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This study analyzed the ways in which homeowners in the Kirkwood neighborhood of Greensboro, NC responded to changing domestic culture through the adaption of their post-World War II homes. I utilized interviews with long-term residents, field notes, and interior documentation to address and analyze the adaptability of post-war houses for contemporary uses. The interviews provided specific data regarding a timeline of alterations made to each house, major remodeling projects or additions that each homeowner undertook, and historical information regarding the house and community. The interior documentation served as a record of interior changes and additions made to the houses that were not expressed specifically in the interviewing process.

This study generated an understanding of the patterns in interior design in the sample of post-war houses studied and the cultural implications of those patterns for the homeowners who participated. Also, it contributes to the turning tide of appreciation and growing understanding among preservationists regarding post-war housing and explores the importance of the cultural and experiential authenticities regarding the Kirkwood neighborhood.

POST-WAR HOUSING AS CONTEMPORARY HOME: A CASE STUDY OF
RESIDENTIAL CHANGE IN THE KIRKWOOD NEIGHBORHOOD

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

As of the year 2000, more Americans lived in suburbs than in central cities and rural areas combined (Hayden, 2004). It is apparent that the US has become a decidedly suburban nation, and this already strong and continually growing connection means that today's preservationists must come to grips with a past that is beginning to encompass this suburban territory. The National Register sets 50 years as the amount of time that elapses before buildings begin to be considered as within the realm of preservation (*Code of Federal Regulations*, Title 36, Part 60). This 50-year mark is intended to allow "the time needed to develop historical perspective and to evaluate significance, guard against the listing of properties of passing contemporary interest, and ensure that the National Register is a list of truly historic places" (Stiles, 2012, p. 15). Buildings constructed during the post-WWII era have come over the horizon of that typical 50-year mark. As such, preservationists are increasingly turning their attention toward preserving architecture from the mid-20th century.

As a counter to the simple definition of historical significance indicated by the passage of time, suburban sprawl and the unplanned nature of suburbia have led to the development of negative perceptions with regard to the cultural significance of typical

post-war home of the 1950s (Faragher, 2001). This resulted in less attention being paid to homes of this period than would otherwise be expected. It is because of this gap, albeit one that is beginning to be filled, that I chose to address post-World War II housing in the neighborhood of Kirkwood in Greensboro, NC.

Under the guidelines for designation provided in the National Register Criteria Considerations for Evaluation a property should, under most circumstances, be at least 50 years old at the time of its nomination (*Code of Federal Regulations*, Title 36, Part 60).¹ The typical post-WWII home (1946-1960) has come within that fifty-year range. Many postwar neighborhoods have also begun to be designated for historic districts. However, a difficulty present when studying or preserving the near past is that many have found it hard to see this type of vernacular architecture as worth saving due to lack of style, unreliable building materials, and the vast number of currently existing structures (Hess, 2010). It is often difficult to value something as historic that is so familiar to the everyday life of the community rather than being a part of a more distant past. However, often it is in the most common products, rather than the least, that the most definite depiction of the zeitgeist is captured.

In a consumer society, where concerns for the environment and the impact people have on the earth are ever present in current topics, this research becomes relevant in

¹ This is a general guideline and properties with exceptional architectural or historical value can be designated regardless of age. But preservationists usually do not start looking to preserve a building or area until it has passed the fifty-year mark (Stiles, 2010).

conservation efforts as well. If people continue to occupy postwar homes then they utilize existing resources while also preserving the historical value of the suburb. Conducting this study, I illustrated not only the history of the Kirkwood community, but also explored the adaptability of postwar housing design to satisfy contemporary needs as it relates to interiors.

Based on the literature review, I had several hypotheses about the alterations made to the interior spaces over time. I hypothesized that the kitchen, dining, and living spaces would have been remodeled in favor of a more open plan. I found that those participants that did remodel their kitchens enlarged or expanded it by adding a breakfast or eat-in area. I found that rather than open up the living space for more casual uses, homeowners included a den addition on the back of the house. My hypothesis that homeowners would add a second bathroom was correct, as 5 out of 6 houses included a second and in some cases a third bathroom. Overall, I investigated the houses' kitchens, living rooms, dens, bedrooms, and bathrooms in order to determine further changes. By doing so, it became evident that the core of the original design of the Kirkwood houses is still intact, leading to the conclusion that this postwar design still serves the current owners.

Under the traditional framework for preservation considering exterior materials and alterations to the original plan, the homes in this case study would not be considered contributing buildings under a historic district nomination. However, as typical post-war

suburbs are being designated as districts, such as the Capitol Heights and Hi-Mount Districts in Raleigh it is evident that preservationists are turning their attention evermore towards postwar housing (*Raleigh National Register Districts*, 2012). Through the nominations of the two previously mentioned districts it is clear that the cultural and historical significance, regardless of unremarkable architectural styles, is apparent to preservationists. As the preservation field shifts to resources from the recent past more attention is being given toward the cultural and experiential authenticity of districts, although the material authenticity still holds importance (Wells, 2010).

There are several dimensions that form the authenticity of a building or neighborhood, not only the material fabric, but the cultural and social aspects (constructed authenticity) as well as the individual experiences attached to the particular place (phenomenological or experiential authenticity) (Wells, 2010). These three dimensions are important to fully understand the historical significance of a place and to create a preservation approach that includes the local population (Wells, 2010). This shift from placing the most importance on material authenticity to considering the constructed and experiential authenticities as well will be important in order for preservation to stay relevant.

At the end of WWII, there was a severe housing shortage that prompted developers to quickly build large tract-style developments (Hayden, 2004). Builders were creating houses to accommodate the growing consumer society of the late 1940s

and 1950s. Fast rising suburbs sprung up everywhere by use of mass-production and tract style manufacturing. Out of this housing crisis came the popularization of new housing types such as the ranch and split level homes (Faragher, 2001). The Kirkwood suburb of Greensboro exemplifies this trend and is the reason that many, including the residents, find the neighborhood locally significant.

During the course of this study, I identified and analyzed the ways in which long-term residents of the suburb adapted post-war homes to fit contemporary needs. Through interviews, field notes, and interior documentation I uncovered the original layout and floor plan of the houses and also discovered in what ways homeowners have modified their home. Through this investigation I addressed the following questions:

1. In what ways have long-term residents of the Kirkwood neighborhood in Greensboro, NC responded to changing domestic culture through the adaption of their post-war house?
2. How have residents of Kirkwood adapted the interiors to fit their contemporary needs?
3. Does the postwar design of homes in Kirkwood fit contemporary needs?
4. What challenges did homeowners face regarding the post-war design as it relates to the original construction and materials of the house?

Regardless of the negative perceptions that have existed regarding suburbia and the minimalist styles of the late 1940s and 1950s, preservationists are beginning to

recognize the historic significance of buildings from the recent past. A focus on the cultural and experiential authenticity of a neighborhood such as Kirkwood, where the overall layout of the suburb and the core of the original interior layouts are intact, would highlight the area's local significance and help to preserve the overall character of the neighborhood.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The years of the mid-twentieth century mark a time of consumerism and mass-production. Because this time period was about rapid growth, the housing that came out of the time was not built with long-term goals in mind. Appreciating this type of architecture, including tract homes and the sprawling suburbs, is often difficult for the public and preservationists alike. Some common themes in today's literature regarding preserving mid-twentieth century homes include the issue of determining what is significant, the homes' relatively short history, and the issue of material versus cultural authenticity.

Preserving mid-twentieth century homes, such as ranch houses and split levels, is a difficult task considering this era makes up the recent past; the architecture's significance is not yet seen as important to those who live around or in it. The cultural significance of the architecture of post WWII is not clearly understood by the public. Currently, the public and some preservationists find it hard to see the importance of post-World War II homes and which ones are worth saving, and if they, are what parts of them should be saved (Duany & Zyberk, 1992). Preservationists are unsure whether the preservation efforts should be focused on saving the actual fabric of the building or the overall form of the building through constructed authenticity.

With architecture of the post-war period, often times the public and some preservationists do not see the true cultural value. Some people adopt the view that the homes from their childhood cannot be old or historic, because they themselves are still alive. Seeing the value of mid-twentieth century housing is hard because we do not see it as being historic or old. As W. Ray Luce states in his article, “The post WWII era has some distinct threads such as the Civil Rights movement, the Space Race, and even the Cold War, with fairly clear beginning and ending points. Many other themes from the period continue into the present, making evaluation more difficult (p. 16).” There is almost a sense of continuity, it may seem as though not much has drastically changed in the arena of housing since the 1950s and ‘60s as far as tract homes are concerned. Developers are still building neighborhoods based on mass produced tract homes.

By some, suburbia is looked at in a negative light due to the concept of sprawl and the seemingly random and unplanned nature of all of the neighborhoods. Dolores Hayden defines sprawl as the “unregulated growth expressed as careless new use of land and other resources as well as abandonment of other built areas.” Suburban sprawl is a concern for many people, not only preservationists. The concern comes from the idea that suburban sprawl takes people away from the cities and building continues to spread across land, creating endless neighborhoods and strip malls. While this view is common, the suburbs still represent a great cultural significance.

Even though some may look down upon the housing from the mid-twentieth century because of mass-production, the concept of the suburbs was very significant

historically. The post-war era marked a time when people were achieving the American Dream and purchasing their own land and home, it was a time of mass expansion and prosperity. Americans had just risen out of the Great Depression and World War II; this time period should be looked upon with great appreciation for the country's success.

Usually, architectural style plays a large part in deciding what to preserve for professionals in the field, but as we move to preserving mid-twentieth century buildings, we may have to look past our indifference for the style of the time period and base our decisions off of a broader picture of historical significance. The architectural styles of the time and the idea of tract homes do not, in the eyes of some, warrant preservation. As Deborah Abele and Grady Gammage, Jr. suggest, "The existing evaluative framework is based upon an underlying value system. In seeking to preserve the 'rare,' the 'last,' the 'special,' the 'best,' it has been a resource's uniqueness that traditionally has been considered the most important signpost of its significance." For Post WWII houses this framework may be less appropriate for a landscape where houses mostly look like one another.

