with subjects. Thus, my research came through both planned and unplanned appearances in places and events, with an openness to encounters driving subsequent activities. For instance, I came across an interviewee after our interview sitting with friends, and one of the friends became my next interviewee of the day as she began disclosing useful information and perspectives. During my visits to Parkchester, I always made use of field notes and photographs, as notation is a significant part of method (Bogdan 1973; Corbin and Strauss 2008). Given the size of Parkchester, photography and mapping also helped me with recall of locations I wanted to return to observe. In all of my research work, I applied both participant observation and non-participant observation.

Participant observation: For some activities, I utilized participant observation techniques. Retroactively, I even was a participant observer when I was professionally engaging with Cochran Gardens Apartments in 2012. During this research, the vast majority of my participant observation was at Parkchester. Participant observation activities included staying in AirBnB rentals and interacting overtly with hosts, joining residents in their apartments and public spaces for semi-structured interviews,

128

participating in two walking and one driving interview, interacting with employees at shops and restaurants and interacting on the Parkchester Watch Group Facebook group. In one instance, I attended a public meeting concerning rezoning part of Parkchester as an expert on architectural history, at the request of residents, and made a public statement advocating for the conservation of the buildings. While I disclosed my identity, I did not disclose that I also was attending for observational research – so I was covert and overt within the same meeting.

Non-participant observation: Non-participant observation consisted of walking, standing and sitting at the locations of both case studies, and recording behaviours that seemed to indicate attitudes toward or responses to spatial conditions. Most of this recordation was done covertly in memory and later written in notes, and occasionally I would photograph some event although I avoided photographing individual subjects covertly. Other non-participant observation came through visiting social spaces at Parkchester such as playgrounds, concentrations of benches and outdoor tables, a laundromat and the United States Post Office, and observing behaviour. I attended a musical concert at Parkchester and did not interact with other participants, using the time instead to record evident social dynamics.

4.4.4: Popular media

Even the most robust study utilizing observational data recorded in place will need to be extended by looking to nontechnical sources that also record social behaviours, attitudes and opinions. A researcher who has undertaken observational data recordation needs to turn also to other research methods and forms of data that will reveal social data observation cannot (Bogdan 1973). Given the long passage of time at both of my case studies, and the fact that one of them is no longer extant, I turned to expressions available in popular media, especially music videos and online spaces like Facebook groups and Instagram accounts. These sources provided a chance to inhabit spaces in ways that I could not do in the field. For instance, at Cochran Gardens, music and amateur videos allowed me to create a proxy experience of life at the housing development in the 1990s and presented subjects offering commentary or discernible

attitudes about the place. One video even featured a semi-structured interview with a rapper who grew up there.

At Parkchester, there also is a wide range of music videos or situational videos that show life and events at Parkchester going back to the 1960s. All of these sources provide valuable proxy experiences that greatly expanded my ability to develop theories in my research. Online sources where current and former residents share perspectives and personal histories, ranging from Facebook groups to the comments sections of online articles, draw out voices that otherwise I would not encounter. Parkchester's massive scale and age mean that hundreds of thousands of people have lived there, and popular media sources expanded my cross-section beyond people immediately accessible to me during observational work. Online sources that present photographs of both Cochran Gardens and Parkchester, including Instagram accounts and nostalgic Facebook groups, offer a rich set of perspectives that often clearly articulate opinions about aspects of the architecture and built spaces central to my research questions.

In my analysis of popular media sources, I have adopted the model of mass media encoding and decoding offered by Hall (2015). According to Hall (2015), mass media forms encode frameworks of knowledge, relations of production and their own technical infrastructure into a meaningful "program" that is then decoded by a viewer. However, the viewer does not simply "download" encoded messages but reincodes them with personal frameworks of knowledge, models of reality and social values, so that the program is transformed by its reception into an active and contested form. Mass media is a significant way in which people build social reality, because often televisual sources reinforce "dominant or preferred meanings" that reinforce existing social orders (Hall 2015: 513). However, the capacity for mass popular media to introduce discordant or unpleasant meanings to people creates a social significant effect, because the process of reconciling those meanings with dominant meanings reconstructs social reality for participants. Because the process is dialogic, the mass media program – be it a music video of Instagram post – is both a denotative and connotative form with a major position in subjects' constructions of social reality (Hall 2015).

4.5: Process of Data Collection

4.5.1: Sampling and sampling techniques

I initially selected participants to interview knowing that the selection would expand based on the "snowballing" method of pursuing additional participants based on either specific names or general types of participants recommended by previous participants. The selection of interview sampling must be conducted carefully in order to avoid non-representative data sets, and thus it is vital to sample across the full range of time, people and context associated with each case study (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Regarding time, the selection needs to avoid concentrating only on certain events or eras. Regarding subjects, the selection needs to avoid overconcentrating position (expert versus inhabitant), age, status of living, gender, ethnic group and religion. In terms of context, this means that it is important to include a diverse distribution of settings in which different behaviours may occur (public meetings versus private dwelling spaces, for instance).

I adopted a purposive sampling method into what I consider a semi-purposive sampling method. That is, I selected *some* participants before field work began, and then generated additional selections from both the semi-structured interviews and field work activities. This mode fits the constructivist orientation of qualitative research analysis underpinning this study. For the initial sampling, I decided to apply criteria for participation. These criteria meant that interviewees must a.) possess deep knowledge of the case study through either lived experience or expert study; or b.) possess a framework of expert or nonexpert knowledge that generated meaning around the case studies. For the latter, meaningful frameworks included wide knowledge of mass housing living experiences, the histories of the designers of the case studies or knowledge of impactful policies.

For Cochran Gardens Apartments, I interviewed nine people and obtained videos of two additional semi-structured interviews. The two videos that I obtained presented the

experiences of a family that had lived there in its early years and an individual who had grown up at Cochran Garden. In the end, these were indispensable sources as significant as my semi-structured interviews since I could not find any willing participants who had lived at Cochran Gardens. In the process of identifying people, I reached out to friends in St. Louis who might know former inhabitants, and mostly came back with reports that the possible subjects were deceased. I also had retained some notes from my visit to the last tower still standing in 2012, when I had met some residents. Online, I interacted with some former residents on Facebook through comments in local history group posts, but never landed an interview. Thus my nine interviews included two architects who worked with residents at Cochran Gardens and thus had immediate first-hand experiences, two heritage experts who had some connection to efforts to officially value Cochran Gardens as heritage, a local educator and public housing historian with deep place knowledge, the former chairman of the local housing authority who oversaw the demolition of Cochran Gardens and two experts on facets of the architectural design history of Cochran Gardens. I strove to balance relationships to parts of the development's history, and in the absence of more resident participants wanted to avoid an oversaturation of expert commentary.

For Parkchester, in contrast, I could have created a boundless data set. My initial construction of a list of participants included experts on the architectural history and heritage inscription efforts as well as leaders of resident struggles that I identified through newspaper articles about recent activism. After reaching out to prospective participants, I generated numerous leads for additional participants. The first resident leader with whom I spoke suggested scheduling a visit to see how many people I could meet in two days, and I pursued that approach. Given the fact that people had lived at Parkchester since 1940, and there have been waves of different ethnic and religious groups succeeding each other there, I wanted to balance current resident perspectives with a limited sampling of prior resident voices. Some of these perspectives were accessed through newspaper articles and the historical study already conducted (Gurock 2019). I was able to have an email interview with a resident who lived there in its earliest years. However, one thing that semi-structured interviews revealed was that

there are many current residents whose tenancy spans as far back as 35 years, making them solitary witnesses across many of the changes. In the end, I interviewed ten people (six current or former residents, one former resident and expert and three experts) through semi-structured interviews, several additional people through casual encounters recorded in notes and eleven people who filled out a survey that repeated key questions from the semi-structured interviews.

There was a structural need to ensure a symmetry of data sets for both case study, especially since Cochran Gardens Apartments was no longer inhabited. Despite my semi-purposive identification of participants, even after the commencement of data collection I still returned to the viability of Cochran Gardens as a case study, and as already noted, had to substitute Parkchester for Golden Gate Village when that housing development was clearly not going to yield symmetrical data as Cochran Gardens Apartments. In the end, there is comparable data and a nearly parallel number of semi-structured interviews. Parkchester did generate greater resident data, although that was expected given that it is still occupied and nearly six times larger than Cochran Gardens Apartments. In order to maintain balance for analytic purposes, I actually declined further leads on interviews at Parkchester.

For both cases, there were significant advantages as well as disadvantages to generating participants. For Cochran Gardens, my prior participation in heritage work at the site coupled with my deep professional and social networks in my home city helped speed along identifying participants and obtaining nontechnical sources of information. At the same time, the fact that Cochran Gardens has been demolished with its last residents moved out one decade ago made locating the resident perspective more challenging. More nontechnical and popular sources are utilized in analysis there to balance the data from Parkchester.

For Parkchester, the immense size of the complex was a huge advantage to identifying participants among residents. I could contact one person who lived there and end up with five additional residents' phone numbers or email addresses. When I was in the

field, chance meetings yielded information, and the density of population meant that people were everywhere. Online communities are robust, although they do lilt toward the owners and generally don't include the Bangladesh Muslim population that comprises 20% of the population today. Disadvantages for this study included the nature of life in New York City, where commuting and family obligations made many prospective participants difficult to schedule or led to their not showing up to scheduled interviews. Even pursuing leads by phone could fade out after a couple of missed connections. Once a participant missed an interview or failed to pick up the phone, they seemed to disappear and not respond to further contact. My location in St. Louis meant also that I could not easily make a return visit for in-person work with participants.

4.5.2: Interview procedures

Semi-structured interviews: If I had prior email contact with a prospective interview subject, prior to the appointment I would share an information sheet and synopsis of this study, as well as any notes about possible interview topics. If I did not have contact, I supplied or offered to supply the same in person (some people declined). For all participants, I obtained formal consent for the interviews. Interviews with experts usually could be arranged on Zoom by mutual preference, which made scheduling convenient and also enabled video recording of the interview. For all video recorded interviews, I provided access to the raw file upon completion of the interview so that subjects could retract or expand their remarks. For inhabitants and some experts, I preferred interviews in place so that spatial information could be interpreted during our interviews. In these instances, I recorded interviews with my iPhone if the subject consented or took notes if not. At Parkchester, where I had no deep relationships prior to starting this research, I preferred a face-to-face meeting so that I could build interpersonal familiarity and also humanise the process. In a few instances, where either participants introduced me to people on the spot or people came up to me to inquire about my activities, I conducted casual interviews without recording anything but making notes from memory afterward.

Each interview ran from 35 to 90 minutes, and in the case of the experts also included some discussion of the overall framing of the research study. I logged interviews in

notes and later in a formal table and kept notes during and after interviews on my observations about body language, apparent feelings or other data that could help later analysis. Sometimes I re-engaged with participants by email or phone with a follow-up question for clarification; none of these interactions were recorded beyond some notes. All interviews were conducted in English, and all recordings proved to be audible with no missing or unclear sections.

Survey: For Parkchester, I created a Google survey in order to catch additional subjects with whom scheduling proved difficult or impossible, and also for those who might be more likely to respond online. I distributed this individually as I contacted people by email or Facebook message, and in two posts to the Parkchester Watch Group Facebook page. I structured the survey around the key questions of semi-structured interviews of other Parkchester residents, especially on key points of inquiry (heritage inscription, attitude toward architectural features, general perception of quality of place). Of course, in a survey there is no ability for follow-up questions, but my questions were generally open-ended and allowed for as long or short an answer as desired. I asked for some personal information, including location or address, renter or owner status and years lived at Parkchester. These personal data points, which were optional, aided me in determining whether my overall data sampling was achieving a representational balance of residents.

4.5.3: Positionality

Grounded theory method allows for the researcher's own subjectivity to be pronounced in a research study (Corbin and Strauss 2008). In this research, I brought two clear positions to my inquiry: the position of an expert within the authorised heritage discourse (AHD) who specifically worked at one of the two case studies, and the position of a known public figure in heritage advocacy in St. Louis. These positions most strongly impacted my approach to Cochran Gardens Apartments, but the expert position also came into play at Parkchester. On the other side of positionality, I am a white male who has never lived in mass housing, so I am demographically not a probable interested party in my two cases. My interest in mass housing architecture's

conservation does arise from a subjective position, though, as a heritage practitioner who professionally engaged mass housing developments.

For Cochran Gardens, I was a professional heritage expert whose consultancy obtained a contract from the St. Louis Housing Authority to conduct the historical documentation required by heritage agencies to permit the demolition of the last building standing there. My position there could be narrated in favor of a profitability of such a position, but the project was a collaborative endeavor with another consultant and a very minor project in my consultancy's revenue that year. Significant for this research, that project and a subsequent project working to create documentation allowing another public mass housing tower to be demolished in St. Louis actually pushed me toward inquiry of the precepts of these demolitions. I began examining the disposition of these works of modernist architecture against other forms, especially domestic, and noticing disparities in how advocates and officials within the AHD treated mass housing projects. Positionality actually provided the impetus to undertake this study.

In St. Louis, my status within the realms of the AHD, architectural history and affordable housing advocacy certainly impacted my data collection. For one thing, participants were more ready to agree to semi-structured interviews because of trust built through my position within St. Louis. Since few of these interviews occurred in person, my own self-presentation was not a real factor. At Parkchester, I was concerned that my expert status could be signified by certain clothing, so I made sure to dress in denim pants and casual shirts to blend into the social environment better. I was concerned that a formal appearance would be off-putting to both casual and structured interactions. However, my expert status was desired by some residents to the extent that they invited me to testify on behalf of the significance of Parkchester's architecture at a public planning hearing held virtually. The residents thought that my expert status would aid their efforts to resist rezoning in service of gentrification. Again, a grounded theory method allows for the subjective participation of the researcher (Cullen and Bryant 2021). Additionally, at both sites, my familiarity with experiencing architecture also was a factor that enabled

deeper engagement of built spaces while also revealing my subjective position (Yanow 2000).

4.5.4: Research limitations

There are definite limits to this research, simply because it attempts to develop theories about an entire category of architectural forms of which there are numerous examples within the United States. To achieve a viable study, I limited my consideration to two cases that embody a diverse set of factors that are prevalent in the disposition of modernist mass housing. While this study makes clear that its claims are derived only from the study of the two cases, its aim is to provide theories that may be useful in the management and interpretation of other modernist mass housing sites. Definitely a larger study could be undertaken that would have included more sites, but for this study, such an approach was ruled out due to the inability to realize data saturation as defined by Corbin and Strauss (2008).

Another limit comes through the use of theoretical sampling in data collection. The theoretical sampling technique necessitates data collection priorities set by the development of concepts. In this technique, the researcher "follows the leads of the concepts, never quite certain to where they will lead, but always open to what will be uncovered" (Corbin and Strauss 2008: 144). Thus, a trail of conceptual interest, such as the attitudes of inhabitants and experts toward the sculptures at Parkchester, propelled the quest for certain types of data in the semi-structured interviews, participant observation, field work, technical and nontechnical literature collection and mass media collection. This quest by necessity excluded other potential data types. In order to develop theories based on sufficiently saturated data, I excluded certain conceptual inquiries that hopefully other researchers will pursue. Again, given the vast social footprints of both case studies, there were immediate limits on how many concepts could be sufficiently investigated for this study.

4.5.5: Ethical considerations

In this study, primary ethical matters consisted of informed consent for semi-structured and casual interviews, confidentiality and potential interest in Cochran Gardens and Parkchester generated by this research. All semi-structured interview participants were provided with participant information sheets and consent forms, and all casual interview participants were allowed the opportunity for the same. Of course, some potential participants declined to participate. All participants have been offered access to the recordings of their interviews, if I made a recording, as well as access to sections of the study in draft form where they have been cited or directly quoted. For published authors and public officials, I preferred to use real names but asked for and received consent from each person to do so. As for my own access to sites, none of the exterior areas at either the former Cochran Gardens Apartments or Parkchester are closed to public access, so my presence was not intrusive. Anyone who reads this study and wants to visit either place can do so as well. For domestic interior spaces at Parkchester represented in the study, I have concealed exact locations because the interiors of the buildings are off limits. I only entered buildings when I was an AirBnB guest or when a resident provided access to me.

4.6: Approach to Data Analysis

4.6.1: Transcription and notation

Upon the completion of each recorded interview, I manually created transcripts which I also qualitatively edited by reviewing recordings. In several cases, I shared transcripts with subjects upon request and allowed them to modify their statements for clarity and to correct misstatements of fact. In the cases of casual interviews, field observation and popular media intake, I created written notes around each experience that I evaluated against available sources of information. Some clarification occurred in the field, especially on the multi-day visits to Parkchester when I had the opportunity to revisit sites or people. Bogdan (1973) reminds researchers of the value of using analysis during field work to qualitatively analyse actions observed, to frame key questions for participants that yield explanations and to review notes against evident details.

Recordation and transcription also provide more than a usable product but constitute a research process that can shape concepts (Bryman 2008).

4.6.2: Process leading to analysis and coding

In the grounded theory method, there are four phases of research activities: research design, data collection, data analysis and draft writing. The *research design* phase begins with technical literature review, which in this case spanned the fields of architectural history, aesthetics, urban planning, critical race studies, sociology and heritage. Literature review allowed me to identify missing areas of knowledge and contradictions in interpretations around modernist mass housing architecture. Field work leading to case study selection stemmed from the findings of the literature review.

During the *data collection* phase, I collected archival and nontechnical literature, conducted semi-structured and casual interviews, undertook field observation and observed popular media sources. Since I elected to utilize the grounded theory method with a constructivist ontology, I began *data analysis* concurrent to data collection, as I was constantly identifying themes and additional points of inquiry through data collection. The creation of transcripts and notes allowed for data to be prepared for a process of coding. Coding requires that a researcher analyse data through questions that draw out themes and concepts located across multiple data sources. In coding, a researcher categorises data with summary terms or phrases that are expanded through sub-categories that bind statements made by participants (Charmaz 2006; Corbin and Strauss 2008). Coding is a creative part of data collection because it is the process that helps a researcher identify, develop and unify analytic ideas as well as social patterns among participants (Charmaz 2006).

During data analysis, I often created memos, handwritten notes and diagrams to assist in thinking through the coding process. Corbin and Strauss (2008) urge the commencement of memo-writing at the start of data analysis. Memos, notes and diagrams responded to emerging codes and sub-codes and also creates spaces where excerpts from data could be related back to literature review. Sorting, diagramming and

physically arranging memos also became part of my process as recommended by Charmaz (2006). The memos, notes and diagrams allowed for a visual integration of information that brought thinking "to life" and revealed incomplete areas of data collection.

As mentioned previously, I elected to pursue a model of open coding more related to Glaser's model of the grounded theory method than Strauss'. The distinctions between coding methods between the Straussian and "classic" grounded theory method are not empirically set but are subject to wide interpretive debates about the categories and even whether the categories hold real operative meaning (Cullen and Brennan 2021). In my process, I analysed interview transcripts, nontechnical literature and popular media closely and coded them with key terms that indicated evident tendencies within the data. These terms were brief and open-ended, and I later used them to encapsulate groups of sub-codes that were more conceptually rich and closed. Then I connected the sub-codes to direct interview quotes or quotes from within the other sources (see table 4.3, broken out by case study). As this work helped tie the codes to source material, it also allowed me to think through the macro frameworks that bundled the codes into conceptual categories (see table 4.4, presented for both case studies).

Table 4.4: Examples of the coding process based on excerpts from data sources.

Codes	Sub-Codes	Excerpts
Domesticity (Parkchester)	Apartment interiors' representing desired identities.	Proud to have opened the floorplan to make the apartment more of my own. Large unit size, largest apartment I have ever lived in. The management company seems to be

		intentionally causing conditions to be worse to get us to move out.
		My unit was beautiful but now it has black mold caused by a leaking roof, and management won't fix it.
	Quality of architectural details on exteriors.	These are definitely not "the projects." The sculptures are historic, and not every building has something like that. They built these buildings very well, with high quality materials…for the middle class. This was a special place.
Codes	**Sub-Codes**	**Excerpts**
Urban design (Cochran Gardens)	Isolated from the surrounding city.	The housing authority not allowing goods and services on site made it an island. I proposed a mixed-use building adjacent to Cochran Gardens to offer

(Top-left cell continued from previous page): Maintenance inadequacies, social indignity.

| | Representative of modernist urban design ideas. | retails, but also to get people circulating off site. At first, when downtown was thriving, it felt connected to everything. |
| | | Cochran was built according to the International Congress of Modern Architecture ideal of the superblock. Yamasaki (the architect) wanted to maximize open ground plan to allow children to play close to the view of the apartments. |

Figure 4.4: Example of the development of conceptual categories and core themes from data coding.

Codes	Conceptual categories	Core themes
Aesthetics Building design Urban design Urban renewal Architectural designers Distinctiveness	The construction of modernist mass housing	Theme 1: Association with architectural modernism
Domesticity Historical connection Artistic connection Ethnic heritage	Personal attachment to place	Theme 2: Sense of place

Place memory		
Nostalgia		

The processes of developing subcodes, codes, conceptual categories and core themes is central to theoretical sampling, because what is being sampled are concepts themselves and not the participants whose data generates the concepts (Corbin and Strauss 2008). Theoretical sampling is an expansive process that generates new potential categories and themes within the study. The generative aspect is maintained by constant analysis at each phase of the work. In this work, I continually identified similarities and differences expressed in my data sources, as well as ambiguities requiring additional data to clearly be coded. Within theoretical sampling, the goal is to reach a point of data saturation when new data collected no longer generates new codes or sub-codes (Holten 2007; Corbin and Strauss 2008). In this study, I saturated data within each sub-code and thus each code.

The final process of the grounded theory method is *draft writing*, where theories developed around data are articulated and related to technical literature. In my writing of the draft, I emphasized the originality of my contribution, presented the newly discovered data, presented the developed major themes and conceptual categories, and related data collection back to the initial review of technical literature. In the analysis of the relationships between my theories and those located in available technical literature, I have been able to demonstrate how my research challenges, expands, enhances and rejects the theories of other scholars. Of course, the drafting also discloses the limits to the study and notes possible additional research needed to deepen my own theories.

4.7: Conclusion

In this chapter, I have established my research paradigm and rationale for the theoretical positions as well as underlying research methodology. I have justified the selection of an ontology of constructivism, an epistemology of interpretation, an axiology

of value-laden and a historiography of dialectical materialism. I have provided an extensive explanation of the rationale for using grounded theory method as my primary research method, and how that method has allowed for the enactment of the theoretical positions I have selected. I have outlined techniques of data collection, analysis, coding and drafting, as well as explained positionality, ethical concerns and limitations to this study. Throughout this chapter, I have tried to make apparent how my choices for methodology are suitable to the unique problems of interpreting and understanding modernist mass housing architecture to be a form of heritage in the United States. In the next two chapters, I will apply the methodology to my two primary case studies.

CHAPTER 5: COCHRAN GARDENS APARTMENTS (ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI)

5.0: Introduction

The first case study of this research is the now-demolished John J. Cochran Garden Apartments (hereafter referred to by its common name, "Cochran Gardens") in St. Louis, Missouri, which poses a striking example of how the valuation of modernist mass housing in the US has long been clouded by professional ambivalence and bias, structural social dynamics of race, class and gender, and the deep-rooting of dystopian public narratives around mass housing. Cochran Gardens was a 12-building modernist public housing development opened in 1953, and designed by architect Minoru Yamasaki. Cochran Gardens, a public housing project, is a profoundly valuable case, because its residents actually had organized one of the nation's first tenant management corporations and received recognition from even several US presidents for being models for public housing tenancy. Despite the residents being lauded by as high an authority as the president of the United States, the continual change in status, population, built form and condition at Cochran Gardens made it a vulnerable subject for heritage inscription in a pattern shared by many urban sites (Kaufman 2009; Bandarin and Van Oers 2012).

In this chapter, I will first present a historic background for Cochran Gardens, which as public housing built after World War II contrasts with the second case study, a privately-built development whose construction started before that war. This background helps to explain the expert, inhabitant and public experiences and perceptions. Subsequent sections examine: the valuation of Cochran Gardens within the authorised heritage discourse, especially in light of how modernist architectural valuation privileges experts in the professions of architecture and architectural history; the valuation of Cochran Gardens by inhabitants, including early residents who arrived right after it was a segregated whites-only project (for its first two years) and later residents who lived there when it was almost all-black; and the valuation of the public through narratives, including mass media and music. Returning to literature review, the valuation analysis will expand beyond simply the building forms to the overall development as a cultural

landscape (Meinig 1979; Jackson 1984; Cosgrove 1988; Mitchell 2008; Calcatinge 2012). These three competing areas of valuation exist in reciprocity, and this chapter presents them not as exclusive but contingent concentrations.

5.1: Historic Context

5.1.1 St. Louis public housing developments

Upon completion in 1952, John J. Cochran Gardens Apartments was only the third public housing project to be constructed in St. Louis, Missouri (see figure 5.1). At the time, St. Louis possessed a population of over 856,000 residents and was the fourth largest city in the United States of America. St. Louis had experienced steady population growth in the early twentieth century, driven especially by the Great Migration of black Americans from the rural South as well as by expansion of industrial employment. The housing conditions for poor and working-class St. Louisans were noted as severe in both the private Civic League's report *Housing Conditions in St. Louis* (1908) and the official City Plan Commission's 1920 report *The Housing Problem in St. Louis* (Toft 1985; Heathcott 2011).

The earliest mass housing project in St. Louis, called Neighborhood Gardens, was completed in 1935 by the private Neighborhood Association settlement house (Heathcott 2011). Eventually, Cochran Gardens would be built around this demonstration project (see figures 5.2 and 5.3). Neighborhood Gardens replaced one block of vernacular brick slum housing with a set of modern, low-rise perimeter buildings surrounding an interior park for resident recreation (Toft 1985). The architecture was modernist, with flat roofs, steel windows and minimal ornament, and met favorable reception among local planners and elected officials. After the US government enacted the 1937 Wagner-Steagall Act authorizing construction of public mass housing projects, St. Louis applied for and received funding to build two low-rise projects enacting the modernism demonstrated by Neighborhood Gardens (Heathcott 2011; Von Hoffman 2000).
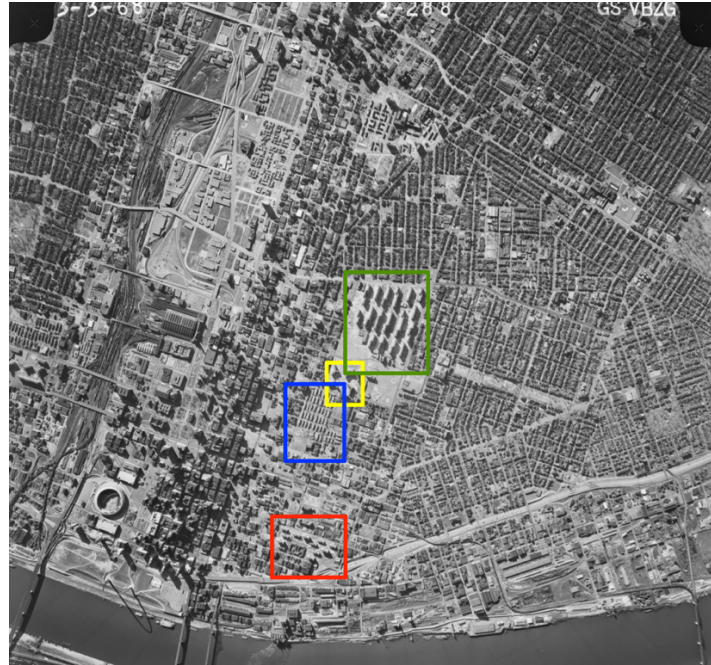
Figure 5.1: A 1968 aerial view shows St. Louis after two decades of urban renewal efforts. Cochran Gardens is in the red box. The earlier Carr Square Village is in the blue box, the later Pruitt-Igoe project is in the green box and the later George Vaughn project is in the yellow box. Source: US Geological Survey, annotated by the author.

These low-rise projects, Carr Square Village (1941) and Clinton-Peabody Terrace (1942) embraced the perimeter block layout to some extent, but were dominated by the *zeilenbau* (military barracks-like) approach to housing planning dominant in Europe at the time. These buildings, built of red brick with no ornament, were more expediently modernist than stylistic. Much of each site was devoted to green space that originally even included private gardens for ground-floor dwellings. In all design aspects, the St. Louis projects were quite similar to other Wagner-Steagall Act projects in Chicago, Atlanta and Philadelphia (Radford 1996). US entrance into World War II paused further development of public housing until later Congressional action after the end of the war (Von Hoffman 2000).

As discussed in chapter 3, the Context, the adoption of the neighborhood composition rule in the earliest public housing experiments was carried forward into the subsequent projects. The enaction of a rule that allowed federal planners to justify acquiescence to

local segregation preferences undercut public housing's potential to be a vehicle for emphatically providing housing for all Americans. In St. Louis, the first two projects adhered to the rule, with Carr Square located in a majority-black district and reserved for black residents, and Clinton-Peabody in a majority-white district and reserved for whites (although local planners had to consider the Lebanese and Syrian Christian population there as "white"). SLHA would continue to adhere to the logic of the neighborhood composition rule in later projects including Cochran Gardens, so that public housing projects ended up reinforcing segregation patterns rather than dismantling them (Heathcott 2005).

In St. Louis, the City Plan Commission endorsed a new comprehensive city plan in 1947 that called for demolition of supposed slum districts and replacement with more of the low-rise mass housing. The plan envisioned St. Louis remade more in the manner of the experimental "green belt" developments of the New Deal than along the lines of the Wagner-Steagall housing. Undulating, picturesque streets, perimeter-block housing shielding play areas, and ample tree plantings were envisioned. The plan's lead author, City Engineer Harland Bartholomew, openly disdained high-rise housing and ensured that his plan disavowed its utility in St. Louis (Von Hoffman 2000). Bartholomew's ambivalence toward the high-rise form underscored a significant strain of similar thought even within modernist planning and design (Bauer 1952; Kallis 2023).

Nonetheless, when the US government enacted the 1949 United States Housing Act, Bartholomew did not publicly state any opposition to St. Louis making use of its new titles of funding for slum clearance and mass public housing construction, even though the Public Housing Administration would essentially require large cities to build high-rise slab towers in order to receive the new funds. St. Louis was a prolific user of the new funds, developing seven projects until the program sunset in the 1960s: John J. Cochran Gardens Apartments (1952; named for a white U.S. Congressman), the Wendell O. Pruitt Homes (1956), the William L. Igoe Apartments (1956), the George Vaughn Homes (1957), the Joseph A. Darst Apartments (1957), the Anthony Webbe Apartments (1960) and the Arthur L. Blumeyer Apartments (1966). Cochran's modernist

towers in the park design preceded the larger realization of the adjacent and later conjoined Pruitt and Igoe projects. By the end of the 1950s, at Vaughn, Darst and Webbe, the St. Louis Housing Authority (SLHA) favored modular tower sections arranged irregularly in Xs and Ys. At Blumeyer, the last project, towers not dissimilar from those at Cochran were available for elderly and single occupants while families lived in low-rise townhouse-style units.

5.1.2 Design of Cochran Gardens Apartments

By the end of 1949, the SLHA commissioned the firm of Hellmuth, Yamasaki & Leinweber to design the Cochran Gardens Apartments. The Detroit-based firm consisted of a partnership between St. Louis native George Hellmuth, who directed business, Joseph Leinweber, who managed staff and projects, and Minoru Yamasaki, who developed design concepts. Yamasaki had already worked on mass housing as a project manager at Shreve, Lamb & Harmon, where he assisted in designs for apartments at Parkchester (the other case study in this research). As a Japanese-American designer who avoided internment during World War II, Yamasaki had been able to already work in major offices and demonstrate considerable design acumen. His career would later include the Pruitt and Igoe projects, the World Trade Center in New York City, buildings at the Wayne State University campus in Detroit, and many major office buildings in Tulsa, Seattle and Detroit. Today, Yamasaki is remembered as a major modernist designer whose works have often been neglected in canonical accounts of US modernist architecture (Gyure 2017; Kidder 2021; Beal 2021).

Figure 5.2: Cochran Gardens upon completion in 1953, marked by the red line, with Neighborhood Gardens in the center of the "U" shape. Source: Ted McCrea photograph, collections of the Missouri History Museum, annotated by the author.
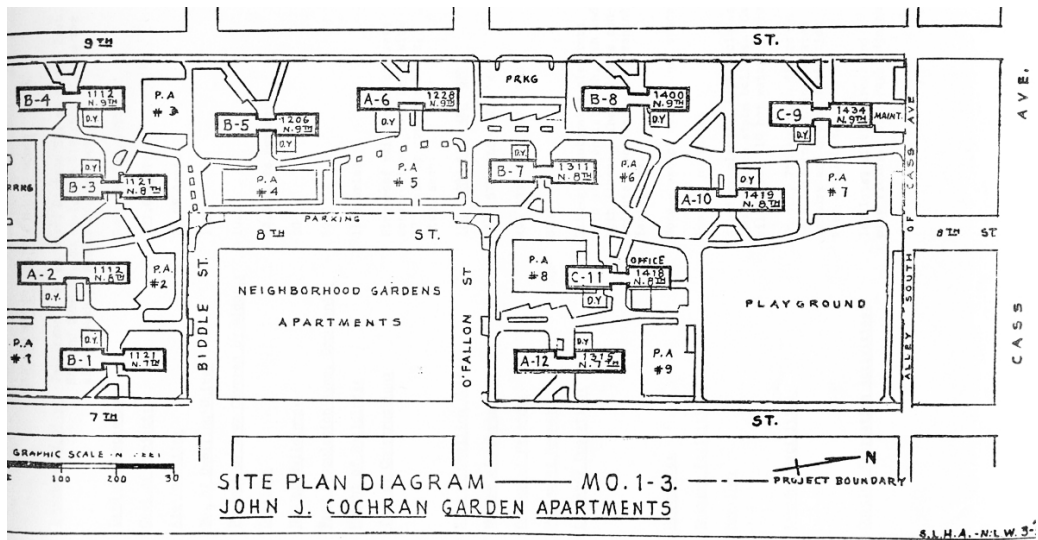
Figure 5.3: Undated site plan for Cochran Gardens. Source: St. Louis Housing Authority.
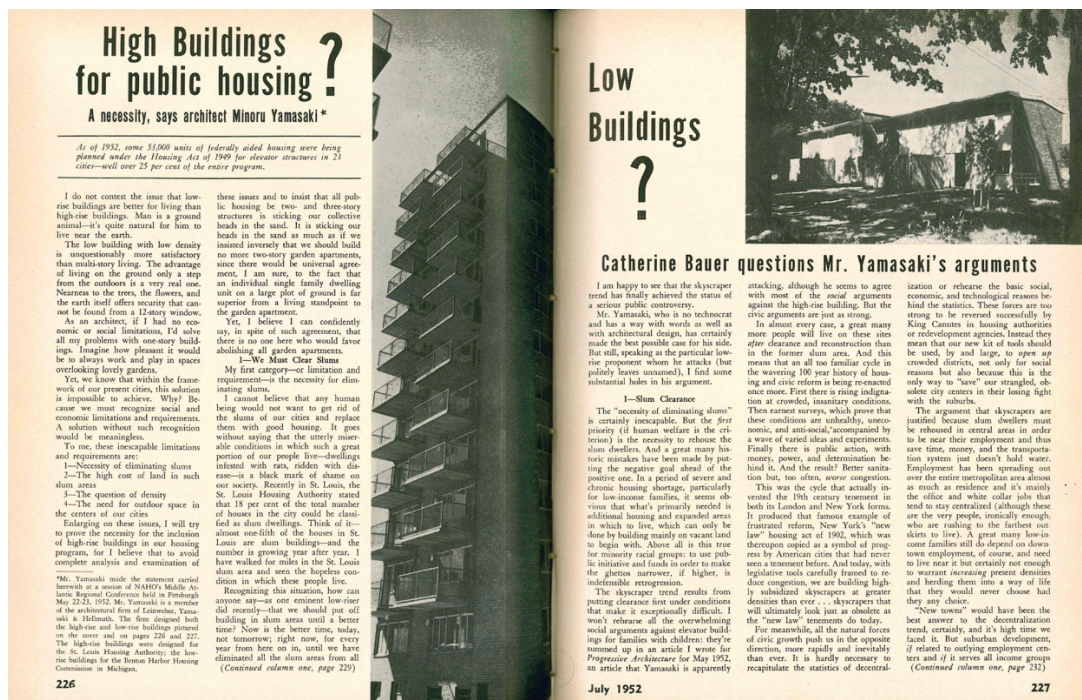
Figure 5.4: A page spread in the *Journal of Housing* showing Yamasaki's rhetorical use of Cochran Gardens. Source: *Journal of Housing*, July 1952.

At Cochran, Yamasaki pursued a "design approach" instead of a "statistical approach," in contradiction to the way that the federal Public Housing Administration (PHA) preferred (Gruyre 2017). The SLHA deliberately sited Cochran Gardens Apartments to form a U-shape superblock around the earlier Neighborhood Gardens Apartments, thinking that the arrangement would continue the positive impact of the project while ameliorating some of the worst-quality rental housing in the city. Yamasaki's later design for the Pruitt-Igoe projects would conform more closely to PHA dictates, and would become one of the most infamous mass housing projects ever built due to its well-publicized decline and infamous demolition (Bristol 1991; Von Hoffman 2000; Gruyre 2017; Hansman 2017; Kidder 2021).

Cochran's 12 buildings indeed evinced more of the architect's own hand, to the extent that he would write a celebratory article about the design as proof of the superiority of high-rise public housing in a journal debate with Catherine Bauer, who asserted the superiority of low-rise buildings (Yamasaki 1952; Bauer 1952; see figure 5.4). The Cochran project won the American Institute of Architects St. Louis Chapter Gold Medal

in 1953, and also that same year received an Honorable Mention in the annual competition of the New York Architectural League. Cochran was published in *Architectural Forum* and *The Journal of Housing* as an example of a progressive, smart approach to the bureaucratic program of delivering public housing (Yamasaki 1952; Architectural Forum 1952).

Figure 5.5: Cochran Gardens' exteriors upon completion, showing the proximity to St. Louis' central business district. Source: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.

Yamasaki insisted that Cochran's 12 buildings be differentiated in height and in siting, to avoid the kind of monotonous built environment that he would help create at Pruitt-Igoe (see figure 5.5). Given that the program only created 704 apartments – Pruitt-Igoe created over 2,900 -- the relatively small scale enabled a more sensitive approach. Cochran would include four 12-story, two seven-story and six six-story buildings, so that the taller buildings' upper-floor residents would not have views of other tall buildings but sweeping urban views. Yamasaki's ground plan built out only 25% of the site, creating ample space for recreation and planting that he saw as an automobile-free oasis for children (Yamasaki 1952). The buildings were essentially all the same spartan red brick, concrete-slab form, elongated to different heights. However, there was care toward spaces between buildings as the towers avoided the *zeilenbau* layout of other public

housing developments, and the roadway was irregularly shaped to avoid reinforcing the city's regular street grid.
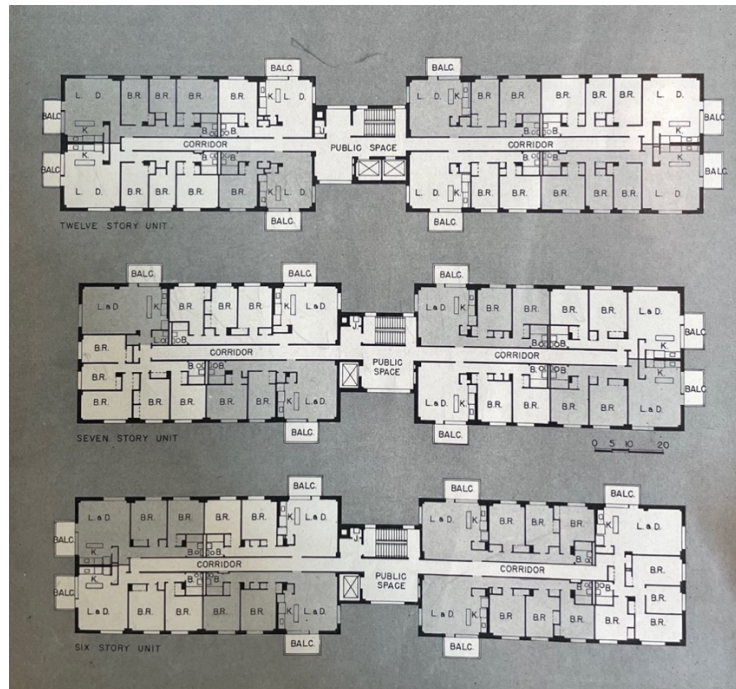
Figure 5.6: Typical layouts of upper floors in each type of building. Source: *Architectural Forum,* January 1952.