While, some styles are not the most attractive, the cultural significance of suburbia is important to save. For example, James Kunstler's view that everything built in the last fifty years is brutal, ugly and spiritually degrading displays the negative view many hold of mid-twentieth century architecture. This is something that preservationists may have to reconsider in order to preserve this part of our history. As Richard Longstreth suggests, preservationists will have to stop thinking as critics and start

thinking more as historians. As preservationists move to preserving the suburbs of the mid-twentieth century it will be important to remember why they are so significant culturally and this is why the homes should be preserved.

Historic preservation & 50 year mark

The concept of preservation is about cherishing roots and helping communities “preserve physical structures, objects, and settings that all tell the story of the collective experience” (Lea, 2007). The historic preservation movement began with the establishment of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association in which the goal was to save the home of George Washington. The original structure of historic preservation placed importance on saving the most historically significant buildings, settings, and objects. Throughout the years, the importance placed on overall historical significance of a building led to general rules such as the 50-year mark (*Code of Federal Regulations*, Title 36, Part 60). This is not a hard rule, but more of a guideline. This rule generally indicates that for a property to be considered for the National Register, it must be at least fifty years old. There are exceptions however, if a property has great significance, but is not fifty-years old, it can still be considered for the National Register.

Due to heavy duplication of architectural elements and style in tract home neighborhoods, the architectural value becomes lessened. The traditional framework for preservation relied on saving what was historically and architecturally significant. When

saving resources from the recent past, it will be hard to determine what is architecturally significant in a landscape that is quite uniform (Abele & Gammage, 2000).

Some preservationists find it hard to want to preserve certain structures relating to suburban sprawl because it threatened earlier preferred development patterns such as urban centers that enticed walking. “While modern architecture may have limited appeal to many preservationists, it has a philosophical basis and illustrates the important social, economic, and technological forces at work during the mid-twentieth century, just as well as the more popular historic architectural styles of earlier decades” (Abele & Gammage, 2000). The cultural and historical significance of the typical post-war suburb, as stated by many scholars, needs to be researched further in order to understand the importance in the preservation field.

Authenticity

Suburbia was the ideal in the post-World War II era; city residents wanted an accessible, spacious, and green place to live. New building types included regional shopping malls, jetports, freeways, and mass-produced housing tracts. A major myth of suburbia, according to Alan Hess, was that it was unplanned and a reaction to short-term commercial profit rather than rational planning. Hess concludes that the growth of decentralized suburban areas was the United States’ most significant urban trend in the mid-20th century. He states that preservationists need to base their opinions on

documentation and analysis of suburbia and expand their efforts to include large-scale patterns of organization for shopping, housing, employment, or recreation (Hess, 2010).

The historical significance needs to be further studied in order to understand the cultural importance of the postwar neighborhood (Hess, 2010). History shows us that concepts and styles rejected by one period will be embraced later by another. Several major buildings of the 1960s have been demolished or threatened because they are against present fashion. According to Hess, accurate historical analysis is essential when we approach the postwar era (2010). The suburbs' reliance on commercially mass-produced housing tracts, the car, its freeways, parking lots, and cul-de-sacs, and the regional shopping malls are issues that cast it in a negative light (Hess, 2010).

While, Hess points out the new building types and good master-planned communities of the suburbs, Hayden presents a slightly different view. Postwar suburbs were planned to maximize consumption of mass-produced goods and minimize the responsibility of the developers and builders to create public spaces and public services (Hine, 1986). The developers and builders were not considering the needs that residents would have for public spaces and schools. The idea was that the neighborhood could always be upgraded, a nod to the consumer society and its attitude toward goods of the market. The distant locations of suburbs from cities were not viewed as a negative aspect by many residents (Hayden 2003).

As preservationists move to conserving resources of the built environment from the mid-twentieth century several issues will be a focus in their efforts. Financial

expectations that guide return on investment have begun to drive the design and construction decision-making process. Over the last 50 years there has been a reduction in permanency and a need to make building materials more minimal and more efficient and construction less costly and labor intensive. All of these aspects lead the existing building stock to become more vulnerable. Preservation seeks to extend the life of a structure while the financial and physical short-term perspective contradicts this (Prudon, 2010).

The issue of constructed versus fabric-based authenticity becomes a debate with regards to preserving mid-twentieth century buildings (Wells, 2010). The desire to preserve and the need for greater permanency sets up a new dilemma of material versus cultural authenticity. To make a building more permanent, materials need to be replaced with more durable ones (Kilgannon, 2007). This means removing the less durable and more temporal, but original and authentic materials. Even if buildings are rebuilt with more permanent materials the resulting physical presence and visual appearance may be significantly different because of changes even for in-kind materials (Curtis, 2002).

National trends

Social and cultural history

While American men and women were still fighting in WWII, the Department of Labor estimated that after the war 15 million people serving in the armed services would

be unemployed upon their return. The National Resources Planning Board studied postwar employment needs starting in 1942 and a year later made recommendations for education and training programs for returning servicemen and women (*Our Documents*, 2012). In 1944, the Serviceman's Readjustment Act passed through both chambers of Congress and was signed by Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The Serviceman's Readjustment Act or the "G.I. Bill" provided veterans of WWII with inexpensive government loans for housing, a college education, and medical care (*Our Documents*, 2012). At the same time "Roosevelt's Federal Housing Administration (FHA) still offered inexpensive and insured loans for purchasing single family houses" (Gelernter, 1999, p. 270). The original G.I. Bill expired in 1956, and by that time "4.3 million home loans had been granted, with a total face value of \$33 billion" (*Our Documents*, 2012). Returning servicemen were responsible for purchasing 20% of all new homes built after the war (*Our Documents*, 2012). All of these financial incentives allowed many homebuyers to achieve the American dream for the first time.

In the years following World War II, large-scale tract developers perfected the methods of mass-production (Gelernter, 1999). They were able to ship pre-fabricated building units and materials straight to the site. Components were assembled on site comparable to a factory assembly line allowing builders to create rows and rows of similar houses. The demand was so great for single family homes during this time, and the construction methods so time efficient that these post-war tract suburban developments began expanding rapidly out into the countryside (Gelernter, 1999).

White middle-class families responded to the housing shortage that occurred at the end of WWII by quickly buying up homes in the newly mass produced suburban neighborhoods. This suburban society is seen as a conformist-oriented society. The move to the suburbs was not a retreat from the public sphere; people felt a part of a new community and helped created new community values (Spigel, 2001).

At the conclusion of World War II in 1945, the United States became a political and economic leader of the world (Gelernter, 1999). America's industries were free to fill the gaps left after much devastation in most of the world. As such, the American economy grew and prospered during this time by producing goods for the world without much competition from European countries. Free from war time restrictions, Americans were able to splurge on consumer goods. Annual consumer spending on housing and automobiles, excluding the purchase of appliances or furnishings, beyond tripled between 1941 and 1961. The amount spent each year, during that time, increased from \$718 to \$2513 per household (Cohen, 2003).

Architectural history

Due to the restrictions on building materials during World War II, resources were still scarce at the close of the war. Most residential building had ceased during 1941-1945 (McAlester, 1984). Middle-class families in the suburbs still preferred traditional styles such as Cape Cod or Tudor; however these traditional styles were modified by

post-war conditions (Gelernter, 1999). In order to keep building costs down, developers and builders simplified the styles causing them to appear more modern. Ornament and decoration were often left off and forms became streamlined with a few protruding bays or gabled fronts (Gelernter, 1999).

During the postwar period several housing types became favored over more traditional styles. Minimal traditional, ranch and split level styles filled the tract neighborhood when construction resumed after WWII (Faragher, 2001). The Minimal traditional style was the earliest variation to become popular following the war. Houses in the style featured a simplified form based loosely on the popular Tudor style of the 1920s and '30s (McAlester, 1984). The previously steep Tudor-style roofs were flattened and any decoration on the front façade was removed. Most were small one-story houses with a large chimney and at least one front-facing gable. The minimal traditional style dominated newly constructed tract developments in the years immediately following WWII and into the early 1950s (McAlester, 1984). The ranch style home began replacing minimal traditional styles in the early 1950s and remained popular through the 1960s.

Cliff May, considered the father of the California ranch home, started designing ranch-style homes in the 1930s, beginning with his own home. His designs sought to blur the lines between the indoors and outdoors and to create an easy going lifestyle. The patio, usually located at the center of the home surrounded by rambling wings on either side, was an essential part to the open design. The style was meant to merge the outdoors

with the indoors through glass windows and doors, rustic materials, and features such as skylights. The rambling ranch house contoured to the landscape and created an easy-going flow through the open living spaces. Cliff May was one of the first to include built-in cabinetry and the open floor plan, where no walls or partitions separated living spaces and kitchens (Faragher, 2001).

The ranch house was a one story house modeled after those of California and became popular throughout the country, while the split level style was most popular in the East and Midwest (Hunter, 1999). The ranch style was promoted and seen as a family-oriented, informal, and healthy space to live in. The split-level home design was developed when homebuyers began demanding more space, but still wanted the ranch style home. The developers and builders could not build out horizontally because of increasing regulations and legislation on the setbacks and spaces between neighboring houses (Hine, 1986). The solution was to build up without building two stories, in order to keep the ranch design. The split-level home was developed with a half story up over the garage. This extra living space over the garage also helped to make room for the family room.

Postwar housing trends for interior spaces

Several new room uses emerge within the postwar era. The utility room provided space for the washer and dryer and was close to the back door for children to easily

dispose of dirty clothes. The family room was created with the emergence of the TV (Wright, 1998). The modern home blurs the lines between indoor and outdoor spaces; the central design element to achieve this was the picture window or the window wall. TV was its own picture window, letting people travel to faraway places in the comfort of their homes (Spigel, 2001).

Following World War II, homeowners abandoned the front porch in favor of a rear patio (Gelernter, 1999). As neighborhoods became less pedestrian and streets filled with cars, the front porch lost its use of socialization (Hunter, 1999). Homeowners began building back porches, decks and patios in order to enjoy their rear outdoor space. Technological advances such as electric washing and drying machines freed up space that was previously used for outdoor clothes lines (Hunter, 1999). In the setting of the post-war suburb, residents began choosing the privacy of their backyards over the front porch.

Following the shift from the front yard to the back yard, the family living space relocates to the rear of the house. The family room became the more casual living space generally used for watching television. The development of the family or rec room is where we see the transformation of the living room into a more formal sitting room that most families did not use, but for special visitors (Hunter, 1999). The living room was moved from the front position during this time to a more private place at the back of the house (Arnold & Lang, 2006).

The builders and developers of the time created a “quiet zone” by placing living spaces separate from the master bedroom. The living spaces were open with little or no

separating partitions while the bedroom was closed off and away from view. This was often achieved by a split level design, placing the bedroom above the garage or lower basement level.

During the postwar period the garage became a central part of the home, ideas such as living garages emerged, where the garage became another living space where the family could enjoy the view of the car (Hine, 1986). Bright colored kitchen appliances made consumers feel the need to continue purchasing and upgrading their kitchens in order to stay up to date with the most popular style. This time period was an era when homeowners in the suburbs were trying, not to outdo their neighbors, but to keep up with them. The culture of the 1950s and '60s was to blend in, not have the most expensive item, but just what your neighbors had.

History of Greensboro Neighborhoods

When the town was established in 1808 as “Greensborough, lots were laid out in a quarter-mile square grid centered around the intersection of North, South, East and West (now Elm and Market) Streets” (Brown, 1995). There were forty-nine lots surrounding the courthouse, which were sold quickly through an auction (Fripp, 1998). The town showed substantial growth in a local census ten years later. All four roads were expanded a mile each in the year 1837 (Brown, 1995). Soon after, roads extended onwards to connect the town to neighboring towns.

The growth of the city of Greensboro, as well as its neighborhoods depended on the addition and expansion of the railroad in the 19th century. The location of the rail lines throughout the state determined patterns of growth. Greensboro became a stop on the North Carolina Railroad that ran from Goldsboro to Charlotte beginning in 1856. By the early 1890s, the city was a stop for lines running in six different directions, which led to the nickname “The Gate City” (Fripp, 1998).

By 1879, most residences resided within a few blocks of Market and Elm Streets, but many houses were being built outside the city’s limits (Brown, 1995). The earliest of Greensboro’s suburbs was a real estate development called Warnersville. Warnersville was located off of Ashe Street, just south of the city. The suburb was developed by a Quaker man, Yardley Warner. He purchased land and divided it into acre and half-acre lots. The development was later destroyed by urban renewal (Brown, 1995). Greensboro’s other initial suburbs included Shieldstown, developed by Joseph Shields located between Asheboro and Ashe Streets and South Greensboro also located along Asheboro Street (Brown, 1995).

The development of the textile industry brought further growth to the city of Greensboro in the 1890s. The Cone family built the Proximity and White Oak cotton mills northeast of the city boundaries in 1896 and 1905 respectively (Fripp, 1998). Through this progress other families were encouraged to invest, resulting in the construction of the Revolution Cotton Mill in 1898 by the Sternbergers. With the building of these cotton mills came the construction of mill villages to provide housing

for workers. One of these villages was raised along Summit Avenue. Some of the surviving structures from the village are now a part of the Charles B. Aycock Historic District today (Fripp, 1998).

Each textile mill had a surrounding mill village. The White Oak cotton mill had a separate village for blacks, called East White Oak. All four of these mill villages were annexed into the city in 1923 when the boundaries were extended for a third time.

The State Normal & Industrial College, now called UNCG, which was established in 1892, became part of Greensboro in 1900 with the western border. The area surrounding the college which included over 100 houses was called “West End.” This area makes up the College Hill Historic District today (Fripp, 1998).

During the 20th century the development of suburbs around parks became popular (Fripp, 1998). In 1889, Basil J. Fisher announced a suburb to be built north of the city boundaries located east and west of Elm Street. In 1901, Fisher donated a tract of land to become a city park for the area. Fisher Park featured architecturally grand homes and also more modest ones. Surviving houses of both types make up the Fisher Park Historic District today (Fripp, 1998).

The addition of trolley lines spurred further residential developments during the early 1900s. The suburb of Lindley Park, which opened in 1902, was located at the western end of the trolley line. The neighborhood was named after J. Van Lindley, who donated 26 acres to become a park. Lindley Park featured special amenities such as bowling alleys, a casino, and an artificial lake (Brown, 1995). The community of

Pomona was adjacent to Lindley Park, where employees of Pomona Terra Cotta Company and Pomona Cotton Mill resided (Fripp, 1998). On the northern side of Greensboro the trolley served the neighborhood of Irving Park, which opened in 1911. The neighborhood was to feature a golf course and country club. The streets were designed with automobiles in mind (Fripp, 1998).

African American neighborhoods were centered around Bennett College and what is now North Carolina A&T State University, which was established in 1893. The community of Nocho Park, an all-black district, was opened in 1928 and included a park, hospital, and high school (Fripp, 1998).

During the 1920s a city planning commission was established which placed into effect development restrictions (Fripp, 1998). In effect, the city limits were extended again, this time to include 18 square miles in which a new set of suburbs were established. Sedgefield, was developed southwest of the city, and was centered on a golf course similar to Irving Park. Hamilton Lakes, originally its own town, included lakes, a park, and a golf course.

In 1929, the Hamilton Lakes company became unsuccessful, so the area became controlled by Blanche and Edward Benjamin who also oversaw the development of the Starmount Country Club. Other neighborhoods established during the 1920s and 1930s include Lake Daniel, Westerwood, Sunset Hills, Latham Park, Kirkwood, Garden Homes, and Friendly Acres (Fripp, 1998). “On a 1938 city map, 24 neighborhoods are identified within the 52-square-mile limits. Fifty years later there were more than 60

neighborhoods, and the number continued to increase as Greensboro grew to cover more than 100 square miles” (Fripp, 1998, p. 7).

Historical Context of Kirkwood

Kirkwood is a North Greensboro residential neighborhood that was first platted in the late 1920s and developed through the mid-twentieth century. The neighborhood covers approximately 135 acres of land. There are two distinct areas in the suburb, the north and south sections. Although all areas of the neighborhood feature architecture from the postwar period, the southern section of the suburb contains some earlier houses built in the late 1920s and early 1930s. For the purpose of this description the earlier section of Kirkwood will be referred to as the southern section, while the later area will be the northern section. The northern section is the focus of this study and the location of the case study houses, as it contains the best examples of tract post-war housing.

The earliest roads were paved in 1917, when plans for development began, but the original builder ran out of funds and houses were not built in the southern section until the late 1920s and in the northern section until 1947. The empty streets became nicknamed the “White Roads” as they were paved from white concrete. The “White Roads” became the “lover’s lane” or “courter’s lane” for adolescents who had access to automobiles to drive there (Participant #5, personal interview).

In the late 1920s, the area surrounding Battleground Avenue was mostly rural farms and estates (Brown, 1995). The land that Kirkwood is situated on was originally the farm of D.A. Kirkpatrick prior to the 1920s (Fripp, 1998). In the time between 1918 and the Great Depression in 1929, private ownership of automobiles was on the rise and in effect stimulated a period of expansion throughout the country (Ames & McClelland, 2002). In 1928 the plat plans for the Kirkwood Subdivision were filed with Guilford County (see Figure 2). The area was beginning to become more developed due to the growth of Irving Park to the south, on the opposite side of Cornwallis Drive (Briggs, 2008). At that time, the area was not within the city limits of Greensboro. The Greensboro Corporate Line ran east to west, located directly above Liberty Drive (Sanborn Map, 1867-1970).

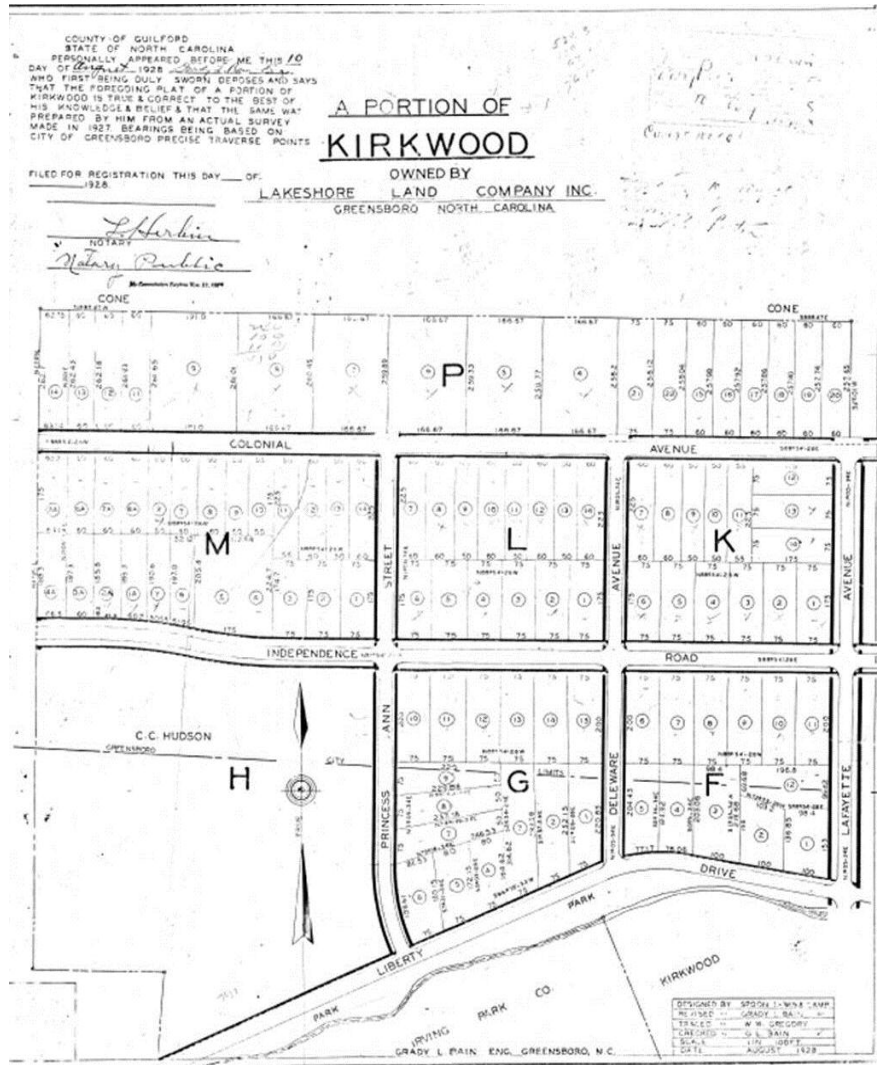


Figure 1. 1928 Kirkwood Plat Plan. (Guilford County Public Records)