Inside of each tower, a central lobby led to elevators in a center core. Each floor contained eight apartments set on double-loaded corridors (see figure 5.6). Although the corridors were pretty rote elements, they allowed the buildings to maintain a rectangular arrangement creating more space on the elevations for the banks of external balconies. Yamasaki saw the balconies as a way to embrace the modernist domestic ideal of drawing the interior and exterior together, as well as a way to break up the blocky building forms by creating relief (see figure 5.7). He also saw the balconies – the only balconies ever included in the 1949 Housing Act public housing in St. Louis -- as psychologically essential to people dwelling in the sky (Yamasaki 1952).

Figure 5.7: Cochran Gardens' exteriors upon completion. Source: State Historical Society of Missouri.

Figure 5.8: An interior of a Cochran Gardens apartment upon completion. Source: Henry T. Mizuki Collection, Missouri History Museum.

Inside of the apartments, spaces were modern and sanitary, with full plumbing and central heating. Floors were finished in bare concrete but had linoleum treatments in kitchen and bathroom areas. Walls were plastered, and there was some millwork included especially as baseboards. The living and dining rooms were separated by a wall, showing a less than purely utilitarian approach. The windows were fairly large, and coupled with the balconies, created the sense inside of the units that the homes were well-connected to the surrounding city (see figure 5.8). Apartment sizes ranged from 1 to 5 bedrooms. Eventually, 3,000 residents would live in these spaces (Gyure 2017).

5.1.3 Cochran Gardens Apartments and racial segregation

As the first of the 1949 Housing Act projects built in St. Louis, Cochran created an expectation for the quality of future public housing. At completion, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* ran a special feature on the project that included glowing advertisements from trades contractors who helped build the project alongside other articles about new suburban housing developments (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 1952). Cochran's glittering appearance barely concealed a harsh truth, however: the new housing development was available only to white St. Louisans. The SLHA built Cochran Gardens to replace white slum housing, and only intended to house white people there as the Authority did not choose to challenge the racial apartheid of the city.

Cochran's position as the first new housing project, and the evident high quality of its construction, drew wide interest in occupancy. Although the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* published views of the development and its new all-white residents without any critical acknowledgement of segregation, city residents were not fooled (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 1952). Many black people applied for apartments at Cochran, and when denied consideration, turned to civil rights organizations for assistance. Eventually, these residents secured class action representation by St. Louis attorney Frankie Muse Freeman, a black woman. Freeman discovered that the Federal Housing Act of 1939 actually prohibited any new federally-funded housing from being segregated, despite the insistence of the SLHA that its decisions were politically neutral (Ervin 2017). Soon after the opening of Cochran in 1952, Freeman filed the lawsuit *Ted Davis et al vs. St.*

Louis Housing Authority demanding that all new public housing projects in the city comply with the 1939 act.

On December 27, 1955, St. Louis Circuit Court Judge George Moore ruled in favor of Freeman's clients. Moore cited both the 1939 act and the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown vs. Board of Education* as legal precedents demanding relief for the plaintiffs. In *Brown vs. Board*, the Supreme Court had ruled definitively that public accommodations in the US could no longer be restricted along racial lines, and had to be open to all. In response to the outcome, many white residents at Cochran pre-emptively moved out. As black tenants moved in, more white families moved out of the housing project. Since the court decision applied to the Pruitt and Igoe projects that were partially finished and occupied, the same dynamic occurred there. Soon there were almost no white residents of public housing in St. Louis (Von Hoffman 2000).

The outcome of the successful fight for racial justice was not anticipated by many people, and unfortunately echoed the city's racial conservatism. The future of public housing would become racialized, as white families avoided the newly-integrated projects. By the end of the 1950s, the heavily majority-black occupancy of public housing in St. Louis led white supremacist political leaders to target the projects and their occupants with allegations of social disorder and criminality. These allegations, which pathologised the inhabitants, were useful in advancement of later campaigns to demolish the housing projects. Although public housing was supposed to be an interracial program, in most cities it turned out to be largely the space of minority populations after desegregation failed to lead to integration (Vale 2013).

Unfortunately, in a nation where white supremacy was largely contained by law rather than stamped out in culture, this dynamic would stymie public housing residents' efforts to make their projects succeed. Public housing became an "othered" space both by race and class, and thus an easy target for narratives about culpability for urban decline and later campaigns for further revanchist urban renewal. Public housing became an underclass space reminding cities like St. Louis of shameful patterns of social division.

Cochran Gardens would witness several of the most forceful campaigns to combat this subaltern position, winning political capital for at least a few decades (Fuerst 1988; Deparle 1992; Brown 1998; King 2014).

5.1.4 Social life at Cochran Gardens

In the early 1950s, Cochran was a model of well-designed buildings with well-developed public spaces (see figure 5.9). By the late 1950s, Cochran Gardens' residents were mostly black and low-income. Typically, residents lived in family households, although there also were elderly and single residents. Conditions were good until the buildings began suffering from lack of maintenance in the 1960s, a pattern that persisted across the SLHA's various projects. In 1967, tenants from Cochran, Pruitt-Igoe, Vaughn and Carr Square staged demonstrations at the Housing Authority's office (Ervin 2017). Within a year, after little redress, the tenants organized a gathering of 200 people at City Hall in spring 1968. Most of the protestors at City Hall were black women (Ervin 2017).

Figure 5.9: A playground at Cochran Gardens, c. 1953. Source: Arthur Witman Collection, State Historical Society of Missouri.

Tenants at Cochran and other projects wanted limits on rent increases, representation in the Housing Authority's decision-making and repairs to strained plumbing, trash and mechanical systems. Beginning in February 1969 with 1,000 households across several projects, tenants began a long rent strike that was the first of its kind in the US (Lang 2009). By September 1969, 2,400 households were withholding rent payments, costing the SLHA over $600,000 (Lang 2009). At Cochran, a 20-year-old Black Panther Party organizer and single mother named Bertha Gilkey helped coordinate striking households (Deparle 1992). The situation seemed to reach an impasse when SLHA recruited the charismatic labor leader Harold Gibbons to negotiate an end to the strike. Gibbons was business manager for the Teamsters Union Local 688, which simultaneously was developing its own mass housing project for retired members, Council Plaza. In the end, the agreement between the SLHA and its tenants included a new Tenant Affairs Board to monitor housing conditions, a tenant bill of rights, a right to appeal eviction or other legal actions, fixed rent without increases between lease expiration dates and a cap of rent at no more than 25% of each household's income (Lang 2009).

Figure 5.10: Bertha Gilkey standing in front of one of the eight buildings remodeled in 1981. Source: Associated Press.

The St. Louis public housing rent strike's success transcended the city when the US Congress would pass the so-called Brooke Amendment later in 1969. Written by Senator Edward Brooke, a Massachusetts Republican and the only black senator at the time, the amendment expanded rent subsidies while establishing a national public housing rent cap based exactly on the new cap in St. Louis. Meanwhile, locally, the rent strike demonstrated the power of Black women who had traditionally been sidelined in civil rights activism, but who recently had been buoyed by more feminist black political structures seen in organizations like the Black Liberators, the Zulus and ACTION (Lang 2009). Particularly at Cochran, the rent strike built up the powerful influence of Bertha Gilkey as a community leader (Deparle 1992; see figure 5.10). Gilkey's activism fit into an emergent pattern of low-income black female empowerment through struggles over public housing and the welfare system (Williams 2004). The style of political leadership typically demonstrated by these women at public housing projects espoused taking responsibility for improvements over ostentatious political trouble-making (Williams 2004).

There was good reason for tenants to seek agency over management, maintenance and policing. A burst pipe in winter 1970 led tenants to clean up and disable four water mains themselves when the SLHA could not be reached by phone (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 1970). Crime increased, and episodes were often publicized in the city's daily newspapers. At one point, an assailant raped a woman in the stairwell of one of the buildings (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 1978a). In the early 1970s, Gilkey had tended to her children and was not really involved in tenant activism (Deparle 1992).

Gilkey sought to continue to keep the Cochran residents organized, and helped found the Cochran Gardens Tenant Management Corporation (CGTMC) in 1976 (Deparle 1992; King 2014). In 1978, CGTMC negotiated an agreement with SLHA that was one of the first of its kind in the US: SLHA would allow CGTMC to assume certain management of services at Cochran Gardens Apartments, and also would agree to let the CGTMC direct rehabilitation work for which SLHA would seek federal funding (Fuerst 1988). HUD was encouraging particularly well-organised public housing

projects with demonstrated leadership the chance to self-manage, in a limited experiment that never would be implemented in more than one or two projects in the cities where it was attempted (Fuerst 1988).

Figure 5.11: The exterior of the 12-story tower remodeled into elderly housing, 1981. Source: Henry T. Mizuki Collection, Missouri History Museum.

Figure 5.12: Interior spaces in the remodeled elderly building, 1981. Source: Henry T. Mizuki Collection, Missouri History Museum.

An early major achievement of the CGTMC came when the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) approved the *Application for Comprehensive Modernization: Cochran Gardens* in 1980, providing $5.5 million for a renovating eight buildings to meet the environmental design feedback that residents provided via the

CCGTMC (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 1980). As part of the plan that HUD funded, CGTMC oversaw renovation of a single 12-story tower into elderly housing, including the enclosure of Yamasaki's balconies to create additional interior space (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 1980). That renovation led the local press to describe the exterior of that tower as more "handsome" while noting favorably the increase in interior living space (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 1980; see figures 11 and 12).

The activities of the CGTMC were not above criticism, though, as Gilkey and her allies' emphasis on economic uplift seemed to be a subtle gentrification agenda to some. As a downtown plan recommended against expanding Cochran through any new construction for larger families, a law professor complained that "racial and low income containment" seemed afoot as Cochran was destined to become an island (Joiner 1978: 2B). The professor went on to argue that the favorable attitude of SLHA to the dreams of CGTMC for tower renovation was due to that program's bias toward attracting more affluent residents and displacing poorer tenants dependent on public welfare programs (Joiner 1978). Although Gilkey's political analysis arose from a radical left critique of power and a class position from within the mass of poor single mothers, her organizing would eventually sometimes align with right-wing schemes to privatise public housing through both physical improvement and replacing less affluent residents with those more able to pay higher rents.

Figure 5.13: US President George H.W. Bush with Cochran resident Armenta Washington and her baby Kenneth, Armenta's mother Sheila Washington and Bertha Gilkey at Cochran Gardens on March 3, 1991. Source: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch.*

By 1984, SLHA pledged to fund further rehabilitation across the existing buildings, and also to build two-story townhouse rentals on an adjacent site to create spaces for families with yards. Gilkey was a tenacious watchdog, and at one point in 1985 accused SLHA of violating the 1978 agreement by dictating repair work to the residents. That same year, Gilkey embraced US President Ronald Reagan's plan to create a demonstration project in which public housing residents could purchase their dwelling units – a plan based on the same policy recently adopted by the Conservative UK government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. "I am a diehard Democrat, but we are talking about what makes sense," said Gilkey to a *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reporter (Mannies 1985). In January 1985, CGTMC first expressed interest in buying Cochran Gardens outright, but eventually SLHA refused to support the sale (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 1985; Shirk 1985). Nonetheless, Gilkey became known nationally for her leadership, and was received as a guest at the White House by Reagan's government. Her activism would later be cited by proponents of public housing demolition as evidence that public ownership and management were inexorably failed endeavors (Cisneros 2009).

5.1.5 The last years of Cochran Gardens

By 1990, 85% of households at Cochran Gardens were headed by single women, almost all black, and only 27% of these women were fully employed (Deparle 1992). Cochran Gardens was home to very poor households, and its local reputation was not as a shining example of self-management that Gilkey aspired toward but instead as a place people lived when they had no other housing choices. Even so, the CGTMC's willingness to stand up to the SLHA to win improvements made Cochran Gardens easily the best and safest of the high-rise public housing projects. In May 1991, US President George H.W. Bush visited Cochran Gardens and gave remarks extolling the CGTMC's quest for self-reliance and self-government, which fit Bush's neoliberal vision of privatizing public housing (Dowd 1991; see figure 5.13). Bush even declared that Gilkey herself was "the answer" for the nation's public housing woes (Brown 1998: B7).

In February 1994, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* ran a cover story about Cochran Gardens whose title proclaimed: "At Cochran, Crime is Up, But So is Hope." The story was prompted by a crime in 1993 during which a group of six young men who lived at Cochran Gardens shot and killed an employee at a nearby bank during a robbery (Sorkin 1994). The 1994 article captures the frustration of Gilkey as she notes that ten years ago, Cochran had no gangs or shootings, but those elements were back. CGTMC coordinated patrols of 12 police officers and 10 private guards on a daily basis, with mixed results. The article quotes some of the then-1,690 residents, including 74-year-old William Lewis who actually believed that Cochran had become safer and cleaner since his arrival in 1985 (Sorkin 1994).

In 1995, HUD awarded Gilkey a "Hero of Public Housing" award, showing her continued admiration among federal officials (Bryant 2002). Still, Cochran was already in its swan song period, as SLHA saw the new HOPE VI program as a way to eliminate all of St. Louis's slab tower buildings and remake the housing projects into compelling, safe neighborhoods with mixed income residents. At Cochran Gardens, SLHA would have to engage the CGTMC in order to secure support for demolishing the complex, but under the leadership of Chairman Sal Martinez, SLHA was ready. Beginning in 1998, SLHA had started preparing its application to replace Cochran. In 1999, SLHA opened public meetings about the future of housing project, at which many residents expressed support for demolition despite the strident opposition of Bertha Gilkey and the board members of the CGTMC (O'Neil 1999). In that same year, HUD determined that eleven of the twelve housing blocks at the project failed a viability test enshrined in federal law by Congress in 1996 (Josse and Allen 2011). Due to this determination, demolition would be forced on SLHA and the residents, as HUD would only provide funds for reconstruction and not for any further rehabilitation.

SLHA secured its desired result with the 2002 award of a HOPE VI grant for Cochran Gardens, which allowed for demolition of 11 of the buildings to begin by 2008 with the elderly tower demolished in 2012. Meanwhile, HUD detected that Gilkey had used HUD funds to pay for travel expenses that actually supported trips for her private consulting

164

business, and she pled guilty to embezzlement in 2002 as her once-lionized reputation as a public housing leader crumbled (Bryant 2002). The Missouri State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) determined that Cochran Gardens was eligible for inscription in the National Register of Historic Places, but SLHA agreed only to document the last tower before its demolition through a documentation report (see figure 5.14).

Figure 5.14: The last tower standing at Cochran Gardens in 2011, foregrounded by the already-constructed neo-traditional dwellings of Cambridge Heights. Source: Photograph by author.
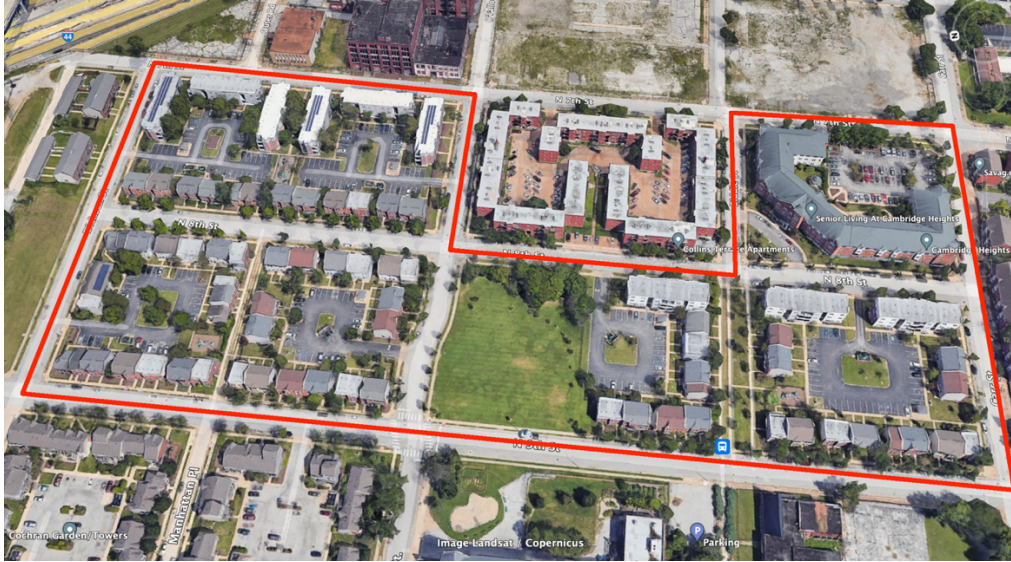
Figure 5.15: The site of Cochran Gardens, marked in red, as it is now built out as Cambridge Heights. Note that Neighborhood Gardens' modernist perimeter block buildings still stand in the center. Source: Google Earth image, annotated by the author.

Today, the site of Cochran Gardens is called Cambridge Heights, a generic, meaningless name that conceals public awareness of the past. McCormack Baron Salazar (MBS), the St. Louis-based developer that pioneered HUD's preferred approach of replacing slab tower projects with low-rise New Urbanist buildings, served as developer of the new housing project, whose buildings are far from memorable but do seem to be functioning well (see figure 5.15). HUD provided a $20 million grant through HOPE VI for the development of 243 rental units, of which 37 percent are public housing (Oluku 2011). Facility management and social services are contracted to private entities (Oluku 2011). These tenants do not benefit from the litany of achievements that Cochran tenants enjoyed after the settlement of the 1969 rent strike.

5.2: Valuation Within Authorised Heritage Discourse

5.2.1 AHD and public housing in St. Louis

Conventional wisdom within the AHD in St. Louis long held that modernist mass housing was a threat to the historic built environment, especially through urban renewal clearance of historic neighborhoods. One former staff member of the regional architectural heritage organisation, Landmarks Association of St. Louis, noted in an

166

interview that at the inception of the HOPE VI demolitions, none of the staff considered the housing projects to be a subject of their advocacy or research. The organisation has a mission to promote the protection of architectural heritage as well as the advocate for sound urban design. None of the organisation's newsletters from the period between 1995 and 2005 contained any protest against the demolitions required by the HOPE I program, although by the early 2000s other modernist architecture began to become a subject of advocacy. In one 1989 article, the Landmarks Association's director noted favorably the reforms at Cochran Gardens including the $42.5 million that HUD had spent by then on rehabilitation as a key factor in a heritage-driven redevelopment project located nearby (Degener 1989).

The City of St. Louis adopted a new citywide architectural and cultural resource preservation plan right before Cochran Gardens was proposed for demolition (Smith 1996). The plan identified three eras of historic architecture for the city, and enumerated key building types within each period. The last of these three periods ended in 1940, before any of the high-rise public housing architecture had been built. The low-rise modernist public housing whose planning began before 1940 was not mentioned at all (Smith 1996). The preservation plan's reduction of built heritage to exclusive categories of types fits into the scheme of "exemplification" in which examples stand in for larger culturally-valued types (Goodman 1978). Unfortunately, this temporal blindness to the recent past placed the city's preservation plan at the center of consensus within urban preservation policies under the AHD.

Despite the city's own omission, the Missouri State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) and the National Park Service (NPS), which are the higher state administrative units within the AHD, did determine in 1997 that the one of the two pre-World War II low-rise public housing projects, Clinton-Peabody Terrace, was eligible to be inscribed both as a National Historic Landmark and as a National Register of Historic Places district. The National Historic Landmark determination is astounding due to the lack of recognition of any public housing as architectural heritage within the local AHD. However, both the SHPO and NPS determined that significance lay in the areas of community planning

and development, politics and government – not architecture. This judgment against any architectural value seems linked to social attributes that mass housing architecture carries that supposedly make it less exceptional than single works of design (Bordieu 2012). Another factor seemed to be a bias toward linking public housing to utilitarian outcomes of policy rather than linking it to forms of domesticity (Teague 2001; Smith 2006; Oram 2012). There also seems to be no real consideration of evaluating Cochran Gardens or other mass public housing sites as mutable cultural landscapes, whose significance would extend beyond their associations with specific housing policies, architectural styles or individual designers (Mitchell 2008; Mitchell, Rössler and Tricaud 2009; Calcatinge 2012; Gordon 2018).

The SHPO and NPS forced SLHA and the City of St. Louis into a Memorandum of Agreement required under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act to bind the parties to action to mitigate the impending HOPE VI remake of Clinton-Peabody Terrace, which entailed selective building demolitions and construction of neo-traditional hipped roofs to replace the modernist flat roofs of the buildings. The former employee of the Landmarks Association whom I interviewed recalls that there was no discussion within the organization of opposing the work at Clinton-Peabody Terrace, and a handwritten note on a document shows that the executive director's response to the finding was "WOW!" What Landmarks Association did end up doing was preparing the Memorandum of Agreement's required mitigation. The resulting report, which I first encountered while an employee of the organisation, included historic contexts on the low-rise and high-rise developments, and summary information fact sheets on each public housing development (Landmarks Association 1999). This work was considered mitigation for the work at Clinton-Peabody, and the report identified no other project as eligible for any kind of heritage inscription.

The SHPO's Deputy Director did note in a 1999 letter to the city's Heritage and Urban Design Commission's director that the Landmarks Association report could guide future Section 106 review of public housing projects. The report was never published or disseminated by Landmarks Association or other parties. Almost all of the interview

subjects for this research, from architectural history experts to former residents of Cochran and other public housing projects, had no idea that the report existed. The disconnect between the internalized expert dialogue around the 1999 report and the community of public housing residents demonstrates the lack of reciprocity between the official organs of the AHD and nonexpert communities discussed in the literature review (Tolia-Kelly 2016; Skrede and Hølleland 2018). The failure of Section 106 to serve as a meaningful process for resident participation in valuation fits an unfortunate US tendency with public housing projects (Arena 2012; McGhee 2016).

5.2.2 Cochran Gardens Apartments as architectural heritage

As the work of a figure now revered as a master modernist architect, Cochran Gardens could well fit patterns of valuing architectural modernism based on authorship discussed in the literature review (Scully 1961; Frampton 1980; Cohen 2012). Yet experts note that instead that the value of Cochran Gardens as architectural heritage within the AHD is uncertain despite its association with Yamasaki. Professional aversion of modernist urban design, the narration of the work by its own architect and lack of scholarship to support expert claims were cited as barriers by several experts within architectural history and the field of architecture. There also is a counternarrative expressed in a semi-structured interview with former public housing resident, author and architecture school professor Bob Hansman. According to Hansman: "I think that [architects] give architecture more power, even in the negative sense. Architects are so self-centered. We know there were a lot of variables, and architecture is just one." One article in an architectural journal published in the 1980s directly credits Cochran's tenant management as a reason that Cochran would not be demolished in the manner of Pruitt-Igoe, suggesting that perhaps the perspective of experts within architecture is responsive to other valuation of Cochran (Ingraham 1986).

Michael Willis, an architect who grew up in mass housing in St. Louis and who worked at Cochran Gardens in a practicum during graduate studies, conceded in a semi-structured interview that the project was "not the worst example of public housing around." Willis added that the relationship between the earlier Neighborhood Gardens

Apartments, which was inscribed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1986 and has long been valued by experts for its design, and Cochran Gardens, which wrapped around Neighborhood Gardens, makes Cochran Gardens stand out as probably the best-designed public housing project in St. Louis (see figure 5.16).

Figure 5.16: Cochran Gardens c. 1970. Source: Arthur Witman Collection, State Historical Society of Missouri.

Still, Willis bemoaned the lack of amenities on the site as a major design deficiency, joining several other experts who made the same claim. He negatively compared Cochran Gardens to European social housing projects including Weißenhofsiedlung in Stuttgart, Germany, which was designed by a roster of highly-valued modernist architects including Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, Bruno Taut and Mies van der Rohe. (The Weißenhofsiedlung is inscribed as World Heritage through a categorical inscription of the work of Le Corbusier.) The variety of building types and integration with Stuttgart appealed to the architect more than the US housing project "islands." At Cochran, there were no shops, medical or professional offices or restaurants on the site or even very close by, marking the project as a manifestation of modernist superblock urbanism in which uses are highly segregated. This architect designed a mixed-use building on an adjacent block as a student project in the 1970s, in an attempt to improve the urban design. Willis' urban design critique adheres to theories about the failings of superblock

forms and modernist planning found in Jacobs (1961) and Newman (1972), among others.

In a semi-structured interview, Eric Mumford, who has published several renowned volumes on the history of the International Congress for Modern Architecture (or CIAM), observed that in the 1990s, the legacy of CIAM and related approaches to urban design was met with disdain within architectural practice. Mumford arrived to teach in St. Louis, and noted that both his own scholarship and the fate of places like Cochran Gardens faced a climb against the then-dominant ideology within architecture. He also observed that within CIAM's own discourse, figures like Jose Luis Sert railed against the US public housing projects (specifically the Queensbridge Houses in New York City, not dissimilar in planning from Cochran) as poor design, so that when CIAM became more accepted within architecture again, some of its biases worked against valuing post-World War II housing projects.

Still, Mumford admires the selection of Minoru Yamasaki to design Cochran Gardens, as the choice of a Japanese-American designer was a bold choice in segregated St. Louis. This could be evidence of a more progressive racial vision at the outset, similar to some of the Chicago Housing Authority's early efforts to deploy public housing as a tool to dismantle economic and racial segregation. However, in St. Louis, Cochran was whites-only originally, and almost all black after integration occurred. Mumford says that Cochran Gardens was instructive for him toward understanding that race is a shaping factor in the quality and perception of architecture, but that the problematic history of segregation in St. Louis made Cochran Gardens a tricky subject. In many ways, Cochran Gardens demonstrates the lack of completeness in fusing modernist concepts with actual design practices (Tafuri 1976).

In another semi-structured interview, Paul Kidder, the author of *Minoru Yamasaki and the Fragility of Architecture* (2021), blames the architect himself for Cochran's strange place in architectural historical discourse. Calling Yamasaki's design of public housing at Cochran Gardens and Pruitt-Igoe "a complicated case," he observes that Yamasaki had

a pronounced tendency to embrace perceptions of his work in the architectural and popular presses. When *Architectural Forum* published a glowing review of Cochran and Pruitt-Igoe (Architectural Forum, 1952), Yamasaki leaned into the praise. When those same projects later became symbols of public housing's intractable problems (Bauer 1957), Yamasaki disavowed them in private letters and expunged them from his autobiographical portfolio (Yamasaki 1979; Kidder 2021). Here we can see the problem of modernist architectural conservation again as claiming the "not yet loved," with the designer's own efforts as the cause of a substantial barrier (Macdonald 2013: 3).

Kidder also points out that no one even knows what Yamasaki thought about Cochran Gardens because he left no records, beyond a 1952 article in the *Journal of Housing* extolling the high-rise slab form as the best way of delivering public housing alongside photos of Cochran, which was not named in the article (Yamasaki 1952). Despite Yamasaki's tendency to waver in response to criticism of projects, he did seem to have an actual empathy for the residents of his public housing projects. In his book, Kidder quotes Yamasaki's account of Pruitt-Igoe after he visited in 1956: "We have designed a housing project, not a community, which is tragically insensitive to the humanist aspects of security and serenity and have multiplied tragedy because of the great number of buildings and extent of the site" (Kidder 2021: 59). While again there are no direct words from the architect about Cochran Gardens, his own negative assessment of Pruitt-Igoe certainly influenced future valuation of Cochran.

Yamasaki would not design any mass housing projects after the 1960s. Both Mumford and Kidder assert that the break from public housing toward a more mainstream career designing corporate and university architecture meant that Yamasaki wanted to cull any perceived stains from his record. Mumford believes that Yamasaki wanted to distance himself from affinities to the European *avant garde* and CIAM, which began falling from favor in the 1960s but whose influence on the Cochran design were quite clear (cf. Gyure 2017). The strange relationship of Yamasaki to the modernist canon adheres to a process described by Esperdy (2007) in which "alternative" designers can become

valued, but usually for their unusualness rather than for the ordinariness embodied by bureaucratic, conventional projects like Cochran Gardens.

5.2.3 Historic preservation consideration of Cochran Gardens under HOPE VI

According to an employee of the St. Louis Cultural Resources Office in a brief interview, her office, the municipal AHD administrative agency, was not included in negotiating the Section 106 mitigation for Cochran Gardens. She states that HUD and SLHA negotiated directly with NPS and the SHPO, in order to limit the number of stakeholders and fend off a possible objection to demolition. The former employee of the Landmarks Association could recall no discussions within the organisation specifically about Cochran Gardens and its demolition, nor any communication with any agencies or parties. The local architectural critic for the daily *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, who often weighed in on urban design and preservation matters, was silent on the fate of Cochran. No news story mentioned the association with Minoru Yamasaki, or anything notable about its architecture other than characterisations of deterioration and deficiency. Given the age of Cochran at the time, it is clear that the lack of heritage consideration fits the pattern of neglect of the modernist era identified by several authors (Shapiro 2007; Prudon 2008; Macdonald 2013).

When SLHA first presented plans for the demolition of the Cochran Gardens buildings to residents, at least one resident invoked potential historic significance as a reason for preserving Cochran Gardens. Pauline Jackson told a newspaper reporter in 1999 that "[it]'s almost like it's a historic place" (in O'Neil 1999: B3). However, the former chairman of SLHA who attended the public meetings in which redevelopment was discussed in 1999 could not recall any discussion around ideas of heritage or historic preservation. He remembers that Gilkey and her allies called for preserving buildings, although did not advocate for preservation through the AHD but against the looming plan to relocate the residents. Their suspicion, which proved to be wise, was that no resident would ever return to the land once the towers came down.

Records on any early engagement between SLHA and SHPO and NPS have been difficult to locate, so it is impossible to speculate on whether the same agencies that identified Clinton-Peabody Terrace as worthy of heritage inscription made the same claim for Cochran. However, since Section 106 of the NHPA requires all construction projects receiving federal funding to be reviewed for adverse heritage impact, some review had to have taken place. An employee of the Cultural Resources Office expressed dismay that whatever Section 106 review took place seemed to have not seriously considered any possible architectural heritage. An archaeological survey was required by SHPO and undertaken, underscoring some official consideration of the site as a cultural landscape. However, the archaeological content was limited to information pre-dating Cochran Gardens, and did not extend through the life of the housing development. Reconsidering what period of information is sought in official acts of documentation could make a modernist space like Cochran resonate more like continuously-occupied traditional urban spaces within the AHD (Dimitsantou-Kiemenzi 2008).

The last building to be demolished was the 12-story tower that had been remodeled for elderly residents in 1981. SLHA had maintained the occupied building, which had 134 apartments, until its new elderly apartment building was completed. Elderly residents generally were given more chances to return to the new Cambridge Heights development, as SLHA did not view them with the same negative judgments as families with children and teens. In September 2010, SLHA submitted a request for Section 106 review for the last Cochran Gardens tower. SHPO responded by requiring a building recordation to be undertaken, including historic context, a short history of the Cochran Gardens project, a full building description, documentary photographs and historic photographs and plans. Preservation Research Office, the consultancy formerly owned by the author, responded to a Request for Qualifications and was awarded the work in March 2011.

While completing the recordation report, *Cochran Tower: Architectural and historical documentation* (Josse and Allen 2011), I encountered several residents who expressed

positive values about the building, its wide corridors and large apartments, and its sturdy construction. The SLHA maintenance manager also rejected the need for demolition, pointing out the numerous repairs recently made, the quality of mechanical systems and the sense of peace and quiet that residents enjoyed inside. No residents were invited to be consulting parties to the Memorandum of Agreement that mitigated the demolition of their home with a professional report that was only ever seen by experts within the AHD and at SLHA.

5.2.4 Subsequent developments in the AHD

When the last Cochran tower was falling, the City of St. Louis had embarked upon a major revision to its municipal preservation planning by undertaking its first major survey of modernist architecture. In 2011 and 2012, the city's Cultural Resources Officer oversaw a survey of over 2,000 properties that led to recommendations for inscribing 25 of the properties as local landmarks. The survey, however, limited itself to only non-residential properties so it excluded any mass or public housing developments (Peter Meijer Architects 2012). The process did acknowledge a growing demand from heritage advocates to widen the historic and stylistic scope of what the City considered to be historic architecture (Bryant 2012). The St. Louis survey embodies the sort of work needed to compensate for lack of consideration often due to lack of known literature or documentation available to heritage officials (Prudon 2008; Macdonald 2013).

Figure 5.17: Still from *The Pruitt-Igoe Myth.* Source: *The Pruitt-Igoe Myth* (2012).

In 2012, filmmaker Chad Friedrichs released his documentary film, *The Pruitt-Igoe Myth*, which explored the controversies surrounding St. Louis' other, larger housing project designed by Minoru Yamasaki (see figure 5.17). While the film never directly addressed Cochran Gardens despite the design affiliation and precedent, it attempted to redirect narratives around Pruitt-Igoe's decline from accusations that the architecture was inherently deficient toward understandings of structural racism, the underfunded US welfare state, the overall concurrent decline of St. Louis' population and social dynamics that were occurring even in traditional urban neighborhoods in the city. *The Pruitt-Igoe Myth* received significant national attention and helped open new inquiry into public housing histories, but its perspective was set from the outside and advanced some of the pathologising narratives of the place – high crime, deteriorated conditions, physical violence – that are key to the US myth about public housing (Faisst 2017). Despite its limitations, the film has sparked reconsideration of public housing in St. Louis, and in the lead up to its release St. Louis' modernist architecture heritage organisation Modern STL sponsored a lecture on public housing architecture.

In 2013, SLHA proposed demolishing the last public housing tower left in the entire city, an elderly housing tower at the Blumeyer Homes. Similar to the last Cochran tower, the building was set aside as the priority was demolishing family towers before handling the elderly situation. The Blumeyer project had responded to criticisms of earlier projects by placing five slab towers, clad in brick and bearing hallmarks of International Style design, among two-story townhouse rentals. Architects Joseph Murphy and Eugene Mackey, Jr., both very renowned as modernist designers in the St. Louis area with other works inscribed as heritage for architectural significance, designed the towers. In the case of the last Blumeyer tower, SHPO required by Memorandum of Agreement a context study of all high-rise towers ever built by SLHA, including the scattered towers built after the funds from the 1949 United States Housing Act were terminated. This required a cultural resources survey of the remaining towers, some of which were modernist in design, and little of which have ever been valued by even experts as related to the city's public housing history.

The resulting report actually evaluated the second wave of towers, built under the "Turnkey" program in which private developers built public housing at a small profit and then turned it over to housing authorities (Allen, Slocum and Shepard 2013). Ultimately, though, the Cultural Resources Office, which was a consulting party to the Memorandum, required that the recommendations for heritage inscription be removed from the final draft of the report. Again, the local pattern fits the national pattern identified by Prudon (2008): the official consideration of modernist architecture for inscription is more likely to lead to inconclusive or contradictory findings than for other forms of architecture. Since the demolition of the last Blumeyer tower, none of the other towers have been demolished or remodeled. The Missouri SHPO has been expanding its demand for Section 106 review of other mass housing projects built under federal programs in the 1960s and 1970s, demonstrating some evolution of increased value of these resources under the AHD. Regrettably, today, the sites of the city's largest lost public housing projects, including Cochran Gardens, are not marked in any way.

5.3: Valuation By Inhabitants

5.3.1 Inhabitant perspectives

Locating inhabitant perspectives that contain traces of valuative judgments about the architecture or built environment can be challenging. In this sense, Cochran Gardens' inhabitant values remain as underrepresented in literature as most mass housing in the US. In order to survey inhabitant perspectives, I set out to interview several people who interacted with inhabitants and review existing interviews conducted by others. I was unable to interview any former residents, due to reticence to be recorded and a notable trend that many of the more active former residents that my interview sources knew are now deceased.

Figure 5.18: The first family to move into Cochran Gardens enjoys their new apartment, 1953. Source: Collections of the Missouri History Museum.

For the inhabitant perspective from the early years, scholar Paul Kidder provided a recorded interview he conducted with his parents, who lived at Cochran Gardens between 1954 and 1959 as missionaries based at the Fellowship Church established by the Evangelical and Reformed Church. At first, they struggled to find an apartment in

Cochran due to demand, but eventually secured a unit. Most of their neighbors were single parent families, typically headed by a female raising small children. In the years that they lived there, they witnessed the racial integration although white residents still remained when they left, contrary to some expert narratives about Cochran (and the couple is white). The couple observed that there were strict rules about the built environment that seemed to instantiate an aura of refinement, such as disallowing people to gather on lawns and prohibitions against sleeping on balconies (which, as the units had no air conditioning, was desired by tenants). They observed some knife fights in stairwells but generally saw Cochran as a very clean, safe place. They recoiled as some white residents displayed racist attitudes toward newly-arrived black residents.

A newspaper article from 1959 depicts the life of Mrs. Gerald Hendrickson, a mother of 12 whose husband was a naval officer serving a tour of duty (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 1959). Curiously, the only resident account published in the daily newspaper during the 1950s notes an unusually large family size, but also reports that the large brood fit as well as possible into their spacious apartment (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 1959). This account seemed to affirm the utility of Cochran Gardens in housing working-class white families (see figure 5.18).

Rod Henmi, who was the lead designer for the modernization of three six-story buildings at Cochran in 1980, stated in an interview with me that he spent quite a bit of time with residents of those buildings and with CGTMC members. Henmi observed that the CGTMC was tougher on tenants than SLHA, moving to evict residents for conduct offenses quickly rather than the slower process that SLHA used. In his interactions with residents, Henmi encountered a lot of love for the apartments among residents. The residents told this architect that the apartments were larger in size than what they could find in other developments, including newer public housing built since the 1950s. On the other hand, the sentiment in the community also held that the small size of Cochran with its 12 buildings and 704 units made it easier to manage and more likely to resist the forces of decline affecting larger projects like Pruitt-Igoe.

In the interview with Hansman, who spent time at Cochran Gardens as a professor leading student tours of urban conditions, he opined that Cochran had always been distinct since it had been built for white residents. In Hansman's view, public housing built for white people was seen as housing, while public housing built for black people was "the projects," a pejorative moniker. Hansman observed that Cochran residents always saw Cochran as superior in terms of safety, community organization and quality of life. While residents were not likely to have views of the architecture that would match those of experts within the AHD – none identified it as "modernism" or even noted its differences with traditional architecture – residents were emphatic about maintaining qualities of durability and cleanliness that they saw embedded in the design.