Before the financial and economic crisis of the Great Depression hit, a few houses were constructed in the southern area. The southern tract has the following boundaries: Brookside Drive to the north, Colonial Avenue to the east, Cornwallis Dr. (originally named Cornwallis Road) to the south, and Lafayette Avenue to the west. These streets are curvilinear with an average lot size of approximately .5 acres. The houses located on

these southern lots feature a larger setback, about 50-80 feet long, than the northern section of the neighborhood and are on average about 3000 square feet of heated space. The houses located in this area of the suburb are generally Colonial Revival style with two stories. Houses in the southern section incorporate an attached garage.

The 1928 Greensboro City Directory lists C.C. Hudson as the president of Kirkwood, Inc. Mr. Charles Hudson was a very prominent figure in the city of Greensboro during his time. He was a resident of the Irving Park subdivision, but had a summer home constructed in the Kirkwood area in the late 1920s. C.C. Hudson (1877-1937) is best known for first starting the Hudson Overall Company and eventually the Blue Bell Overall Company in 1912 (“CC Hudson Passes,” 1937). Blue Bell Overall Company became the largest overall company in the world. Mr. Hudson sold the company, which went on to become Wrangler, for more than a million dollars in 1926. Besides his success in the overall business, Charles Hudson is listed as president and treasurer of Hudson Inc., president of Hudson Realty Company, president of Central Industrial Bank, as well as president of Kirkwood Inc. in the 1928 City Directory. Further research revealed one year as president of the Greensboro Chamber of Commerce and president of the International Garment Manufacturers Association of America, director of the Security Life and Trust Company, the King Cotton Hotel, and of several other banks (Hill Directory Co, Inc., 1928).

Mr. Hudson was obviously an important and trusted man in Greensboro society through the 1920s and '1930s. He commissioned Charles C. Hartmann, an architect

famous for designing the Jefferson Standard Building in downtown Greensboro, to design his summer home located in Kirkwood. The house was a horizontal, log bungalow which sat on approximately 100 acres of land and was given the name “Idlewood” (Brown, 1995). The main room of the log house was 45’ by 25’ with a ceiling measuring 27 feet in height (Fripp, 1982). The Hudson summer home was located at the corner of Independence Avenue and Princess Ann Street. The location can be seen on the 1928 plat plan of the northern section of Kirkwood; CC Hudson is listed on the parcel (Guilford County Register of Deeds, Book 8, pg. 85).²

Another important house from the earlier period in Kirkwood is the Holt House located at 2000 Dellwood Drive. Unlike Hudson’s log bungalow, the Holt House still stands in its original location today. This house was built in 1928 for Joseph and Lucille Holt, natives of Alabama. Both were well known in Greensboro Society. The home was modeled after the Gorgas House located on the University of Alabama’s campus. The Gorgas House, originally a dining hall for students, later became the house of Josiah Gorgas, a Confederate General and seventh president of the University of Alabama (Briggs, 2008).

The northern tract of Kirkwood has the following boundaries: Efland Drive to the north, Colonial Avenue to the east, Liberty Drive to the south, and Dellwood Drive to the

² The 100-acre lot was too desirable for developers to pass up. The house was dismantled in 1994 and moved to Alamance County to make way for a new development called “Village at Kirkwood” (Fripp, 1998).

west (see Figure 3). The original 1928 plat plan for this section of Kirkwood features similar lot sizes to that of the southern section. However in 1946, the plan was revised to create much smaller lots and accommodate more houses (Guilford County Register of Deeds, Book 14, pg. 40). After World War II housing shortages in many states created a boom in residential construction to accommodate returning GIs and their families who were seeking to achieve the American Dream of owning their own home. The northern section of Kirkwood exemplifies this trend. In response to Greensboro's housing shortage, W.H. Weaver Construction Company teamed up with Player Construction Company of Fayetteville to build approximately 100 new residences located on Colonial Avenue and Independence Road, the location of this case study, in 1947 (Fripp, 1982) (1946 Revised Kirkwood Plat Plan, Book 14, pg. 40 Guilford County Register of Deeds).

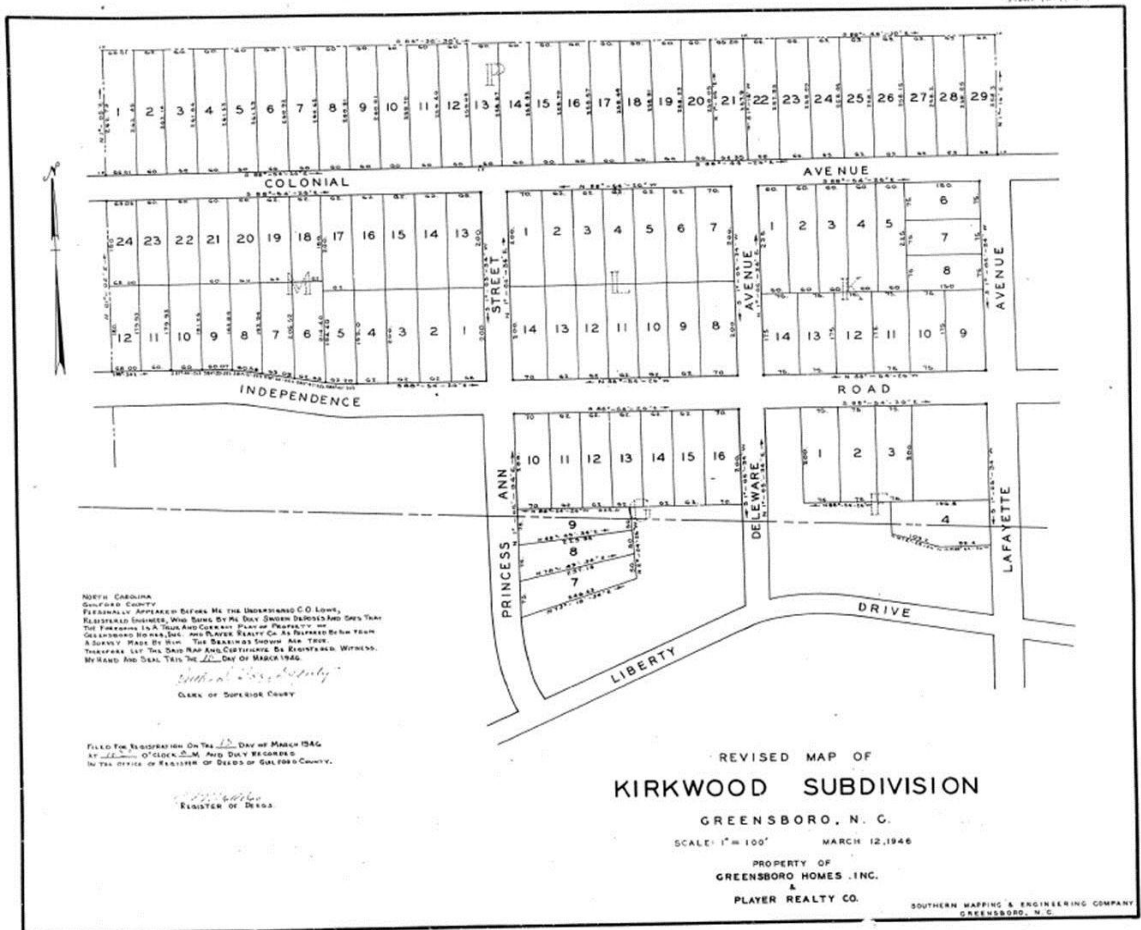


Figure 2. Revised Plat Plan of Kirkwood Subdivision from 1946. (Guilford County Public Records)

Each construction company built approximately half of these houses. They were able to utilize some of the first available materials to construct affordable homes ranging from \$7,500 to \$12,000. A two-bedroom house in Kirkwood cost \$7500 plus the cost of the lot and a three-bedroom house cost around \$8000 plus the cost of the lot (Participant #5, personal interview). One participant of the study, the original owner of the house, recalls paying \$300 for his lot after serving in WWII.

Originally, houses were only sold to returning veterans. After some initial construction, the building companies began selling to non-veteran families as well (Participant #5, personal interview). These homes sold quickly, most of them to young couples just returning from military posts or assignments. The neighborhood had a strong sense of community as people shared the only phone in the neighborhood, arranged carpools, and began the tradition of a Fourth of July parade (Fripp, 1982). The Kirkwood suburb was not annexed into the city of Greensboro until after much of it was developed in the 1950s (Arnett, 1955). Houses continued to be built throughout both sections of the neighborhood into the 1960s.

Prior to the expansion of the city lines that annexed Kirkwood, Battleground Ave was a rural road with few commercial ventures. The pavement on Cornwallis Drive ended where the road met Colonial Ave. In the early 1950s, developments began being built off of Battleground, as Greensboro expanded to the northwest. For example, in 1947 Sears and Roebuck established a mail order plant off of Lawndale Drive that cost over \$2 million to construct. Projects like the Sears plant brought more and more residents to the Lawndale and Battleground area. As cities began expanding and making improvements to their highway systems, new areas of land became free for development of residential subdivisions (Ames & McClelland, 2002). Although Kirkwood was originally platted in the late 1920s, this national trend affected the growth of the neighborhood. The emphasis on the automobile drove much of the further development and construction in Kirkwood into the 1960s.

The planning of the neighborhood in the late 1920s and the eventual development during the post-WWII era is characteristic of national trends. First, during the 1920s the drastic increase in privately owned vehicles allowed previously inaccessible rural land to be developed (Ames & McClelland, 2002). People began living in new residential subdivisions built to accommodate commuters. The design of Kirkwood would have followed typical 1920s suburban design if growth had not stopped due to the Great Depression and eventually WWII. Second, the building boom of the post-war era is shown through the quick construction of homes on Colonial and Independence in the northern section. Further construction in the neighborhood continued into the 1960s with ranch, mid-century modern and split-level houses being built. While Kirkwood does not provide a complete picture of a certain time period, it does display the evolution of the suburb from the 1920s into the 1960s, similar to the Hi-Mount Historic District of Raleigh, NC.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Epistemology

Epistemology is defined as a “theory for knowledge” (Moss, 2002, p. 2). For the purpose of this study the epistemological philosophy is constructivism. Constructivists “hold the assumption that individuals seek an understanding of the world in which they live and work,” and they create a system that structures that understanding (Creswell, 2009, p. 8). Each individual develops specific meanings based on their own experiences.

My research relies on the views and information shared by the participants as active agents in the constructions of reality. Constructivism places an importance on observing people in their own life setting in order to better understand their historical and cultural settings. As such, asking open-ended questions is a very important mechanism by which to allow participants to share their views easily. Therefore my purpose herein is “to make sense of (or interpret) the meanings others have about the world” (Creswell, 2009, p. 8).

The criticism of constructivism that must be acknowledged is the fact that I cannot fully understand the perceptions and experiences of others, having not lived through them myself (Creswell, 2009). However, given the nature of the exploration

undertaken herein, this type of replicability and objective specificity is not of primary importance.

Methodologies

The choice of a methodology is fundamental to the initiation of any investigation, because a “methodology is a theory and analysis of how research should proceed” (Moss, 2002, p. 2). This study works within a qualitative research methodology. Qualitative research involves studying artifacts and agents, “in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Groat, 2002). Qualitative methodology relies on description and asks open-ended questions. This type of *thick description* (Schwartz) is one that pulls from the grand collage of possible information, the details and substance most representative of the holistic experience relevant to the questions within which the investigation is framed.

The inherent difficulty that must be acknowledged within any qualitative research is the impossibility of achieving a perfect understanding (Creswell, 2009). However, given the nature of the issues to be explored perfection is not required. Instead, the research builds upon the possibilities of partial views and complexity to convey a collective idea.

Case Study

A case study is, “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 1994, p. 13). It is not a method of research in and of itself, but rather “a choice of object to be studied. We choose to study the case” (Stake, 1994). Historic and contemporary settings are included as potential foci of case studies (Groat, 2002). Studying the case is an important way to gain an understanding of a phenomenon in its context as it embeds the particular within a multitude of axes of analysis (Stake, 1994). In this way a *thick description* can be created that prevents the artificiality of separating the particular from the context (Shank, 2006).

Methods

The selection of a methodological framework informs the processes, procedures adopted as “a method is a technique used in gathering evidence” (Moss, 2002, p. 2). In this study I interviewed and engaged in interior documentation in order to explore the relationships between interior space and cultural development. This research was IRB exempt because no identifying information was connected to the audio recordings. The information collected in connection with the photo documentation was sufficiently confidential and the risks of injury sufficiently limited to warrant the exemption.

Interviews

An interview is a conversation between researcher and participant through which the researcher gathers data regarding the participant's lived experience in relationship to a particular event or phenomenon (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Through this conversation, the research attempts to overcome the artificiality of the imposition of their presence into the recounting of the participants place memories.

Participants were selected for interviewing based on criteria of location of residence, homeownership, and length of time living in their home. The study area was clearly defined through research of historic plats and GIS mapping. The focus area includes approximately 100 houses built in the years following WWII (1947-1950) on Colonial Avenue and Independence Road. These houses were built in response to Greensboro's housing shortage by W.H. Weaver Construction Company and Player Construction Company of Fayetteville (Fripp, 1998). It is important that each participant has lived in their home for at least ten years in order to gain an accurate picture of how they have adapted and changed their houses for their specific needs.

Individual participants were recruited using a snowball sampling method. I contacted the Kirkwood Neighborhood Association in order to inform them of my research. The secretary of the association suggested potential interviewees for the study. She provided me with names, addresses, and information as to whether it was best to reach them through email or telephone. After receiving this list, I contacted each potential participant individually, either through email or telephone, and set up a time to

meet if they responded positively to my invitation to participate in the study. After each interview, I asked the resident if they could suggest other potential interviewees. This process netted me a total of 11 participants for interview (see Table 1).

Table 1. Case Study Participant Profile

House #	# of Participants	Years of Occupation	Original Plan from 1946-47	Current Plan from 2012
1	2	47	1-Story, 2 Bedrooms, 1 Full Bath	2-Story, 4 Bedrooms, 2.5 Baths
2	2	31	1-Story, 2 Bedrooms, 1 Full Bath	1-Story, 2 Bedrooms, 2 Full Baths
3	2	65	1-Story, 3 Bedrooms, 1 Full Bath	1-Story, 2 Bedrooms, 1.5 Baths
4	1	15	1-Story, 3 Bedrooms, 1 Full Bath	1-Story, 3 Bedrooms, 1 Full Bath
5	2	13	1-Story, 3 Bedrooms, 1 Full Bath	1-Story, 2 Bedrooms, 2 Full Baths
6	2	10	1-Story, 3 Bedrooms, 1 Full Bath	1-Story, 3 Bedrooms, 3 Full Baths

The interviews were semi-structured, consisting of a seated interview (“the interview”) and a tour (“the tour”). Each meeting took place in the participant’s home and was approximately 30 minutes in length. The interview consisted of a dialogue regarding:

- a. The length of time the participant has lived in the house
- b. Any knowledge of previous owners and changes they made
- c. Major additions or remodel projects to the house
- d. Changes in original room use

- e. Interior and Exterior finish and material changes
- f. Plans for future design modifications

I asked each homeowner the same questions, but I generally let the interviewee guide the meeting (Shank, 2006, p. 50). Some preferred to show me each room of the house first and explained as they went, while others preferred to sit down and answer questions before giving me a tour.

Recording Data from Interviews

I recorded the interviews to ensure an accurate record of the conversation. I also kept field notes as a supplementary method of data collection should the recording fail. During most of the interviews I sketched the layout of the home while the tour of the house took place. If sketching during the meeting was not possible, I drew the floor plan immediately after leaving the participant's house.

Recordings were stored as mpegs on my personal computer. I made transcripts of the interviews directly from the recordings as Word documents. The transcripts are password protected on my personal computer. I also made a back-up copy of all transcripts on a CD that is stored in a locked filing cabinet in my home. The original recordings were erased from the cell phone with which I recorded them. Each interview transcript was assigned a number to correlate with other data gathered about that particular residence.

Challenges in Interviewing

One of the primary challenges when interviewing is that people necessarily rely on their own memories of events; sometimes their account of information can be inaccurate. When the interviewer is an outsider and not privy to the confidence of the participants, individuals may intentionally modify their retelling of events to avoid embarrassment or discomfort.

Although I am not a cultural outsider, I did enter into the participant's own home as an outsider to their personal and domestic lives. This required that I be sensitive to that fact that the meeting is taking place in the participant's living space. In addition to the bridge that had to be created between individuals previously unknown to each other, there was a minimum of a 20-year age difference between the participants and myself. The interviewee's specific cultural context is different from my own. In connection with this age difference, I encountered problems with some of the participants' hearing. Because of these challenges, I supplemented the data gathered with drawings and photographs.

Interior Documentation

Interior documentation of the houses in the study included investigation for any existing floor plans, sketches done in the home or immediately after the meeting, and photographs taken of the interior living spaces. Before meeting with each participant I used GIS to access public property records and historic plat plans in order to ensure the house was included in my focus area.

In the interviews I asked each participant if they possessed any original floor plans or photographs of the original house. If either of those items existed and the homeowner permitted I took a digital photograph or a scanned copy of the photo or plans. Generally, the homeowner did not want the documents leaving their house if any existed.

During the interview or tour I sketched out the existing layout of the house and made field notes regarding elements that had been removed or changed over the years. By putting together the information from the interview and tour with the sketched existing plan I was able to piece together an idea of the original floor plan.

If the homeowner permitted me to, I took photographs of the interior spaces in order to provide a record of the home in its current state and to serve as a reminder for myself. With one exception, I only photographed the public living spaces. Living spaces are the face that the homeowners present to the public. Because private spaces such as bedrooms or closets represent the participants' private selves, I refrained from photographing these areas. Each photograph was coded based on the site. These photographs were then downloaded onto my personal computer in a password protected

file and are also kept as copies on a CD in a locked filing cabinet in my home. After this procedure, the original images were deleted from my camera.

Challenges

A main challenge with interior documentation was the availability of original floor plans. If the participant did have any original plans the use of them was restricted or denied. Participants preferred the actual plans not leave their own possession.