In a scholarly critique of the success of tenant management, Joseph Fuerst noted that Cochran Gardens had strict rules in place compared to other St. Louis public housing projects (Fuerst 1988). Rules included zero tolerance for tenant drug use, a curfew for children and restrictions on pets (Fuerst 1988). Tenant management had reduced the amount of vandalism and drug use undertaken by residents, but had not completely ameliorated drug use, juvenile delinquency and unruly behavior (Fuerst 1988). Alongside Kenilworth Gardens in Washington, D.C., tenant management at Cochran had included the engagement of tenants as employees and managers of social services typically provided through the SLHA (Fuerst 1988). This led to an apparent sense that residents were being policed by each other, in common interest, rather than by outsider authorities, to embody Jane Jacobs' ideal of "eyes on the street" (Jacobs 1961/1993: 45).

According to a female who grew up at Cochran in the 1990s interviewed in a YouTube video, access to public transit, especially a light rail system with stations downtown, allowed youth to travel to shops and destinations across the city and even in inner suburbs (Views from the Arch 2021). She describes her experiences as positive – using the term "jamming" to characterize how her and her friends felt about their freedom -- and considered Cochran to be part of the city's downtown (Views from the Arch 2021). Interestingly, current residents of Cambridge Heights are known to still call their area

"the Cochrans," according to the former public housing resident that I interviewed. As with some of the mass housing residents in other parts of the world whose valuation was reviewed in the literature review (Williams 1977; Darling 2000; Gartman 2009; Bell 2011; Cuypers 2014), Cochran residents' statements do not assert intrinsic values about the built environment but generally narrate intangible distinctions that are symbolic.

5.3.2 Tenant management and the built environment

Another necessary part of the analysis of valuation was the stance of the CGTMC toward the built environment at Cochran Gardens. The CGTMC demonstrated a clear agenda of modification of the buildings at Cochran in response to tenant needs, ranging from remodeling buildings to make them more conducive for families, adding townhouse units and modifying one building for exclusive elderly occupation. By the end of the 1980s, Cochran clearly showed the dreams of the CGTMC in its architecture as the original design adapted to the various federally-funded modifications (Degener 1989).
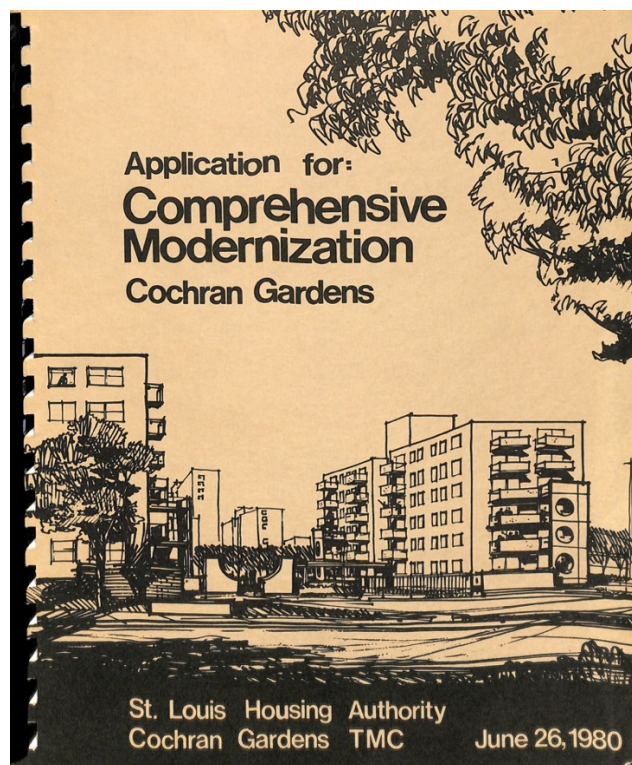
Figure 5.19: The rendering on the cover of this document shows the vision for tenant-led alteration of Yamasaki's designs. Source: St. Louis Housing Authority.

Two architects who worked at Cochran Gardens and had discussed the built environment with leaders in the CGTMC providd interviews for this research. One of these architects, Michael Willis, conducted research on the lack of commercial spaces or other amenities in the 1970s, and reported strong community support for modifying the original design which, due to SLHA and federal restrictions, reserved the use of the entire site for residential use. Architect Rod Henmi, who was the lead designer on a HUD-funded modernization of three six-story buildings on the south end of the site, stated that architectural change was key to the project (see figure 5.19). Each building only had one six-bedroom large family unit, and several four or five bedroom units. The residents had larger families than anticipated and wished to combine apartments, while also making the buildings more responsive to the exterior context. All of the architectural changes came after extensive community engagement (see figure 5.20).

Figure 5.20: Bertha Gilkey leads architectural consultants, HUD officials and residents on a walk through Cochran Gardens, 1989. Source: Associated Press.

Henmi worked on creating exterior access to apartments on the second floor through exterior staircases houses in decorative brick towers. The first floors had been all apartment spaces, but became space for community uses such as laundries, daycare

and social services. The goal of the exterior access was to create second-floor apartments with direct access to the ground for supervised play on the exterior spaces. Tenant meetings generated the ideas for the redesign, and subsequent creation of an adjacent townhouse development also targeted for families with children who could enjoy private yard spaces.

The CGTMC also pursued a strategy of tenant mobilisation toward necessary improvements. Under tenant management, tenants were organised to repaint their own floors, so that public spaces were pristine (Boyte 1989). Rules were implemented to govern social life and make the built environment clean. These rules included prohibitions on fighting and noise, and a strict ban on littering or throwing any trash from balconies (Boyte 1989). While there were four tenant-managed public housing projects in St. Louis by the late 1980s, Cochran was the only one with tennis courts thanks to the work of the CGTMC (Boyte 1989). Gilkey summed up her attitude toward Cochran's built environment: "Either you plan or they plan for you" (cited in Boyte 1989: 47). She added a comment on competing forms of expertise: "People with degrees and credentials got us in this mess" (ibid.). Gilkey's oppositional attitude toward expertise in her era places Cochran Gardens in a track of sites that embody knowledge of and rejection of dominant political power structures (Hayden 1995; Kisić 2013; González-Ruibal, González and Criado-Boado 2018).

In a 1992 *New York Times* profile, a reporter described the physical appearance of Cochran's twelve housing blocks as "noteworthy only in their lack of disarray" (Deparle 1992: 22). Although all twelve buildings had seen rehabilitation or major alteration since construction, due to the efforts of the CGTMC, Gilkey told the reporter that her strategy had been to fix up people before buildings (Deparle 1992). While most residents of Cochran were still very poor, the project had managed to retain long-time tenants even as the SLHA faced an overall 25% vacancy rate in public housing (Deparle 1992). The connections to downtown, noted by some residents as a plus, and the autonomy of the CGTMC, were outliers in the local public housing landscape and keys to success. Still, the *New York Times* noted that at least one resident stated that she did not go to tenant

meetings, and found Cochran very unsafe. While this resident wished the CGTMC well, she did was skeptical of the narratives around tenant management as an inclusive and empowering project (Deparle 1992).

5.3.3 Cochran Gardens before demolition

Given the widespread stigmatising narratives around mass housing, assessment of perspectives on Cochran Gardens' condition around the time that demolition was proposed by SLHA was vital to this research. As noted in chapter 2, the Literature Review, inhabitant valuation is missing from much of the secondary literature around mass housing, with the assessments of experts asserting deterioration or deficiency dominant. I relied on interviews and newspaper accounts to attempt to understand what the conditions were like, and how residents felt about these conditions. Expert narratives comport to universalizing clichés about public housing that advanced neoliberal agendas while avoiding concretising narratives in actual conditions (Fuerst and Sims 2005; Arena 2012; Vale 2013; Fennell 2015; McGhee 2016).

Hansman, who brought his architecture students to Cochran Gardens, spoke of the differences between Cochran and the other projects, including the low-rise Clinton-Peabody Terrace where he lived. Hansman reported that in the 1990s, the other high-rise public housing projects had elevators reeking of urine, large amounts of graffiti on exterior and interior surfaces, lawns strewn with litter, broken play equipment and signs of physical disrepair. Cochran, he asserted, was different: no graffiti, clean elevators, and well-tended lawn areas. Also, unlike other projects, there was a snack shop on site. Hansman said that a definitive feature was the lawn and sidewalk area on the project's eastern edge of 7th Street, where routinely on weekends families would set up barbeque grills and cook all day long. According to my source, he would bring students over and they would be greeted by the pleasant smells of cooking and the sounds of radios playing music. People were friendly, and the mood was festive, he reported.

In contrast, former chairman of the SLHA Sal Martinez depicted the built environment as "antiquated" during a semi-structured interview. Martinez feels that the replacement

development, Cambridge Heights, is far superior in quality of condition to Cochran before demolition. He also noted that the CGTMC's development of a small commercial building, the Ujaama Mall built adjacent to Cochran, was not very successful. Built offsite to both overcome a SLHA rule against commercial construction on public housing sites and address the lack of small businesses, the Ujaama Mall also was supposed to create entrepreneurship opportunities for residents. According to Martinez, Ujaama Mall quickly withered and demonstrated the limitations of public housing developments to provide a real urban environment for residents. The former public housing resident and professor that I interviewed called Ujaama a "closed loop."

THE VIEW FROM COCHRAN GARDENS

WENDI FITZGERALD / POST-DISPATCH

Yvette Easterwood, 17, lives with her family in a fourth-story apartment at the Cochran Gardens public housing complex, 1311 North 18th Street. A consultant has recommended that the St. Louis Housing Authority demolish most of the high-rise buildings at Cochran Gardens.

Many who live there support demolition

BY TIM O'NEIL
Of the Post-Dispatch

Tuesday was a bad day to ask Charles and Clararee Gillespie about talk of demolishing the Cochran Gardens high-rise public housing complex, their home for 31 years.

"I wish they'd tear these down tomorrow, and take the elevators with them," said Charles Gillespie, 62. "My wife can't get upstairs."

Clararee Gillespie, 59, waited outside in her wheelchair, five floors below their apartment. A shady spot beneath a tree and a steady breeze kept her comfortable while maintenance workers spent an hour fixing a broken elevator.

The Gillespies live in one of the seven high-rise buildings in Cochran Gardens, just north of downtown, that the St. Louis Housing Authority may demolish and replace with town house-style buildings. A consulting firm hired by the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development has recommended that the city authority demolish almost one third of its 5,011 public housing apartments, including 523 in Cochran Gardens' older high-rise buildings.

That plan would not include the Cochran Towers high-rise for the elderly or the newer, two-story apartment buildings west of Ninth Street.

The consultant's report was released Monday. On Tuesday, all
See Housing, Page B3

Figure 5.21: Cochran Gardens toward the end. Source: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* June 23, 1999.

Former residents willing to discuss Cochran Gardens on the record were difficult to locate, newspaper accounts of residents' statements to reporters were a necessary

source to illuminate the dissonance in resident valuation of the built environment. An article published at the same moment a consultant to SLHA recommended demolishing the majority of Cochran Gardens contains a few interviews indicating a contrast of opinions (O'Neil 1999; see figure 5.21). Resident Denise Franklin offered the strongest opposition to demolition, proclaiming that once the slab housing blocks came down, the people of Cochran Gardens would never come back to live on the site (O'Neil 1999). Greg Tillman, a father living at Cochran, stated that he would rather live in a townhouse because it would be better for his children (O'Neil 1999).. He cited that a single dwelling would offer more privacy through separation from other families as well as desired access to the ground. He noted that his children had to play in the stairwells. An elderly resident, Charles Gillespie, told the reporter that he wanted Cochran's buildings demolished "tomorrow" because of constant failures of the elevators (O'Neil 1999). Gillespie's wife used a wheelchair and frequently could not get to their apartment.

No accounts of Cochran in the end years demonstrated any real opinion about the architectural style or materials of the complex, but did contain critique of high-rise living. The architect who worked on the Cochran revitalization project whom I interviewed observed that taller elevator buildings are challenging to manage, given the constant use of elevators leading to breakdowns of service. His position is that all elevator-served public housing should be low-rise to guarantee better quality of service. This position accords with the executive director of SLHA at the time of demolition, Thomas Costello, who told a reporter that "the high-rise is passé" (O'Neil 1999: B3).

5.3.4 Inhabitant engagement of the HOPE VI revitalization plan
The HOPE VI process for replacing Cochran Gardens required public engagement that is represented in both public narratives and individual memories. Notably, the local media reported more strongly on expert reports and SLHA's decisions than on the public engagement of residents. Opinions noted in the previous section are the only resident opinions repeated in the local newspaper. Despite the lack of coverage of the process, the press did focus on problems within the CGTMC ahead of the HOPE VI process.

In 1998, Bertha Gilkey resigned as chair of the CGTMC due to the criminal investigation into her handling of funds that led to her conviction four years later on embezzlement. Her son Antoine Gilkey became a sort of torch bearer for his mother's cause, but the chair position fell on tenant Kenneth Kellin who initially agreed to relinquish the CGTMC's contract for managing Cochran to the SLHA (Parish 1998). When Kellin reversed his decision, largely in the face of knowing more about the plans to wreck Cochran and displace its residents, the newspaper account emphasised the CGTMC's transition (two board members had resigned after Gilkey) and Kellin's reversal of position instead of the future of Cochran itself (Parish 1998). The newspaper quoted SLHA commissioned JoAnn Williams, who declared that after the turmoil within CGTMC there was "no one to turn it over to" (Parish 1998: 10). While Gilkey's stature clearly was a factor in this assessment, the narrative around CGTMC served to advance SLHA's goal of demolishing the project.

Martinez revealed that the strategy of the CGTMC and Gilkey to boycott the public meetings around Cochran Gardens' demolition and replacement led to a lack of impact on subsequent events. Martinez, who presided over the public meetings, noted that these meetings had the lowest attendance of any of the HOPE VI procedural meetings for any St. Louis public housing project. Gilkey and her allies refused to participate in the meetings, although they would arrive at the meeting locations and remain outside of the meeting rooms in hallways where they would protest. He said that there were other strong female leaders of tenants at high-rise projects, but they turned out despite similar opposition.

According to Martinez, the Gilkey faction was demoralised by the termination of the CGTMC contract with SLHA. They viewed the HOPE VI process as rigged in favor of creating a private developer fee for a redeveloper, and were against the privatisation of laundry and other concessions in the new plan for Cambridge Heights. He characterised their stance toward SLHA as, "how can we trust you now?" However, the only argument against the new low-rise housing proposed to replace Cochran that expressly dealt with architecture was that former residents felt that their apartments were larger than the

proposed replacement units. There also was a widespread resentment toward SLHA over deferred maintenance of the Cochran buildings.

Martinez himself championed HOPE VI and is pleased with the results. He thought that the modernist housing blocks labeled the city's poor public housing residents in ways that needlessly stigmatised them. He summarized the local attitude toward projects like Cochran as "that's where the low income folks live." Public housing scholar Lawrence Vale makes a similar argument, noting that in later years housing projects ended up encouraging an "unfairly criminalized identity" for residents (Vale 2000: 391). Under HOPE VI, he sees poor people gaining the opportunity to live in mixed-income developments whose appearances are not so socially isolating. Martinez thinks that ultimately the integration of residents into mixed-income housing brought a "change of heart about what development could bring" among the Cochran residents who did participate in the public meetings around the HOPE VI project. Martinez also states that as chair of SLHA he felt obligated to pursue opportunities to deconcentrate Extremely Low Income (ELI) public housing residents, because social science data showed improved abilities to gain wealth and education when these people lived more economically integrated.

5.4: Valuation Within Popular Narratives

5.4.1 Early public narratives of Cochran Gardens Apartments

To review public perceptions of Cochran Gardens in its early days, both scholarly accounts and newspaper articles reinforce the quite positive valuation of the housing project by elected officials and the media. Cochran Gardens originally was proposed before World War II as the third St. Louis project (numbered MO-3) to be funded under the 1937 housing act (Von Hoffman 2000). This version of Cochran would have been built in the low-rise custom of the first two projects, and would have been built generally in the same location. Political leaders voiced the urgent need for the project's utility in relieving slum housing conditions (Von Hoffman 2000). The war effort stalled most

federal non-military construction between 1942 and 1945, and only the passage of the 1949 housing act with new funds reinvigorated MO-3.

By 1950, when the SLHA was actually able to contemplate planning MO-3, St. Louis Mayor Joseph Darst had become infatuated with the slab high-rise mass housing of New York City, which included projects like Parkchester, the subject of Chapter 6. Darst visited New York City and returned inspired to rebuild St. Louis in the image of Manhattan with both massive new public housing projects and sleek residential high-rises for middle- and upper-income St. Louisans (Von Hoffman 2000; see figure 5.22). In fact, Darst pushed to hire the firm of Hellmuth, Yamasaki & Leinweber to replace the original architects of MO-3, due to the then-young firm's local political connections and willingness to embrace Darst's cosmopolitan aspiration for St. Louis (Von Hoffman 2000).

Figure 5.22: A model of Cochran Gardens on display at the City Plan Commission office, 1952, encourages business leaders to support slum eradication. Source: Collections of the Missouri History Museum.

When Cochran Gardens was completed, and a three-day open house was held, one daily newspaper placed Cochran Gardens on the cover of its weekend home and

garden section (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 1952). Alongside fashionable large homes of the suburbs, the newspaper displayed images of a display unit at Cochran furnished with radiant mid-century modern furniture, drapes and wall hangings (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 1952). Each supplier and jobber who worked on the project paid for large-format advertisements in the section, in which they boasted of having worked on Cochran. Darst brought New York City developer William Zeckendorf to St. Louis for a visit coinciding with the open house, and implored the developer to help build more privately-funded mass housing, especially for black St. Louisans (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 1999; Von Hoffman 2000). The buzz around the open house led to an extension of its run and a massive waiting list for entry. Only a handful of articles mentioned that the project was restricted to white tenants only.

The stigma about the provision of public housing discussed in the Context chapter also consumed one public exchange about Cochran Gardens. Following the lavish newspaper coverage of the open house, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* published a letter from someone signing as "Wondering" that excoriated the supposed giveaway of housing to "slum dwellings headed for green pastures" (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 1952a: 4). The authors claimed to be college-educated, fully-employed people who had to rough it in a "gopher hole" of an apartment costing $60 per month while they could not afford the better, $100 per monthly apartments on the local market. Meanwhile, Cochran restricted access to its spacious, taxpayer-funded, well-built $40 per month apartments to those of lower incomes than the letter writers. The resentful middle-class take on the welfare state engendered a response from a writer signing as "Looking" that defended Cochran Gardens as a wise use of their own tax dollars to craft some "social good" (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 1952b: 30). The author claimed to be in a similar situation as "Wondering," but blamed the real estate market for the lack of options for middle-class options.

5.4.2 Later public narratives of Cochran Gardens

Cochran Gardens remained out of the press in the later 1950s and the 1960s, even after the 1955 desegregation of public housing residents and the subsequent outflow of

white residents. Most of the later public narratives around the housing project can be historicised into two periods: the generally-lauded early period of tenant management from the late 1970s into the early 1990s, where Cochran was praised by elected leaders and the press, and the supposed decline of the project in the 1990s, when media was most likely to narrate criminal activity, poor building conditions and instability within the CGTMC. A significant shift in Cochran's fortunes can be found in its unit occupancy rate, which fell from 94.6 percent in 1968 to 81.3 percent in 1969 and 72% in 1974 (Meehan 1975).

The public narratives around the success of the CGTMC already have been noted in their utility to national political leaders, especially conservative Republicans. However, the same narratives also served the local business establishment and advocates of black empowerment. As early as 1978, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch editorial board saluted the CGTMC in an editorial entitled "Partners in Progress" (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 1978). Hailing the CGTMC's ability to fund 500 new townhouse units for families adjacent to the project as well as its efforts to improve the existing towers, the daily newspaper cited the "grassroots" nature of the organization as its strength (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 1978). Yet the editorial board's munificent praise was less about Cochran's inhabitants as it was about urban renewal efforts in St. Louis' distressed central business district. In fact, the editorial openly claims that the improvement of Cochran – which was immediately adjacent to the business district – served the "corporate agenda" of reducing investor hesitation in the city's urban core.

CGTMC visibly embodied a hopeful vision of empowerment admired by both the pro-"bootstrapping" political right and the pro-Black autonomy left. The high visibility of the CGTMC and its successes derived largely through Gilkey's constant interviews, speeches and awards. As Gilkey became a successful consultant to other tenant groups around the nation, she was able to travel and disseminate her message of self-empowerment and her account of CGTMC's work to make Cochran a wonderful home (Deparle 1992). Gilkey became a metonym for the public housing resident that many advocates for black self-empowerment sought: passionate, committed, politically savvy

and seemingly incapable of losing her battles (Deparle 1992; Brown 1998; King 2014). "She never lost her fight," claimed attorney and developer Richard Baron when Gilkey died (cited in King 2014: 1).

Gilkey's representation in popular narratives also fit into the mythic "American dream," in which ordinary people could achieve success, power and fame by pursuing a life of moral commitment and hard work. Gilkey achieved national recognition for her work, including being the subject of an interview on the network television program *60 Minutes* and receiving an award from Oprah Winfrey on live television. She was the subject of a profile in the *New York Times* (Deparle 1992). Her media presence made her the most famous public housing resident in the US during the 1990s. Gilkey's unwavering commitment to self-empowerment and her criticism of the welfare state for promoting negative traits in public housing residents further projected the individualist myth of the US (Boyte 1989; Deparle 1992; King 2014). The project benefitted from public narratives around Bertha Gilkey, and the praise she received from Republican politicians at a time when they usually criticized public housing demonstrates the capacity of these narratives to constructively alter the political judgment of Cochran Gardens.

Media depictions of Cochran Gardens began to turn against the narrative of success in the mid-1990s, coinciding with the advent of the HOPE VI initiative and general popular narratives about inner-city criminality. The 1990s saw the rise of racist, reactionary politics across the Democratic and Republican parties in which public housing projects especially reified threats to social order, from crime to drugs (Vale 2000; Williams 2004). A typical news story about Cochran Gardens that epitomized this discourse was a 1994 newspaper story about the murder a bank clerk north of St. Louis's center. An article claimed that the murder was the work of a gang of six young men, five of whom lived at Cochran Gardens, and further asserted that the gang operated out of Cochran (Bryant 1994). Such accounts insinuated that Cochran, not the suspects, were responsible for the crimes.

5.4.3 Popular valuation of Cochran Gardens Apartments in decline

Although there are numerous articles in St. Louis' daily newspapers repeating tales of deterioration, crime and social unrest at Cochran Gardens, the structural pattern of these narratives is far more revealing than any single story. These articles can be found through a search of the digital archive of the city's leading daily newspaper, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, beginning in 1950 when the housing project was proposed and ending in 1999 when the decision on demolition had been set. Both general searches for the name of the project and additional searches adding potentially pejorative terms yielded distinct shifts in public narratives (see Table 5.1).

Perhaps unsurprising is that Cochran Gardens received major attention through its proposal, construction and opening, before quickly falling out of the newspaper. In fact, there were only four stories mentioning the project at all in the 1960s. The rent strike in 1969 seemed to boost visibility in the public eye, but some of the subsequent attention would overemphasize the negative aspects of life at Cochran Gardens. General coverage increased in the 1970s and 1980s, before peaking with 380 stories in the 1990s, many of which dealt with the perceived decline and SLHA's efforts to use the HOPE VI program to demolish and replace the project.

Table 5.1: Searches for Cochran Gardens in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch *archive.*

Date	General	+ "Crime"	+ "Problems"	+ "Poverty"
1950-9	26	7	16	3
1960-9	4	0	0	0
1970-9	53	13	30	8
1980-9	139	45	93	12
1990-9	380	220	220	37

The addition of the word "crime" to archival searches yielded a small number of stories in the first decade, mostly addressing the slums that the project replaced. Reporting on crime at Cochran Gardens begins in the 1970s, when it is given modest attention, before increasing over threefold between the 1970s the 1980s and then over fivefold

between the 1980s and 1990s (see figure 5.23). Some of the connections between the searches yield coincidences, such as news round-ups that placed a crime report next to news of the CGTMC's projects. Still, there is a real increase in publishing details of crime at the project. In a semi-structured interview with me, historian Joseph Heathcott, who has thoroughly researched mass public housing in St. Louis, stated his stance that Cochran was made to serve as a metonym for the crime problems that St. Louis was facing systemically with the rise of crack cocaine dealing and gang conflict in the 1980s and 1990s.

Figure 5.23: A daily newspaper headline about Cochran Gardens from the 1990s. Source: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* February 16, 1994.

The addition of the word "problems" follows a similar trajectory, where the 1950s searches lead to articles favoring Cochran's ability to solve urban "problems" while stories emerging in the 1970s use "problems" to depict the general state of social life at the project. The addition of the term "poverty," which actually corresponds to the negative condition that the CGTMC and residents wanted to solve, shows less attention from the daily newspaper than crime and general depictions of disorder. In the 1970s,

when less than one-third of household heads were fully employed, only 37 articles included any depiction of poverty at the housing project, slightly less than one-tenth of the total articles mentioning Cochran Gardens. Declining public valuation of Cochran after the 1970s is both reflected and influenced by mass media depictions. Since local television station archives are not indexed yet, a further review of television news stories could show whether the patters of coverage in the daily newspaper correlate with those of broadcast news.

5.4.4 Cultural depictions of Cochran Gardens Apartments

This research would be remiss without examining representations of Cochran Gardens in popular culture forms. While the more famous Pruitt-Igoe project is St. Louis' most likely mass housing project to be depicted in film, music, art and literature, Cochran appears in several representations – hip hop music, videos -- that all emphasize or exaggerate its seedy character, association with criminality and the harshness of living there. Generally the array of representations fit into a global narrative that depicts mass housing sites ranging from the *banlieue* outside Paris to the *blokovi* of New Belgrade, Serbia as dystopian places of social anomie, hard living, criminal activities and public stigma (Cupers 2014, Prokopljević 2015, Putnik Prica 2018, Machado e Moura 2022). Most of the residents who make music or other art depicting these places are younger men, who use the conditions of the mass housing sites to underscore their toughness, street-wise outlooks and perseverance against adversity.

One early video depicting Cochran Gardens was made by St. Louis' underground rappers Black Pearl Mafia in 1991. In the video, the two members of the Black Pearl Mafia drive around the north side of St. Louis – which by then had become majority black and contained districts with highest levels of poverty – and pretend to be police officers busting drug deals. As the two men drive around, they point out how decrepit the built environment is, and lament the lack of investment in the neighborhoods. Mostly the video is slapstick, as they prank people during drug deals with an obviously humorous tone. Toward the end of the video, they head into the Cochran Gardens area where they claim that the worst-behaved people can be found. Although they do not find

any drug deals there, their framing – a long set of shots in very distressed neighborhoods before arrival at Cochran – advances the narrative that Cochran Gardens is a forlorn, unsafe place with an especially low life population. This is the stereotyping that the CGTMC was in the midst of challenging at the time.

A 2011 hip hop track by local performer Trendsettrs entitled "From Da County to Da Cochran" characterises life at Cochran as a contrast to the safer, quieter suburbs. Trendsettrs' lyrics acknowledge that people dismiss him because he is from a housing project, but that "he's on top" with the skills he learned and opportunities gained on the rougher streets around the project. The opportunities are insinuated to be possibly criminal, and he mentions needing to carry a gun. Many shots showing Trendsettrs at the base of a tower, with a sign bearing the project name, establish his belonging to the place (see figure 5.24). A YouTube video from the same year shows supposed members of the Crips gang engaging in freestyle rap at Cochran Gardens, although they appear on a playground in the low-rise townhouses built in the 1980s and the towers do not appear.

Figure 5.24: A still from Trendsettrs' video for "From Da County to Da Cochran" (2011). Source: YouTube.

Hip-hop group the Ghettobots attributes their two DJs' growing up at Cochran Gardens as the origin of their name, thus embracing the identity of the housing project as a "ghetto." The Ghettobots' biography states: "The Ghettobots started out in 1995 in one

of St. Louis, Missouri's most notorious housing projects -- The Cochran Gardens." The impact of self-styled survivors of Cochran's ghetto status on non-resident hip hop fans seems apparent. Soundcloud user Brent Csutoras has created a hip-hop playlist entitled "Cochran Gardens," which is marked by an errant photograph of the adjacent Neighborhood Gardens Apartments. Csutoras is a young man living in Boca Raton, Florida, with no apparent connection to St. Louis or to Cochran Gardens.

5.5: Conclusion

In this research, Cochran Gardens offers a case study from the recent past that illustrates dissonance within the valuation of a modernist mass housing development. As noted in the Context chapter, Cochran's demolition fits a normative pattern in the US during the 1990s when public mass housing was systematically evaluated as deficient housing and demolished, usually with ambivalent or accepting responses from within the AHD. Through review of primary documents, newspaper accounts and interviews with several people with forms of expertise and experience around Cochran, it is demonstrated that the specifics of the Cochran Gardens case reinforce the larger problems in the valuation of modernist mass housing that are laid out in the Literature Review and Context chapters.

Yet Cochran Gardens also reveals a strong track of values around aspects of the built environment not typically considered within the AHD as it relates to architectural history: the quality of interior dwelling spaces, the physical planning of connections between housing buildings and the surrounding city, the ability of inhabitants to shape alterations of mass housing buildings to address limitations and deficiencies, the development of strong political agency among inhabitants, and the social health of the community of inhabitants. Some of these values can be reified in architectural forms, but others remain physically intangible. Scholarly research examining the decline and loss of other US public housing projects shows that these values have been commonly espoused by inhabitants and housing planners as they have assessed the architecture (Vale 2000; Williams 2004; Hunt 2009; Vale 2013; Fennell 2015; Rodriguez 2019). These values have had slower traction within the AHD, in which architectural valuation remains

captured by the dominant bias of the fields of architecture and architectural history toward object-forms assessed for both integrity of historic material form and relationship to supposedly authentic design prototypes. Yet the actors within the resident community and housing planning acted without much abeyance to the AHD, while some voices within the AHD retroactively seem to be bending toward the values asserted by the inhabitants.

CHAPTER 6: PARKCHESTER (NEW YORK, NEW YORK)

6.0: Introduction

The second case study of this research is Parkchester located in the Bronx borough of New York, New York in the US. Still standing, Parkchester provides a contemporary example of a modernist mass housing development facing several dynamics similar to those that doomed the heritagisation of Cochran Gardens: professional ambivalence, structural social dynamics of race and class and deep-rooted public narratives about mass housing. Yet Parkchester's current situation demonstrates progress made in confronting bias among the keepers of the authorised heritage discourse, as experts are advocating for heritage inscription. This positive turn, though, has faced an ambivalence within the official heritage agency, which has not expedited inscription. Simultaneously, residents have amplified a long struggle to maintain Parkchester as affordable housing, improve the quality of their built environment and fight perceptions of rising crime and increased deterioration among residents and media narratives.

Parkchester originated as a middle class "city within the city," and consisted of a massively scaled development: 51 high-rise elevator-served buildings including 12,271 apartments. One historian has deemed Parkchester "grandest of all" of the mass housing developments built in the Bronx (Gonzalez 2004: 147). Parkchester connected to the rest of New York City by a subway station, and included amenities beyond dwellings including shops, recreational spaces and automobile parking. Privately developed by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company as a low-profit affordable housing development for the middle class, Parkchester was reserved for white families until integration in the 1960s. Since the sale of the two sections of Parkchester to private landlords in 1974 and 1986, the complex has seen many units converted into condominiums, and the deterioration of buildings and their aesthetic features. Today, residents are waging a campaign for increased repairs but also against gentrification as the landlords threaten to remove rent stabilization from units. Unlike Cochran Gardens,

Parkchester has been more widely accepted as architectural heritage although obstacles to heritage inscription raises some similar problems (Prudon 2008).

This chapter explores the competing paths of valuation of Parkchester by deeply engaging current positions articulated by actors within the AHD and the tenant community. A possible path toward synthesis of those values in support of inscribing Parkchester while securing long-term affordability will be the subject of the concluding chapter of this dissertation. In this chapter, I will first examine the development and design of Parkchester, noting its differences from my other case study. The background sections largely synthesize published sources. Then I will explore the valuation of Parkchester within the AHD, relying on primary sources from agencies, advocates and media coverage as well as structured interviews. I will conclude by presenting the valuation of Parkchester by residents, sourced from structured interviews, participant observation and resident surveys. I will also analyse the perception of Parkchester within popular narratives, including mass media and hip-hop music.

6.1: Historic Context

6.1.1 Mass housing in New York City, 1930-1945

To evaluate the value of Parkchester as both a living environment and as architectural heritage, review of the context of mass housing in New York City is necessary. In 1929, New York City passed the Multiple Dwellings Law, which built upon several existing apartment and tenement reform laws but expressly enabled the high-rise apartment form. The new ordinance covered bulk and height restrictions, but also allowed towers to rise three times the street width of their block face as long as they did not exceed one-fifth of the area of their lot (Plunz 1990). Larger lots could site two towers. One major aspect of the Multiple Dwellings Act is key to supporting projects like Parkchester: the 1901 New York City Tenement House Act requirements that interior stairs and corridors have openings to the exterior was repealed (Plunz 1990). Thus, towers could have double-loaded corridors and internal staircases.

By the end of the 1930s, the high-rise elevator-served building became the norm for all forms of mass housing in New York City due to "overlapping ideological and cost concerns" (Bloom 2008: 45). For public housing, high-rise forms that left most of a site's ground plain open combined cost-efficient construction with space for desired amenities for family life. Beginning with the First Houses (1936), the city's first public housing project, the New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) created preferences for utilitarian interiors and exteriors with little decoration (Plunz 1990). For private projects, the considerations were similar. For both, the high-rise also generated sufficient revenue in rents to pay down the land acquisition costs which were higher in New York City than most parts of the US (Bloom 2008; Glendinning 2021). After New York City Mayor Fiorella LaGuardia declared that the construction of low-cost housing was "exclusively a function of government," the 1930s became a banner decade of both public and private mass housing construction (Glendinning 2021: 64).

Figure 6.1: The five towers of Castle Village (1939) on Manhattan's west side. Source: Compass Real Estate.

Aesthetically, the Garden City movement had a profound influence on early co-operative and private low-rent projects, including Sunnyside Gardens (1924-8) and the Public

Works Administration (PWA)-funded Hillside Homes (1934-5) in the Bronx, both designed by Clarence Stein (Bloom 2009). Sunnyside Gardens made use of more traditional, low-rise gabled buildings set on the perimeter of blocks arranged around a picturesque street patten. At Hillside Homes, flat-roofed, modernist mid-rise slab perimeter buildings enclosed courtyards within a conventional street grid. Hillside Homes' buildings, with minimal masonry decoration and well-researched planning of apartment clusters, pointed the way toward Parkchester (Plunz 1990).

Within public housing design, the PWA-funded Williamsburg Houses (1938) designed by William Lescaze introduced the International Style to New York City mass housing, with *zeilenbau* layouts (buildings in rows), flat roofs and sparse building designs (Bloom 2008). Williamsburg Houses also introduced 50 shops to the development, a tendency that the federal housing authorities would come to prevent but shows the success of mixed-use mass housing projects. The Queensbridge Houses (1937-40), designed by F.R. Ballard and Henry S. Churchill, pointed toward higher building forms although the courtyard blocks rose only to six stories (Glendinning 2021). By the time of the construction of the East River Houses (1941), NYCHA was exploring taller buildings; at that project there was a mix of six-, ten- and eleven-story buildings (Bloom 2008). In this era, Castle Village, completed in 1939, a 5-building co-operative 12-story tower project for the upper middle class, was the most direct precedent for Parkchester's concept of middle-income mass housing (Plunz 1990; see figure 6.1).

After the construction of Parkchester, New York City under the direction of its construction coordinator Robert Moses pursued the opportunity to develop more middle-income, rent-controlled "towers in the park developments" (Ballon 2007; Glendinning 2021). Eventually Parkchester was superseded in scale and size by Co-Op City, the largest housing co-operative ever built, also located in the Bronx (Glendinning 2021). With 15,382 apartments set in buildings built across 320 acres between 1965 and 1972, Co-Op City remains the largest housing development of any kind in US history (Glendinning 2021). Co-Op City's towers are taller and cover less ground area than Parkchester – only 20% -- making its site largely open for recreational fields and park-

like areas. Unlike Parkchester, Co-Op City was built as a rent-controlled tenant cooperative, and eventually it began attracting families out of Parkchester (narrated in section 6.4.1).

6.1.2 Design of Parkchester

In order to build Parkchester, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company (MLIC) had to secure an amendment to the New York State Insurance Code to allow insurance companies to invest in low-rent housing (Plunz 1990; Gurock 2019). The resulting law allowed MLIC and its peers to invest up to 10% of corporate assets in low-rent housing for the next five years (Gurock 2019). MLIC pledged to invest $100 million in low-rent housing, with a new project in the Bronx as its first development. After MLIC purchased 129 largely unbuilt acres in the eastern Bronx from the New York Catholic Protectory and announced plans for a massive middle-class housing project called Parkchester, *Architectural Forum* named MLIC Chairman Frederick H. Ecker "man of the month" in May 1938 (Gurock 2019). Parkchester was named for two adjacent neighborhoods, Park Versailles and Westchester (Frattini 2000).

Parkchester's design was groundbreaking for New York City, as it represented the first full embrace of the ideal of "towers in a park" espoused by Le Corbusier and the International Congress of Modern Architecture (or CIAM) as they had been promoted by the New York-based Housing Study Guild (Plunz 1990; Mumford 2009). Parkchester's irregularly set cruciform blocks, which maximized apartment exposure to light and air while also maintaining nearly 73% of ground area as open space, embodied the Housing Study Guild's recommendations (Mumford 1995). MLIC would further advance this approach at the slightly smaller but similar Stuyvesant Town (1947) on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. Although Parkchester influenced NYCHA's early public tower projects funded under the 1949 US Housing Act, by the end of the 1950s another type of mass housing tower development was more favored across the US (Plunz 1990; Mumford 1995). Cochran Gardens represents the second wave of towers, which typically were linear slab forms influenced by the work of Walter Gropius, Mies van der Rohe, Sergei Chermayeff and others (Mumford 1995).

Figure 6.2: Site plan for Parkchester. Source: *Architectural Forum*, 1939.

MLIC turned over the design of Parkchester to a Board of Design whose main leads on shaping the landscape and building forms were town planner Gilmore D. Clarke and architect Richmond H. Shreve, a principal at Shreve, Lamb & Harmon (Architectural Forum 1939). Clarke, a planner who worked on several significant early highways around the city, collaborated with Michael Rapuano, who would work in plans for the 1939 and 1964 World's Fairs (Gill 2022). Shreve, whose firm had designed the Empire State Building, delegated production management to architect Irwin Clavan (Architectural Forum 1939). One of Shreve's younger designers, Minoru Yamasaki, also worked on Parkchester and while his exact role is unknown architectural historian Dale Gyure argues that the experience surely influenced Yamasaki's approach to Pruitt-Igoe and Cochran Gardens in St. Louis (Gyure 2017). Yamasaki apparently already had tried

to leave the firm, dulled by Shreve's design philosophy that "[f]inance dictates fenestration" (Gyure 2017: 5).

Figure 6.3: Aerial view of Parkchester showing its scale and relationship to surrounding areas. Source: Parkchesterinfo.com.

Parkchester's novel site plan actually came about through happenstance, as Clarke and Rapuano chose to retain the bisecting diagonal Unionport Road (Architectural Forum 1939; see figure 6.3). They devised a second diagonal road, Metropolitan Avenue, to create a quadrant division of the site, with quadrants not symmetrical (see figure 6.2). Where the two streets met, the designers placed an oval park that eventually became known as the Metropolitan Oval and was adorned with a pool containing a fountain and sculptures by artist Raymond Granville Barger (see figure 6.4).