A difficulty that arises when photodocumenting a space is capturing three-dimensional space in a two-dimensional medium, such as a digital camera. These images allow the viewer to see moments in time as opposed to the actual flow of life and use of the space. Through photographs specific flashes in time are visible instead of real experiences. A photograph or drawing loses non-visual data such as smells and sounds. Because of these challenges information from the interview and field notes are used to supplement the data collected through photo documentation

CHAPTER IV

DATA AND ANALYSIS

Framework for Analysis

There are three frameworks through which to look at information in qualitative research (Huberman & Miles, 1994). A *deductive* framework begins with a general rule and proceeds from there to a definite conclusion; if the original statements are true then the conclusion must be true. An *inductive* framework begins with specific observations and then continues to a general conclusion based on the gathered evidence. Lastly, an *abductive* framework starts with an incomplete set of observations and progresses to the most probable conclusion for that set of data (Huberman & Miles, 1994).

As a result of the nature of problems in design, it was most appropriate when analyzing the data gathered to engage in an iterative analytic process. Analytic induction focuses on the principle, “that there are regularities to be found in the physical and social world...” and that “...to uncover these constructs, we use an iterative procedure, a succession of question and answer cycles, that entails examining a set of cases and then refining or modifying those cases on the basis of subsequent ones” (Huberman & Miles, 1994, p. 431). It is possible to both discover these regularities or constructs and to understand them in a larger context without the necessity of their becoming laws that apply in all situations at all times. Because of the small size of the sample in this study, it

is not my assertion that I have uncovered a universal principle, but rather that I have begun to make apparent the possibilities of alternative conclusions.

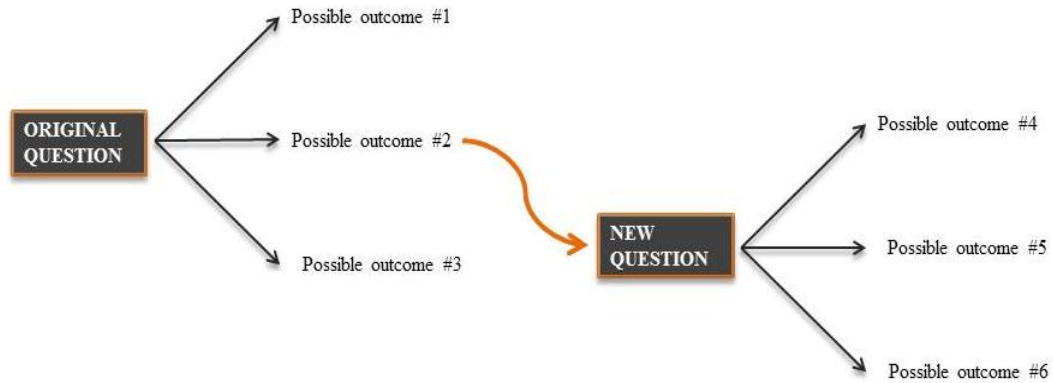


Figure 3. Iterative Research Process. (Source: Author)

Abductive analysis is particularly appropriate for the data that I collected in this study as the questions are of a “designerly” (Cross, 2007) nature and therefore require iterative examinations. The possibilities presented in the act of reformulating the question allow the examination to move forward on the case, where the individual details may be idiosyncratic, but the underlying structures represent internalizations that are not entirely individual (See Figure 1).

Throughout this study I engaged in a reflexive process by paying attention to any preconceptions or prejudices I might hold. There were unstated axioms that impacted the ways in which I paid attention to the data during interviews or interior documentation. For example, I analyzed the data through the filter of preservation as I am a student focusing on historic preservation within the study of interior architecture.

Data Management and Methods of Analysis

Each meeting with a participant consisted of an interview that was recorded and supplemented with field notes and a tour of the house. All interview recordings were transcribed and were coded according to the site. In addition, I documented the interior public spaces of each house. During the tour or immediately following the meeting I drew out the existing floor plan of the house notating information and clues regarding the original layout.

Because of the small number of cases I analyzed the data by hand. My qualitative analytic process included several steps. First, I conducted the interview with each participant during which I took field notes. After each meeting, I created an interview transcript at which time I read through and added in notes I made during the interview. Lastly, I re-read each interview transcript in order to ascertain which themes were reoccurring throughout the data while comparing the information to the floor plan drawings and interior photo documentation. Through this process I familiarized myself with the data and searched for broader themes throughout all of the data collected. I created tables highlighting key words associated with each broader theme in order to better understand the data (see Table 2).

Table 2. Interview Keywords & Themes. Keywords that emerged within in each interview regarding room use and additions.

Kitchen	Den	Master Suite/Bedrooms	Bathrooms	Other
workspace	casual	utility	historic	character
expansion	informal	laundry	character	historic
casual	television	privacy	original	history
replacement	fireplace	storage	original tile	story
eat-in	access to back yard	functional	upgrades	
upgrade	extension	family	replacement	
gutted	daylight	sons		
views	natural light	daughters		
accessible	quiet	nurseries		
small				

The themes that emerged throughout all of the interior spaces included expansion, accessibility, views, upgrades, replacement, and character. In accordance with Clarke’s framework for verbalizing an analysis of visual material, I proceeded with my analysis by moving through the stages of naming, describing, contextualizing, interpreting, and evaluating. As such, I have organized the presentation of my analysis in the same fashion.

Case Study Data



Figure 4. Map of Kirkwood, 2012. The Focus area for this study or the northern section is outlined. These houses were all built within 1946-1948. The six houses included in the case study are highlighted.

The construction of over 100 tract-style homes on Colonial Avenue and Independence Road, immediately following WWII make the northern section of the neighborhood ideal for studying postwar housing. This study included six houses located within the northern section of the suburb, with five situated on Colonial Avenue and one on Independence Road (see Figure 4). The case study houses were all Minimal Traditional style houses that were popular from 1945-1965 and included in the group of 100 houses built by Player and Weaver Construction Companies from 1946 to 1947.

The Minimal Traditional style is characterized by “traditional plans and forms, but with minimal decorative details and without the ornamental exuberance of pre-World War II styles” (Lambin, 2006, p. 25). These homes were often built in large tract-style developments and situated on small lots. Construction materials generally consisted of wood, brick, stone, and a variety of wall cladding materials. They are usually one-story and if any decoration is present, they are elements that suggest historic architectural styles. The Minimal Traditional style was loosely based on the Tudor style that was popular during the 1920s and ‘30s (McAlester, 1984). Most examples of the style feature one front-facing gable, one large chimney, and eaves with no overhang (see Figure 5). This style of houses dominated large housing developments from 1945 to the 1960s and was overtaken in popularity by the ranch-style home (McAlester, 1984).



Figure 5. House #3 Exterior View. The Minimal Traditional style of the post-war era is characterized by low-pitched roofs, eaves with little to no overhang, minimal decoration and ornamentation, and is generally one-story (Source: Author).

The houses in this group were all originally one-story, two or three bedroom houses with one full bathroom. Within the case study, the six houses differ slightly in plan as there were four possible options when potential homeowners originally bought their lots in 1946.

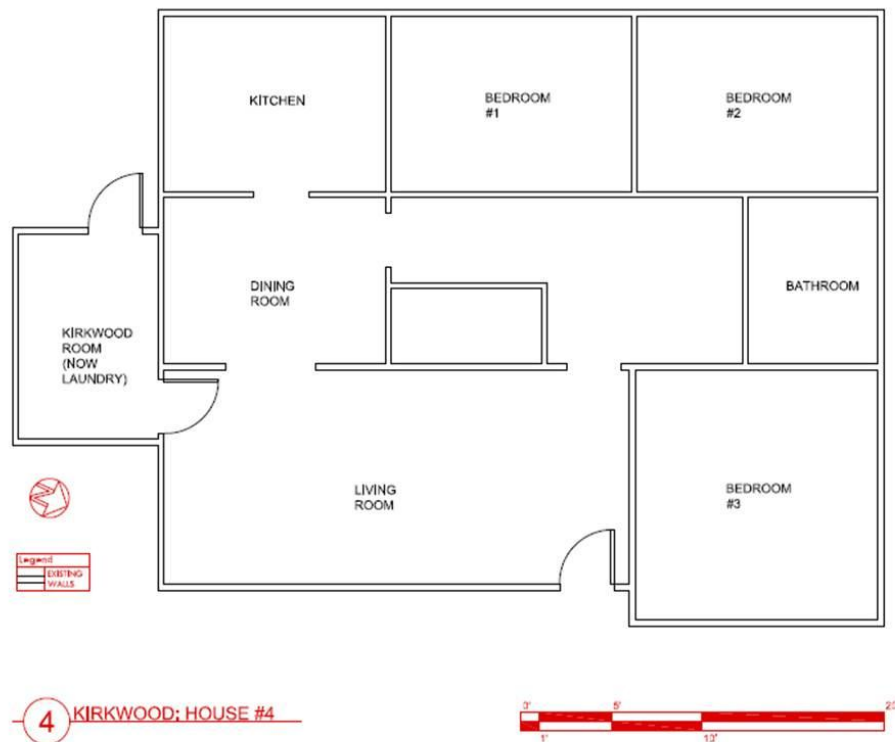


Figure 6. House #4 Floor Plan. There have been no additions to this house making it the best example of the original layout. Also, this shows that this postwar design is still a very usable design for contemporary users. The current homeowner has only lived in the house for 15 years, leaving various previous owners who also made no major changes (Source: Author).

The interviews included a total of 11 participants who live in the group of houses selected (see Chapter III, Table 1). Although the number of years participants have lived in their home ranged from 10 to 65 years, the homeowners who have occupied their

homes 15 years or less were very knowledgeable about any alterations previous owners had made (see Table 3). There have been no additions to House #4, leaving the original layout completely intact (see Figure 5). Houses #5 and #6 had an understanding of alterations completed by previous owners, with the owners of House #5 possessing original architectural drawings from 1951. This information provides the setting in which this case data was situated in order to be appropriately analyzed.