Figure 6.4: The completed Metropolitan Oval. Source: Herbert Gehr/The LIFE Picture Collection/Shutterstock.

The spaces between buildings were laid out for circulation, playgrounds and larger recreational areas. Some ground floor units had access to shared or private terraces or patios. The entire site was planted with trees, shrubs and flowers to make it as park-like as possible (Architectural Forum 1939). Unlike most mass housing in the US, Parkchester also integrated commercial uses clustered in the south along Metropolitan Avenue but also including other spaces spread throughout (see figure 6.7). The inclusion of retail, service and restaurant spaces – including the first-ever branch location of famous New York City department store Macy's and a United States Post Office – truly allowed Parkchester to function as a "city within a city" (Glendinning 2021; see figure 6.5).

Figure 6.5: The Macy's in Parkchester's main commercial district. Source: The Parkchester Project.

Figure 6.6: Early (undated) view of Parkchester's landscape. Source: Postcard view.

For the buildings, Shreve and Clavan arranged them in a picturesque manner, using the sweeps of the site's streets and pathways to orient buildings rather than laying them out with any regular pattern (see figure 6.6). The 51 buildings actually consisted of cruciform segments, and segments had heights of either 8 or 13 stories (Architectural Forum 1939; Plunz 1990; Glendinning 2021). The irregular clustering allowed the architects to control the sun and wind exposure of dwellings; ventilation was crucial since air conditioning would not be a feature of the dwellings (Architectural Forum 1939; Gurock 2019). Inside, the buildings relied on standardization schemes intended to keep construction costs down, and speed along production. The buildings were built with only three core plans and five wing plans, so details were repeated many times (Architectural Forum 1939). Corridors were surrounded by dwelling space and kept to a minimal size, so as to maximize rental income but also reduce the footprints of blocks.

Figure 6.7: A view of the commercial district in June 2023. Source: Author's photograph.

WING PLAN A

WING PLAN B
INTERCHANGEABLE WITH
C, D AND E

WING PLAN A

WING PLAN E
INTERCHANGEABLE WITH
B, C AND D

CORE PLAN NO. 1

WING PLAN A

WING PLAN B

WING PLAN C

WING PLAN D

WING PLAN D
INTERCHANGEABLE WITH
B, C AND E

WING PLAN C
INTERCHANGEABLE WITH
B, D AND E

CORE PLAN NO. 2.

WING PLAN B
INTERCHANGEABLE WITH
C, D AND E

WING PLAN E

WING PLAN A

Core and wing plan variation—
two-room, first-floor apartment.

WING PLAN C
INTERCHANGEABLE WITH
B, D AND E

WING PLAN D
INTERCHANGEABLE WITH
B, C AND E

CORE PLAN NO. 3

Figure 6.8: The building and unit plan variants. Source: *Architectural Forum*, 1939.

209

Each apartment was built according to a set of recombinant formulas, so most would be quite similar in appearance. Shreve's designers pursued what *Architectural Forum* considered to be a "high economical extreme" (Architectural Forum 1939: 419). Layouts were based on the wing and core variation, and units ranged from one to three bedrooms (see figure 6.8). Most were three-room one-bedroom units. All of the 12,271 units had the exact same bathroom. There were only three variants on the kitchen plan, which was a loose interpretation of highly efficient European modernist kitchens such as the Frankfurt kitchen (Architectural Forum 1939). Kitchens and baths were arranged for shared plumbing stacks to lower the number of utility stacks. Despite the value engineering of layouts, dwellings were far from homely. Each unit had large closets, sturdy millwork, parquet flooring and plastered walls and ceilings. Apartments had windows on at least two elevations to create cross-ventilation -- and tenants would later figure out that leaving unit doors open could cause entire floors to share cross-ventilation in hot summer weather (Gurock 2019).
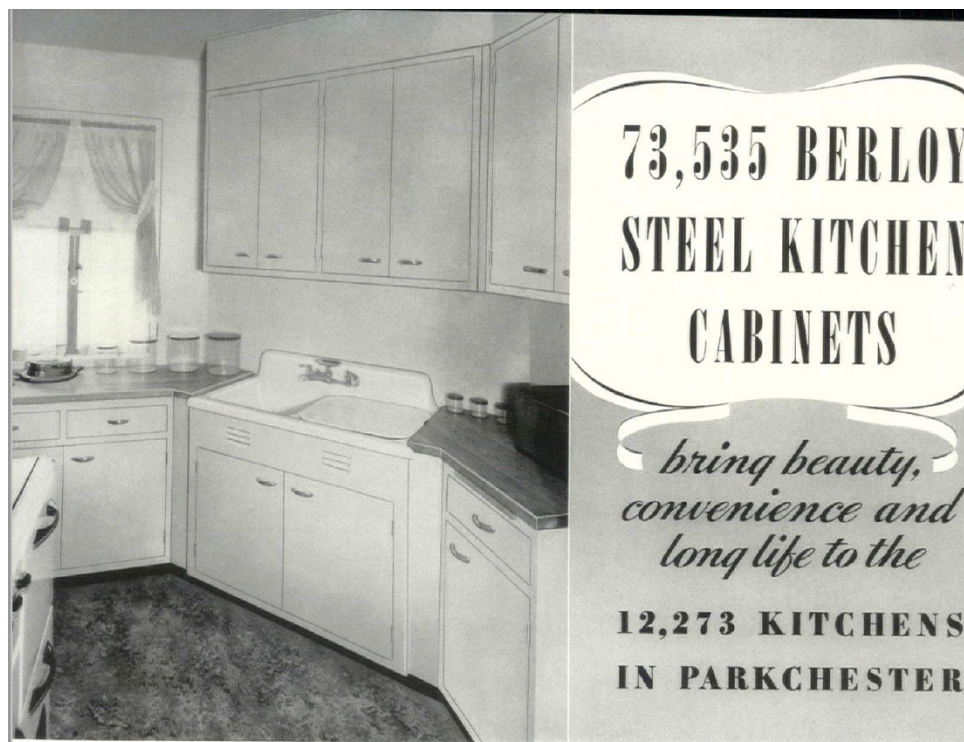
Figure 6.9: An advertisement that appeared in *Architectural Forum*'s issue announcing Parkchester. Source: *Architectural Forum*, 1939.

The building exteriors were fully modernist in a commitment to earnestly expressing the high-rise form as well as the brick masonry cladding. Steel sash windows were both fireproof and stylish. The architects did push beyond the International Style abstraction of form prevalent in so much twentieth century US mass housing, however. The parapets of buildings featured corbelling that crowned each block with a splash of visual relief. Yet the most impressive exterior characteristic has been the one that has driven much of the valuation of the buildings among experts and inhabitants alike: a robust program of sculptural detail funded by the PWA (Gill 2022; see figure 6.10).

Figure 6.10: Early view of a terra cotta sculpture at the top of a Parkchester building Source: Alfred Eisenstaedt/ The LIFE Picture Collection/Shutterstock.

At Parkchester, a team of nine sculptors including renowned artists Raymond Granville Barger, Joseph Kieselewski, Carl Schmitz, Edmund Romulus Amateis and Theodore Barbarossa crafted a program of 500 sculptures of people and 600 sculptures of animals to adorn entrances, parapets and the elevations of the shops (Gill 2022). Most of the sculptures were produced in architectural terra cotta manufactured by the Federal Seabord Terra Cotta Company, although there are a few works rendered in stone (Gill

2022). Sculptures were placed at the corners of parapets, on the corners of buildings at the ground level, inset above first floor unit entrances, at shops and, most prominently, surrounding each primary entrance of the residential cores (see figure 6.9). The sculptures remain anomalous within the high-rise modernist mass housing built in the United States. Both inhabitant and expert valuation of the sculptures will be presented and analysed later in this chapter.

6.1.3 Parkchester and racial segregation

Between its opening and 1968, Parkchester remained racially segregated, a fact that does not seem to impede positive valuation from residents today but potentially could constitute a negative heritage value. Parkchester's spatial achievements concealed a venal fact: the MLIC intended to exclude any non-white tenants from occupancy (Rothstein 2017; Gurock 2019). The company's support for housing segregation was foreshadowed by president Ecker's participation on the planning committee for the 1931 President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership. That conference was intended to boost home construction during the Great Depression, but US President Herbert Hoover's opening speech showed a frankness about the white supremacist bias of the conference when he stated, "that our people should live in their own homes in sentiment deep at the heart of our race" (Rothstein 2017: 61). Conference documents included a brief written by Ecker promoting restrictive zoning laws undergirded by private covenants to exclude Black people from new housing developments in the US (Rothstein 2017).

When it came to Parkchester, Ecker was emphatic in his desire for it to be whites-only, declaring that "[n]egroes and whites don't mix. If we brought them into this development … it would depress all of the surrounding property" (Rothstein 2017: 106). The New York City Board of Estimate had some members who were appalled by this declaration, but the Board still approved Parkchester in 1938 on the condition that the city pass an ordinance prohibiting segregation in any subsequent mass housing that entailed slum clearance (Rothstein 2017). Subsequently, MLIC developed the Riverton Homes development in Harlem, and opened occupancy in the majority-Black neighborhood to

all. Few whites ever rented at the Riverton Homes. The Stuyvesant Town project reverted to being whites-only since it was located in a part of Manhattan perceived to be white by MLIC executives.

According to historian Jeffrey Gurock's research, the MLIC would never admit that Parkchester was segregated intentionally (Gurock 2019). In 1941, James Egert Allen, president of New York Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and a schoolteacher, wrote to Parkchester manager Frank Lowe requesting a tour of the development, which Lowe seemed to oblige noting the desirability of teachers as tenants (Gurock 2019). Allen secured a meeting with Ecker, where as an MLIC policyholder he made a case for being allowed tenancy. Ecker replied that Black tenants were too risky to MLIC's $50 million investment in Parkchester because their presence could doom profits.

There were numerous efforts led by the NAACP and other groups to force MLIC to integrate, and continually through public statements Lowe and other MLIC representatives maintained that there was no discrimination, just no interest in tenancy from suitable tenants (Gurock 2019). Eventually, Parkchester residents rebelled against the MLIC policy and formed the Parkchester Committee to End Housing Discrimination in 1950 (see figure 6.11). The Committee had polled the west quadrant and found 58% of respondents favorable to nonwhite neighborhoods, as opposed to 30% completely against and 12% undecided (Gurock 2019). A Committee member, Priscilla Simon, even sublet her apartment to a Black couple, Michael and Sophie Decatur, to try to force a legal ruling to integrate. The resulting case led to a court ruling favoring MLIC in 1953 (Gurock 2019).

The Committee and campaigns led by both tenant-heavy Roman Catholic and Jewish groups continued pressuring MLIC, with Lowe alternating his narratives to claim that there was no interest, that integration would occur eventually without changing admission policy (Gurock 2019). When MLIC first declared a willingness to integrate Parkchester and its other projects, the news was a hopeful event to the national civil

rights movement. In fact, the Associated Press published a story that was printed in newspapers across the nation prematurely claiming that Parkchester's segregation had ended (Associated Press 1963).

Figure 6.11: An interracial group of residents picket Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in protest of the eviction of the Decatur family. Source: *New York Age*, 1953.

In most ways, it seemed that MLIC was simply shifting its tactics and language around segregation. Manager Frank Lowe retired in 1965, one year after Ecker died, but their absences did not change the dynamic. By May 1968, only 25 Black and Puerto Rican residents had been able to become tenants (Gurock 2019). Soon after, New York City Commission on Human Rights moved to charge the MLIC with "deliberate, intentional and systemic" discrimination against Black and Latino applicants – a charge that could have led to criminal convictions for MLIC and its officers (Gurock 2019: 132). MLIC began making policy changes in summer 1968 that did not immediately result in successful applications, as applicants were refused on the grounds that the new policies were not yet available (Gurock 2019). By August 1968, MLIC under its new chairman had publicly stated its goal of encouraging new Black and Latino tenants, although is continued to maintain there simply had been a lack of applicants from those groups over

the years (Gurock 2019). Once new policies were implemented, 35 Black and Latino families moved in by the end of August 1968 followed by many others.

6.1.4 Early social life at Parkchester

Even prior to a single building's opening, the *New York Daily News* reported that the new dwellings at Parkchester were "without counterpart," "convenient" and "modern" (New York Daily News 1939: 15). Upon the opening of the first buildings, the *New York Daily News* profiled the first 20 families to move into the new buildings (McCarthy 1940). Reporter Julia McCarthy depicted Parkchester as possessing all of "the charms of Midtown Manhattan," including elevator-served apartment buildings, access to the subway and plenty of shops and restaurants (McCarthy 1940: 24). The article did rhetorically ask "what's wrong with the Bronx?," reminding readers that the public perception of the Bronx was that it was not as elegant or as well-connected to the rest of New York City. New residents Mr. and Mrs. John Murray, shown in their new apartment, and chauffeur John J. Cahill and his family, interviewed, seemed to answer "nothing." The Murrays' seven-year-old son could play outside near the apartment, while the parents enjoyed a stone terrace with landscaped garden (McCarthy 1940).

Figure 6.12: The Carroll family at their new apartment, 1940. Source: *Saturday Evening Post*, 1940.

As to attributes of mass housing, the *Daily News* report was positive. The scale of dwelling allowed for free gas and electric utilities, making the rents – starting at $44 for three rooms – quite a bargain (McCarthy 1940). In fact, the highest rent was $69 a month, still well below the Bronx average for a comparably sized unit (Markey 1940). A tenant identified as Mrs. Grubman declared: "I like the idea of living in a project because everything is fresh and will be kept in good repair" (McCarthy 1940: 24). The presence of bare concrete floors – eventually covered in flooring – was noted as a positive demonstrate of sound construction, not bland austerity. At the inception, Parkchester enjoyed the same positive media depiction as this dissertation's other case study, Cochran Gardens in St. Louis (McCarthy 1940; Markey 1940). In fact, journalist Morris Markey made clear to note that it was "a good deal more than [a housing project]," seeming to anticipate the negative connation of that phrase (Markey 1940: 14). Parkchester had nearly 50,000 residents in its early years, marking its success (Gurock 2019).

Figure 6.13: Family life at Parkchester, 1940. Source: *Saturday Evening Post*, 1940.

Parkchester's harmonies were not simply architectural, though, but the result of heavy social regulation (see figures 6.12 and 6.13). As noted, racial segregation was a fundamental component to MLIC strategy of managing the residents. The application process was arduous and included both submission of financial data and lengthy in-person interviews. MLIC's staff ensured that the process eliminated risky tenants, who might be unable to keep current on their rents or whose behaviors would be socially disruptive; they also were able to enact a bias toward the "strivers" of the upper working class and the middle class (Gurock 2019). Once accepted as a tenant, a Parkchester family had to adhere to rules about apartment decoration and furnishings and submit to monthly inspections by managers. Some of the rules, including the need for approval on window coverings, were designed to maintain the buildings' aesthetic charms (Markey 1940; Gurock 2019). Parkchester had a private police force, which it still maintains, largely to enforce rules on use of all of the open spaces, which are all technically private. The conduct of children was strictly regulated, with a famous edict against play on any of the landscape's open spaces not designated for recreation (Gurock 2019).

Figure 6.14: Children playing on a playground at Parkchester in the 1950s. Source: Parkchesterinfo.com.

Figure 6.15: Around the Metropolitan Oval in the 1950s. Source: Parkchesterinfo.com.

One woman who lived at Parkchester as a child in its early 1940s years recounts a very positive living environment in an interview by email. She recalls that there were both a playground and a wading pool close by the entrance of her building, where her family lived on the twelfth story. When she was around 4 or 5, her parents allowed her to leave the building on her own, and she carried a stick in her pocket to reach the elevator controls. Her elementary schools were within a close walk of Parkchester, and her mother could watch most of the walk from their window. Mothers frequently left their babies in carriages outside of shops, she reported, because it was so safe. Her father worked on Madison Avenue in Manhattan in the advertising business and took the subway to work. Neighbors included "newspaper writers, lawyers, policemen, trades people, small business owners. One was Puerto Rican and had business in hand embroidered linens and children's clothing." Fathers rented a storefront to build furniture and fixtures for their apartments, and her father built shelves and a table.

So many children were born to young Parkchester couples in the 1940s that it garnered the nickname of "Storkchester" (Gurock 2019: 57). Family life epitomises early photographs of Parkchester (figures 6.14 and 6.15). There were many families who were Roman Catholic and Jewish, and their spiritual and communal lives were integrated into surrounding blocks where churches, synagogues and schools were located. According to historian Gurock in a structured interview with me, most families did not realize that Parkchester was segregated given its ethnic and religious mix. Gurock noted in the interview that the Irish Catholic and Jewish families' children were more likely to mix through sports, but that the families usually had no real ties beyond. Gurock himself said that his synagogue and schul were within a close walk, so that it felt like Parkchester was not its own island but vitally connected into its surrounding area.

The early Black tenants reported that they were sometimes welcomed into their new buildings with hospitality and apartment social invitations, but other times faced discrimination by white tenants who would be avoidant physically or verbally (Gurock 2019). A nostalgic video posted on YouTube about early life at Parkchester made by an early Parkchester resident notes the segregation of the development, but also states "[t]hat is simply the way life was back then" without any sense of irony or acknowledgment of the struggle to integrate the development (Di Donato 2014). The depth of social dynamics cannot be fully narrated for the purposes of this research but suffice to say that despite MLIC's controls around race, class and behavior, Parkchester residents were never all the identical stereotype of the suburban dwellers. Today, it is clear that while Parkchester overcame its initial segregation, it was not immune to the overall exodus of white people from the Bronx starting in the 1970s (Gonzalez 2004).

Table 6.1: Parkchester demographics as of the 2020 United States Census.

Ethnic Group	Percentage
Black	35%
Hispanic/Latino	33%
Asian	25%
White	3%
Other	4%

6.2: Valuation Within the Authorised Heritage Discourse

6.2.1 AHD and mass housing in New York City

While mass housing in New York City has faced similar criticism from within architecture and architectural history as the type has nationally, there has been a marked strain of recognition within those fields as well as within the official sectors of historic preservation. A particularly pungent critique in the city came from the urbanist Jane Jacobs, who railed against the urban renewal housing schemes of the famous city bureaucrat Robert Moses (Jacobs 1961; Ballon 2007; Laurence 2016). Jacobs' criticism generalized various housing schemes as a threat to traditional urban vernacular architecture and neighborhood social structures (Jacobs 1961; Gratz 2010; Laurence 2016). Jacobs' critique coincided with a general reaction against mass housing within the architectural press in the 1960s and 1970s. Noted architecture critic Ada Louise Huxtable panned Co-Op City as an "environmental failure" for its sterile appearance, while architects Denise Scott Brown and Robert Venturi claimed that Co-Op City was "conventional" and "ordinary," traits they claimed as positive (cited in Glendinning 2021: 106). These critiques culminated in the spatial analysis of designer Oscar Newman, who advocated reconstructing public spaces around and within public housing high-rises to decrease crime and encourage residents to take better care (Newman 1972). In his influential book *Defensible Space*, Newman used the First Homes as well the Breukelen Homes (1952) in Brooklyn as examples of poor planning (Newman 1972).

Some of the negative valuation of mass housing seems to have lingering impact within the AHD. A staff member from the Historic Districts Council (HDC), a New York City built heritage advocacy organization, reported in an interview with me that working with Parkchester was the first time he had engaged a mass housing development. Also, a staff member at a national modernist architectural heritage organization told me in an interview that the organization had never directly advocated for preservation of a mass housing development nationally or in New York City, although it would repeat calls from its New York state chapter. That organization advocates constantly for other types of

architectural modernism. The availability of literature asserting value of sites to AHD actors again is a dynamic impacting what has been included and what has been excluded from valuation (Prudon 2008; Macdonald 2013).

Since the inscription that Parkchester advocates are seeking is the designation of a New York City Landmark, that is the focus of analysis here, although it is worth noting that the New York State Historic Preservation Office has found that 38 of NYCHA's mass housing developments are eligible for inscription in the National Register of Historic Places (NYCHPD 2017). New York City's official Landmarks include several mass housing sites, although they are a small number of the larger list:

- Model tenements built on E. 78th and 79th streets in Manhattan (1910-11);
- Paul Lawrence Dunbar Apartments in Harlem (1926-8), a private low-rent development for Black residents funded by John D. Rockefeller and designed by Andrew J. Thomas;
- First Houses in Manhattan (1936), the first NYCHA project;
- Harlem River Houses (1936-7) in Harlem, one of the city's first Wagner-Steagall-funded NYCHA projects designed by Archibald Manning;
- Williamsburg Houses (1938), designed by Parkchester lead architect Richmond Shreve with William Lescaze (see figure 6.16).

Notably, these inscriptions largely occurred during a well-funded citywide survey of possible landmark sites in the 1970s that has not been repeated. The First Houses, for instance, was designated in 1974, and also became a National Historic Landmark the same year. The Harlem River Houses were designated in 1975. According to preservationist Susan Tunick, in this same period the new City Landmarks Preservation Commission that oversees landmark designation identified five Bronx sites for inscription as historic districts including Parkchester. Parkchester is the only one of the sites not inscribed, Tunick reports in a semi-structured interview. The National Register eligibility of the NYCHA properties may protect them against the use of federal funds for alteration and demolition, but landmark designation would bring a higher level of regulation. Privately-owned mass housing projects like Parkchester would have no

protection without a New York City landmark inscription, since the National Register of Historic Places designation does not directly restrict private owners' abilities to alter, repair or demolish their buildings.

Figure 6.16: A building in the Williamsburg Houses (1938), designated as a New York City Landmark. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

6.2.2 Parkchester as architectural and social heritage

Due to its scale, its embodiment of the "towers in the park" plan and its architectural sculptures, Parkchester has gained presence in secondary literature about architectural modernism, mass housing and New York City architecture. Architectural historian Miles Glendinning depicts Parkchester as "monumental" and in contrast to the unmemorable "sprawl" around it, giving it a favorable value in his global survey of mass housing architecture (Glendinning 2021: 103). Architectural historian Eric Mumford, cited in the Literature Review and included as an interviewee in the Cochran Gardens chapter, positions Parkchester's site plan and building typology as a progressive, refined architectural design (Mumford 1995; see figure 6.17). In a semi-structured interview recorded during a walk at Parkchester, critic and historian Alexandra Lange remarks on how the family-friendly planning – including recreational amenities – was of high quality within modernist design and was holding up well. Architectural historian Dale Gyure

discusses Parkchester as a positive influence on architect Minoru Yamasaki, who would design Cochran Gardens Apartments (Gyure 2017). Parkchester figures favorably in the definitive source on the evolution of New York City housing design (Plunz 1990). Andrew Dolkart, an expert on New York City architecture, has claimed that Parkchester is "one of the most important housing projects in America," adding that along with Castle Village it represents the first modernist "towers in the park" project in New York City (cited in Gill 2022: RE1).

One of the chief traits motivating expert advocates for valuing the architecture of Parkchester is the presence of the architectural sculptures. Two leading advocates for conservation of Parkchester, Sharon Pandolfo Pérez and Susan Tunick, both emphasize the sculptures in their advocacy for recognition and inscription (Gill 2022). Perez, a creative director who grew up at Parkchester, runs the Parkchester Project, a campaign for awareness of the project's architectural significance that includes robust Instagram and Facebook presence (see figure 6.18). Tunick is the founder of Friends of Terra Cotta, a long-time advocate for preservation of buildings across New York City and elsewhere that possess architectural terra cotta. According to Perez, the sculptures are like "totems for the community" (Gill 2022: RE1). In both a media interview and an interview for this research, Tunick reiterates that the fact that the sculptures can be attributed to specific sculptors is very unusual for architectural sculpture and makes Parkchester highly significant (see figure 19). Perez found her own artistic path through study of the sculptures and narrates the importance of the individual sculptors as a reason for preserving Parkchester (Gill 2022).

Figure 6.17: Parkchester upon completion, looking west from an oval play area in the northeast quadrant. Source: Bettmann Archive, via Getty Images.

Figure 6.18: Screen capture of a Parkchester Project Instagram post. Source: Parkchester Project, 2023.

In a semi-structured interview, historian Gurock emphasizes the significance of Parkchester to different ethnic groups and their senses of ethnic heritage in New York City (Gurock 2019). From the earliest Irish Catholic and Jewish residents through later Puerto Rican and Black residents and into today's large Islamic Bangladesh community, Gurock is interested in how different groups have made Parkchester home, and how

they have interacted with each other. By interview, Gurock admits to never even noticing the sculptures as a child, although he did recall the spaciousness of the apartments, the beauty of landscaped open areas including the Metropolitan Oval and the utility of including commercial spaces in the buildings. In an interview with Tunick, she states that she is puzzled that Gurock did not mention the sculptures in his book. The divergence in observation shows the difficulty in universalising even a significant physical trait as a valued aspect of Parkchester, but also demonstrates the divergence in values found in any cultural landscape (Meinig 1979; Jackson 1984; Mitchell 2008).

The plight of the terra cotta sculptures was covered in detail by the *New York Times* in 2022 (Gill 2022). At the time, at least 45 sculptures had been removed, and the article covers documentation by Perez of the sculptures being placed on the ground. Tunick laments that sculptures were often damaged in their removal or had noticeable damage when she observed them on the ground (see figures 6.20 and 6.21). Friends of Terra Cotta sent an alert about the sculptures to members in late 2021. The boards of Parkchester North Condominium and Parkchester South Condominium claimed that they would safeguard the sculptures for reinstallation, a position viewed skeptically across many of my interviews. By interview, one resident reports that the sculptures were removed from the site by July 2023.

Figure 6.19: Terra cotta entrance surrounds, June 2023. Source: Author's photographs.

Figure 6.20: Masonry workers repointing and replacing brick close to one of the sculptures, June 2023.

Source: Author's photograph.

Figure 6.21: A removed sculpture placed on the ground. Source: Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez photograph, *New York Times*, 2022.

The valuation of Parkchester as architecture is relatively strong within the AHD, including within the fickle field of architectural history. Parkchester's relatively earlier position in modernist history and the durability of its materials help it evade common allegations of ambiguous value and functional obsolescence (Shapiro 2007; Mitchell 2014; Abramson 2016). Its middle-class target population and private construction have allowed it to escape the stigmatizing associations with socialism and anti-Americanism that actual public housing has faced (Frieling and Kip 2017; Engel 2019). Its interior spaces, with less austere fittings, have more easily become accepted as refined domestic architecture than Cochran Gardens ever had achieved. While there are critiques of its site planning and landscape from residents, Parkchester has also dodged the dismissive critiques about safety, privacy and monotony lodged by Jacobs (1961) and Newman (1972). Historian Joseph Heathcott, who has studied mass housing widely, notes in a semi-structured interview that Parkchester stands out not simply for its

design but for how the quality of design relates to social cohesion. Heathcott states: "Reputations build up not just through architecture but through social associations over time. The feeling of place…[residents] seem to convey it to the people who come after them."

6.2.3 Current effort for heritage inscription

In 2022, architectural historian and former Commission staff member Andrew Dolkart submitted a formal request to inscribe Parkchester as a New York City Landmark. This request renewed the claim of eligibility first determined by the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission's own staff in 1978, when five districts in the Bronx were identified for designation (Gill 2022). Since its creation in 1965, the Commission has designated over 36,000 buildings and sites as single landmarks or as contributing components to landmark districts. Under the Commission rules, typically the Commission's own staff initiate landmark designation, but anyone may petition the Commission to initiate the process. Since Parkchester already was identified as eligible by Commission staff, the first step technically already was achieved although long before the tenure of any current staff. According to Tunick, the Commission may lack the staff resources to undertake the Parkchester designation, which would require a historic narrative be developed alongside descriptions and documentary photographs of all 51 buildings and key landscape features. Scale certainly could be a major barrier for heritage listing of mass housing developments, especially very large ones. The complexity of larger urban built environments often make them more difficult to evaluate as heritage (Lincova et al. 2015; Myga-Piatek 2020).

After Dolkart made an initial petition, several heritage preservation advocacy organizations sent letters of support. The New York/Tri-State Chapter of DOCOMOMO sent a letter of support identifying the values of Parkchester as traits of modernist site planning, role in social housing history, quality of the architectural sculptures and the variations in building heights compared to other modernist mass housing projects (Johnson 2021). A letter from the president of the Municipal Art Society (MAS), New York City's oldest historic preservation advocacy organization, begins by asserting the

value of Parkchester for the "towers in the park" plan and for its association with MLIC's low-rent housing development program (Goldstein 2021). The MAS letter notes other attributes of significance that include the plan's association with Le Corbusier, the "Art Deco/Moderne" style of the buildings and the terra cotta architectural sculptures (Goldstein 2021). Neither letter mentions the current utility of Parkchester as affordable housing, nor does either discuss ethnic or social histories. Again, actors within the AHD continue to narrate modernist mass housing in ways that alienate it from, rather than join it to, attributes of traditional urbanism (Dimitsantou-Kiemenzi 2008).

In 2022, the HDC listed Parkchester as one of its "Six to Celebrate," part of an annual list of historic places of special interest or facing threats to conservation. Parkchester was the first mass housing site to ever be included in Six to Celebrate. In a semi-structured interview, an HDC staff member recounts that Perez had nominated Parkchester, and selection was made on the basis of three criteria: there must be a historic building or place, there must be leadership around preservation of that building or place, and there must be clear goals and objectives for participation in Six to Celebrate. For Parkchester, HDC worked with Perez to organize a series of walking tours attended by residents, afficionados of historic architecture and curious people (see figure 6.22). According to the staff member: "Sharon gave these walking tours. She talked mainly about the sculptures, and she gave context about the artists. She also talked about what makes Parkchester unique." People who attended came from all over New York City and surrounding areas, and many attended the tours because they lacked any familiarity with the Bronx generally and with Parkchester specifically. Parkchester tours were highly popular with 20-30 people on average each time, making them more popular than other Bronx tours sponsored by HDC. According to the staff member, some people who attended were surprised to find that Parkchester was "full of history, full of art, full of places and buildings worthy of preservation."

Figure 6.22: Sharon Pandolfo Pérez leading one of the Historic Districts Council tours of Parkchester. Source: Author's capture of still from Bronxnet YouTube channel, 2022.

According to the HDC staff member, the primary prospective impediment to inscribing Parkchester as a landmark is the owner objection from the Parkchester North Condominium and Parkchester South Condominium. He says: "Even though landmarking does not require owner consent, it does play a big role in approval especially when the owner is a big corporation." Some residents whom I interviewed speculated that the owners could already be blocking the application, a possibility that Tunick acknowledged. The staff member recalls that residents with whom he met were skeptical in early meetings, but generally were supportive later. New York Assemblywoman Karines Reyes, who represents Parkchester, was also very skeptical based on her perception that inscription would increase the cost of repairs to buildings and the rates of rent. The HDC staff member met with Reyes to explain that inscription would have no direct impact, and shared with her an HDC quantitative study that concluded that landmark designation has no causal relation to rental rates in landmarked buildings (HDC 2016). While actors within the AHD have overall been quite favorable toward Parkchester as a significant architectural site, there remains a tendency toward a contradictory or uncertain outcome noted by Prudon (2008). While the heritage actors are aligned in accepting the architectural historical value of

Parkchester, its scale as built heritage and the role of private ownership remain barriers to making any consensus around value into an actual inscription.

6.2.4 Inhabitant perspectives on heritage inscription

Residents who participated in semi-structured interviews and an online survey generally support the landmark inscription of Parkchester, although the expert opinions stated above are not the basis for their positions. Rather, residents typically view inscription in terms of its utility in their efforts to get the two master landlords to make needed repairs, and also in terms of its impact on the cost of living at Parkchester. One resident who is very involved with the resident-organised Parkchester Watch Group (PWG) through an interview notes that the PWG supports the landmark inscription: "Landmark status in itself will not cause an increase in living in terms of common charges or rent." The PWG members hope that inscription could also being more responsibility from the master landlords due to potential oversight from the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission. Some residents also assume that inscription will bring financial resources to Parkchester that will aid in repair and maintenance, although there are not programs that would do so for a New York City landmark designation. For a National Register of Historic Places inscription, there could be historic rehabilitation tax credits, but those could support gentrification more than conservation.

A 31-year renter conveys by interview that she thinks that Parkchester deserves landmark status based on its age alone. She also wonders if the inscription could impede some of the upgrades that she would prefer to be done, given her perception of landmark requirements. On the other hand, she states that she thinks that inscription could force the master landlords to help tenants with repairs. She concludes her comments about inscription, however, by pivoting to speculating that the distinction of inscription may only assist the master landlords in what she sees as their efforts to gentrify Parkchester and displace current renters. A 14-year renter by interview opined that Parkchester "should be" landmarked, and that she anticipates that inscription will compel owners to keep buildings conserved "a certain way" in favor of residents who want to stay. One eight-year renter by interview adds the perspective that Parkchester

was historic because of its associations with hip-hop music, aspects of intangible heritage discussed previously in Chapter 2, which are explored further later in this chapter.

In an online survey by Google Form, there were eleven responses on the question of supporting landmark designation. There was one clear "no," two "yes" and one "uncertain" answers, and then these qualified responses:

- "I support the landmark status, only if Parkchester can upgrade or maintain the apartments."
- "Yes I support it. Hopefully this will bring more attention to the needs of our community and also allow these sculptures that keep getting destroyed, to be saved."
- "Not yet changes need to be made to existing buildings to update before landmark status is approved."
- "Yes, maybe then they will clean it up, stop people from having dogs that just crap everywhere and they don't pick it up."
- "Yes. Hopefully it would improve the management....woeful at best."
- "Yes! It could be such a remarkable place if more care were taken of the buildings."
- "I do if Parkchester can improve their standards and their expectations of how the owners and renters treat the property. [Stuyvesant Town] wouldn't allow some of the behaviors that Parkchester is allowing."

The residents of Parkchester who participated in interviews and the survey this seem generally supportive of inscription, but their valuation of the housing development is at odds with that of the experts who also support inscription. Residents who oppose inscription view inscription negatively as a possible aid toward gentrification and displacement or are just not interested. Residents who support inscription have reasons for that position including age value, association with Black and Puerto Rican cultural history and the quality of the architecture and landscape. Residents who favor inscription usually frame their support through the causation that they desire between

inscription and compulsory maintenance, repair and stabilization by the two current master landlords. None of the residents who participated in interviews discussed architectural modernism, "towers in a park" or housing history. One respondent, however, compares Parkchester negatively to MLIC's other New York City low-rent project of Stuyvesant Town. When the sculptures were discussed, as will be presented ahead, residents did not associate the value of the sculptures with the desirability for heritage inscription.

6.2.5 Parkchester and rezoning

In 2018, the New York City Metropolitan Transit Authority announced plans to extend the Metro-North commuter railroad line from Penn Station in midtown Manhattan north through the Bronx to reach affluent Westchester County and Connecticut commuters. The line will open in 2027. The resulting line would run immediately adjacent to Parkchester on its north side, and a new station would be built on East Tremont Avenue that would be 20-25 minutes away from Penn Station. Currently, Parkchester has access to the east side of Manhattan via the number 6 subway line, but lacks rapid connection to Manhattan's west side, so the station brings a direct benefit to Parkchester residents. Yet the new station, to be named Parkchester/Van Nest, has become an impetus for a rezoning plan that could erode Parkchester's affordability.

In summer 2018, the New York City Department of City Planning initiated a process to plan rezoning around five new stations planned in the Bronx for the proposed Metro-North line, including Parkchester/Van Nest (Honan, Custodio and Maldonado 2022). The first Parkchester workshop occurred in the fall of 2018, but it was not until fall 2021 that the Department of City Planning unveiled a rendering showing what the area around the new station could look like after rezoning (see figure 6.23). Strikingly, the rendering showed two new glass towers rising on top of the Parkchester parking and maintenance building located along East Tremont Avenue, which would be a contributing resource in a landmark district. A resident who participated in the virtual community meeting convened by the Department of City Planning in 2021 told me in an interview that staff ignored all comments made by Parkchester residents in the Zoom

chat that presented the conflict between the rezoning vision and the protections that an eventual landmark designation would bring.

According to the Department of City Planning, the rezoning is necessary to increase the number of housing units around the station and is part of a plan to build 6,000 new housing units around the five new stations (Honan, Custodio and Maldonado 2022). For Parkchester/Van Nest, the goal is "permanent affordable housing" but there has been no specific definition of "affordable." As Parkchester residents fight rent increases, there seems to be a disconnect between the plan and the reality on the ground. What several residents whom I interviewed conveyed is that Parkchester residents largely view the rezoning as a means to allow the Parkchester North Condominium to build luxury housing towers with a small number of supposedly affordable units. The residents anticipate that the new housing will justify massive rent increases on the rest of Parkchester, and that the Metro North station will lure wealthier residents from New York City and its suburbs to a newly convenient commuter location where locally increased housing costs will still be lower than what newcomers pay elsewhere.

Vision for East Tremont Ave
2021 Remote Open House

Figure 6.23: New York City Department of Planning rendering showing glass towers atop a Parkchester parking garage at right. Source: New York City Department of Planning, 2021.

At the behest of Parkchester residents, who saw value in an expert presence, the author participated in the latest virtual planning meeting held by the Department of City Planning on September 20, 2023. The planning staff showed a slide with the proposed rezoning district that includes the garage building but excludes the rest of Parkchester. Two residents, Pandolfo Pérez and the author each asked questions by the Q&A feature in Zoom asking whether landmark eligibility was bearing on the Department of City Planning approach to encouraging the replacement or massive alteration of the garage building. Striking, the Department of City Planning staff members went through each question in the Q&A except for those concerning Parkchester, which were completely ignored.

Across the interviews and survey responses, renters expressed that the Metro-North station rezoning feels like a threat to their ability to remain in Parkchester, due to the impact that new high-density market-rate housing would have on rent at Parkchester. One resident says by interview: "I already believe that as soon as that station comes, everything will change." Even condominium owners I interviewed expressed concerns that the rising prices will not be beneficial as long as the ownership defers needed maintenance and bylaws and rules remain unreformed. One owner speculates by interview: "Who is going to want to pay $400,000 or $500,000 for an apartment? No dog. No dishwasher. At that point we're just going to get investors who are going to want to rip it all out." Elected officials representing Parkchester, including New York City Councilmember Amanda Farías and Assemblywoman Karines Reyes, expressed support for the rezoning during the virtual meeting. However, in an earlier comment to reporters, Reyes did note that "the devil is in in the details" of the promise that new housing around the Parkchester/Van Nest station would be affordable enough to serve existing residents (Honan, Custodio and Maldonado 2022).

6.3: Valuation by Inhabitants

6.3.1 The identity of Parkchester

Parkchester has an outsized admiration among mass housing developments in New York City, and that admiration provides a framework for researching just what people

appreciate about it. In fact, architecture critic and historian Alexandra Lange first recommended Parkchester for this research at the outset. Lange's mother grew up at Parkchester in its first decade, but Lange also admires the architecture and sculptures. Initially, this research focused on Co-Op City as a possible second case study to pair with Cochran Gardens, but after a first field visit to Parkchester it clearly was lilely to yield a large amount of rich, value-expressive infomration. For one thing, few mass housing projects across the US and Europe are as well-kept, clean and functional, showing a strong place identity through both physical forms and social attitudes. Primarily, though, the inhabitants' pride in living there is nearly contagious. Parkchester escapes narratives around mass housing as suspiciously uncomfortable (Boughton 2018). Demonstrably, Parkchester does not seem to have to answer for the maligned domesticity of public housing developments in the US (Smith 2006; Wright 2008; Urban 2012; Jokhileto 2018).

Figure 6.24: The Metropolitan Oval, June 2023. Source: Author's photograph.