Table 3. Case Study Homes Alterations Overview

House #	Interior Alterations	Exterior Alterations
1	Enlarged kitchen and added breakfast area, expanded den, added half bath, added second floor with 2 bedrooms and 1 bath, finished basement, moved org. bath to create large master bath, added walk-in closet	Replaced original siding with aluminum siding, expanded front porch, added back porch, built garage with apt. above and wood shop in back of lot
2	Added closet/laundry and full bathroom off of bedroom, minor aesthetic changes to kitchen and living room	Replaced the previously added aluminum siding with vinyl, replaced windows, structural work to the foundation
3	Extended bedrooms to add walk-in closet, expanded 3rd bedroom to create a den w/ fireplace, Added 1/2 bath and utility area off of kitchen, updated kitchen cabinets, enclosed Kirkwood Room to create an office	Replaced original siding with aluminum siding, added back porch/patio area
4	Previous owners: Enclosed Kirkwood Room which current owner converted to laundry and added ext. door	Replaced siding with cedar shakes, replaced windows, added back patio, added exterior door to Kirkwood Room
5	Previous owners: relocated kitchen and added eat-in dining area, expanded dining room, added den, added nursery and 2nd full bath. Current Owners: Aesthetic changes and upgrades to dining room, living room and kitchen, den extension, mud room addition, converted nursery into laundry	Replaced previously added aluminum siding with vinyl siding, replaced windows with solid wood double-paned windows, added new front door, added fence

6	Previous owners: den addition, master bedroom addition, conversion of 3rd bedroom into master bath and laundry, expansion of kitchen to include eat-in area, enclosed Kirkwood Room as nursery Current owners: Upgrade kitchen countertops, upgrade bathroom fixtures	Replaced original windows with vinyl, added leaf-guard gutters, added front portico, added back porch
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Interviews & Thematic Analysis

As mentioned previously, the constructed and phenomenological aspects are also important parts that help form the overall historical significance of a building or place (Wells, 2010). The constructed authenticity of a place is comprised of the cultural and social meanings that are preserved over time. This includes the meanings and ideas that make up the sense and character of a setting or building. The phenomenological authenticity of a building or place is the study of beginnings attached to a more personal or individual experience of the world. This aspect of significance focuses on the individual's experience and their emotional attachments to a setting in order to validate authenticity. Focusing on this aspect allows for new creative spaces to be produced within the historic fabric (Wells, 2010).

Through studying the evolution of the interiors of these six case study houses the constructed and phenomenological aspects of significance can be explored. Common themes within the interior alterations can lead to conclusions about social and cultural implications of the case study participants of Kirkwood. Through the interviewing process the individual experience of each homeowner is highlighted calling attention to the phenomenological significance of the suburb.

In analyzing the interview transcripts and field notes, several themes emerged regarding the interior design of these Kirkwood houses. Each interview transcript with the corresponding set of field notes was entered into a table in order to better organize the data and to visualize themes that emerged (see Table 3). As expected, the majority of the homeowners updated their kitchens by upgrading materials and appliances and/or by expanding the kitchen space in general. A second major theme within the data was the addition of a second living room or den. Other common adjustments included the addition of a second bathroom, either a full or half, and a remodeling project that created a master suite containing a master bedroom, closet, and bathroom.

The Kitchen

Based on the literature regarding post-war housing (Carlisle & Nasardinov, 2008), I initially hypothesized that homeowners would expand their kitchens in favor of a more open great room, including living, dining, and kitchen space. The evolution of the kitchen into the “superkitchen” began in mid-century suburbia when housewives realized that “preparing, serving, and cleaning up after family meals were more convenient in an “eat-in” kitchen” (Gallagher, 2006, p. 82). During the post-war era the “great room” emerges, combining kitchen, living, and dining spaces into one open area. As many mid-century women expressed the need to see their children while they completed work in the kitchen (Gallagher, 2006).

The original floor plans of the houses featured in this study included a small kitchen with a separate dining room directly adjacent. The two rooms were separated by a cased opening with no door, with one exception. Due to the small size of the kitchen, which was originally approximately 10' by 8' usually in a galley style layout, three out of six of the houses featured a breakfast room addition with one participant having future plans to do so.

House #1

After living in the house for seven years, in 1972 the homeowners of House #1 extended their kitchen toward the back of the lot by approximately ten feet to accommodate a larger work space and storage as well as a kitchen table that overlooks the back yard (see figure 6). A small pantry existed at the west end of the kitchen which they converted to tall cabinet space in order to add a side door that opens up to the driveway.



Figure 7. House #1 Kitchen Expansion. The rear exterior wall was removed in order to extend the kitchen out and include a breakfast area overlooking the back porch and yard. The original kitchen ended where the refrigerator now begins (Source: Author).

The dining room of House #1 serves more as a pathway to reach the kitchen which is secluded by itself on the north end of the house. The homeowners had their dining room table collapsed and the dining chairs off to the sides in order to allow for space to pass through from the formal living room into the kitchen on the left or the den on the right.

House #2

The homeowner of House #2 has been living in their home for 31 years and has only made minor cosmetic changes to the kitchen (see Figure 7). The original shape and exterior wall of the kitchen are in place. The participant described replacing the kitchen

wallpaper and flooring upon moving into the house. No other changes were made to the kitchen by the current owner.



Figure 8. House #2 Kitchen. The current homeowner has made no changes to the kitchen since moving-in 31 years ago. The original cabinetry is still present, but the homeowner replaced the original linoleum flooring (Source: Author).

House #3

The homeowners of House #3 also chose not to expand their kitchen space. The original layout of the kitchen remains intact as well as the original flooring. The homeowner described building and replacing all of the cabinetry themselves as well as updating the appliances and work surface.

House #4

The homeowner of House #4 has been living in the house for 15 years and has not remodeled the kitchen. The only modification the homeowner has made to the kitchen was regarding the floor. When the homeowner moved into the house, there was a slight increase in slope of the floor into the kitchen. Upon pulling up the existing flooring material, they made the discovery of seven layers of linoleum down to the original linoleum. The participant had all of the layers removed to level out the floors between the dining room and kitchen and put down laminate flooring. The previous owners did update cabinetry, appliances, and the work surface material. However, the participant has future plans to expand the kitchen significantly in a major addition. The participant is having plans drawn to add a staircase in order to move a bedroom upstairs. The bedroom that is directly adjacent to the current kitchen will be utilized in order to extend the kitchen. The wall in between the bedroom and kitchen will be coming down and new cabinetry, appliances, and storage will be added.

House #5

In the original plan of House #5, the kitchen and dining room were directly adjacent to one another, but were separated by a full wall. Access to the kitchen and dining room was through the living room. House #5 has undergone several major kitchen renovations. The homeowners of House #5 possess the drawings for a rear addition made in 1951 by the original owners (see Figure 8). The drawings detail a rear addition that

measured 35'0" by 12'6". The addition was made off of the existing kitchen and dining room, which was transformed into a larger formal dining area by removing the wall separating the two spaces. A new kitchen was added that included an open breakfast area, in total the new kitchen and eating space was 19'-0" by 12'-6" (see figure 9).

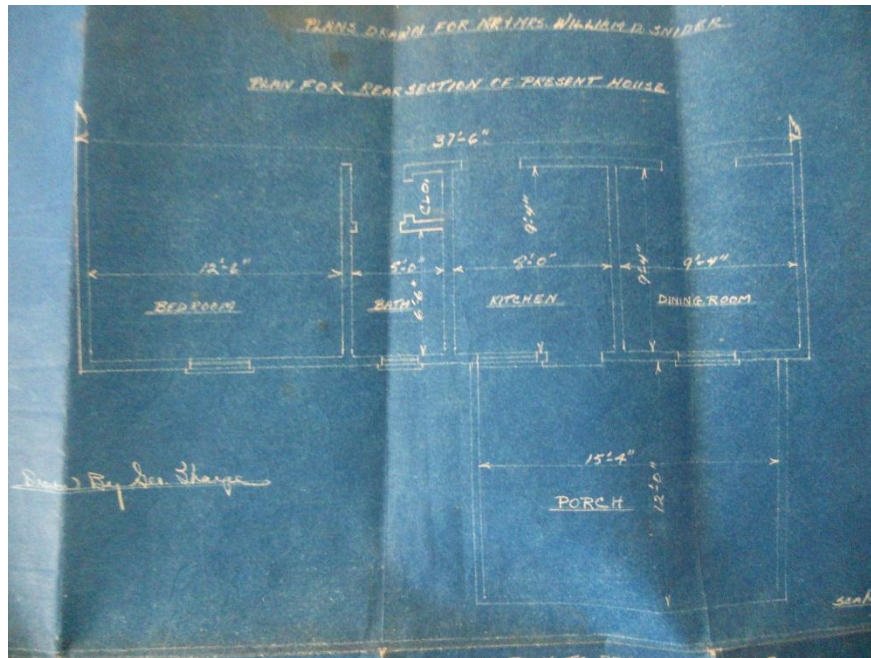


Figure 9. 1951 Architectural Drawings of House #5. The current owners possessed drawings commissioned by the original owners detailing a rear addition that was constructed in 1951. This drawing details the existing conditions from that time. The drawing enables you to see a portion of the original layout of the house before any alterations. As shown, the kitchen is separated from the adjacent dining room (Source: Author).



Figure 11. House #5 Kitchen. The current location of the kitchen and the general layout is the same as the 1951 alterations, shown in the architectural drawing plans commissioned by the original owners of the house. However, the current owners completely updated the space by putting in new cabinetry, appliances, and finishes (Source: Author).

House #6

The homeowners of House #6 moved into their home in 2002 and have made minor changes to their kitchen including a new kitchen sink, granite countertops, and small cosmetic changes such as paint. However, these participants were aware of major changes to the kitchen through speaking with previous owners, as well as finding evidence during repairs. The existing breakfast area was originally the location of the door that led to the backyard (see Figure 11). The concrete steps that led from the door down to the backyard were found underneath the breakfast room addition. The expansion of the kitchen extends 6'0" off the western exterior side of the house. Not only were the

current homeowners aware of the concrete steps buried beneath the breakfast area, but they also knew that the dining area once served as the laundry area. A washer and dryer hook-up were found behind what is currently a banquet style bench.