A common theme across interviews of current and former residents of Parkchester is that people who have lived there feel distinguished, and not in the negative sense that

trails US mass housing developments even in the words of their own occupants. Parkchester inhabitants are quick to note how distinctive their built environment is in contrast to the surrounding neighborhoods, to the Bronx and to New York City. They see that distinction as not simply residing in details of design and planning, but also in social structures. To live in Parkchester, according to former and current inhabitants, is to be part of something clearly different and intentionally better. One resident relays by interview that the cleanliness of sidewalks and streets stands out: "Even on a dirty day in Parkchester, it's way cleaner than a lot of the neighborhoods in which I have worked in the Bronx." For this reseach, I stayed at two AirBnB-listed apartments during my research, and each host's listing claimed Parkchester as something that transcended the location of the development within the Bronx, New York's poorest borough.

As part of the interview with Gurock, he provided a driving tour of sites associated with a childhood set into senses of safety and joy. During interviews at the Metropolitan Oval, residents were quick to ask me if I liked the place and were happy for my positive responses. A resident who is involved in the PWG facilitated numerous meetings, phone calls, and access to the PWG Facebook group for me. My own reports of appreciating Parkchester as a place met nods, smiles and statements of approval. No resident interviewed or surveyed denigrates the place itself, which again was unusual as I surveyed mass housing sites in the US. On the PWG Facebook group, residents raise their complaints with a tone of love, as if something very great is being sullied by management. One interviewed resident works for NYCHA, and favorably contrasts Parkchester's quality to the less-stable mass public housing developments where she sometimes works.

Despite the litany of complaints, criticisms and anxieties expressed in inhabitant perspectives, there is an underlying affection for place that was not present in other mass housing developments that I considered for my research. When I showed a slide of Parkchester in one of my spring 2023 seminars, a student immediately asked "is that Parkchester?" When I affirmed that it was, she burst out, smiling, "I grew up there!" In an interview, she describes Parkchester as "almost like a suburb" and recounts how

peaceful, safe and socially interconnected the world there was. This ebullience about Parkchester was present across interviews, on-site interactions, and emails with current and former residents. While mass housing developments often mark people in ways that frame their self-narratives, Parkchester seems like a badge of honor even to its worst critics. During four field visits, Parkchester demonstrated itself as a worthwhile subject because of a factor not always present across remaining US mass housing sites – a demonstrable sense of love for the place among residents.

A telling source of information on the perception of Parkchester beyond interview and survey subjects came through comments on a YouTube video posted by Treez da Stoner as part of his tour of New York City's "projects" (Treez da Stoner 2022). The tour intended to survey the city's "projects," or mass housing developments usually consisting of public housing and connoted as rough places to live. In the comments, several commenters state that they lived or grew up there and miss Parkchester (Treez da Stoner 2022). One commenter states that it has been "fixed up" since a decline in the 1980s and 1990s, while another asserts that it is a "great area" (Treez da Stoner 2022). Most telling about identity, though are two comments that disavow the association with "the projects," one of which reads: "I don't consider those Projects.. Those are condos.. That's actually a nice neighborhood in The Bronx. Parkchester." (Treez da Stoner 2022).

6.3.2 Architecture and the built environment

While the expert valuation emphasizes Parkchester's embodiment of a modernist planning ideal of European origin and the plethora of artist-attributed sculptures on buildings, residents tend to value the durability of the buildings, the spaciousness and condition of interior spaces, the outdoor spaces and the proximity to other urban activities. Residents are divided on their feelings about the sculptures, although few have a disparaging position on the art. One resident by interview specifically values that the buildings have a "uniformity" because of their stark modernist forms. Another resident replied by survey that the sculptures are red bricks are the favorite part of her building. In an interview, a 14-year renter says of the buildings: "On the outside, they

kind of all look the same, but on the inside they are different. I like how they look. It's definitely not public housing." Resident narratives of distinctiveness point back to a literature review discussion around the ways in which claims of distinction are made around places to assert their value (Bordieu 2012). The residents largely narrate Parkchester as a place with special, not shared, attributes in comparison to other modernist mass housing, places within the surrounding Bronx borough and even apartment buildings in New York City as a whole.

In the interviews, several residents speak more of the spaces between buildings than the buildings themselves when discussing things they value in Parkchester's design (see figure 6.25). An eight-year renter cites the beauty of the landscaped open spaces as something he values. He especially enjoys the Metropolitan Oval because it is constantly programmed with concerts and other activities. A survey respondent reported that being able to see mature trees from her apartment window delights her. A condo owner of eight years states in one interview that he met his partner, who grew up at Parkchester, on a first date at the Metropolitan Oval and became fascinated with the place. The attractiveness and functional aspects of the landscape came up in several exchanges with inhabitants. In a survey response, another resident reports that the grounds are better kept now than they used to be, making them more attractive. Still another resident explains in a survey comment that the proximity to a playground near her building was a valuable aspect when she was raising her children at Parkchester.

Figure 6.25: The condition of the landscape in Parkchester's south side, June 2023. Source: Author's photograph.

Still, some people find the landscape to have its defects. One 31-year renter through an interview offers that there are deficiencies in the landscape that could be addressed through design changes. She lives in a ground-floor apartment with a terrace that she shares with her neighbor. She complains that her neighbor smokes marijuana on the terrace outside of her window, sending the smoke into her apartment. There is a walkway near her unit that is at one of the boundaries of Parkchester, and she would prefer that the walkway be closed off from use because loiterers from outside of Parkchester occupy the space at all hours. This resident adds that she thinks that the park-like spaces all look very good these days and are assets.

Figure 6.26: Residents find some of the sculptures to be "creepy," but generally respect their significance.
Source: Author's photograph.

Resident perspectives on the sculptures show that the sculptures are respected and understood to be integral to building design, but their value to individual residents varies. Three people interviewed use the word "creepy" to describe the sculptures, although each qualifies their response (see figure 626). One resident's words epitomize a strand of comments simultaneously expressing reservations and respect: "The people on the buildings…I've seen a few of them that are a little creepy. But I see where they are going with it." Another resident states that she researched their history and wrote about them for a college paper, and only found them creepy at first sight. An eight-year owner by interview proclaims that he likes the sculptures because they get you to pay attention to each building. One resident left a survey comment offering that she wished there was more contemporary art replacing them, and another survey respondent stated that the sculptures are "outdated." Still, a majority of survey respondents claim that the sculptures are either an important part of the identity of Parkchester or at least a feature of the built environment that has historic or artistic significance. More than one

respondent expressed dismay at the removal of the sculptures by masonry workers, and several want the removed sculptures put back in place.

A common refrain across interviews and survey responses is that the retail component of Parkchester is a major asset that should be better utilized. At least three people repeat that the closure of the movie theater was especially unfortunate, given its role in bringing people together. A 14-year renter notes that retail used to be stronger, and that since the pandemic there has been more turnover or just vacancy in retail spaces. An eight-year owner states that he is able to do 80% of his shopping within Parkchester, supplemented by car trips outside, and that fact was a major strength of living there during the pandemic. Another resident, however, says by interview that the current retail reflects high rents charged by the two master landlords; the prices of good especially groceries are excessive. She shops mostly online and outside of Parkchester. One survey respondent notes that due to the inclusion of retail, integration of the project into the surrounding neighborhoods and the connection to the subway "everything is right at our fingertips." Another renter shares in an interview that he appreciates that the neighborhood bar, Step-In's, has remained in operation since 1972 with owners and staff who hold and share neighborhood lore.

6.3.3 Interiors and apartments

Often in mass housing developments, interior domestic space is more highly valued by inhabitants than the "architecture" of site plans and exteriors valued by experts. None of the residents interviewed or surveyed had complaints about the design or layout of the Parkchester interiors, which overall are highly valued. However, the interior spaces generate the bulk of complaints about the conditions of Parkchester and the inadequacies of current management. An eight-year tenant says that he enjoys Parkchester because the buildings are different than most Bronx residential options in that they are superior in construction, size of units and variation of floor plans. He is quite positive, saying: "Every one of that I have seen is absolutely beautiful. Every one." He adds that he has never seen two units that are identical. Friends of his who live in other high-rise apartments have more standardized, repeated types of apartments.

A 14-year renter expresses by interview her appreciation for the spaciousness of her apartment. She rents a three-bedroom unit, which is large enough that her adult children share it with her. She does not think that she could find an apartment of similar size anywhere else in the Bronx at a price that she could afford. Other residents repeated similar claims in both interviews and survey responses. A 31-year renter proudly exclaims in an interview that her two-bedroom apartment is "huge." She adds: "If you think of this versus what you get in Manhattan right now, this is far more bigger in space. For the size and the rents, you actually come off better economically." Residents also value the high ceilings, parquet wood floors, durable construction of walls and ceilings and even the brass doorknobs and hardware. One interviewed resident enjoys the fact that every bathroom at Parkchester has a window is a huge advantage over the majority of apartments available in New York City.

Figure 6.27: A Parkchester kitchen, May 2023. Source: Author's photograph.

Figure 6.28: An apartment for sale at 44 Metropolitan Mews. Source: Realtor.com, 2023.

An owner interviewed states that generally likes his top-floor unit but ended up wanting to modify it to overcome what he saw as design deficiencies. He especially finds the Parkchester kitchens to be too small ("airplane kitchens" in his words) and has removed the wall separating his kitchen and living room to create an eat-in bar and pass through (see figure 6.29). The same owner also remodeled the kitchen with new cabinets and tile, the bathroom with a new shower and tile and the entire unit with new light fixtures. A 31-year renter reports by interview that she wants her original kitchen sink and cabinets replaced not because of age but because of deteriorated function. Real estate listings for condominiums at Parkchester show that owners have remodeled units frequently, including altering floorplans and removing historic millwork. According to several residents, owners and renters have flouted rules prohibiting washing machines and dishwashers – designed to prevent problems with antiquated drain lines – sometimes causing leaks in units below outlaw installations.

Figure 6.29: An apartment remodeled by its occupants to remove the wall between the kitchen at the living area, July 2023. Source: Author's photograph.

Several residents report by interviews and survey responses that they appreciate the corridors and lobbies, especially because of the terrazzo floors. The condition of the floors – in good repair and clean – were noted by several people. Some residents cite the interior décor in these areas as a positive aspect of their buildings, while one resident expressed that he wants the elevator and corridor tiles replaced with more contemporary tiles. He unfavorably compares the half-tiled walls of Parkchester to the wooden wainscoting at MLIC's Stuyvesant Town (see figure 6.30). Some residents consider the elevator-served design as convenient, but elevator complaints are also common. Service being down and the original elevator swing-doors (which are placed in front of the sliding elevator cab doors) are the two complaints received the most from residents. Some favorably report their replacement elevators, which lack the brick red and blue panels of the original Westinghouse elevators.

Figure 6.30: Original tile in a building lobby, June 2023. Source: Author's photograph.

Deficiencies in apartments were commonly raised by residents in interviews and survey responded. Residents nearly universally complain about the poor conditions of plumbing, especially the drain lines that are original. Central heating controlled by management often leads to buildings lacking heat for weeks into winter, or randomly during winter days. Leaks from drain lines have caused residents to have to relocate temporarily or even permanently. Leaks from the deteriorating concrete slab roofs are also common, although the master landlords have replaced some with new steel-framed structures. One interviewed resident currently has black mold in her apartment because of unrepaired leaking from several floors above. The lack of central air conditioning, inadequate wiring and non-grounded outlets, and inflexible layouts were raised by residents to me as problems.

6.3.4 Quality of life and crime

The perception of low quality of life and high crime has impeded more positive valuation of mass housing (Newman 1972; Sharkey 2013; Bloom 2008, Umbach and Vale 2015), so I investigated inhabitant perspectives at Parkchester. A majority of residents

interviewed or surveyed state that the quality of life at Parkchester has declined, with three exceptions. No one holds a view as extreme as a Reddit commenter who opined that Parkchester was "beyond repair" in a September 2023 post. The length of occupancy may have a role in the concentration of responses, as the average length of occupancy among the respondents and interview subjects is 19 years. One person interviewed has lived at Parkchester for only four months, two for eight years, and everyone else for ten years or more. However, the concentration of narratives corresponds to other available data.

For instance, the Historic Districts Council staff member reports a common narrative among residents he knows that asserts that Parkchester used to be better. However, he also says that the narrative fits a prevalent pattern with most neighborhoods in which he has worked on heritage advocacy; there is a "golden era" that is in the past, despite how well a place is doing now. This sort of nostalgic narrative is rather common within the AHD across Europe and the US, as discussed in Chapter 2 (Lowenthal 1998; Berliner 2020). On the other hand, one eight-year tenant emphatically states by interview that he would change "nothing" about Parkchester. A former resident who grew up at Parkchester says by interview that she could think of no other place in New York City where parents let children as young as six or seven years old play unattended, and she loved being a child with the freedom to wander outside alone there.

Figure 6.31: A sign with posted rules, June 2023. Source: Author's photograph.

A common theme across interviews and survey responses is the difficulty of achieving social cohesion at Parkchester due to its scale and the divides between north and south sections and between owners and renters. One interviewed resident recalls that resident Nancy Johnson had founded the Parkchester Watch Group (PWG) in 2022 to build a coalition of residents committed to holding management and ownership accountable. Johnson and early PWG leaders lived in the north side of Parkchester, where membership has grown fastest. Today the Facebook group serves as the virtual town hall of the PWG, but the same resident told me that members do not necessarily know each other in real life. Communication within Parkchester about meetings and events is limited because residents are prohibited from putting up flyers by management. One resident notes in a survey response that long-time residents have been moving out, replaced by people who rarely interact with their neighbors.

Several residents observe that social cohesion is most apparent within buildings, although almost everyone knows at least one other person who lived in a different building. One resident in an interview celebrates that his building is "tight" and that people on the same floors hold each other's packages when they are delivered. That same resident says that "there is a lot of pride in the community, a lot of a sense of belonging and a lot of connectivity in the community." A renter adds: "There are quite a few [tenants] who have been in my building for over thirty years, before I was here." Another resident of 14 years shares in an interview that she likes "everybody" in her building and at Parkchester, but that participation in official matters was difficult. An owner interviewed observes that there are condominium boards for both the North and South sides, but that owners have no direct representation in board membership. Contacting the boards can be difficult for condominium owners, as there only are general email addresses and office phone numbers for the boards. Owners must sign a Non-Disclosure Agreement in order to review official documents. Renters, of course, have no access to these boards or to these documents, even if they rent from a secondary condominium owner.

Several residents expressed dismay at conditions within buildings beyond physical attributes. After several interviews, it was apparent to me that happiness depended on specific maintenance managers as some buildings' residents praised their diligence and others complained of downward slides under new managers. Some residents whom I interviewed blamed other residents for anti-social behavior, including noise and leaving trash laying around. It was apparent from two interviews that the Bangladesh population at Parkchester lacks integration into the other ethnic groups, and the survey recorded one hostile comment about the Bangladesh residents. One resident claims by interview that Parkchester's waiving of full-time employment requirements in the 1990s caused problems. She said: "I think that when they lowered that, and just let anyone in, is when the quality of life declined."

Management came under complaint across all interviews and in several survey responses. Slow repairs, poor communication and general disregard for resident needs

came up. The perceived gap in quality of life between owners and renters came up in one interview with a renter: "Owners can do what they want with their apartments, but renters – we are at [management's] mercy." The over-policing of public spaces, a problem noted by early residents and detailed in historian Gurock's book, was raised by several residents as a continuing annoyance. One interviewed resident says that contrary to other residents' assertions about convenient playgrounds, she took her children to a public park rather than deal with aggressive actions by Parkchester's private police force. A specific problem that many residents reported was management's poor record on trash collection. Building trash chutes back up and garbage bags pile up in and around buildings with roaches and mice attracted into apartments. Another interviewed resident observes that now management piles trash and recycling behind enclosures set in parking lots with cloaking green hurricane fencing. Trash pick-up only occurs on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays in the north side, making the weekends the worst time for garbage pile-up outside of buildings on walkways.

The perception of crime was a constant refrain within interviews and in survey responses. Residents report that crime rates were up, some repeating popular narratives about New York generally that crime was up especially since the start of the pandemic. However, one interviewed resident asserts that muggings and robberies have increased still admits that neither she nor anyone else she knows at Parkchester has been a victim. Still, she goes on to say that "[i]t is scary" to live at Parkchester right now. Another interviewed resident says that the crime that has increased the most lately is package theft, as thieves access buildings to rob packages or – in once case – assault delivery persons. A 14-year renter often finds homeless people sleeping in her fire stairs so frequently that she avoids them in the morning. Another interviewed claims that the biggest problem with crime is that the Parkchester police does not release internal statistics, so residents have to use the New York City Metropolitan Police Department's CompStat system, in which Parkchester is combined with surrounding blocks so specific statistics are diluted. A 30-minute wait for a police service call is typical, several residents state.

6.3.5 Parkchester as affordable housing

In 2019, Parkchester was named the most affordable neighborhood in which to buy a dwelling by New York real estate website *PropertyClub*, although one reporter ended his report on the finding with a pronounced "for now" (Conde 2019). Built as low-rent housing for the middle class, Parkchester's intended function definitely is threatened. In early 2023, the *New York Times* published an essay entitled "The Slow, Inevitable Death of Middle-Class Housing" beneath a historic photograph of Parkchester (Bellafante 2023). Author Gina Bellafante reported that Parkchester was unusually affordable for New York City, with a typical two-bedroom apartment renting for $1,900 per month and a typical condominium selling for $250,000 (Bellafante 2023). However, due to the decline in maintenance and lack of responsiveness, long-time residents were moving out, according to Bellafante. Parkchester residents whom I interviewed would agree with the conclusions of the essay but push back against the title's use of "inevitable" to describe what has happened at their home. The popular narratives keep Parkchester out of the stigmatising narratives around other mass housing.

One 14-year renter of a three-bedroom unit states that her rent is "crazy" compared to how high it would be in the rest of the Bronx. After her rent being pretty stable for five or six years, though, she reports that her rent has been increased $100-$120 per month between her last two one-year leases, an increase that she finds excessive. Management on her side of Parkchester will not make upgrades to her unit, either. Instead, the management has tried to entice her to an upgraded apartment that would cost $3,000 a month instead of her current $2,260 per month. She could not afford to move into her current unit today, because management now charges over $3,200 a month for a new three-bedroom rental lease.

A 31-year renter reports that she had a major rent increase during the pandemic, and now has moved to a one-year lease from a two-year lease to keep her option to leave open. Condominium owners will not be as directly affected by gentrification, although their indirect fees to the condominium associations could go up steeply. One interviewed owner mentions that Parkchester offered him and his partner the most

affordable opportunity to own in a mass housing development in the city. Most co-operative developments, such as Co-Op City, require 20 to 33% of the sales price as a down payment, but since Parkchester is not a co-operative residents can use conventional mortgage financing and only have to put 5% of the price down.

Owners of course can benefit from gentrification through profiting from selling their units, but the owners interviewed were universally planning to stay and thought that gentrification would be a barricade for more middle-class people moving into Parkchester if prices became too high. Even the current sales prices represent a steady increase. In a high-profile sale, U.S. Congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, who grew up at Parkchester and lived there as an adult, sold her 760 square foot unit in 2023 for $250,000 (Jacob 2023). Her family had purchased the unit in 2017 for $135,000 (Jacob 2023). Current real estate listings (November 27, 2023) show units for sale at prices ranging from $186,000 to $329,000, which is far below the October 2023 New York City median home sales price of $833,411 and the Bronx median home sales price of $553,346.

Today the major cause for residents of Parkchester is resisting the two-headed Hydra of gentrification, whose one face is management neglect of conditions combined with rent increases and whose other one is the glitzy rendering of new glass towers near the future Metro-North station. Residents are prepared to fight back on both fronts to retain a way of living that maintains the very purpose for which Parkchester was built. The PWG held its first rally for quality of life and affordability on June 24, 2023. Attendance was large, and the rally garnered television and social media coverage for the cause. While residents love the built environment, their right to inhabit is their primary value during assessments of what matters at Parkchester.

6.4: Valuation in Popular Narratives

6.4.1 Popular accounts of Parkchester's status

In 1968, a real estate syndicate headed by developer Harry Helmsley purchased Parkchester from the MLIC for $90 million (Siegal 1974). Within six years, the *New York*

Times reported complaints from residents that maintenance already had deteriorated beyond the high quality that "Mother Metropolitan" had provided (Siegal 1974). Tenants then feared that Helmsley's plan to convert units in the north quadrant into condominiums would lead to their displacement, despite Helmsley's company's assurances that no tenant with an officially rent-controlled apartment would have to leave. A court decided against the tenant defense fund's efforts to block the conversion (Siegal 1974, Gurock 2019). State Assemblyman John C. Dearie then worked successfully to enact by 1977 a law requiring 35% of affected tenants to purchase their own units in order for any condominium conversion in New York state be allowed (Gurock 2019). Dearie did not stop the conversion of the north side in 1974, but his law slowed conversion of the south side of Parkchester, which did not happen until 1986 (Gurock 2019).

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, residents began protesting the perception of rising crime at Parkchester (Wald 1977; Gurock 2019). In the early 1970s, over 50% of the residents were elderly, and families had an average income of $12,000 in 1970 (Siegal 1974). Parkchester residents were middle class, but not of means to necessarily be able to move out – although several families were lured into the new Co-Op City after it opened in the early 1970s (Gurock 2019). Dearie, the legislator, was a typical tenant – born at Parkchester and a lifelong resident at the time he was pushing to fend off Helmsley's plans (Siegal 1974; Gurock 2019). Residents organized in the Parkchester Tenants Association organized their own resident foot patrols and prevailed upon Helmsley's managers to upgrade lighting (Gurock 2019). Tenant protests in 1977 and 1978 saw a push for "preservation" of the good things of Parkchester, and reporters who attended these recorded resident complaints of rising crime (including in buildings), deteriorated plumbing and fixtures, the outmigration of families with children (Wald 1977; New York Times 1978).

Figure 6.32: Parkchester buildings today are marked by the presence of air conditioners, green replacement windows and cable wiring all installed in the 1990s and 2000s during modernisation. Source: Author's photograph.

If the waves of condominium conversion had seemed like an answer to upgrading Parkchester, reports from residents in the 1980s and 1990s showed conflicting assessments of the quality of social life and the built environment there (Gurock 2019). The brightest spot was that the integration campaign of the 1960s had led to a very diverse population in the development. A 1986 *New York Times* survey of Parkchester reported on continued out-migration of young families and rampant vandalism blamed on outsiders (Gurock 2019). By 1992, the *New York Times* returned to survey Parkchester, kicking off with a positive valuation from 43-year tenant Margaret Walsh, who boasted of the ample green spaces, abundant tree coverage and vibrant bird populations (Cheslow 1992). Families were arriving from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh – mostly Muslim – and buying condominiums (Cheslow 1992; Gurock 2019).

By 1992, the condominium structure had divided Parkchester into Parkchester North Condominium and Parkchester South Condominium. Many units were still rented at

very affordable prices (Cheslow 1992). In the *New York Times* article, single mother Barbara Terry discussed moving to Parkchester – "integrated, multicultural and exciting" in her words -- from Harlem, which she could not have done earlier in life due to MLIC's racial discrimination (Cheslow 1992). However, Terry joined many others in being frustrated that units could not have air conditioning without major electrical upgrades that the master landlords would not fund. Marion Payton, a 79-year-old retired teacher, complained that Parkchester had become "scary" due to push-in robberies and on-the-ground muggings (Cheslow 1992). Helmsley's companies were spending $13 million to upgrade walkways and elevators, and to add security features (Cheslow 1992; Gurock 2019). Condominium prices had been steadily rising but began declining in the early 1990s (Barbanel 2004).

Accounts from residents are more positive in the late 1990s, especially when a new $12 million community center was dedicated in 1998 (Siegal 1998). Harry Brown, president of the Parkchester North Condominium Board, told a reporter that the center would serve young and elderly residents alike (Siegal 1998). Nonetheless, that same year, Helmsley sold off the Parkchester master landlord holdings for a mere $4.5 million (Barbanael 2004; Gurock 2019). By 2004, the *New York Times* had returned to survey Parkchester's residents, and found a more hopeful account from Dulal and Supria Nandi, immigrants from Bangladesh who just closed on a condominium sporting new wiring, windows and plumbing (Barbanel 2004).

The new owners of the master landlord corporations included the nonprofit Community Preservation Corporation, and a $220 million renovation of Parkchester had been undertaken including replacement of all windows (the new windows were not faithful to the original in light pattern), mechanical and electrical upgrades and roofing repairs (Barbanel 2004; Gurock 2019). The article demonstrated that Parkchester remained one of New York City's most affordable options for both purchasing or renting an apartment, and the project had overcome some of its physical deterioration (Barbanel 2004). Filipino sculptor Ben Gonzales, who has lived in his ground-floor condominium since 1979, had watched maintenance staffing decline but was committed to staying in

his unit (Barbanel 2004). Some residents did complain of a lack of respect for rules and community from new residents, a theme that came up in some of my structured interviews with residents as well (see figure 31).

By 2016, the *New York Times* reported that Parkchester was "working as planned," and reported that 31-year-old college administrator Lara Miranda and her 35-year-old waiter husband Steve Moran had been able to find an affordable two-bedroom apartment at Parkchester after being priced out of Harlem (Haller 2016). Nonetheless, by 2022, residents were again complaining about deteriorated living conditions caused by the negligent maintenance of the two condominium master landlords (Bellafante 2022). Retired schoolteacher Nancy Johnson told a reporter that residents were experiencing regular problems with heating, water damage, mold, garbage collection, elevator problems and deteriorated corridors (Bellafante 2022). The largest shared problem is the burden of housing costs.

While Parkchester remains more affordable than most of the Bronx and most of New York City, in 2018 interim Census data suggested that 26% of residents live in poverty, a point higher than the Bronx and six points higher than New York City on the whole. Unemployment stood at 13% and rent burden – financial difficulty paying – is 55%, compared to 58% in the Bronx and 51% in the whole city. The perception of the Bronx as a poorer and less desirable part of New York City is summed up in the comment of a young woman interviewed in Persist Print NYC's video *Ch. 2 - Duel of the Boroughs-Pt 1: The Bronx -Hip Hop's Stomping Ground*: "Here's the thing that gentrification has hit Brooklyn and has hit Queens but it never has hit the Bronx" (Persist Print NYC 2018). While she speaks, her friend says "I've never been to the Bronx" (Persist Print NYC 2018). Othering supposedly remote places is a constant impact on valuing place (Said 1979; Bordieu 2012).

6.4.2 Parkchester in social media

Parkchester has a broad representation in social media, and various channels help articulate different claims to Parkchester as heritage and home. The Parkchester Project

accounts, managed by Sharon Pandolfo Perez, engage 2,765 followers on Instagram and 488 on Facebook. The Parkchester Project emphasizes the architecture, especially the sculptures and their conditions. However, the Parkchester Project through the Instagram account also posts content in solidarity with resident struggles over conditions and gentrification. On the Instagram channel, after the rally this year led by the PWG, the Parkchester Project posted several interviews with residents about quality-of-life issues.

Another significant social media presence is the Facebook group for the Parkchester Bangladeshi Community, which has 969 members. In that group, people post about life at Parkchester as it relates to the Bangladesh immigrant community, which is largely Islamic. Posts in October and November of 2023 included posts seeking or offering rentals, a post from a community member offering mortgages for condominium purchase, several posts offering English tutoring, a post seeking Arabic tutoring, a post applauding the opening of the Nigerian Muslim Association's opening of the Marjid Ibaaduraham in Ozone Park, and a post applauding a recent Parkchester protest in support of the people of Gaza.

Other social media concentrations of note include the Facebook group Parkchester, with 1,000 followers; Parkchester Teens of the 50s, which has 787 members; and You grew up in Parkchester if you, which has 2,500 followers. The first two groups are private groups to which I have not gained membership. The third group seems dormant lately, and content mostly consists of advertisements for contemporary hip-hop shows. A long-standing Parkchester nostalgia Facebook group that I began observing when I started this research now seems defunct and missing from Facebook, but its seemingly all-white members had routinely posted memories of the period from 1940-1970. Over at the Parkchester Police Facebook page, which has a modest 114 likes and 167 followers, posts cover the private police force's participation in holiday and community events, including Halloween costume events and Christmas tree lighting ceremonies.

The PWG Facebook group is a grapevine for those residents who know about its existence and participate in it. Currently, there are 736 members of its private Facebook group and 560 followers for its Instagram account. Thanks to the Parkchester resident who started the Facebook group, I was able to become a member and observe discussions there, as well as participate through posting requests for interviews and survey responses for my data collection. The group has a strong core of members who participate frequently. The group discussion mostly centers around quality-of-life issues, focused on conditions of buildings and the general built environment, the responsiveness (or lack thereof) of management, and criminal activity.

On the PWG Facebook group in October and November 2023, posts have consisted of reports of elevator outages, complaints about the behaviors of dog owners, reports of heating outages, discussions about crime and discussions about retail stores. One recent post advertised the upcoming community meeting for the New York City Metropolitan Police Department precinct including Parkchester and encouraged residents to attend to discuss recent crimes. Another recent post urged that no trespassing/no panhandling signs go up at Parkchester parks. One resident posted to inquire about how to best use Ring cameras for security. One resident posted that after the pest control contractor visited their apartment, roaches actually increased. Still another poster reported that her building had a new ramp, for which she was grateful, but when the elevator went out her wheelchair-bound father could not access the family apartment. Again, the passion of residents for the quality of their home is unstated directly but obvious in the detailed posts about conditions there. People on the PWG Facebook group come across as fierce defenders of a way of life that they see as threatened by several factors.

6.4.3 Parkchester and hip-hop

On one of my visits to Parkchester, I stayed in the "Hip Hop Getaway," an AirBnB listing offered by a resident of Parkchester who decorated the apartment with nods to hip-hop icons. This resident by interview states that he moved to Parkchester from Brooklyn to be close to where hip-hop was born: " I am very grateful [to be here] because a lot of

legends have been at Parkchester, like Lord Finesse. He's a hip hop legend." According to this resident, the hip-hop scene around Parkchester in the Bronx was still active 50 years after the purported birth of hip-hop, and sometimes there were lively DJ spins and rap performances in the Metropolitan Oval. He explains: "It is very community-driven A lot of people with love for the community show up." During one field visit, I observed a concert at the Metropolitan Oval that, while not a hip-hop or rap show, demonstrated the energy of a neighborhood crowd when a spontaneous dance line began moving through the crowd until it contained at least one-third of all gathered (see figure 6.33).

Figure 6.33: A community concert at the Metropolitan Oval, July 2023. Source: Author's photograph.

Indeed, rapper and producer Lord Finesse (born Robert Hall, Jr.) is a long-time Parkchester resident who continues to work in hip-hop. Online, commenters have mentioned seeing him around Parkchester or meeting him at Dee's Fish and Chips, a cash-only spot on the edge of Parkchester. Rappers Lord Finesse, Joeski-Love, Just-Ice, The Brothers, Greg Nice, TR-Love and Dee-Jay, all influential in the scene in the 1980s and 1990s, lived at Parkchester in those days. A team of filmmakers actually is

working on a dramatic series about two brothers who grew up at Parkchester in the 1980s and 1990s, called *6 Train to Parkchester* (IMDB 2023). The series immerses the lead characters in the early days of hip-hop music and events such as the 1991 City College stampede, a deadly event where hip-hop fans tried to crash a charity event headlined by hip-hop stars.

Another major figure in the hip-hop legacy of Parkchester is cartoonist, graffiti artist and illustrator Eric Orr (Mays 2013). Orr has created logos and album designs for many hips hop artists and had been living at Parkchester for 41 years when a reporter wrote about his life in 2013 (Mays 2013). In the 2013 article, Orr offered praise for the diversity of Parkchester, while also urging long-time people to be more open to the new Bangladesh immigrants, and for the immigrants to learn the culture of those already living there. An August 2013 hate attack on a Bangladeshi cab driver disturbed Orr, and he attributed the close-minded views of some people in the US to a general culture of prejudice in the US (Mays 2013). Orr now spends half of each year living in New Zealand, and the other half at Parkchester.

Figure 6.34: Rapper Kwaw Kese at Parkchester in the music video for his track "1MAD," 2021. Source: Still made by author from video, Kwaw Kese YouTube channel.

For some hip-hop artists, Parkchester represented a place to land when they found success. Rapper Just-Ice told an interviewer that after he made a successful track with KRS-One, he tried to keep all of the money by living in a homeless shelter where a friend worked before tiring of the place (Robbie 2016). According to Just-Ice: "I got too many thousand dollars in the back pocket for this. I went and got me a condominium up in Parkchester" (Robbie 2016). A 2020 freestyle track by DJ Roderick, "From Parkchester to Greece," seems to position the housing development as valuable middle class stepping stone in the life of a singer who tried to make a move to Greece apparently to impress a love who left him (DJ Roderick 2020). Parkchester's relative safety and comfort compared to the Bronx also is the basis of a parody rap video made by white rap comedy group the Page Collective, "Parkchester Crew" (Page Collective 2020).

The contrast of Parkchester with other mass housing developments is apparent in a 2020 YouTube video entitled *Key Hound Takes Us Inside the Death Towers of the Bronx* (No Jumper 2020). The video's host travels to the River Park Residences, a set of four high-rise buildings built under the Mitchell-Lama act as middle-income housing in 1975. In the video, rapper Key Hound plays up how dangerous the "death towers" are, and at one point claims its low-life image as authentic Bronx. All other housing developments in the hip-hop world "ain't the Bronx," he claims (No Jumper 2020). A counterpoint can be found in rapper Kwaw Kese's 2021 music video for his track "1MAD," in which he stands in front of the Parkchester towers on the street partying (Kwaw Kese 2021; see figure 6.34). In an interview video made about the music video, producer J MUSE tells the cameraperson that they are in "Parkchester, the 'hood" using the derogatory term for a rough neighborhood (m1y Entertainment).

Parkchester's association with hip-hop history and culture clearly is an intangible value that is an important heritage aspect, but that association both intersects with and diverges from dominant hip-hop narratives about mass housing developments. Parkchester certainly has attracted some younger artists today, like Kwaw Kese, who deploy the place a symbol of the tough world of the Bronx. Yet the longer histories of

Eric Orr, Lord Finesse and other figures who have lived at Parkchester show that in the world of Bronx hip-hop Parkchester occupies the position of an aspirational place to live in contrast with rougher, less desirable mass housing developments. Whether those places deserve that status could be debated through the lens of unfairly attributed criminality articulated by Vale (2000). Yet it is clear that the hip-hop figures who have claimed Parkchester as home have reasserted its distinctive middle-class nature as a positive attribute and an expression of uplifited social status.

6.4.4 Parkchester and US Congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez

Perhaps the most famous recent resident of Parkchester is US Congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-New York), or "AOC," who lived there from birth through the age of five and then again after college and through her successful election to Congress (see figure 6.35). At 29, Ocasio-Cortez was the youngest person ever elected to the US House of Representatives when she won her seat in 2018. Ocasio-Cortez has built a political identity around both her commitment to democratic socialism and her assertion of authentic middle-class Bronx roots through Parkchester (Marte 2018). Her relationship to Parkchester in turn has spawned a right-wing counternarrative that seeks to undermine her authenticity as a middle-class Bronx person (Kopp 2019). The position of Parkchester in these narratives illuminates the way it is perceived by residents and outsiders, and how its distinctiveness holds cultural and political utility.

Ocasio-Cortez became a national figure when she beat long-time Congressman and Democratic Party leader Joseph Crowley, a white person who lives in the Queens part of the Congressional district. After winning the seat in the general election, Ocasio-Cortez became a national icon of left-wing nonwhite female activism and the most famous member of a group of several newly-elected nonwhite female members of Congress dubbed "the Squad" by the national political press (Jones and Trotman 2020). Parkchester figured heavily in her 2018 campaign, as can be seen across the *cinema verite* documentary film *Knock Down the House*, which profiled three left-wing female candidates attempting to unseat male incumbents. The film captures several moments where Ocasio-Cortez and her partner are strategizing in their Parkchester apartment

and shows how the social environment at Parkchester was supportive of Ocasio-Cortez' sense that she could win. A rather glowing *Washington Post* article after her primary election upset depicted Ocasio-Cortez as the product of an idyllic "working class" and diverse environment that included Parkchester. The article depicted residents of Parkchester as a place where "New York natives with Italian or Puerto Rican roots live alongside people who have immigrated in past decades from Ecuador, Mexico, Bangladesh and other parts of the globe" (Marte 2018).

Figure 6.35: Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and her partner Riley Roberts in their Parkchester apartment, 2018. Source: Annie Leibowitz, *Vogue*, 2018.

Upon election, right-wing media outlets began to weaponize Parkchester in efforts to undermine the credibility of Ocasio-Cortez' political stances. Reporters for the *New York Post* published a thorough investigative article in early 2019 claiming that there was no evidence that Ocasio-Cortez lived at Parkchester and insinuating that she may simply have used the address of a condominium owned by her family in order to run in the district (Vincent, Fasick and Linge 2019). The article claims that no Parkchester resident

the reporters interviewed had ever seen her there, an allegation that Ocasio-Cortez strongly denied (Griffith 2019). Later, after Ocasio-Cortez stated that she had moved between units at Parkchester, the same newspaper ran an article showing that two of her Instagram live cooking videos – which should have shown the move – showed the same Parkchester kitchen (Linge 2019). One interviewed resident emphasizes that not only had he met Ocasio-Cortez and her partner many times, but they were regularly seen walking their dog on the grounds. Ocasio-Cortez has stated that due to death threats she did not want her specific address to be made public, but she definitely lived there at the time (Jacob 2023). Ocasio-Cortez has since moved out of Parkchester.

A biography of Ocasio-Cortez notes that after her family moved to the suburbs when she was a child, she began returning to Parkchester as a teenager for the social life and "the energy, action and fun" there (Jones and Trotman 2020: 22). In *Knock Down the House*, she tells the filmmakers that out in the suburbs "no one looked like me" so there was little question she would return to the Bronx when she was older. Apparently, there is a mutual feeling between Parkchester residents and their Congresswoman, according to a 2019 article published by *Al Jazeera* in which a reporter polled residents on her proposal for a "Green New Deal" (Piven 2019). Residents seemed to not only respect Ocasio-Cortez for her roots at Parkchester, but also for her proposal for the US government to retrain people to work on green energy technologies (Piven 2019). My student told me in an interview that her grandfather had told her that Ocasio-Cortez's politics represented Parkchester perfectly and conveyed his deep respect for her. Several residents noted the lower economic prospects for Parkchester residents, and how Ocasio-Cortez's left-wing politics put their economic interests first (Piven 2019). Curiously, when Ocasio-Cortez finally sold her condominium in 2023, a UK tabloid depicted Parkchester as a "spacious" and "elegant" world of upper-income people in order to undermine her socialist political stance (Hodgkin 2023). In these popular narratives, Parkchester is as much a place in mind as it is a living neighborhood.

6.5 Conclusion

Parkchester offers a vibrant study of the dynamics involved with sustaining modernist mass housing for its intended purpose and with conservation of historic design aspects. The contradictions in its current condition, the competing values between experts and inhabitants and the overall context of gentrification in New York City actually make it a hopeful case study for this research, because Parkchester remains a living mass housing development. Unlike Cochran Gardens, Parkchester has found its way into the AHD while still in good condition and still occupied as low-rent mass housing – although its utility to inhabitants is the fundamental factor in its endurance. While different actors within the AHD weight certain aspects of its built environment more favorably than others, there is no need to advocate for its valuation among experts. Attributes of ordinariness – repeated building typologies and apartment layouts, relatively undifferentiated building designs – are overcome by perceptions of uniqueness and the presence of architectural sculptures.

However, Parkchester is far from stable in its disposition as mass housing. Resident interviews and surveys demonstrate an agitation among inhabitants in response to threats to quality of life, housing cost increases and disenfranchisement during public and private plans for Parkchester's future. With some exceptions, residents are anxious about the future. As one interviewed resident of 31 years indicates: "I am so unsure about the future of Parkchester." There is a very real threat to Parkchester as an affordable home for middle- and working-class New Yorkers. Possible results of a proposed rezoning adjacent to Parkchester's residential towers could lead to a widespread gentrification on one hand, in which case Parkchester's units could end up as luxury housing; or to major alteration or even demolition of historic buildings at Parkchester, in which case heritage inscription would become quite unlikely. Parkchester's residents are aware of the risk of these undesirable outcomes and are willing to work within the AHD to achieve their rights of inhabitation and to prevent gentrification of Parkchester. Parkchester demonstrates that a US mass housing project can elide the harmful devaluation faced by Cochran Gardens, but still meet other potential threats to its legibility as both heritage and as affordable housing.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

7.0 Introduction

At the conclusion of this thesis, the research points toward an optimistic outlook for a popular valuation of modernist mass housing in the United States, despite the challenges presented in preceding chapters. The perspectives of experts and nonexperts assembled through my research of the two case studies shows points of intersection or at least connection, rather than an impasse between ways of looking at mass housing developments as heritage. There are key findings in favor of future convergence of values. Foremost, there is the fact that almost all inhabitant narratives evince a strong attachment to mass housing developments as domestic space capable of influencing personal identity. Secondly, there is the reality that expert bias manifests only occasionally as actual hostility toward heritage valuation of modernist mass housing and mostly as ambivalence shaped by apparent contradictions and limits of the AHD. This research indicts the framework of the AHD in the United States as a formal approach to heritage that resists the presence of productive dissonance over valuation of mass housing but instead reproduces an exclusive nominalism. Within the AHD, mass housing remains impugned as inferior architecture while also inconvienent to mass financialization of the rental housing market. Optimism comes from seeing actors both outside and inside of the AHD realise that there could be a future for modernist mass housing. The path forward seems a pragmatic tactical engagement of the AHD to realise its utility for inhabitant struggles, while ultimately drawing together inhabitants and experts in a more dynamic, sometimes conflictive but mutually supportive heritage congregation (Fouseki 2022).

Indeed, in both case studies (chapters 5 and 6), there is ample evidence of efforts by experts to attempt to evaluate modernist mass housing as a form of heritage, including successful and emphatic claims of its value as architecture, social heritage or place. The passage of nearly twenty years between key decisions in the first case study, Cochran Gardens Apartments, and the second, Parkchester, allow for observation that

experts have increased their understanding of and appreciation for modernist mass housing in recent decades. Of course, the wanton demolition of the supermajority of US public mass housing tower blocks both removes the most stigmatised examples and renders remaining examples more scarce, which in the US system is a positive attribute toward inscription. Still, it is not simply the erasure of many examples that has rendered the remaining ones more logically worthy of expert attention. There are clear influences on the experts made by inhabitants like those at Cochran Gardens Apartments, who made the case for alternatives to demolition, and resident communities today, who are more likely to call for staying in place amid a national housing crisis than inhabitants twenty years ago.

Additionally, a wave of scholarship in the US that roughly begins around the year 2000 created the basis for expert education on modernist mass housing beyond inherited narratives shaped by popular accounts. My semi-structured interview with architectural historian Eric Mumford was very illuminating, as he recounted how his own decision to research and publish around urban design – even the theories of the quite-established International Congress of Modern Architecture (CIAM) with a membership of renowned architects – was quite radical within architectural history in the 1990s and early 2000s. The field had not yet deeply reckoned with large-scale urban renewal projects as much more than socially and aesthetically failed schemes at worst, or poorly-understood, historically-limited side projects of serious architects at best.

Alongside the work of Mumford and other scholars in architectural history (Esperdy 2007; Mumford 2009; Cohen 2012; Kallis 2023), there is a wave of historians of urban planning and urbanism who reapproached modernist mass housing through careful research of intention, impact, lived experience and downfall (Vale 2000, Von Hoffman 2000, Hunt 2009, Heathcott 2015). All of this research was corelating with the US government's Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE VI) push in the 1990s and early 2000s to demolish remaining tower block mass housing developments. While the research did not yield publications early enough to influence experts ahead of HOPE VI, it did yield a stack of books and journal articles that seem to have pushed the

discourse around modernist mass housing far enough today that modernist mass housing is considered worthy of expert consideration, even if still only furtively by modernist conservation advocates and in conflict with other considerations (like private ownership) by heritage agencies.

Sometimes, it is historic circumstance itself that may be the best impetus for the formation of values within expert and nonexpert realms. The pressures of urbanisation and the reality of the Great Depression led the US to embark upon the heroic efforts to create public and private mass affordable housing in the 1930s. The increased resettlement of the Great Migration and the local confrontations with slum housing gave rise to the post-World War II framework of mass housing production, which included the 1949 United States Housing Act funding directly public housing construction and low-rent incentives for private housing production in New York and other states. The relatively robust economy of the 1990s added to decades of neglected maintenance and high crime tempted both experts and inhabitants toward an agenda of dismantling mass housing in favor of financialised distributed affordable housing schemes, made possible also by relatively low private rents. Today, the United States faces its highest statistical rent burden ever, and most major cities – even those in seeming decline – lack sufficient affordable rental housing to support working- and middle-class populations (JCHS 2024). There is no qualifying that the retention of any unit of mass housing either owned publicly (and mandated as affordable) or owned privately (and either mandated or incentivized to be affordable) is worth conservation just for the good of providing living space without draining the wealth of working people. Therefore the moment may predispose actors across sectors to favor conservation of modernist mass housing more greatly than ever, even if the valuation is not only architectural. This research, however, remains dedicated to identifying how the value of design and the value of affordable dwelling space can align, which will require de-centering the AHD as the space for expert/inhabitant engagement while engaging the AHD within systems of government as an expedient tool useful for immediate challenges.

7.1 Addressing the Rationale for the Study

At the outset of this research, I endeavored to overcome the limits of inexplicit sources on modernist mass housing in technical and nontechnical literature as well as to identify the bias embedded in the same sources. Throughout this study, I have carefully presented the background of international literature on heritage, modernist architecture, mass housing and cultural landscapes that could both provide useful directions of theorisation and present barriers to understanding and appreciation. I have examined the US context to identify ways in which the history of mass housing generated popular and expert discursive tendencies that reveal bias, prejudice, omission and ambivalence. Through the thorough exploration of the two cases, Cochran Gardens Apartments and Parkchester, I have examined how their specific dispositions have been impacted by tendencies within the AHD. All of this study has been conducted to identify promising instances in literature, interviews and popular sources that could help me develop theories around reconciling contradictions in valuation. Throughout this research, I have aimed not simply to problematise my subject but instead to locate data suggesting the possibility of resolving the contradictions between actors.

7.1.1: How implicit bias affects the valuation of modernist mass housing

This study's examination of implicit bias has found that the biases are less particular to the expert fields of architectural history and historic preservation than they are common to social structures. Biases of white supremacy, patriarchy and classism are prevalent reasons why mass housing faces ambivalent valuation by experts. Expert fields reproduce social biases, but they are not sources where those biases originate (Smith 2006; Harrison 2012; Fouseki 2022). Instead, experts sometimes seem to assume an empirical neutrality to their work rather than realising it is value-laden (Skrede and Hølleland 2018). This research concludes by observing that the AHD in both scholarly account and government practice has been culpable in propagating negative valuation of the heritage of racial minorities or working class and poor people. At the same time, individuals acting within the AHD interviewed for this research have identified their imbrication and have generally resisted or refuted the AHD bias against modernist mass housing, even when they are not fully resolved in personal valuation. The reproduction

of implicit bias thus originates in disciplinary reproduction of dominant social ideological values through what Eagleton (1991: 51) terms "rationalisation." However, personal perspectives and the dominant ideological biases in the AHD do not necessarily align, which is a cause for optimism.

In this study, there have been few instances of detecting overt "smoking gun" statements that make clear that actors within the AHD have a fealty to dominant social biases. Rather, there has been a "hidden transcript" detected through omission and the admission of qualifying language around modernist mass housing. Modernist mass housing does not neatly slide into positive valuation in the same way that modernist single dwellings, office buildings and art museums do. The contradictory way in which modernist mass housing has been approached within architectural history and historic preservation shows the validity of working through technical literature with an analysis of ideology, or false consciousness. Ideology is most prominent when it is enacted instead of directly articulated, as its proof is how it slips into common consciousness and not so much how it leads to emphatic declarations of allegiance with the values of an ideology (Eagleton 1991). The actors who placed Cochran Gardens into a process of heritage documentation but never sought to use their tools to prevent demolition or seek a larger engagement of inhabitants around the question of erasure, demonstrate that larger social biases become ideologies that streamline processes that have led to the loss of mass housing developments.

On the other side, though, the apparent support within the AHD for the inscription of Parkchester attests to how an effective counternarrative about modernist mass housing can break down implicit biases. Parkchester still faces an uphill climb for inscription due to the privileging of private ownership, but it does not face any obstacle for recognition as heritage by advocates and scholars working within the AHD. Today the advocates for inscription include a historian of architectural terra cotta, a Bronx neighborhood historian and advocate, a staff member at a heritage nonprofit organization and other figures who are not impacted by the biases that doomed efforts to conserve Cochran Gardens. Parkchester demonstrates clearly that implicit bias can be broken and cast aside,

although its architectural pedigree – an acknowledged significant set of designers and the architectural sculptures – may well be a factor here that is not replicable at more conventional mass housing developments. Yet it is apparent that implicit bias is not a prohibitive factor in valuation, even if further research across other cases is needed to show how a wider set of mass housing developments can continue to prove this theory.

7.1.2: How heritage practices impact conservation of modernist mass housing as affordable housing

This study began by identifying the lack of research around how heritage practices impact efforts to conserve modernist mass housing as affordable housing. The Context chapter, chapter 3, especially drills down the available research in this area, and finds many sources that lament the ways in which heritage practices such as official acts of inscription or evaluation and scholarly acts of asserting architectural significance have failed inhabitant efforts to stay in place. At the end of this research, there have been few breakthrough findings on how heritage practices have directly served the struggles of mass housing inhabitants to remain in place. Instead, there is a finding that available sources show that heritage practices present a space of ambiguity. Heritage practices have not precluded heritage inscription especially of mass housing developments that can demonstrate exceptional design significance.

The primary insight of this research is not that heritage practices present an obscene impediment to valuing and even inscribing modernist mass housing developments as heritage, but that heritage practices tend to occur as passive practices. The study of Cochran Gardens Apartments finds that heritage actors in state agencies and nonprofit advocacy organisations largely are inclined to follow the assertions of federal and local housing agency officials, and to treat heritage work as mere compliance with federal documentary standards. The heritage actors involved with Cochran Gardens did not expand the potential of what a legally-mandated proceeding like the Section 106 review of demolition could be. This could have been a point of public engagement that would have included inhabitants, but instead became a point of coalescing expert actors within the AHD around a collective avoidance of deeply considering Cochran Gardens

Apartments. The eventual requirements by heritage officials for documentation met the standards of the law in letter but not in spirit. The required documentation only created an archival source for experts, and did not engage any inhabitant valuation.

At Parkchester, there is a very different set of circumstances. Since Parkchester faces no legal mandates for the involvement of heritage agencies or AHD actors, its relatively prominent position within the AHD reflects a robust advocacy campaign. At Parkchester, there has long been an acknowledgement within city heritage officials that the housing development is eligible for inscription. While this acknowledgement has not led to any action on municipal landmark inscription, it denotes a significant win for Parkchester within the AHD. Parkchester today has advocates for heritage inscription that include architectural historians and inhabitants, which again shows that the path toward inscription is not impeded by structural blockages within the AHD. Parkchester actually is an exciting outlier showing how much a modernist mass housing development can become incorporated within the AHD. Yet the lack of action on local inscription, which is determined by the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission's unwillingness to confront the owners of Parkchester, attests to the reality that private ownership is a major impediment to heritage inscription in the US that excels any bias or limit on the part of heritage officials.

7.1.3: How inhabitant perspectives challenge and refine discourses of valuation

This study has strenuously endeavored to locate a diverse range of inhabitant perspectives, through semi-structured interviews, identification of inhabitant perspectives in popular media including videos and music and identification of inhabitant perspectives in mass media including newspaper articles. The admission of even a single quote from an inhabitant of modernist mass housing instantly defuses expert narratives. As experts are attempting to reform, demolish, erase or otherwise modify the two major case studies, the inhabitants espouse a counter-narrative that identifies virtues in the mass housing developments.

Between the two cases, this study demonstrates how the inclusion of inhabitant voices not only undermines but also negates expert valuation. Experts have largely evaluated modernist mass housing developments against idealistic models of modernist architecture and planning, or against sociological models of integration. Inhabitants present a confrontational form of expertise: that of the person who actually has lived in one of these developments. This dichotomy is only a problem within a strict AHD which cannot govern conflict. This research has explored the fruits of mapping divergent values, which enrich the cultural landscapes of mass housing by drawing out their lives as actively-produced spaces whose meanings are constantly being negotiated. Dissonance points a path forward for future management, as it calls for structures where divergent values can be articulated, contrasted and brought into meaningful communion. This research embraces the ethos expressed by Fouseki (2022): "with dissonance recognised as an inherent element in heritage, I would like to stress the importance of accepting it and, by doing so, allowing time, resources and space for negotiation, dialogue and participatory planning" (Fouseki 2022: 171).

Inhabitant perspectives at Cochran Gardens confound the expert ambivalence around the housing development. The experts could not concur on a valuation of the housing development that would have honored its design and led to either inscription or a process of demolition mitigation that would have impeded total clearance of the 12 buildings. Sourced largely from newspaper accounts but also through semi-structured interviews for this study, the inhabitant perspectives evident were not in favor of demolition and replacement. Mostly inhabitants favored modifications, such as those implemented in the 1980s that connected lower-level family apartments to adjacent outdoor play areas. In the 1990s, when demolition became all but a foregone conclusion under HOPE VI, inhabitant perspectives included some voices that did espouse a position that the development was impossible to spatially change and improve. However a larger number seemed to favor a different process of deciding how to change Cochran Gardens, although none record a point of view opposing any physical changes.

At Parkchester, a relatively small sample of residents' perspectives through semi-structured interviews and a survey demonstrate that literature around mass housing definitely suffers from a lack of inhabitant perspective. Inhabitants at Parkchester have a strong motivation toward reckoning with their built environment, from the conditions of their apartments to the state of landscapes to the value of the architectural sculptures on the buildings. What inhabitants provide that experts miss is an inherent connection of the values of the physical conditions of place to the use value of Parkchester as affordable housing and as a living built environment. The inclusion of inhabitant perspectives in this study allows it to surmount available research that has only engaged heritage value through the perspectives of experts. Inhabitants provide a strong indicator that heritage is not simply the concern of experts and an equally strong indicator that expert values are better understood and analysed in dialogue with inhabitant perspectives.

7.2 Recommendations for Future Valuation Within AHD

This study supports a set of recommendations for practical change within the AHD in the US, which is centered around the field of historic preservation but also includes architectural history as an influential discipline. These recommendations are not offered as a complete resolution of the dissonance of identified in this research, but as a pragmatic that could assist residents struggling to bend the AHD toward their struggles to remain living in place. Substitution of a different structure of formally valuing heritage for the current AHD would be ideal, but that horizon probably means more to an expert like myself working within the AHD. Inhabitants demand action steps now, before they lose their homes. These recommendations would allow for a more direct analysis of the value of modernist mass housing, free from ideological accumulations such as privilege of one aspect of value over others and biases against built forms associated with people who are not part of the dominant social structure. However, it should be noted here that these recommendations seem as apt for the AHD universally as much as they seem to be specific to the case of mass housing developments. Whether this research is capable of proposing the comprehensive reform of the AHD itself is questionable, but

the methods of research have pointed me toward foundational problems in valuation of a specific built form that seem to illuminate more systemic dynamics. Some specific propositions are definitely supported by this study.

My research findings about the US AHD's distance from inhabitant perspective align with several scholarly conclusions about the nature of the global AHD generally (Waterton and Watson 2011; Poulios 2014; Higgins and Douglas 2021). Poulios (2014) argues that experts within the AHD view built environment conservation through a lens in which the support for conservation comes either through clear public support or an assumption that the public would support conservation if they were properly educated on the stakes. This perspective, echoed also by Smith (2006), relegates "the public" to an abstract mass that is never analysed or questioned. Engagement of inhabitants has largely not been seen as necessary (Waterton and Watson 2011). Conflict, difference and disputes have been squashed by asserting disciplinary conventions or legal standards (Smith 2006; Harrison 2012; Fouseki 2022).

In this research, I have actively sought to highlight the importance of engaging with lived experience and popular, non-AHD processes of valuation for a more complete understanding of modernist mass housing in the US. This effort has been particularly necessary in the context of built landscapes already at disadvantage and subject to bias within the AHD, inhabited by a diverse set of people who are often marginalised from dominant cultural discourses on grounds of race as well as class. While many experts in the AHD assume that they can identify values and articulate them to inhabitants in order to build support for inscription, they largely avoid actually engaging inhabitants to discern their values (Waterton and Watson 2011; Poulios 2014). Ordinary people construct and transmit place memory through relationships to built forms, thus creating values often overlooked by experts (Apaydin 2020). Thus, there is no way to definitively identify the full set of values of a place without engaging inhabitants. Again, a more egalitarian structure for engagement, in which actors from all stations can openly confront each other's values, and place values are identified, documented and inscribed as sites of dissonance, is vital for the US in the long term.

7.2.1: Stop privileging architectural significance as a value

A primary impediment to the valuation of the modernist mass housing developments in the US is the privileged position of architectural history in the formation of the value of architecture. As noted in chapter 2, the Literature Review, the architectural history field has insisted on values of rareness, originality and physical integrity in its framing of significance. Mass-made architecture is already at a disadvantage in this ideological form, although there is little reflection on the fact of ubiquity potentially espousing a clear social value of an architectural form. In other words, if there is so much of a type of architecture, perhaps it matters a lot. The architectural historians tend to dismiss this popular valuation, though, in favor of valuation that reaffirms their preoccupation with identifying architectural types that "move" architectural history toward new styles and forms, or are linked to "name" designers whose careers are seen as indisputably valuable. The tendency within architectural history also allows certain forms of domestic architecture that are based on elite patronage to be more highly valued since they are more likely to demonstrate aspects of originality or design authorship.

Mass housing was produced within constraints of housing law and public funding, and subject to corporate or bureaucratic governance. Thus, mass housing inherently is less likely than other forms of modernist architecture to embody innovative approaches to design. Mass housing's social utility is highest when its innovative aspects are mediated through programs of identified human needs. Its creation inherently never would have led to the kind of innovative aesthetic approaches as found in single dwellings designed by Frank Lloyd Wright or Le Corbusier. There are other points of innovation in mass housing, such as building form, economy of construction and apartment layouts. The AHD needs to break from the architectural historical attendance to originality in form and style and move to understanding other potential contributions to design history embodied by mass housing buildings. However, the AHD in the near term finally needs to reject the need for architectural forms to evince originality to hold value as architecture. The most prolific forms of architecture are those that actually become

socially dominant and thus valued forms of modernism. Mass housing should be seen as extremely significant because of its prevalence as a form of modernist social design.

7.2.2: Identify and confront implicit race and class biases

The valuation of prevalent modernist forms, though, also provokes another recommendation. While mass housing tends to not find its way into the canon of modernisms included within the AHD, other mass-produced modernist forms have. These forms include mid-century modern ranch and suburban houses, shopping malls and – lately – corporate campuses (Betsky 2019; Massey and Maxwell 2021; Lange 2024). Although some of these types of architecture, including shopping malls and corporate campuses, typically connect to a well-known architect valued by the architectural historian, not all of them do. Some of the architecture seems expressly valued because it attests to the forms of a middle- or upper-class way of life, where life in the suburban dwelling, work in the corporate campus and consumption in the shopping mall are part and parcel of an affluent way of life constructed through systems of racial segregation (Rothstein 2017). Architectural forms associated with the largely white middle- or upper-class experience of the US are very likely to turn up as types valued in the conservation advocacy of DOCOMOMO US, the nation's leading advocacy organization for modernist architectural conservation within the AHD.

Those who work within the AHD should confront the potential implicit biases that allow heritage advocates to champion corporate headquarters – hardly a popular or well-known form of modernist architecture – while also acting to avoid, disavow or problematise the value of modernist mass housing. The dichotomy cannot be explained away simply through the aforementioned language of innovation and originality, nor through a restriction of significance to certain architectural designers. If so, then the AIA new York Chapter Gold Medal-winning Cochran Gardens, designed by Minoru Yamasaki, ought to have been the subject of the kind of heritage advocacy seen in St. Louis when a former Philips 66 gas station with a round thin-shell concrete form (dubbed "the flying saucer") was slated for demolition (Allen 2012). If so also, then there should be ample instances of DOCOMOMO US awarding its highly-regarded

Modernism in America Award to residents of mass housing projects who fought against erasure, displacement or alteration. In fact, there is no such instance.

The strange fate of modernist mass housing within the AHD demonstrates that there are deep aversions toward architecture that embodies experiences of American life not sanctioned by dominant social values. Within systems of government, this bias actually violates civil rights laws, demonstrating the extreme terminus of disciplinary self-occupation and exclusion of competing values deemed not relevant to heritage. Mass housing was largely built for poor, working and middle-class Americans, and its public track became highly associated with Black life in the US (Turner, Popkin and Rawlings 2008). While inhabitants did not play a role in designing their own homes, and thus the paternalism of the design fairly can be critiqued, this critique is not extended toward single dwellings designed by well-known architects for upper-class clients who also had marginal roles in design. The tendency of architectural historians and historic preservationists to deploy the problematising analysis of other disciplines such as sociology toward mass housing while never deploying the same to the isolated nuclear suburban single dwelling is quite telling.

The participants in the AHD need to confront the biases against non-affluent and non-white people that they inflict upon modernist mass housing. While there are many shopping malls and corporate office parks from the modernist period, few of which demonstrate any originality, these forms are currently being celebrated free from the qualifications that plague mass housing and other forms of heritage associated with nonwhite minority groups. Wells (2021) posits that perfectionism – sites must embody the "correct" values documented "correctly" by expert standards – is a key white supremacist tactic against recognising nonwhite built heritage. Historic preservation's insistence on perfectionist standards of physical integrity of built form overlook the ways in which the heritage of groups marginalised or oppressed in society will often present "imperfect" forms (Leggs, Rubman and Wood 2012). Beyond integrity, the associations of built places created through systems of racial segregation can be viewed ambivalently even by minority groups (Wyeneth 2005; Wiley 2013; Boone 2020). Again,

the AHD in the US needs to confront its own reproduction of racial bias by developing more complex methods of valuing sites of nonwhite heritage that may be marked by physical instability and associations with traumatic events.

7.2.3: Expand valuation of place beyond architectural forms

Beyond the biases already identified, the bias toward associating modernism with buildings is clear in how participants in the AHD value modernist architectural sites. The contributions of landscape designers and planners to modernist mass housing developments are equivalent to those of architects. Earlier, this research considered the value of a cultural landscape approach, finding utility in the more systems-thinking ontology of that method (built forms, social dynamics and ecological aspects are all equal values). The UNESCO convention provides some utility, but stops short of liberating sites from antiquarian management of built aspects. Mass housing developments are as much or more so the spaces between buildings, people and their behaviors and associations with universal programs of housing provision as they are the buildings. Most modernist formulas of mass housing encouraged the lowest ground coverage of built forms as possible. So, while buildings are significant spaces of domesticity, much of social life in these developments always has occurred in landscaped spaces around and between buildings. At both Cochran Gardens and Parkchester, the larger landscapes are significant spaces for social interaction, children's' play and inhabitant sense of place. The open spaces are even deliberate to the schemes of architects such as Raymond Shreve at Parkchester and Minoru Yamasaki at Cochran Gardens, although within the AHD narratives around mass housing rarely even consider those open spaces.

As noted in the Literature Review, the concept of a cultural landscape opens valuation of places apart from non-architectural aspects of built spaces but also intangible aspects of place including use and ritual (Taylor and Lennon 2011; Gordon 2018; Myga-Piątek 2020). Poulios (2014) argues that the World Heritage Committee's placement of the living heritage of contemporary inhabitants in the same category of place aspect as the lost heritage of past inhabitants has pushed experts away from engaging living

heritage in valuation of built places. The overall expert view of what even constitutes significant aspects of place must expand to encompass living aspects such as patterns of the use of public and private spaces, cultural customs and rituals and even affective dimensions evident in popular media depictions of modernist mass housing. If experts would consider the mass housing developments as cultural landscapes in which designed elements (buildings as well as landscape elements) are equivalent to cultural inscriptions made by inhabitant communities, they could map a fuller set of values. Of course, this work must include engagement of the inhabitants to succeed.

As an example of how a different approach to locating values may work, Cochran Gardens could have spoken for the tenant organising and self-determination work that allowed it to achieve a version of autonomy. At Parkchester, the concept of a cultural landscape could extend valuation to the world of hip-hop music that does not manifest in built forms but in uses and place memories, as well as through the layers of ethnic heritages present on the site. The Jewish, Latino or Bangladesh Muslim versions of Parkchester all pinpoint certain locations as sites of remembrance, but not due to inherent designed or built elements. The cultural landscape is identifiable through both use and form, thus allowing its value to avoid the determinative limits of the AHD as it pertains to built spaces. However, the US participants in the AHD have an underdeveloped understanding of and appreciation for aspects of intangible heritage, so there is more work to be done in that area.

7.2.4: Make inhabitant values paramount

Clearly, the valuation of modernist mass housing within the AHD suffers from an over-reliance on expert valuation, which constitutes a fundamental power dynamic ensuring that dominant cultural biases will always triumph. In this study, I have documented the discernible expressions of value among non-expert inhabitants past and present. In the era in which some figures within the AHD are asserting the need for a commitment to equity, diversity and inclusion (Wells 2021; McDonald 2023), we seem to be missing some fundamental practical steps toward that lofty commitment. One step is to actually turn to inhabitants of modernist mass housing to record their values. The AHD repeats

several claims about modernist mass housing derived from sociological studies of the 1960s or some other ideological well of "common sense" but rarely bends toward recording the actual values of inhabitants. As the work of this study demonstrates, especially at Parkchester, the inhabitant values both complement and cofound expert values. Inhabitants are not likely to apply the same ideological measures of the quality of their homes as experts, and instead are more likely to recount aspects of place through personal identity and experience.

The values of inhabitants should have a deterministic role in the AHD, as those values are the only ones that can accurately measure whether a place is even livable at all, whether it is worth fighting for in the face of adversity and whether it holds social values beyond its built attributes. In my research, I encountered several studies of my two mass housing cases that ignored inhabitant perspectives or marginalised them as less significant than expert insights. Inhabitants are not unfamiliar with claims in the AHD, and in fact, can show great understanding of expert claims as my interviews with residents of Parkchester in chapter 6 demonstrate. However, inhabitants do bend these claims to their own understandings of their place, and thus offer a superior perspective in terms of considering all aspects of modernist mass housing developments. There is a pragmatic rationale for admitting inhabitant value as equivalent to expert value, but there also is a clear material imperative. Given the substantial preexisting biases against fairly valuing modernist mass housing within the AHD, the personal perspective of an inhabitant actually allows research to analyse expert discourses more comprehensively and specifically. Furthermore, ordinary people are the actual subjects of heritage and thus should be central to the work of identifying, producing and inscribing heritage.

7.3 Connecting Struggles: Heritage and Affordable Housing

The fundamental change needed to draw together the struggles for conservation of popularly-valued cultural heritage and the provision of quality, affordable housing is beyond the capacity of the AHD. The key lies in growing the power of the global political

movement for the "right to the city," which is an umbrella for struggles against gentrification, displacement, domicide, cultural appropriation and capitalist dominance of systems of government (Harvey 2012; GPR2C 2019). The "right to the city" movement asserts that rights to housing, well-being, nourishment and democracy in cities as human rights that should be codified in international, national and municipal law (GPR2C 2019). Mass housing inhabitants interviewed and surveyed for this research almost universally understand their primary cause to be political activism, and not acknowledgment within the AHD by experts. Experts in the AHD do not share this wide recognition as they approach the scholarly, public historical or official valuation of modernist mass housing. In fact, the AHD encourages an entry for mass housing into inscription and state heritage incentives that can rob these sites of their vital living role of delivering any meaningful right to the city. Thus it would be insufficient to simply conclude this research by presenting needed change within the AHD's own methods.

In order to conserve modernist mass housing as affordable housing, it is not sufficient to better value, inscribe and protect the remaining built forms. Returning to the example of the Lathrop Homes in Chicago mentioned in chapter 1, the introduction, even when the AHD incorporates a modernist mass housing development, its other ways and means can lead to the obliteration of the function of such housing as affordable (and public) as well as the actual destruction of some of the built forms – even while redevelopment receives the applause of advocates with the AHD. Literally, a section of Robin Hood Gardens in London is poised to be exhibited as Brutalist taxidermy at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (Sterling 2020), which is a dubious heritagisation although perhaps the exhibition will perpetuate awareness of the loss of mass housing in the gentrifying parts of the United Kingdom. Briefly, this section suggests especially to actors within the AHD some further steps needed to truly lead to conservation of modernist mass housing as more than a well-regarded relic of a social compact lost to the ages.

7.3.1: Confront causality by heritage discourses

As presented in chapter 3, the Context, and chapter 5, the Cochran Gardens
Apartments case study, the ambivalence and hostility toward conservation of public
mass housing architecture by participants in the AHD has not been merely an
intellectual conundrum. The actors within the AHD enabled the destruction of nearly one
million affordable public housing units, either through sanction, indecision or avoidance.
The biases that reproduce the architectural historical values of originality, canonisation
and "authenticity" of forms have been especially detrimental. The lack of engagement
within the AHD of the US with the flawed, but in this case superior, UNESCO historic
urban landscape approach, in which architectural value would be situated within a
systemic identification of multiple values (including those of users and inhabitants), has
been another barrier. Advocacy organisations are especially culpable, as heritage
officials often were constrained or negated by flows of federal housing funding, and
could have justified holding open moments of decision if experts on architectural
conservation had stepped up to protest. The fields of architectural history and historic
preservation have to reckon with their ethical responsibility toward the inhabitants of
mass housing projects that have been lost under the decisions that they have rendered.

Furthermore, the participants in the AHD who have encouraged a privatised system of
delivering affordable housing should reconsider their endorsement of the policies that
they have championed. The provision of low income housing tax credits as a substitute
for a meaningful public housing program has been a mechanism of displacement,
erosion of the welfare state and the perpetuation of instability in the lives of minority
residents of the US. The work of AHD actors to push for the use of these tax credits
coupled with historic rehabilitation tax credits enjoins the AHD to the project of
dismantling the security of affordable housing, even while technically enabling its
volumetric provision. Privatisation of public mass housing, such as at Lathrop Homes,
has been the worst part of this project. Yet actors in the AHD continue to support the
dismantling of permanent public affordable housing by praising and formally awarding
redevelopment projects that reuse existing buildings. The actors in the AHD have thus
avoided any joining of the struggles of affordable housing and historic preservation, and

instead have deepened their commitment to market fundamentalism (discussed in section 7.3.3 below). In so doing, the actors have ignored the value of the very social function for which the housing was built.

7.3.2: Discard national exceptionalism

As discussed in chapter 3, the national exceptionalism of the AHD in the US is perhaps the greatest limit on valuation of many architectural forms that are not seen as autochthonous, including modernist mass housing built in a global period of mass housing production. The US' continued maintenance of its field of heritage conservation, historic preservation, as nationally exceptional is a major impediment to conservation of modernist mass housing as affordable housing. There is far more research, scholarship and nonexpert activism around retention of mass housing within the AHD outside of the US, as presented in the Literature Review, chapter 2. Historic preservation perpetuates a primacy of object integrity in its operative methods, rather than accept the mutability of heritage forms. Thus, for inhabitant struggles to conserve their mass housing homes, historic preservation at most offers a chance to conserve built forms without any meaningful consideration of the historic use and ownership of mass housing developments. The legal framework of historic preservation in the US denies correlations of values in inscription or even evaluation for inscription, so any use value cannot be formally considered as significant. This approach reinforces the implicit bias of the professions described above in section 7.2.1, and gives actors in the AHD a permanent excuse for not joining large social struggles around place.

National exceptionalism also prevents the historic preservation field in the US from a comparative understanding of the value of modernist mass housing, because the established frames of value found in Europe, the Middle East and Asia described in chapter 2 are dismissed as irrelevant by many actors within the AHD. Yet as presented in chapter 3, the inception of modernist mass housing in the US carried with it a deliberate ideological stain imprinted by opponents of the US providing housing directly to its citizens. The greater appreciation for mass housing architecture in other parts of the world should allow US actors in the AHD to identify values that they have not yet

considered and avoid reproduction of attitudes that have never come from an objective consideration of modernist mass housing.

7.3.3: Reject market fundamentalism

The AHD within the US naturalises the market fundamentalism of US society, which makes the AHD subjugated to market concerns in ways that AHD actors do not always question or understand. The linkage of heritage inscription to historic rehabilitation tax credits for private owners has been seen as a desirable path of increasing heritage inscription, but its impact has been the lopsided geography of inscription in most US cities. Heritage inscription favors built forms located in areas with high capital valorisation, because the process of inscription is only rarely initiated by heritage officials but instead is mostly initiated by private owners hiring expert consultants. Thus the AHD is inherently imbricated in real estate capitalism, which does not favor any housing provision that does not generate profits for private owners and financiers. In effect, the AHD validates real estate capitalism without challenging its impact on heritage sites. Those sites not deemed worthy of investment are rarely inscribed, often demolished and largely not narrated in the documents assembled by heritage officials to represent the heritage of the people.

Furthermore, the AHD advocacy organisations generally rely on real estate developers as donors and have a high predilection to giving favorable praise to the work of those developers. AHD advocacy groups thus tend to have overconcentrations of upper-class people in their membership and governance bodies, which make them beholden to the economic interests of those people. While direct support from governmental bodies to AHD advocates is very limited, and thus private support is essential, the mirroring of social inequity in the constitution of AHD organisations betrays their supposed objectivity in valuing heritage. Modernist mass housing, as the site of the lives of working and middle-class people, does not generate people with the affluence to influence AHD advocacy organisations. Thus that form rarely is a concern for the organisations, unless a private developer gets involved in a redevelopment scheme.

The dominance of market fundamentalism in heritage management of mass housing demonstrates the long arc of ideological bias against modernist mass housing presented earlier in

7.3.4: Engage housing policies

The contemporary problem with housing demands that actors in the field of historic preservation begin engaging housing policy, not exclusively due to its impact on historic housing sites, but due to its fundamental role in who has the right to the city (Lefebvre 1996; Sassen 2000; Harvey 2012). If the point of urban heritage conservation is to ensure that the layers of time in a city are legible, those layers must include different social layers. In many US cities, gentrification is well-established, and in others, even though there is overall decline there still are patterns of displacement and spatial deconcentation of poor people. A city that is not economically integrated would be a lie if it were a text purporting to narrate the full history of a place. Is the built environment any less of a lie, if its population no longer includes poor people, working people or racial minorities?

Actors in the AHD need to include housing policy among their priorities in policy advocacy. They need to move beyond the tax credit programs accessible mostly to the very wealthy developers, and engage public housing policies that could conserve or destroy existing mass housing; zoning policies that could allow for the disruption of stable affordable housing, such as at Parkchester; tax abatements and tax increment financing that encourages the public support of luxury housing; mandatory minimum set-asides of affordable units, with careful attention to the definition of "affordable"; and the internal actions of local housing authorities and the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). I have hope that this intersectional concern could be developed, because many AHD advocacy organisations have also taken up the values of mass transit provision, form-based zoning and other causes whose basis is not heritage conservation (Avrami 2016; Renne and Listokin 2021; Marsom 2021; Mills and Thornton 2023). Heritage conservation requires more than the retention of built forms, but also the social patterns that give those forms deep value.

Again, a progressive approach within the AHD would reconcile the political struggle for housing in the US with the metrics of expertise. In a nation where over half of all renters cannot afford their rental housing, the crisis point demands that the AHD bend toward a new dissonant approach to valuing mass housing (and all other forms of housing) that discards discursive biases and aims to co-generate solutions for mutual social and built environment conservation with inhabitants (JCHS 2024). Again, this struggle is truly an international movement as the United Nations recent report on affordability shows that what is happening in US cities is happening across the globe, systematically (Pruton 2024). An international paradigm for learning, practicing and evaluating heritage approaches to mass housing sites could yield strong pathways toward successful conservation. There even are cases from other nations that could demonstrate how a heritage management approach to modernist mass housing – and again, all housing forms -- actually can serve residents' struggles. Valuing the significance of ordinary life and the dynamic, living contestation of meanings around housing could liberate heritage actors in the US. There are numerous precedents globally that provide encouraging, if far from dominant, approaches (Dimitsantou-Kiemezi 2008; Pendlebury, Townshend and Gilroy 2009; Bell 2011; Cupers 2014; Padawangi 2015; Dragaest 2017; Putnik Prica 2018).

7.4 Conclusion: Impact of this Research

This study concludes by observing the larger structural dynamics within the AHD in the US that impact the valuation of modernist mass housing, making the final notes here calls for action on a larger scale to change the fields that constitute the AHD around historic architecture. Fundamentally, the plight of modernist mass housing reveals how the AHD reproduces social biases and ideological formations that cannot be resolved simply by concluding that we just need to inscribe more modernist mass housing as heritage. Instead, I see a wave of activism around modernist mass housing developments being waged by residents who are not confused about the value and purpose of their homes. This activism within the US is just one instance an urgent global

movement for urban justice in which the right to decent and affordable housing is paramount.

Within the heritage field, there is a need to move past the limits of the AHD to embrace the struggles of mass housing inhabitants to maintain their developments as living places where the original purpose of affordable housing is maintained. To achieve a real solidarity, of course, experts need to deconstruct their own assumptions of value through engagement of nonexpert inhabitants of places. They also must confront the ways in which the heritage sector is enabling market fundamentalism as it erodes the full right to city of all people. If I had any doubt that the field was not capable of changing, though, it would be shattered in the reality of living in the US today. The next generation of experts has to procure housing, and if the lives of others has not yet been instructional, their own needs will lead them to conclude that something is wrong with the housing system in the US. Hopefully that revelation and this study will arm the new actors in the AHD so that they are eager to conserve modernist mass housing, not just as aesthetic artifact but as a vital, affordable, living habitat embodying the potential of architecture to serve people of all social positions.

There is further work to undertake in order to give this research more impact. Clearly the short term work is to publish this research as a book, but the author plans to go further. The study of US mass housing dynamics inside of a global context points to the need for a major effort to coordinate research and activism around mass housing. This author has launched the research project *Housing Blocs: Ordinary Modernism Across the Atlantic*, with Vladana Putnick Prica of the University of Belgrade, in order to compare heritage and gentrification dynamics affecting the conservation of mass housing between the US and former Yugoslavian republics. Currently, the *Housing Blocs* project is yielded an edited volume including contributors from both the US and Europe set to be published in the next two years. That project is simply a prefigurative effort at developing a more permanent hub for such research, which ultimately could build beyond the US and postsocialist Europe contexts toward a truly global reach. Many of the scholars cited in Chapter 2's review of literature on modernist mass

housing continue to develop new work, but much of it is geared toward scholarly discourses. A global center for fostering collaboration between scholars and also between scholars and activists working on mass housing conservation could be a bulwark against the erosion of the remaining stock, and the author continues to engage potential collaborators who would have interest in launching such a project. Ultimately, this research and envisioned next steps would support a more visionary political call to revive the scope, audacity and impact of the twentieth century mass housing movements. In some parts of the world, notably in Asian nations, mass housing continues to be built to meet the needs of ordinary people, but in most of the West the programs are a relic of the past. Claiming mass housing as heritage should not simply conserve the built fabric that remains but rekindle an appreciation of the social utility that they provide.

Within the heritage field, this thesis provides an original examination of the position of modernist mass housing by investigating two case studies as sites of dissonant, complex valuation. The methodology demonstrated allows for mass housing to be explored as the subject of heritage beyond exclusive sets of values an the inherent biases of the AHD. Hopefully the research induces experts in heritage and its related fields, especially architectural history, to find ways to challenge their own ways of looking at mass housing and begin to appreciate its built forms as unique, dynamic urban cultural landscapes. In turn, that new view of valuation informs how those same experts look at all built places, most of which have been identified, valued and inscribed as sites of heritage based on exclusive values that flatten their ability to attract and represent alternative values – values that constantly change as sites endure. The fate of modernist mass housing as an architectural heritage should remind all working in heritage of the needs for engaging built places in a way that illuminates their exciting ability to mean different things to different people, and for seeing how that meaning-making allows a single built site to build a possibly limitless constituency of admirers.

APPENDICES

List of interviewees: Cochran Gardens Apartments

Number	Name (If Named)	Position
1	Eric Mumford	Architectural historian and expert on architectural modernism in the US
2	Bob Hansman	Educator, activist, former public housing resident
3	Sal Martinez	Chairman, St. Louis Public Housing Authority
4	Anonymous	Former staff member, Landmarks Association of St. Louis
5	Anonymous	Staff member, Cultural Resources Office, City of St. Louis
6	Michael Willis	Architect
7	Rod Henmi	Architect
8	Paul Kidder	Philosopher and expert on architect Minoru Yamasaki
9	Joseph Heathcott	Historian of mass housing and former St. Louis resident

List of interviewees: Parkchester

Number	Name (If Named)	Position
1	Anonymous	Resident during the 1940s
2	Diego Robayo	Staff member, Historic Districts Council
3	Susant Tunick	Founder, Friends of Terra Cotta
4	Jeffrey Gurock	Historian and resident, 1950s
5	Anonymous	Current resident (owner) of 8 years
6	Anonymous	Current resident (renter) of 8 years
7	Anonymous	Current resident (renter) of 31 years
8	Anonymous	Current resident (renter) of 14 years
9	Anonymous	Current resident (renter)
10	Alexandra Lange	Architecture critic, architectural historian
11	Joseph Heathcott	Historian of mass housing

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET
Dissonant Modernism: Mass Housing as Architectural Heritage in the US

INVITATION

You are being asked to take part in a research study on the valuation of mass housing architecture in the United States as heritage. The research seeks to engage a variety of stakeholders to examine the range of values that mass housing embodies, and to examine how and why mass heritage is being valued (or not) across stakeholder groups: residents, housing officials, heritage officials and actors, architectural and cultural historians and housing policy experts.

I am a PhD Student Researcher at the Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage at the University of Birmingham. Dr. Ioanna Katapidi and Professor Mike Robinson are supervising this research project.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN

In this research study I will be interviewing a stakeholders involved in the maintenance and conservation of mass housing in the United States, including residents, managers, officials at local, state and federal heritage agencies, preservation activists and policy and historic experts.

Each interviewee is contacted and asked to give an interview; he or she is then given the participant information, consent form, brief and interview schedule before the interview. I will be asking questions focused on the perception of mass housing architecture as heritage, and how it is valued as such (for its architecture, for its utility, for sentimental associations, etc.). These interviews will be video and/or audio recorded and transcribed by myself; the answers given will be analysed in light of my research questions and quotes utilised to illustrate the opinions of the participants, and further exemplify my analysis.

TIME COMMITMENT

I ask the participant to agree to one interview that will last about an hour. This interview will take place virtually through video, over the phone or, if safe and mutually agreed, in person.

I will ask participants if they are interested participating in follow-up questions or queries over phone or email.

PARTICIPANTS' RIGHTS

You may decide to stop being a part of the research study at any time without explanation. You have the right to ask that any data you have supplied to that point be withdrawn/destroyed.

You have the right to omit or refuse to answer or respond to any question that is asked of you.

You have the right to have your questions about the procedures answered. If you have any questions as a result of reading this information sheet, you should ask the researcher before the study begins.

BENEFITS AND RISKS

There are no known benefits or risks for you in this study. There final analysis will be of benefit to the heritage sector in its findings.

COST, REIMBURSEMENT AND COMPENSATION

Your participation in this study is voluntary. If requested, you will receive a final copy of the analysis if/when it is completed.

CONFIDENTIALITY/ANONYMITY

The data I collect will not be confidential or anonymous, unless the interviewee requests anonymity. For my research findings to be valuable, it is prudent for me to include the credentials of my interviewees. This will lend credence to my analysis and findings. If the interviewee requests anonymity, the participant and researcher can decide on a descriptive term that is suitable, such as 'country house manager' or 'representative of a national heritage organisation.'

No personal contact details will be supplied such as email address or telephone number.

If a translator is required for the interview, the translator will agree to maintain confidentiality, and the translator's contact information will be provided to you.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION
Dr. Ioanna Katapidi will be able to answer any questions about this research study:

CONSENT FORM
Dissonant Modernism: Mass Housing as Architectural Heritage in the US

Name, position and contact address of Researcher:
Michael Allen
PHD Student Researcher, Ironbridge International Institute for Cultural Heritage
University of Birmingham
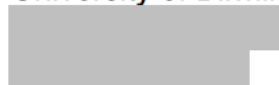
Please Initial Box

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

☐

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason.

☐

I agree to take part in the above research.

☐

I agree to the interview being audio and/or video recorded.

☐

I agree to the use of my quotes in publications.

☐

I wish to remain anonymous.

☐

If I do not wish to be anonymous, I prefer to have my name appear as follows:

_____   _____   _____

Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

Name of Researcher   Date   Signature

Interview Topics

<u>Inhabitants</u>

- Attitudes toward the architecture of your apartment, building and project.

- Efforts toward individualizing your space.

- Value of the housing project as heritage, and why.

- Observations on how outsiders see the project and its inhabitants.

- Quality of life.

<u>Government Officials</u>

- Relationship of your office to conservation of mass housing.

- Direct involvement in decisions to conserve, maintain, rehabilitate or demolish mass housing.

- Policies that constrain or enable your actions.

- Relationship to other agencies.

- Valuation of mass housing sites as heritage sites.

- Public engagement efforts.

<u>Caretakers</u>

- Definition of best practices in maintenance and alteration.

- Understanding of heritage value, and interpretation of what physical traits embody that value.

- Biggest challenges to conservation and maintenance.

- Allowance for inhabitant alteration of space.

<u>Non-Governmental Stakeholders</u>

- Values that you ascribe to mass housing.

- Evaluation of government agencies.

- Efforts needed to conserve mass housing.

- Advocacy campaigns and projects.

- Outlook for the future of mass housing.

Google Survey Questions

Name (if you wish):

Contact information (if you wish):

Address (if you wish) or quadrant of Parkchester where you live / used to live:

How long have you lived / did you live at Parkchester?

What are/were your favorite features about your building?

What is/was your least favorite thing about your building?

How has/did Parkchester changed since you moved in? And for the better, or worse?

Do you have any thoughts about the sculptures on the buildings?

Do you support the effort to designate Parkchester as a New York City Landmark? Why or why not?

On-Site Observation Checklist
Dissonant Modernism: Mass Housing as Architectural Heritage in the US

What am I looking for?
- Physical evidence of methods of alteration, repair and maintenance;
- Physical evidence of the ways in which individual residents make an imprint on the mass housing building through decoration, painting, gardening or alteration;
- Evidence of substantial changes to landscape, site plan, circulation, building forms and other designed details;
- Formal and informal acts of commemoration, marking and naming;
- Physical signs of how surrounding parts of the city interface with the housing project.

Where am I looking?
- The perimeters of housing projects;
- The open spaces between housing buildings, including lawns, recreational and play areas, parking areas and streets;
- Walkways and paths through projects;
- The buildings including elevations, entrances, and any public areas;
- Dwelling unit interiors if access is permitted.

Who am I interacting with?
- I already will have interviewed officials at housing agencies that own the properties through virtual or telephone interviews, and may also have already interviewed site managers, architects and others who may have worked on maintenance and change.
- I may have interviewed some residents identified through other interviews and inquiries.
- I will be observing how residents, maintenance workers and passers-by interact with the housing projects and their built environments.
- I will be observing how pedestrians on perimeters interact with the housing projects.
- Depending on pandemic circumstances, if safe, I plan to interview residents, pedestrians and other persons on site about their attitudes toward the housing projects, either anonymously or through fully or partially-recorded audio interviews.

For each specific case study, I will prepare a checklist, which will be based on preliminary historic research, archival analysis and examination of aerial and streetview imagery. Aspects of general tendencies in valuing mass housing identified in the literature review and context chapter also will inform the checklist. Particular attention will be made toward aspects of inhabitant alteration and maintenance of the built environment, an area under-researched in available literature on US mass housing

REFERENCES

Abramson, D. (2016). *Obsolescence: An architectural history.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Abu E-Haj, N. (2011). *Facts on the ground: Archaeological practice and territorial self-fashioning in Israeli society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Adams, V.H. (2006). "Coffee farm architecture and cultural landscape in Guatemala, 1860-1950." *Material Culture* 38(2). pp. 1-18.

Adorno, T. (1998). *Aesthetic theory*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP). (2014). *Affordable housing and historic preservation* [online]. Washington: Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. Available from: https://www.huduser.gov/portal/publications/pdf/historic preserv.pdf

Allais, L. (2015). "This criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria." *Grey Room* 61. pp. 92-101.

Allen, M.R. (2012). "Starbucks in a flying saucer: STL preservationists embrace modernism." *Next City*, October 4. https://nextcity.org/urbanist-news/how-two-st.-louis-landmarks-were-spared-the-wrecking-ball

Allen, M.R. (2021). "Trumpism, neoclassicism, and architecture as propaganda." *Platform*, May 17. https://www.platformspace.net/home/trumpism-neoclassicism-and-architecture-as-propaganda

Allen, M.R., Slocum, L. and Shepard, T. (2014). *High-rise public housing towers in St. Louis, Missouri.* St. Louis: Preservation Research Office.

Ammon, F.R. (2016). *Bulldozer: Demolition and clearance of the postwar landscape*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Anderson. B. (1983). *Invented communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. New York: Verso.

Apaydin, V. (2020). "The interlinkage of cultural memory, heritage and discourses of construction, transformation and destruction." In Apaydin, V., ed. *Critical*

perspectives on cultural memory and heritage: Construction, transformation and destruction. London: University College London Press. pp. 13-20.

Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Architectural Forum. (1939). "Metropolitan's Parkchester." *Architectural Forum*, no. 11, no. 6. pp. 411-426.

Architectural Forum. (1952). "High apartments or low?" *Architectural Forum*, January, 96(1). pp. 100-117.

Arena, J. (2012). *Driven from New Orleans: How nonprofits betray public housing and promote privatization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Argersinger, J.E. (2010). "Contested visions of American democracy: Citizenship, public housing, and the international arena." *Journal of Urban History* 36(6). pp. 792-813.

Aronovici, C., ed. (1934). *America can't have housing*. New York: Museum of Modern Art.

Ashworth, G.J., Graham, B.J, and Tunbridge, J.E. (2000). *A geography of heritage: Power, culture and economy*. London: Arnold.

Ashworth, G. J., Graham, B. J., and Tunbridge, J. E. (2007). *Pluralising pasts: heritage, identity and place in multicultural societies*. London: Pluto Press.

Ashworth, G.J. and Phelps, A. (2002). "The cultural construction of heritage conservation." In Phelps, A., Ashworth, G.J. and Johansson, B.O.H., eds., *The construction of built heritage: A North European perspective on politics, practices and outcomes*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Associated Press. (1963). "Nation's top landlord opens doors to negroes." *Hartford Courant*, August 12, p. 12.

Aubert, D., Cavar, L. and Chandani, N., eds. (2012). *Thanks for the view Mr. Mies: Lafayette Park, Detroit*. New York: Metropolis Books.

Augé, Marc. (1995). *Non-places: An introduction to super-modernity*. New York: Verso.

Austen, B. (2018). *High-risers: Cabrini-Green and the fate of American public housing*. New York: Harper.

Australia ICOMOS. (1999). Charter for the conservation of places of cultural
significance. Melbourne: Australia ICOMOS.

Avrami, E. (2016). "Making historic preservation sustainable." *Journal of the American
Planning Association* 82. pp. 1-9.

Avrami, E., Mason, R., and de la Torre, M. (2000). *Values and heritage conservation*.
Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Center.

Ballon, H. (2007). "Robert Moses and urban renewal." In Ballon, H. and Jackson, K.T.,
eds. *Robert Moses and the modern city: The transformation of New York*. New
York: W.W. Norton & Company. pp. 94-115.

Bandarin, F. and Van Oers, R. (2012). *The historic urban landscape: Managing heritage
in an urban landscape*. Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell.

Banham, R. (1986). *A concrete Atlantis: U.S. industrial building and European modern
architecture, 1900-1925*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Barbanel, J. (2004). "Still a beacon, Parkchester climbs back." *New York Times*, March
14, section 11, p. 14.

Bauer, C. (1934). *Modern housing*. New York: Houghton Mifflin.

Bauer, C. (1957). "The dreary deadlock of public housing," *Architectural Forum*, May,
106(5). pp. 140-2, 219, 221.

Belcher, G. In Sandis, C., ed. (2014). "Values in world heritage." *Cultural heritage ethics:
Between theory and practice.* Open Book Publishers.

Bell, H. (2011). "Listing, 'significance,' and practiced persuasion at Spa Green estate,
London." *Social & Cultural Geography* 12(3). pp. 223-242.

Bell, S. (2004). *Elements of visual design in the landscape.* New York: Spon.

Bell, T. R. (2017). *A concept made concrete: conserving a Brutalist icon through
architectural intervention. An explanatory document.* A research project submitted
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Architecture
(Professional). Unitec Institute of Technology, New Zealand.

Bellafante, G. (2023). "The slow, inevitable death of middle-class housing." *New York
Times*, January 15, section A, p. 30.

Benjamin, W. (1936/2008). *The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction*. New
York: Penguin Books.

Berliner, D. (2020). *Losing culture: Nostalgia, heritage and our accelerated times.* New Brunswick*:* Rutgers University Press.

Betsky, A. (2019). "Save the shopping mall." *Architect*, June 10. https://www.architectmagazine.com/design/culture/save-the-shopping-mall o

Bhandar, B. (2018). *The cultural lives of property: Law, land, and racial regimes of ownership*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Bigaj, P. (2018). "First attempts at the proliferation of concrete and reinforced concrete in housing contributive to the exploration of new possibilities of shaping the form and aesthetics in the early twentieth century residential architecture." *International Multidisciplinary Conference on Social Sciences and Arts SGEM* 5. pp. 113-120.

Blake, J. (2015). *International cultural heritage law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Blake, P. (1993). *No place like utopia: Modern architecture and the company we kept*. New York and London: W.W. Norton.

Blomley, N.K. (1994). *Law, space, and the geographies of power*. Guilford Press, New York.

Bloom, N.D. (2008). *Public housing that worked: New York in the twentieth century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Bloom, N.D., Umbach, F. and Vale, L. "Introduction." In Bloom, N.D., Umbach, F. and Vale, L., eds. (2015). *Public housing myths: Perception, reality and social policy*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. pp 1-30.

Bogdan, R. (1973). "Participant observation." *Peabody Journal of Education* 50(4). pp. 302-308.

Boone, K. (2020). "Black landscapes matter," *Ground Up Journal* 6. http://worldlandscapearchitect.com/black-landscapes-matter-by-kofi-boone/

Bordieu, P. (1984; 2012). *Distinction*. London: Routledge.

Borodacheva, M. (2019). "One photographer finds the poetry in post-Soviet urban chaos." *The Calvert Journal*. https://www.calvertjournal.com/articles/show/11164/photography-poetry-post-Soviet-urban-chaos-concrete-Instagram

Boughton, J. (2018). *Municipal dreams: The rise and fall of council housing*. New York: Verso.

Boym, S. (2001). *The future of nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books.

Boyte, H. (1989). "People power transforms a St. Louis housing project." *Utne Reader* 34, July-August. pp. 46-7.

Brand, S. (1994). *How buildings learn: What happens after they're built*. New York: Viking Press.

Braverman, I., Blomley, N.K., Delaney, D. and Kedar, A. (2014). "Expanding the spaces of law." In Braverman, I., Blomley, N.K., Delaney, D. and Kedar, A., eds., *The expanding spaces of law: A timely legal geography*. Stanford: Stanford Law Books.

Bristol, K.G. (1991). "The Pruitt-Igoe myth." *Journal of Architectural Education* 44(3). pp. 163-171.

Brown, S. (1998). "Bertha Gilkey's heroic achievements." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 16, p. B7.

Brsakoska, J. (2021). "Public space transformation in the case of 'Skopje 2014.'" *Urbana: Urban Affairs and Public Policy* 22. pp. 1-20.

Bryant, A. and Charmaz, K. (2007). *The SAGE handbook of grounded theory*. London, Los Angeles, Delhi: Sage Publications Ltd.

Bryant, T. (1994). "Circuit judge halts murder trial when youth refuses to testify." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 18, p. 5D.

Bryant, T. (2002). "Bertha Gilkey pleads guilty of embezzling HUD funds." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, January 26, p. 21.

Bryant, T. (2012). "St. Louis to survey mid-century buildings." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 30. https://www.stltoday.com/news/local/metro/st-louis-to-survey-mid-century-buildings/article 266033e2-79ac-11e1-b262-001a4bcf6878.html

Bryman, A. (2008). *Social research methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Budds, D. (2020). Hood century is the future of the preservation movement." *Curbed*. https://archive.curbed.com/2020/7/24/21335934/hood-century-jerald-cooper-midcentury-modern-architecture

Burstein, J. (1967). "New techniques in public housing*." Law and Contemporary Problems* 32.

Byrne, D. (2014). *Counterheritage: Critical perspectives on heritage conservation in Asia.* London: Routledge.

Caffyn, L. (1983). "Housing in an industrial landscape: A study of workers' housing in west Yorkshire." *World Archaeology* 15(2). pp. 173-183.

Calcatinge, A. (2012). The need for a cultural landscape theory: An architect's approach. Zurich: Lit Verlag Gmbh & Company.

Carman, J. (2005). *Against cultural property: Archaeology, heritage and ownership*. London: Duckworth.

Carter, T., and Cromley, E.C. (2005). *Invitation to vernacular architecture: A guide to the study of ordinary buildings and landscapes.* Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press.

Certeau, Michel de. (1988). *The practice of everyday life*. Berkeley: The University of California Press.

Chalana, M. (2012). "Of mills and malls: The future of urban industrial heritage in neoliberal Mumbai." *Future Anterior* 9(1). pp. 1-15.

Charlton, A., and Lee, M. (2023). "U.S. plans to rejoin UNESCO and pay $600 million in back dues." *PBS Newshour*, June 12. https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/u-s-plans-to-rejoin-unesco-and-pay-600-million-in-back-dues

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. London, Los Angeles and Delhi: Sage Publications Ltd.

Chatterjee, I. and Ahmed, W. (2019). "Dialectical materialism: Marx's method in human geography?". *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies* 18(2). pp. 364-393.

Cheslow, J. (1992). "If you're thinking of living in: Parkchester." *New York Times*, May 10, section 10, p. 7.

Chicago Sun-Times. "Altgeld Gardens public housing deserves a spot on the National Register of Historic Places." *Chicago Sun-Times*, October 5.

https://chicago.suntimes.com/2021/10/5/22710572/altgeld-gardens-public-
housing-national-register-of-historic-places-philip-murray-homes-editorial

Cisneros, H. (2009). *From despair to hope: Hope VI and the new promise of public
housing in America's cities*. Washington: Brookings Institution Press.

Cohen, J-L. (2012). *The future of architecture. Since 1889*. London: Phaidon Press.

Conde, E. (2019). "Parkchester is listed as NYC's most affordable neighborhood."
Welcome2theBronx, October 25.
https://www.welcome2thebronx.com/2019/10/25/parkchester-is-listed-as-nycs-
most-affordable-neighborhood/

Constant, C. (2012). *The modern architectural landscape*. Minneapolis: University of
Minnesota Press.

Cooper, M.A. (2015). "The creation, evolution and destruction of Authorized Heritage
Discourses within British cultural resource management." In Samuels, K.F. and
Rico, T., eds., *Heritage keywords: Rhetoric and redescription in cultural heritage*.
Boulder: University of Colorado Press.

Corbin, J. and Strauss, A. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research*. Los Angeles, London,
New Delhi and Singapore: Sage Publications.

Cosgrove, D.E. (1984). *Social formation and symbolic landscape*. Madison: University
of Wisconsin Press.

Creswell, T. (2004). *Place: A short introduction*. Oxford: John Wiley and Sons.

Cullen, M.M. and Brennan, N.M. (2021). "Grounded theory: Description, divergences
and application." *Accounting, Finance and Governance Review* 27.
https://afgr.scholasticahq.com/article/22173-grounded-theory-description-
divergences-and-application

Cupers, K. (2014). *The social project: Housing postwar France*. Minneapolis: University
of Minnesota Press.

Cupers, K. (2020). "Human territoriality and the downfall of public housing." In Cupers,
K., Gabrielson, C. and Mattson, H., eds. *Neoliberalism on the ground:
Architecture and transformation from the 1960s to the present*. Pittsburgh:
University of Pittsburgh Press.

Darling, E. (2000). "What the tenants think of Kensal House: Experts' assumptions versus inhabitant' realities in the modern house." *Journal of Architectural Education* 53(3). pp. 167-177.

Day, E. (2018). "The case for public housing that doesn't suck—and lots of it." *Mother Jones*. https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2018/05/the-case-for-building-public-housing-that-doesnt-suck-and-lots-of-it/

Degener, P. (1989). "It's a miracle." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 2, p. 1D.

de Gorgas, M.R. (2001). "Reality as illusion: The historic houses that become museums." *Museum International* 53(2). pp. 10-15.

Deparle, J. (1992). "Cultivating their own gardens." *New York Times*, January 5, section 6, p. 22.

Derrida, J. (1986). "Architecture where desire can live." *Domus* 671. pp. 17-24.

DeSilvey, C. (2017). *Curated decay: Heritage beyond saving*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Desmond, M. (2016). *Evicted: Poverty and profit in the American city*. New York: Broadway Books.

Di Donato, P. (2014). *Parkchester: The grand old neighborhood*. YouTube, March 25. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xotLWypazGs

Dimitsantou-Kiemezi, C. (2008). "Methodology for surveying and evaluating traditional settlements." In Babalis, D., ed. *Chronicity: The scale of sustainable change: Heritage value and future opportunities*. Copenhagen: Alenia.

DJ Roderick. (2020). "From Parkchester to Greece." YouTube, December 4. https://www.youtube.com/shorts/Jrh2w20F37k

Docter, B. and Galvez, M. (2016). *The future of public housing: Public housing fact sheet*. Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute.

Dowd, M. (1991). "Bush visits a project to push tax cuts." *New York Times*, May 4, section 1 p. 6.

Dragaset, A. (2017). "Diachronic powerscapes: A case study from Odda, Norway." In Rajala, U. and Mills, P., eds. *Forms of dwelling: Twenty years of taskscapes in architecture*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Dukmasova, M. (2019). "Residents reflect on rehabbed Lathrop Homes," *Chicago Reader*, September 18. https://chicagoreader.com/arts-culture/residents-reflect-on-rehabbed-lathrop-homes/

Duneier, M. (2016). *Ghetto: The invention of an idea, the history of an idea*. New York: Farrar, Strauss, Giroux.

Dutton, T.A. and Mann, L.H. (1995). "After modernism: What happened to architecture's social project?". *Proceedings of the 83rd American Schools of Collegiate Architecture Conference*.

Eagleton, T. (1991). *Ideology: An introduction*. New York: Verso.

Edensor, T. (2005). "The ghosts of industrial ruins: Ordering and disordering memory in excessive space." *Environment and Planning (D): Society and Space* 23. pp. 829-849.

Editors (2020). "Here are AN's top historic preservation stories of 2020." *The Architect's Newspaper*. https://www.archpaper.com/2020/12/top-historic-preservation-stories-of-2020/

Edson, C.L. (1970). "Sections 235 and 236 – The first year." *The Urban Lawyer* 2(1). pp. 14-28.

Emerick, K. (2014). *Conserving and managing ancient monuments: Heritage, democracy and inclusion*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.

Ellard, C. (2015). *Places of the heart: The psychogeography of everyday life*. New York: Bellevue Literary Press.

Engel, B., ed. (2019). *Mass housing in the socialist city: Heritage, values and perspectives*. Berlin: DOM Publishers.

Erizanu, P. (2019). "Socialist modernist gems from Tirana to Tashkent are under threat. These activists are trying to save them." *The Calvert Journal.* https://www.calvertjournal.com/articles/show/11371/activists-socialist-modernism-eastern-bloc-architecture-instagram-photography

Ervin, K. (2017). *Gateway to equality: Black women and the struggle for economic justice in St. Louis*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

Esperdy, G. (2007). "'I am a Modernist': Morris Lapidus and His Critics," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 66.4. pp. 494-517.

Faisst, J. (2017). "Ghetto aesthetics: Performing spatial inequality in *The Pruitt-Igoe Myth*." In Bauridi, B.M, and Wiegmink, P., eds., *Approaching transnational America in performance*. Frankfurt and New York: Peter Lang. pp. 65-288.

Farber, P. and Lum, K. (2019). *Monument Lab: Creative speculations for Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Fennell, C. (2015). *Last project standing: Civics and sympathy in post-welfare Chicago*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Fitch, J.M. (1982). *Historic preservation: Curatorial management of the built world*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Fly, E. (2016). "Historic preservation: Diversity in practice and stewardship." In Page, M. and Miller, M. eds., *Bending the future: 50 ideas for the next 50 years of historic preservation in the United States*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. pp. 83-87.

Fouseki, K. (2022). *Heritage dynamics: Understanding and adapting to change in diverse heritage contexts*. London: University College London Press.

Forty, A. (2012). *Concrete and culture: A material history*. London: Reaktion Books.

Frampton, K. (1980). *Modern architecture: A critical history*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Franklin, S. (2020). "Paul Rudolph's Shoreline Apartments are finally coming down in Buffalo," *The Architect's Newspaper*, January 23. https://www.archpaper.com/2020/01/paul-rudolph-shoreline-apts-demolished/

Frattini, D. (2000). *The underground guide to New York City subways.* New York: Macmillan.

Frieling, K. and Kip, M., (2017). "Preface." In Frieling, K. and Kip, M., eds., *Preserving the modern: New perspectives on postwar modernist architecture*. Darmstadt: Techische Universität Darmstadt. pp. 3-5.

Fuerst, J. (1988). "Note on policy: Tenant management in low-rent public housing." *Social Service Review*, 62(2), June. pp: 337-345.

Fuerst, J.S. (2005). *When public housing was paradise: Building community in Chicago*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Fuerst, J., and Sims, J. (2005). "The misguided effort to 'reform' public housing in America." *Journal of Affordable Housing and Community Development Law* 14(4). pp. 285-291.

Fullilove, M.T. (2004). *Root shock: How tearing up city neighborhoods hurts America and what we can do about it*. New York: New Village Press.

Gartman, D. (2009). *From autos to architecture: Fordism and architectural aesthetics in the twentieth century*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press.

Gerasimova, K. (2002). "Privacy in the Soviet communal apartment." In Cromley, D. and Reid, S.E., eds., *Socialist spaces: Sites of everyday life in the Eastern bloc.* Oxford: Berg.

Gharipour, M. and Kilinç, E., eds. (2019). *Social housing in the Middle East: Architectural, urban development and transnational modernity*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Gibson, J., Hendricks, M.D., and Wells, J.C. (2018). "From engagement to empowerment: how heritage professionals can incorporate participatory methods in disaster recovery to better serve socially vulnerable groups." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25(6). pp. 596-610.

Gideon, S. (1939). *Space, time and architecture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Gill, J.F. (2022). "Priceless sculptures are 'literally being chipped away." *New York Times*, section RE, p. 1.

Glaser, B. and Strauss, A. (1967) *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson.

Glendenning, M. (2010). "Multifaceted monolith: The hidden diversity of mass housing." *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Anthropology* 54(20). pp. 47-59.

Gledenning, M. (2021). *Mass housing: Modern architectural and state power – a global history*. London: Bloomsbury.

Global Platform for the Right to City (GPR2C). (2019). *Right to the city agenda: For the implementation of the 2030 agenda for sustainable development and the New Urban Agenda.*
https://www.right2city.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/A6.2 Right-to-the-city-agenda.pdf

Gold, R. (1958) 'Roles in Sociological Field Observation', *Social Forces*, 36(3). pp. 217–223.

Goldstein, E. (2021). Letter to the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission. April 15.

Goldstein, R.J. (2010). "Kicking the commies out of public housing: The rise and fall of the Gwinn Amendment, 1952–1956." *American Communist History* 9(2). pp. 141-165.

Gonzalez, E. (2004). *The Bronx*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Gonźalez, P.A. (2019). *The heritage machine: Fetishism and domination in Marggateria, Spain*. London: Pluto Press.

González-Ruibal, A., González, P.A. and Criado-Boado, F. (2018). "Against reactionary populism: towards a new public archaeology." *Antiquity* 92:362. pp. 507-515.

Gordon, J.E. "Geoheritage, geotourism and the cultural landscape: Enhancing the visitor experience and promoting geoconservation." *Geosciences* 8(4). p. 136.

Gowan, P. and Cooper, R. (2018). *Social housing in the United States*. New York: People's Policy Project.

Graham, B., Ashworth G., and Tunbridge, J. (2000). *A Geography of heritage: Power, culture and economy.* London: Arnold.

Granitz, P. (2011). "Hypothesis proved?" National Public Radio. https://www.npr.org/sections/talk/2011/03/31/135009976/hypothesis-proved

Gratz, R.B. (2010). *The battle for Gotham: New York in the shadow of Robert Moses and Jane Jacobs* New York: Nation Books.

Gratz, R.B. (2020). *It's a helluva town: Joan K. Davidson, the J.M. Kaplan Fund and the fight for a better New York.* New York: Bold Type Books.

Gress, T., Cho, S., and Joseph, M. (2016.) *HOPE VI Data Compilation and Analysis* [online]. Cleveland: National Initiative on Mixed-Income Communities, Case Western Reserve University. Available from: https://www.huduser.gov/portal/sites/default/files/pdf/HOPE-VI-Data-Compilation-and-Analysis.pdf

Griffith, K. (2019). "AOC insists she DOES live in the Bronx after accusations that neighbors have never met her and mail piles up at her apartment for months." *Daily Mail*, February 24. https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6738889/AOC-insists-DOES-live-Bronx-claims-neighbors-never-met-her.html

Grover, T. and Waytkus, L. (2020). "Docomomo US response to President Trump's executive order on promoting beautiful civic architecture." DOCOMOMO US. https://www.docomomo-us.org/news/docomomo-us-response-to-president-trump-s-executive-order-on-promoting-beautiful-civic-architecture

Gurock, J.S. (2019). *Parkchester: A Bronx tale of race and ethnicity*. New York: Washington Mews Books.

Gwinn, R. (1954). "TVA, public housing termed socialistic." *The Daily Independent*.

Hall, S. (1995). "Encoding, decoding." In During, S., ed., *The Cultural studies reader*. London: Routledge. pp. 507-517.

Hall, S. (2016). *Cultural studies 1983: A theoretical history*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Haller, V. (2016). "Parkchester, the Bronx, working as planned." *New York Times*, October 26, section RE, p. 11.

Halstead, R. (2023). "Marin Housing Authority picks Santa Rosa partner for Golden Gate Village rehabilitation." December 18. https://www.northbaybusinessjournal.com/article/industrynews/marin-housing-authority-picks-santa-rosa-partner-for-golden-gate-village-re/

Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (2007). *Ethnography: Principles in practice*. London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Hanley, L. (2007). *Estates: An intimate history*. London: Granta Publications.

Hansman, B. (2017). *Pruitt-Igoe*. Mount Pleasant: Arcadia Press.

Harrison, R. (2004). *Shared landscapes: Archaeologies of attachment and the pastoral industry in New South Wales*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.

Harrison, R. (2010). "What is heritage?" In Harrison, R., ed., *Understanding the politics of heritage*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.

Harrison, R. (2012). *Heritage: Critical approaches*. London; New York: Routledge.

Harrison, R., ed. (2020). *Heritage futures: Comparative approaches to natural and cultural heritage approaches*. London: University College London Press.

Harsanyi, D. (2020). "Actually, DC mandarins deserve their hideous brutalist architecture." *New York Post*. https://nypost.com/2020/12/31/actually-dc-mandarins-deserve-their-hideous-brutalist-architecture/

Harvey, D. (1990). *The condition of postmodernity*. Cambridge and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Harvey, D. (2003). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Harvey, D. (2010). "Broad Down, Devon: Archaeological and other stories." *Journal of Material Culture* 15(3). pp. 345-67.

Harvey, D. (2012). *Rebel cities: From the right to the city to the urban revolution*. New York: Verso.

Harwood, E. (2008). "Mass housing as the essential twentieth-century building type." In Harwood, E. and Powers, A., eds. *Twentieth Century Architecture* 9. pp. 9-11.

Harwood, E. and Powers, A., eds. (2008). *Twentieth Century Architecture* 9.

Hatherley, O. (2015). *Landscapes of communism: A history through buildings*. New York: The New Press.

Hawke, S.K. (2012). "Heritage and sense of place: Amplifying local voice and co-constructing meaning." In Convery, J., Corsane, G. and Davis, P. eds. *Making sense of place: Multidisciplinary perspectives*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.

Hayden, D. (1995). *The power of place: Urban landscapes as public history*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Heathcott, J. (2011). "'In the nature of a clinic': The design of early public housing in St. Louis." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 70.1. pp. 82-103.

Heathcott, J. (2015). "Public housing stands alone." In Bloom, N.D., Umbach, F. and Vale, L., eds. *Public housing myths: Perception, reality and social policy*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. pp. 31-46.

Hegedüs, J., Lux, M., Sunega, P. and Teller, N. "Social housing in post-socialist countries." In Scanlon, K., Whitehead, S. and Fernández Arrigoitia, M., eds. *Social housing in Europe*. Oxford: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Hess, A. (1986). *Googie: Fifties coffeeshop architecture*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books.

Higgins, V. and Douglas, D., eds. (2021). *Communities and cultural heritage: Global issues, local values*. London and New York: Routledge.

Hirsch, A. (1983). *Making the second ghetto: Race and housing in Chicago, 1940-1960*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Historic Districts Council (HDC). (2016). *The Intersection of affordable housing and historic districts.* New York: Historic Districts Council.

Hitchcock, H-R. (1929). *Modern architecture: Romanticism and reintegration*. New York: Payson & Clarke Ltd.

Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. (1983). "Introduction: Inventing tradition. In Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T., eds., *The invention of tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hodge, C.J. (2011). "A new model for memory work: Nostalgic discourse at a historic home." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 17(2). pp. 116-135.

Hodgkin, E. (2023). "Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez grew up in a 'spacious' & 'elegant' New York building." *Daily Express*, February 7. https://www.express.co.uk/life-style/property/1731749/aoc-Alexandria-Ocasio-Cortez-house-dxus

Hoggart, R. (1957; 2009). *The uses of literacy: Aspects of working-class life*. London: Penguin Classics.

Holten, J. A. (2007). "The Coding Process and its Challenges" In Bryant, A. and Charmaz, K., eds. *The Sage Handbook of Grounded Theory*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publication, Inc. pp. 265–289.

Honan, K., Custodio, J., and Maldonado, S. (2022). "Bronx takes center stage in Adams housing development push." *The City*, December 8. https://www.thecity.nyc/2022/12/08/bronx-center-stage-adams-housing-development-push/

Hunt, D.B. (2009). *Blueprint for disaster: The unraveling of Chicago public housing.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hunt, D.B. (2015). "Modernist architecture failed public housing." In Bloom, N.D., Umbach, F. and Vale, L., eds. *Public housing myths: Perception, reality and social policy.* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. pp 47-63.

Hurley, A. (2010). *Beyond preservation: Using public history to revitalize inner cities.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Hurley, A. (2016). "Making preservation work for struggling communities." In Page, M. and Miller, M., *Bending the future: 50 ideas for the next 50 years of historic preservation in the United States.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. pp.114-118.

Huuhka, S., & Saarimaa, S. (2018). "Adaptability of mass housing: Size modifications of flats as a response to segregation." *International Journal of Building Pathology and Adaptation 36*(4). pp. 408-426.

Huyssen, A. (1986). *After the great divide: Modernism, mass culture, postmodernism.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Iacono, F. (2019). "Revolution and counter-revolution; or why it is difficult to have a heritage of communism and what we can do about it." *International Journal of Heritage Studies 25*(5). pp. 507-521.

Ingraham, C. (1986). "A Design for public housing: Tenant management thrives at Cochran Gardens." *Inland Architect*, 30(4), July. pp. 42-44.

Internet Movie Database (IMDB). (2023). "6 Train to Parkchester." https://www.imdb.com/title/tt13385020/

Jackson, J.B. (1984). *Discovering the vernacular landscape.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Jackson, K. (1985). *Crabgrass frontier: The suburbanization of the United States.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jacob, M. (2023). "AOC's Bronx apartment sells for $250K." *New York Post*, June 1. https://nypost.com/2023/06/01/bronx-home-from-which-aoc-launched-campaign-sells-for-250k/

Jacobs, J. (1961/1993). *The death and life of great American cities*. New York: Random
House.

Jakle, J.A. and Sculle, K.A. (2011). *Remembering roadside America*. Knoxville:
University of Tennessee Press.

Jameson, F. (1989). *Postmodernism: Or the cultural contradictions of late capitalism*.
Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Jameson, F. (1998). "The brick and the balloon: Architecture, idealism and land
speculation." In Jameson, F., ed., *The cultural turn: Selected writings on the
postmodern, 1983-1998*. New York: Verso.

Jencks, C. (1977). *The language of post-modern architecture.* New York: Rizzoli.

Johnson, K. (2021). Letter to the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission.
November 29.

Joiner, R. (1978). "Poor here feel pinch of redevelopment, law journal says." *St. Louis
Post-Dispatch*, June 11, p. 1B.

Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University (JCHS). (2020). *America's rental
housing* [online]. Cambridge: Harvard University.
https://www.jchs.harvard.edu/americas-rental-housing-2020

Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University (JCHS). (2024). *America's rental
housing* [online]. Cambridge: Harvard University.
https://www.jchs.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/reports/files/Harvard_JCHS_Amer
icas_Rental_Housing_2024.pdf

Jokilehto, J. (1999). *A history of architectural conservation*. Oxford: Butterworth
Heinemann.

Jones, B. and Trotman, K. (2020). *Queens of the resistance: Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez*.
New York: Penguin Books.

Jones, S. (2017). "Wrestling with the social value of heritage: Problems, dilemmas and
opportunities." *Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage* 4(1). pp. 21-37.

Jordy, W.H. (1972). *American buildings and their architects volume 5: The impact of
European modernism in the mid-twentieth century*. Oxford: Oxford University
Press.

Jorgensen, D. L. (1989) *Participant observation: A methodology for human studies*. California, London & New Delhi: SAGE Publication, Inc.

Josse, L. and Allen, M. (2011). *Cochran Tower: Architectural and historical documentation*. St. Louis: St. Louis Housing Authority.

Jourdan, D. (2012). "Planning note: The long view." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 78(4). pp. 482-483.

Jovanović, J. (2017). "Mass heritage of New Belgrade: Housing laboratory and so much more." *Periodica Polytechnica Architecture* 48(2). pp. 106-113.

Joyner, B. (2016). "Should the NHPA have a greater sense of urgency?" In Page, M. and Miller, M. eds., *Bending the future: 50 ideas for the next 50 years of historic preservation in the United States*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. pp. 119-123.

Kallis, A. (2023). *The minimum dwelling revisited: CIAM's practical utopia (1928-31)*. London, New York, Oxford, New Delhi and Sydney: Bloomsbury Visual Arts.

Kaufman, N. (2004). "Moving forward: Futures for a preservation movement." In Page, M. and Mason, R., eds. *Giving preservation a history: Histories of historic preservation in the United States*. New York and London: Routledge. pp. 313-328.

Kaufman, N. (2009). *Place, race and story: Essays on the past and future of historic preservation*. London: Routledge.

Kedar, A. (2014). "Expanding legal geographies: A call for a critical comparative approach." In Braverman, I., Blomley, N.K., Delaney, D. and Kedar, A., eds., *The expanding spaces of law: A timely legal geography*. Stanford: Stanford Law Books.

Keough, E.B. (2011). "Global heritage in peril: A critique of UNESCO's World Heritage program." *Washington University Global Studies Law Review* 10(3). pp. 593-615.

King, C. (2014). "Bertha Gilkey passes." *St. Louis American*, May 28, p. 1.

King, T.F. (2016). "Repeal the National Historic Preservation Act." In Page, M. and Miller, M., *Bending the future: 50 ideas for the next 50 years of historic preservation in the United States*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. pp. 128-131.

King, T.F., Hickman, P.P. and Berg, G. (1977). *Anthropology in historic preservation: caring for culture's clutter*. New York: Academic Press, Inc.

Kingston, W.H. (2019). "Toward a humanist approach in historic preservation." *The Journal of American Folklore* 132(526). pp. 390-411.

Kip, M. (2017). "Sites of controversy: Postwar public squares and the reassessment of modernist architectures." In Frieling, K. and Kip, M., eds., *Preserving the modern: New perspectives on postwar modernist architecture*. Darmstadt: Techische Universität Darmstadt. pp. 6-23.

Kisić, Višnja. (2013). *Governing heritage dissonance: Promises and realities of selected cultural policies*. Amsterdam: European Cultural Foundation.

Kolk, H.A. (2019). *Taking possession: The politics of memory at a St. Louis house museum.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Kong, L.L. (2000). "Value conflicts, identity construction, and urban change." In LeGates, R. and Stout, F., eds., *The City Reader.* London: Rourledge. pp. 354-365.

Kopp, E. (2019). "'I still live in my hood,' Ocasio-Cortez refutes NY Post report that she may not live in her district." *Roll Call*, February 25. https://rollcall.com/2019/02/25/i-still-live-in-my-hood-ocasio-cortez-refutes-ny-post-report-that-she-may-not-live-in-her-district/

Kotlowitz, A. (1991). *There are no children here: The story of two boys growing up in the other America*. New York: Anchor Books.

Koziol, C. (2008). "Historic preservation ideology: A critical mapping of contemporary heritage practice discourse." *Preservation Education and Research* 1(1). pp. 41-50.

Krivý, M. (2016). "On housing. Interview with Owen Hatherley." *Ehituskunst: Investigations in Architecture and Theory* 57. pp. 68–81.

Krivý, M. (2017). "Quality of life or life-in-truth?: A late-socialist critique of housing estates in Czechoslovakia." In Moravánszky, A., and Lange, T., eds., *Re-framing identities: Architecture's turn to history, 1970-1990*. pp. 303-318. Basel: Birkhäuser.

Kunstler, J.H. (1993). *The geography of nowhere: The rise and decline of America's man-made landscape*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Kuppermann, J.J. (1996). "Axiological realism." *Philosophy* 71(276). pp. 185-203.

Kwaw Kese. (2021). "1MAD." YouTube, April 28. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=imXdMd8C AU

Kwofie, T.E., Fugar, F., Adinyra, E. and Abadzie, D.K. (2014). "Identification and classification of the unique features of mass housing projects." *Journal of Construction Engineering*. [published online]

Ladner, J. (1971). *Tomorrow's tomorrow: The Black woman.* New York: Anchor Doubleday.

Lahusen, T. (2006). "Decay or endurance?: The ruins of socialism." *Slavic Review* 65(4). pp. 736-746.

Landmarks Association of St. Louis. (1999). *Historical information on St. Louis public housing authority developments*. St. Louis: St. Louis Housing Authority.

Lang, C. (2009). *Grassroots at the gateway: Class politics and black freedom struggle in St. Louis, 1966-75*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Lange, A. (2024). "How to save corporate modernist architecture." *CityLab*, January 27. https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2024-01-27/aging-modernist-office-complexes-are-getting-architectural-makeovers

Lasner, M.G. (2016). "The case for public housing." *The Nation*. https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/the-case-for-public-housing/

Laurence, P. (2016). *Becoming Jane Jacobs*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Leary, T.E. and Sholes, E.C. (2000). "Authenticity of place and voice: Examples of industrial heritage preservation and interpretation in US and Europe." *The Public Historian* 22(3). pp. 49-66.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space*. Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell Publishing.

Lefebvre, H. (1996). "The right to the city." In Kofman, E., and Lebas, E., eds., *Writings on cities*. Malden: Blackwell Publishers. pp. 63-184.

Lefebvre, H. (2009). *Dialectical materialism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Leggs, B., Kerri Rubman, K., and Wood, B. (2012). *Preserving African-American historic places*. Washington: National Trust for Historic Preservation.

Levenson, S. (1998). *Written in stone: Public monuments in changing societies*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Levenstein, L. (2015). "Tenants did not invest in public housing." In Bloom, N.D., Umbach, F. and Vale, L., eds. *Public housing myths: Perception, reality and social policy*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. pp 223-234.

Levitz, D. (2014). "The future of America's public housing stock: Demolition by neglect" (online). *CityLab*. Available from: https://www.citylab.com/equity/2014/05/future-americas-public-housing-stock-demolition-neglect/9090/

Lévy-Vroelant, C. and Reinprecht, C. (2014). "Housing the poor in Paris and Vienna: The changing understanding of the 'social.'" In Scanlon, K., Whitehead, S. and Fernández Arrigoitia, M., eds. *Social housing in Europe*. Oxford: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Liebs, C. (1985). *Main street to Miracle Mile: American roadside architecture*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

Lincová, H., Vavrouchová, H., Štasná, M., Vaishar, A., Ševlová, M., Koslovská, S., Doskočilová, V. and Mašíček, T. (2015). "Landscape change in the mental image of its residents." *Agriculture & Forestry* 61(1). pp. 99-105.

Linge, M.K. (2019). "Ocasio-Cortez's home cooking video contradicts address claims." *New York Post*, March 2. https://nypost.com/2019/03/02/ocasio-cortezs-home-cooking-video-contradicts-address-claims/

Lipsitz, G. (2011). *How racism takes place*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Little, B. (1997). "Archaeology, history, and material culture: Grounding abstractions and other imponderables." *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 1. pp. 179-187.

Livingstone, J. (2018). "Why Brutalism and Instagram don't mix." *The New Republic*. https://newrepublic.com/article/150831/brutalism-instagram-dont-mix

Lizon, P. (1996). "East central Europe: The unhappy heritage of communist mass housing." *Journal of Architectural Education* 50(2). pp. 104-114.

Logan, J.R. and Molotch, H.L. (2007). *Urban fortunes: The political economy of place*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Longstreth, R. (1992). "When the present becomes past." In Lee, A., ed., *Past meets future: Saving America's environment*. Washington: The Preservation Press. pp. 213-226.

Longstreth, R. (2006). "The difficult legacy of urban renewal." *CRM Journal* 3(1). pp. 6-23.

Lux, M. and Sunega, P. (2014). "Public housing in the post-socialist states of central and eastern Europe: Decline and an open future." *Housing Studies* 29(4). pp 501-519.

Lynch, K. (1972). *What time is this place?* Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Lowenthal, D. (1998). *The heritage crusade and the spoils of history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

m1y Entertainment. (2021). "Kwaw Kese shoots video in Parkchester, Bronx NY." YouTube, March 13.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MpPECBfDODQ

Macdonald, S. (1997). "Authenticity is more than skin deep: Conserving Britain's postwar concrete architecture." *APT Bulletin* 28(4). pp. 37-44.

Macdonald, S. (2013). "Modern matters: Breaking the barriers to conserving modern heritage." *Conservation Perspectives.* Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute. Available from:
https://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications resources/newsletters/28 1/modern matters.html

Machado e Moura, C. (2022). "What makes mass housing representations so different, so appealing?" *Cidades*, Spring 2022.
http://journals.openedition.org/cidades/5264

Madden, D. and Marcuse, P. (2016). *In defense of housing*. New York: Verso.

Mallach, A. (2018). *The divided city: Poverty and prosperity in urban America.* Washington, D.C.: Island Press.

Mannies, J. (1985). "Reagan plan is one tenant group can live with." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 14, p. 17.

Markey, M. (1940). "40,000 Neighbors." *Saturday Evening Post*, May 18. p. 14 and pp. 41-45.

Marsom, S. (2021). "Call to action: Labor equity campaign phase 2." *#DismantlePreservation*, August 1. https://www.sarahmarsom.com/news/2021/8/1/labor-equity-campaign-phase-2

Marte, J. (2018). "The working-class struggles that propelled Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez to victory." *Washington Post*, June 30. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/business/wp/2018/06/30/the-working-class-struggles-that-propelled-alexandria-ocasio-cortez-to-victory/

Martinko, W. (2020). *Historic real estate: Market morality and the politics of preservation in the early United States*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Marx, K. and Engels, F. (1846/1998). *The German ideology*. Amherst; Prometheus Books.

Mason, R. (2004). "Historic preservation, public memory and the making of modern New York City." In Page, M. and Mason, R., eds. *Giving preservation a history: Histories of historic preservation in the United States*. New York and London: Routledge. pp. 131-162.

Massey, J.C. and Maxwell, S. (2021). "Rebirth of the ranch house." *Old House Journal*, June 21. https://www.oldhouseonline.com/house-tours/rebirth-of-the-ranch-house/

Mathieson, J. and Verlaan, T. (2019). "The far right's obsession with modern architecture," *Failed Architecture.*

McCall, G.J. (1984). "Systematic field observation." *Annual Review of Sociology* 10. pp. 263-282.

McCarthy, J. (1940). "First families plan to move to Bronx project." *New York Daily News*, February 23. p. 24.

McDonald, B. (2023). *The relevancy guidebook: How we can transform the future of historic preservation*. Chicago: Landmarks Illinois.

McDonald, J. (2011). "Public housing construction and the cities: 1937–1967." *Urban Studies Research*.

McGhee, F.L. (2016). "Heritage dispatches from the American approaches of Hell: Public housing, historic preservation, and environmental impact analysis." *Environmental Practice* 18(3). pp. 192-204.

McWilliams, R. (1988). "Revolution in the projects." *Reason*, July 1988.

Meehan, E. (1975). *Public housing policy: Convention versus reality*. New Brunswick: Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University.

Meinig, D.W. (1979). "The beholding eye: Ten versions of the same scene," In Meining, D.W., ed., *The interpretation of ordinary landscapes* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Meskell, L. (2018). *A future in ruins: UNESCO, world heritage and the dream of peace*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Meyer, S.G. (2000). *As long as they don't move next door.* Lantham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Mikula, M. (2015). "Vernacular museum: Communal bonding and ritual memory transfer among displaced communities." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 21(8). pp. 757-772.

Miller, H. (2006). "Preservation technology comes of age in North America: Part 1." *APT Bulletin: The Journal of Preservation Technology* 37(1). pp. 55-59.

Mills, M. and Thornton. I. (2023). "Restoring the vacant middle: Creating middle housing through historic preservation." *Planetizen*, April 23. https://www.planetizen.com/features/122765-restoring-vacant-middle-creating-middle-housing-through-historic-preservation

Mitchell, D. (2008). "New axioms for reading the landscape: Paying attention to political economy and social justice," In Westcoat, J.L. and Johnston, D.M., eds., *Political economies of landscape change: Places of integrative power*. New York: Springer.

Mitchell, J. and Hobson, J. (2018). "In defense Of brutalism: One architect on the meaning behind all that concrete." *Here and Now*. https://www.wbur.org/hereandnow/2018/08/06/brutalism-architecture

Mitchell, N., Rössler, M. and Tricaud, P-M. (2009). *World Heritage cultural landscapes: A handbook for conservation and management*. Paris: UNESCO.

Mitchell, S.M. (2014). *Modernism on trial: An analysis of historic preservation debates in Chicago*. Bloomington-Normal: Illinois State University, Master of Arts Thesis.

Molnár, V. (2013). *Building the state: Architecture, politics and state formation in post-war Central Europe*. London: Routledge.

Moore, W.M., Jr. (1969). *The vertical ghetto: Everyday life in an urban project*. New York: Random House.

Moufawad-Paul, J. (2020). *The communist necessity: Prolegomena to any future radical theory*. Montrèal: Kersplebedeb.

Mumford, E. (1995). "The 'tower in a park in America." *Planning Perspectives*, vol. 10, no. 1. pp. 17-41.

Mumford, E. (2004). *Modern architecture in St. Louis: Washington University and postwar American architecture, 1948-1973*. St. Louis: Washington University in St. Louis.

Mumford, E. (2009). *Defining urban design: CIAM architects and the formation of a discipline, 1937-69.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Mumford, E. (2019). *Designing the modern city: Urbanism since 1850*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Mumford, L. (1975a). "Mass production and the modern house." In Davern, J.M., ed. *Architecture as a home for man: Essays for the Architectural Record*. New York: Architectural Record Books. pp. 47-61.

Mumford, L. (1975b). "The case against modern architecture." In Davern, J.M., ed. *Architecture as a home for man: Essays for the Architectural Record*. New York: Architectural Record Books. pp. 179-187.

Murtagh, W.J. (2006). *Keeping time: The history and theory of preservation in America*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Myers, L. (2017). "Pruitt-Igoe." *Western Humanities Review* 71.1.

Myga-Piątek, U. (2020). "Cultural landscape of the 21st century: Geographical consideration between theory and practice." *Croatian Geographical Bulletin* 73(2). pp. 129-140.

Narefsky, K. (2015). "The case for public housing." *Dissent*.
https://www.dissentmagazine.org/online articles/case-for-public-housing-vienna-
chicago

National Center for Health in Public Housing (NCHPH). (2016). *Demographic facts:
Residents living in public housing*.

National Low Income Housing Coalition (NLIHC). (2023). *The gap: A shortage of
affordable homes*. Washington: National Low Income Housing Coalition.

Newman, O. (1972). *Defensible space: Crime prevention through urban design*. New
York: Collier Books.

New York Age. (1953). "Discord at the 'Met.'" *New York Age*, April 25. p. 3.

New York Daily News. (1939). "New Bronx apartment is named Parkchester." *New York
Daily News*, May 6. p. 15.

New York City Housing Preservation Department (NYCHPD). (2017). *Public notice
regarding Section 106 review of New York City Housing Authority HUD-funded
programs and activities programmatic agreement.*

New York Times. (1978). "Youth crime protested by elderly pickets." *New York Times*,
April 5, section B, p. 3.

Ng, H. (2008). "Meanwhile, last month, HUD." *Architectural Record* 196(1). pp. 61-61.

Nieves, D. (2016). "Digital reconstruction as preservation." In Page, M. and Miller, M.
eds., *Bending the future: 50 ideas for the next 50 years of historic preservation in
the United States*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. pp. 179-183.

Nikolova, M. (2020). "Saving Bulgarian communism's 'concrete spaceship.'" *Jacobin*.
https://www.jacobinmag.com/2020/04/buzludzha-bulgarian-communist-party-
georgi-stoilov

Njoh, A.J., Chie, E.P. and Bigon, L. (2020). "CDC company towns in Cameroon: A case
of shaping built space to articulate power and social control in colonial and
postcolonial perspectives." *Journal of West African History* 6(1). pp. 91-112.

No Jumper. (2020). "Key Hound takes us inside the death towers of the Bronx."
YouTube, August 22.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=88Vpq77AhQc

Nora, P. (1989). "Between memory and history: Les lieux de mémoire," *Representations* 26. pp. 7-24.

Normandin, K. (2018). "The stewardship of modern heritage: Looking forward." *APT Bulletin* 49(2-3). pp. 45-54.

Oakley, D., Fraser, J., and Bazuin. J. (2015). "The Imagined Self-Sufficient Communities of HOPE VI: Examining the Community and Social Support Component." *Urban Affairs Review* 51(5). pp. 726-746.

Oliver, P. (1977). "Introduction." In Oliver, P., ed. *Shelter, sign & symbol*. Woodstock: The Overlook Press.

Olsson, L. and Loerakker, J. (2013). "Revisioning Amsterdam Bijlmermeer." *Failed Architecture*. https://failedarchitecture.com/the-story-behind-the-failure-revisioning-amsterdam-bijlmermeer/

Oluku, U.A. (2011). *A Comparative analysis of the effectiveness of the HOPE VI program in revitalizing conventional public housing sites: A multiple case study in St. Louis*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Missouri-St. Louis.

O'Neil, T. (1999). "The view from Cochran Gardens: Many who live there support demolition." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 23, p. 1.

Oram, A. (2012). "Sexuality in heterotopia: Time, space and love between women in the historic house." *Women's History Review* 21(4). pp. 533-551.

Padawangi, R. (2015). "The vernacular and the spectacular urban identity and architectural heritage in southeast Asian cities." In Bracken, G., ed. *Asian Cities: Colonial to global*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. pp. 261-278.

Page Collective. (2020). "Parkchester crew." YouTube, October 30. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0Gw A512wyY

Page, M. and Mason. R. (2004). "Introduction: Rethinking the roots of the historic preservation movement." In Page, M. and Mason, R., eds. *Giving preservation a history: Histories of historic preservation in the United States*. New York and London: Routledge. pp. 3-18.

Parish, N. (1998). "Cochran Gardens tenants spokesman calls for return to control by residents." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 13, p. 10.

Parkinson, A., Scott, M. and Redmond, D. (2016). "Defining 'official' built heritage discourses within the Irish planning framework: Insights from conservation planning as social practice." *European Planning Studies* 24(2). https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09654313.2015.1077782?journalCode=ceps20

Patel, R.G. and Paneria, D. B. (2021). "Mass housing: Features, challenges and its implementation." *International Research Journal of Modernization in Engineering Technology and Science* 3(3). pp. 307-312.

Pendlebury, J., Townshend, T.G. and Gilroy, R.C. (2009). "Social housing as heritage: The case of Byker, Newcastle upon Tyne." In Gibson, L., and Pendlebury, J., eds., *Valuing historic environments*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing. pp. 179-200.

Persist Print NYC (2018). *Ch. 2 - Duel of the Boroughs-Pt 1: The Bronx -Hip Hop's Stomping Ground*. December 12. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=581CqYZ2hKM

Peter Meijer Architects. (2012). *Thematic survey of modern movement non-residential architecture, 1945-1975, St. Louis City*. St. Louis: City of St. Louis Cultural Resources Office.

Peters, F. (1986). "Art and politics in the dawn of architectural stardom." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 23, p. 5B.

Petty, A., ed. (2013). *High rise stories: Voices from Chicago public housing*. Chicago: Voice of Witness.

Pevsner, N. (1960). *Pioneers of modern design: From William Morris to Walter Gropius.* London: Penguin Books.

Pink, S. and Morgan, J. (2013). "Short-term ethnography: Intense routes to knowing." *Symbolic Interaction* 36(3). pp. 351-361.

Piven, B. (2019). "Green New Deal promises jobs for AOC's Bronx hometown." *Al Jazeera*, July 19. https://www.aljazeera.com/economy/2019/7/19/green-new-deal-promises-jobs-for-aocs-bronx-hometown

Plumwood, V. (2006). "The concept of a cultural landscape." *Ethics and the Environment* 11(2). pp. 115-150.

Plunz, R. (1990). *A history of housing in New York City: Dwelling type and social change in the American metropolis.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Pojani, D. and Baar, K. (2016). "Multi-family housing management in post-socialist countries: the Albanian experience." *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 31(4). pp. 743-760.

Poulios, I. (2014). *The past in the present: A living heritage approach - Meteora, Greece*. London: Ubiquity Press.

Powers, A. et al. (2010). *Robin Hood Gardens: Re-visions.* London: Paul Holberton Publishing.

Prokopljevic, J. (2015). "Do not throw concrete blocks!: Social and public housing in New Belgrade and their representations in popular culture." *Fusion Journal* 6. http://fusion-journal.com/issue/006-fusion-the-rise-and-fall-of-social-housing-future-directions/do-not-throw-concrete-blocks-social-and-public-housing-in-new-belgrade-and-their-representations-in-popular-culture/

Prudon, T.H.M. (2008). *Preservation of modern architecture*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Prudon, T.H.M. (2017). "Preservation, design and modern architecture: the challenges ahead." *Journal of Architectural Conservation* 23(1-2). https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13556207.2017.1327193

Pruton, M. (2024). "4 practical solutions to the world's spiraling housing crisis." *The Agenda*, June 10. https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2024/06/global-housing-crisis-practical-solutions/

Putnik Prica, V. (2018). "New Belgrade -- a successful concept?" *Matica Srpska Journal of Fine Arts* 48. pp. 203-11.

Radford, G. (1996). *Modern housing for America: Policy struggles in the New Deal era*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Rainwater, L. (1970). *Behind ghetto walls: Black families in a federal slum.* New York: Penguin Books.

Rancière, J. (1994). *The names of history: On the poetics of knowledge*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Rancière, J. (2004). *The politics of aesthetics: The distribution of the sensible*. London: Bloomsbury.

Rapoport, A. (1987). "On the cultural responsiveness of architecture." *Journal of Architectural Education* 41(1). pp. 10-15.

Renne, J.L. and Listokin, D. (2021). "Transit-oriented development and historic preservation across the United States: A geospatial analysis." *Transportation Research Interdisciplinary Perspectives* 10. https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2590198221000804

Rifaioglu, M.N. and Sahin Güçan, N. (2008). *Understanding and preserving spirit of place by an integrated methodology in historical urban contexts.* In: *16th ICOMOS General Assembly and international symposium: Finding the spirit of place – between the tangible and the intangible.* Quebec: ICOMOS. [conference paper]

Riegl, A. (1903/1982) "The modern cult of monuments: Its character and Its origin." Trans. Kurt W. Forster and Diane Ghirardo. *Oppositions* 25. pp. 21-51.

Robbie. (2016). "Just-Ice: The Unkut interview." *Unkut*, February 8. https://unkut.com/2016/02/just-ice-the-unkut-interview/

Robinson, A. (2005). "Towards an intellectual reformation: The critique of common sense and the forgotten revolutionary project of Gramscian theory." *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 8(5). pp. 469-481.

Rodwell, D. (2018). "Then historic urban landscape and the geography of urban heritage." *Historic Environment: Policy & Practice* 9(3/4). pp. 180-206.

Rossi, A. (1984). *The architecture of the city*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Rothstein, R. (2017). *The color of law: A forgotten history of how our government segregated America*. New York: Liveright Books.

Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA). (2024). "Modernism in architecture." *Explore architecture*. https://www.architecture.com/explore-architecture/modernism

Rudofsky, B. (1964). *Architecture without architects: A short introduction to non-pedigreed architecture*. New York: Doubleday & Company.

Rusu, D. (2017). "Socialist modernism map." ICOMOS Open Archive.

http://openarchive.icomos.org/2034/1/24. ICOA 1441 Rusu SM.pdf

Rypkema, D. (2020). "A response to "historic preservation is great, except when it isn't."

Preservation Leadership Forum Blog.

https://forum.savingplaces.org/blogs/donovan-rypkema1/2020/10/05/a-response-

to-historic-preservation-is-great-excep

Said, E. (1979). *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.

Saint, A. (1996) "Philosophical principles of modern conservation." In Macdonald, S., ed.

Modern Matters: Principles and Practice in Conserving Recent Architecture.

Donhead: Donhead Publishing. pp. 15–28.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch. (1952). "Open house here for three days." *St. Louis Post-

Dispatch*, May 25, p. 1H.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch. (1952a). "Building housing for others." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*,

June 7, p. 4.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch. (1952b). "Buys a house on $65." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June

13, p. 30.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch (1959). "Odds sound odd to St. Louis mother with four sets of

twins, four other children." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 3, p. 1.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch. (1970). "Cochran apartments flooded." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*,

January 11, p. 20A.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch. (1974). "$1,000,000 for housing complexes." *St. Louis Post-

Dispatch*, December 20, p. 3A.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch. (1978). "Partners in progress." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 7,

p. 36.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch. (1978a). "Police say suspect fired only three shots; 1 dead, 5

wounded." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 3, p. 3A.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch. (1980). "$14.4 million US grant for Cochran renovation." *St.

Louis Post-Dispatch*, September 11, p. 3A.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch. (1980). "Officials look to the renovation of the entire Cochran

complex." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 4, p. 3A.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch. (1985). "Cochran Gardens tenants apply to HUD to buy the
    complex." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, January 16, p. 3A.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch. (1988). "Momentum for the 80s." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*,
    October 2, p. 14.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch. (1998). "Failed, but not a failure." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June
    28, p. 18.

Salmon, G. (2023). "Bordieu, the demystifying power of individualism and the crisis of
    anthropology." In Heywood, P. and Condea, M., eds., *Beyond description:*
    Anthropologies of explanation. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. pp. 104-124.

Sani, C.S. (2020). "Why do so few public housing projects receive historic landmark
    status? (online)." *The Washington Post Magazine.* Available from:
    https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/magazine/why-do-so-few-public-
    housing-projects-receive-historic-landmark-status/2020/01/21/3090a564-30af-
    11ea-a053-dc6d944ba776 story.html

Sarapina, I. (2016). "Memory heterotopias in Ukraine: Sites to re-imagine the past."
    Heritage and Hospitality Research 16(3). pp. 223-241.

Sassen S. (2000). "The global city: strategic site/new frontier. In: Isin E., ed.,
    Democracy, citizenship and the global city. London and New York: Routledge. pp.
    48-61.

Schindler, S. and Moyer, C. (2022). "The case for truly public housing." *Places Journal*.
    https://placesjournal.org/article/the-case-for-truly-public-housing/

Schwartz, A. (2019). "New York City's affordable housing plans and the limits of local
    initiative." *Cityscape* 21(3). pp. 355-388.

Scott, J.C. (1998). *Seeing like a state: How certain schemes to improve the human*
    condition have failed. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Scruton, R. (2018). "The fury of the modernists." *The American Conservative*.
    https://www.theamericanconservative.com/the-fury-of-the-modernists/

Scully, V. (1961). *Modern architecture*. New York: George Brazillier.

Semes, S.W. (2009). *The future of the past: A conservation ethic for architecture,*
    urbanism and historic preservation. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Sennett, R. (1990). *The conscience of the eye: the design and social life of cities*. New York: Knopf.

Shackel, P. (2004). "Labor's heritage: Remembering the American industrial landscape." *Historic Archaeology* 38(4). pp. 44-58.

Shapiro, K. (2007). "From modernism to McDonald's: The movement to preserve the recent past." *Journal of Architectural Education* 61(2). pp. 6-14.

Sharkey, P. (2013). *Stuck in place: Urban neighborhoods and the end of progress toward racial equity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sherfy, M., and Luce, W.R. (1998). *National Register bulletin 22: Guidelines for evaluating and nominating properties that have achieved significance within the past fifty years*. Washington: National Park Service.

Shirk, M. (1985). "Tenant bid to buy public housing blocked." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 14, p. 3.

Siegal, A. (1974). "In Parkchester, old tenants fear condominium plan." *New York Times*, p. 39.

Siegal, N. (1998). "Neighborhood report: Parkchester; After 7 years, work begins." *New York Times*, December 20, section 14, p. 9.

Skrede, J. and Hølleland, H. (2018). "*The uses of heritage* and beyond: Heritage studies viewed through the lens of critical discourse analysis and critical realism." *Journal of Social Archaeology* 18(1). pp. 77-96.

Slaton, A. (2001). *Reinforced concrete and the modernization of American building, 1900-1930*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

Slaton, D., and Foulks, W.G., eds. (2000). *Preserving the recent past 2*. Washington: Historic Preservation Education Foundation, National Park Service and Association for Preservation Technology International.

Smith, J. (1996). *A Preservation Plan for St. Louis*. St. Louis: City of St. Louis Cultural Resources Office.

Smith, L. (2006). *The Uses of Heritage*. London: Routledge.

Smith, L. (2009). "Class heritage, and the negotiation of place." Conference paper presented to the 'Missing Out on Heritage: Socio-Economic Status and Heritage Participation' Conference, English Heritage, March 2009.

Smith, L. and Campbell, G. (2017). "The tautology of 'intangible values' and the misrecognition of intangible cultural heritage." *Heritage & Society* 10(1). pp. 26-44.

Smith, M. (2020). "Wind turbines: The Pruitt-Igoes of the plains." *MSE Creative Consulting Blog*. http://www.mikesmithenterprisesblog.com/2020/06/wind-turbines-pruitt-igoes-of-plains.html

Smith, N. (1984). *Uneven development: Nature, capital and the production of space*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Soja, E. (1989). *Postmodern geographies: The reassertion of space in critical social theory*. New York: Verso.

Sorkin, M.D. (1994). "At Cochran, crime is up, but so is hope." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 16, p. 1.

Sterling, C. (2020). "Covert erasure and agents of change in the heritage city." In Apaydin, V., ed. *Critical perspectives on cultural memory and heritage: Construction, transformation and destruction*. London: University College London Press. pp. 67-83.

Stierli, M. and Kulić, V., eds. (2018). *Toward a concrete utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948-80*. New York: Museum of Modern Art.

Storm, A. and Olsson, K. (2013). "The pit: Landscape scars as potential cultural tools." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19(7). pp. 692-708.

Stubbs, J.H. and Makaš, E.G. (2011). *Architectural conservation in Europe and the Americas*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Suddaby, R. (2006). "What grounded theory is not." *Academy of Management Journal*, *49*(4). pp. 633–642.

Tafuri, M. (1976). *Architecture and utopia: Design and capitalist development*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Taylor, K. and Lennon, J. (2011). "Cultural landscapes: A bridge between culture and nature?". *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 17(6). pp. 537-554.

Teague, A. (2001). "Conservation and social value: Rose Seidler House." *Journal of Architectural Conservation* 7(2). pp. 31-48.

The Decatur Review (1954). "Republicans Beat a GOP Housing Program." *The Decatur Review.*

Ther, P. *Europe since 1989: A history*. (2016). Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Thoburn, N. (2022). *Brutalism as found: Housing, form and crisis at Robin Hood Gardens*. London: Goldsmiths.

Toft, C. (1985). *National Register of Historic Places Inventory Form: Neighborhood Gardens*.

Tolia-Kelly, D.P. (2016). "*Feeling* and *being* in the postcolonial museum: Presencing the affective politics of 'race' and culture." *Sociology* 50(5). pp. 896-912.

Tomlan, M.A., ed. (1998). *Preservation: of what, for whom?: A critical look at historical significance*. Ithaca: The National Council for Preservation Education.

Treez da Stoner. (2022). "INSIDE PARKCHESTER APARTMENTS (BRONX)." YouTube, July 14.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8AXuid IKPs

Trouillot, M-R. (1995). *Silencing the past: Power and the production of history.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Tuan, Y-F. (1977). *Space and place: The perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Tumbas, J. (2018). "Popular demand: Yugoslav socialist architecture at the Museum of Modern Art." *Art in America*.

Tunbridge, J.E. and Ashworth, G.J. (1996). *Dissonant heritage: The management of the past as a resource in conflict*. New York: J. Wiley.

Turner, M.A., Popkin, S.J. and Rawlings, L. (2008). *Public housing and the legacy of segregation*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2011). *Recommendation on the historic urban landscape*.
https://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-638-98.pdf

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2013). *New life for historic cities: The historic urban landscape approach explained.*
https://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/727/

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2023). *The operational guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention*. https://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/

Upton, D. (1998). *Architecture in the United States* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Urban, F. (2012). *Tower and slab: Histories of global mass housing*. London: Routledge.

Vale, L. (2000). *From the Puritans to the projects: Public housing and public neighbors*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Vale, L. (2013). *Purging the poorest: Public housing and the design politics of twice-cleared communities.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Vale, L. (2019). *After the projects: Public housing redevelopment and the governance of the poorest Americans.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Van Baloogy, M.A. (2016). "We need to move the goal posts." In Page, M. and Miller, M. eds., *Bending the future: 50 ideas for the next 50 years of historic preservation in the United States*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. pp. 245-249.

van der Hoeven, A. (2019). "Historic urban landscapes on social media: The contributions of online narrative practices to urban heritage conservation." *City, Culture & Society* 17. pp 61-68.

Velikonja, M. (2015). "Mapping nostalgia for Tito: From commemoration to activism." In S. Horvat and I. Štiks, eds., *Welcome to the desert of post-socialism: Radical politics after Yugoslavia.* New York: Verso.

Venkatesh, S.A. (2000). *American project: The rise and fall of a modern ghetto*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Venturi, R., Scott Brown, D. and Izenour, S. (1977). *Learning from Las Vegas*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Vergunst, J., Curtis, E., Curtis, N., Oliver, J. and Shepherd, C. (2019). "Shaping heritage in landscape among communities past and present." In Graham, H. and Vergunst, J. *Heritage as community research: Legacies of co-production*. Bristol: Bristol University Press.

Vidler, A. (2008). *Histories of the immediate present.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

Views from the Arch. (2021). "Queen Goonie talks growing up in historic Cochran Gardens, building generational wealth, Music +MORE." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H63pONhvMRc&t=253s

Vincent, I., Fasick, K. and Linge, M.K. (2019). "Where in the world does Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez live?" *New York Post*, February 23. https://nypost.com/2019/02/23/alexandria-ocasio-cortez-is-nowhere-to-be-seen-near-bronx-home/

Volner, I. (2023). "Are private partnerships the best way to rebuild public housing?" *Dwell*, August 2. https://www.dwell.com/article/fulton-elliot-chelsea-houses-public-private-housing-nycha-pact-essence-related-75406815

Von Hoffman, A. (2000). "Why they built Pruitt-Igoe." In Bauman, J., Biles, R. and Szylvian, K.M. *From the tenements to the Taylor Homes: In search of an urban housing policy in twentieth-century America*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Wald, M. (1977). "Parkchester rally asks preservation of Bronx project." *New York Times*, November 21, p. 43.

Waterton, E. (2005). "Whose sense of place? Reconciling archaeological perspectives with community values: Cultural landscapes in England." *International Journal of Cultural Heritage Studies* 11(4). pp. 309-325.

Waterton, E. (2010). *Politics, policy and the discourses of heritage in Britain*. Basingstroke: Palgrave MacMillan.

Waterton, E. and Watson, S., eds. (2011). *Heritage and community engagement: Collaboration or contestation?* London and New York: Routledge.

Weber, T. (2012). "The utopian ideal behind Riverside Plaza." Minnesota Public Radio, April 4. https://www.mprnews.org/story/2012/04/05/daily-circuit-cedar-riverside-plaza-rapson

Weir, R. (1998). "Neighborhood report: Parkchester; repair plans pass a hurdle." *New York Times*, section 14, p. 10.

Weiss, S. (2009). "Spectres of industry: Adaptive reuse in Paris as industrial patrimony." *Journal of Architectural Education* 63(1). pp. 136-140.

Wells, J. (2007). "The plurality of truth in culture, context and heritage: a (mostly) post-structuralist analysis of urban conservation charters [online]." *City and Time* 3(2). Available from: https://docs.rwu.edu/saahp_fp/19/

Wells, J. (2018). "Challenging the assumption about a direct relationship between historic preservation and architecture in the United States." *Frontiers of Architecture Research* 7. pp. 455-464.

Wells, J. (2021). "10 ways historic preservation policy supports white supremacy and 10 ideas to end It." Unpublished paper. https://api.drum.lib.umd.edu/server/api/core/bitstreams/45f993bb-82b1-4346-aa08-d1a103978684/content

West, S. (2011). "Heritage and class." In Harrison, R., ed., *Understanding the Politics of Heritage*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press*. pp. 270-304.

While, A. (2006). "Modernism versus urban renaissance: Negotiating post-war heritage in English city centres." *Urban Studies* 43(13). pp. 2399-2314.

While, A. (2007). "The state and the controversial demands of cultural built heritage: modernism, dirty concrete, and postwar listing in England." *Environment & Planning B: Planning & Design* 34(4). pp 645-663.

Whyte, I.B. (2004). "Modernity and architecture." In Hvattum, M. and Hermansen, C., eds., *Tracing modernity: Manifestations of the modern in architecture and the city*. London: Routledge.

Wiley, A.N. (2013). "The Dunbar High School dilemma: Architecture, power, and African American cultural heritage." *Buildings & Landscapes* 20(1). pp. 95-128.

Williams, R. (1973). *The country and the city*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Williams, R. (1976). *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Williams, R. (1977). *Marxism and literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Williams, R. (2004). *The politics of public housing: Vlack womens' struggles against urban inequality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wilson, C. (2016). "Put on your hipster hat." In Page, M. and Miller, M. eds., *Bending the future: 50 ideas for the next 50 years of historic preservation in the United States*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. pp. 265-268.

Winks, R. (1976). "Conservation in America: National character as revealed by preservation." In Fawcett, J., ed. *The future of the past.* London: Thames & Hudson.

Wodz, J. (1994). "Pathology of urban space: Examining conditions of residence and everyday life in an urban town." *Journal of Architecture and Planning Research* 11(1). pp. 51-60.

Wolfe, T. (1981). *From Bauhaus to our house*. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux.

Wood, E.E. (1931). *Recent trends in American housing*. New York: The Macmillan Company.

WTTW. (2018). "Breitmans: Social Housing," *Talk of the Town: Marc and Nada Breitman*.
https://interactive.wttw.com/breitman/social-housing

Wright, G. (2003). "On modern vernaculars and J.B. Jackson." In Wilson, C. and Groth, P., eds. *Everyday America: Cultural landscape studies after J.B. Jackson.* Berkeley: University of California Press. pp. 163-177.

Wright, G. (2008). *USA*. London: Reaktion Books.

Wyeneth, R. (2005). "The architecture of racial segregation: The challenges of preserving the problematical past." *The Public Historian* 24(4). pp. 11-44.

Yamasaki, M. (1952). "High buildings for public housing?" *Journal of Housing*, July, 9(11). p. 226.

Yamasaki, M. (1979). *A life in architecture*. New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill.

Yanow, D. (2000). *Conducting interpretive policy analysis*. Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Zhang, L. (2010). *In search of paradise: Middle-class living in a Chinese metropolis*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Zonta, M. (2018). "Homes for all." Center for American Progress*.*
https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/economy/reports/2018/07/24/452645/homes-for-all/

Zukin, S. (1995). *The culture of cities*. Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell Publishing.