Figure 12. House #6 Kitchen Extension. The half-wall was originally the location of the exterior wall of the kitchen. The previous owners of this house opened up the wall to create a laundry area. Later, the laundry nook was transformed into an eat-in breakfast area (Source: Author).

The Den

My original hypothesis, as mentioned in the kitchen section, was that residents would favor a more open space by removing the walls separating the kitchen and dining room and as a result create a great room. However, I found through the analysis that rather than remove a wall to create a great room, homeowners modified their houses with a major addition on the rear side of the house to create a den space instead.

New room uses of the post-war era include a family or rec room which homeowners added to create a more casual living room. In effect, the evolution of this more casual living space, generally used for watching TV, created a return to formal living rooms located at the front of the house (Hunter, 1999). The first space you step into upon entering the house is the living room. In four out of the six houses in the study, the homeowners modified their houses with a major addition on the rear side of the house in order to create a den space.

House #1

The homeowners of House #1 are aware of three separate owners who lived in the house before they bought it in 1965. The previous owners had extended the southern wall in the what is now the den out 10'-0" as well as the basement below the first floor to accommodate a third bedroom. When the current owners moved in they originally utilized the bedroom as a nursery, but as their children grew up they were able to remove the bedroom in order to extend their den. In 1972, while also undertaking the kitchen

extension already mentioned, the homeowners took out the interior walls of the third bedroom to enlarge their den. During this time, they also pushed the east wall of the den out to create a bay of windows (see Figure 13).



Figure 13. House #1 Den Extension. In 1972, the current homeowners knocked out the walls to the third bedroom in order to create this den. The rear exterior wall was pushed back in order to create the bay of windows that now look out onto the back yard (Source: Author).

House #2

The previous owners of House #2, as well as the current owner have not added any additional space to the original floor plan in order to create a larger living room or den space. The current homeowner utilizes the front living room as the sitting area and space for watching television. The participant described only minor cosmetic changes to the original living room, such as changing wall paint and revealing the original hardwood floors that had been covered by shag carpet by the previous owners.

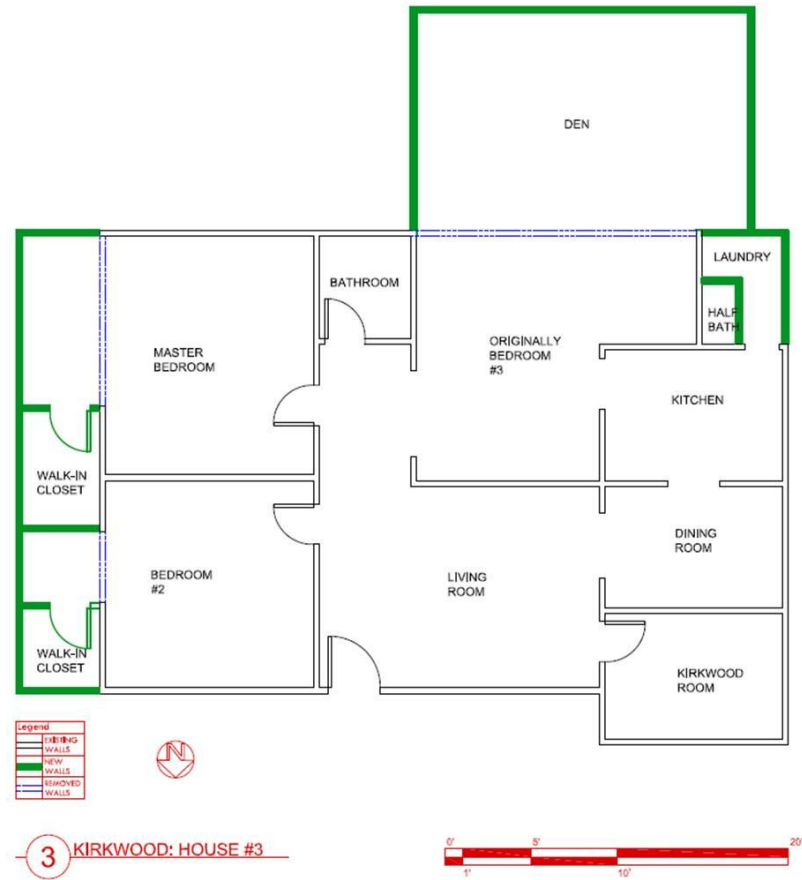


Figure 14. House #3 Floor Plan. The owners of this house pushed back the exterior wall to the third bedroom in order to create a den space with a back patio area attached (Source: Author).

House #3

The original and current owners of House #3 utilized the third bedroom at the very back of the house in order to create their den space in 1960. They pushed the back wall of the third bedroom back approximately thirteen feet in order to create a spacious den and office area (see Figure 14). At the same time, they added a large covered patio

that is accessed from the den. Removing the third bedroom and opening up this area of the house created two main pathways. From the living room at the front of the house, one can go down the hallway that leads to the bedrooms and baths on the East side of the house, or through the dining room and then the kitchen to reach the den.

House #4

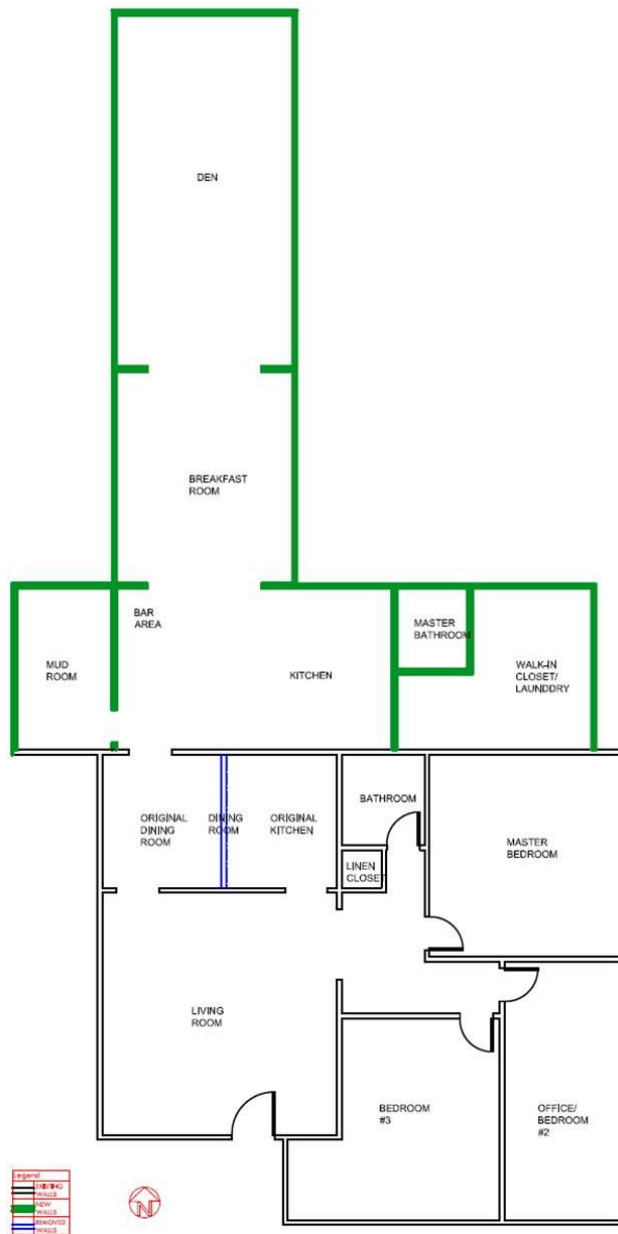
Similar to House #2, the homeowner of House #4 has not made any major changes to the living room. The participant described only making minor cosmetic changes such as paint alterations, adding baseboards as well as uncovering the original hardwood flooring underneath carpet the previous owners had put down.

House #5

Only one house included the addition in a way which creates a pathway through the dining room, then the kitchen, then the breakfast area, to reach the den as opposed to passing by the bedrooms and hall bathroom (see Figure 15 & 16). The homeowners of House #5 undertook a large den addition in 2003 that extended the existing den back 25'-0". The existing den then became the breakfast room, as it was directly off of the kitchen. Both the breakfast room and the den are accessed through large cased openings. Visually, from the kitchen you can see straight back to the back wall of the den (see Figure 15).



Figure 15. House #5 Den Addition. Previous owners built the addition that is now the breakfast room off of the back of the kitchen in order to create a den. The current homeowners shifted the use of the room from den to breakfast area and built an addition extending 25'-0" to the rear of the lot in order to create a larger den. This den is accessible through the dining room, then kitchen, then breakfast room (Source: Author).



5 KIRKWOOD; HOUSE #5



Figure 16. House #5 Floor Plan. In this floor plan you can see the large den addition to the rear of the house completed in 2003 by the current owners. The den extends 25'-0" to the back of the lot and is accessible through the public spaces of the living room, dining room, and kitchen (Source: Author).



Figure 17. House #6 Den Addition. The original hallway that led to the bedrooms was extended utilizing the original location of the third bedroom in order to add a den at the rear of the house. The den addition was added by previous owners in 1990. The current owners added the back porch accessible through this den in 2007 (Source: Author).

House #6

The best example of the den additions encroaching on the more private spaces is in House #6. The previous owners constructed a major addition to the back of the house that included a more secluded master bedroom and bathroom as well as an adjacent large den with a high ceiling and large brick fireplace (see Figure 16). The hallway that originally ended at the middle bedroom was extended. The middle bedroom became the laundry area, accessible from the hallway and a new wall placed in order to create the master bathroom behind the washer and dryer. Currently, a visitor would pass through the original hallway, past two bedrooms and a hall bath, to get to the recently added den space and adjoining master bedroom.

The Master Suite

As I have mentioned previously, each house in the study began as either a two bedroom or three bedroom houses. Because of the popularity of the master suite in current residential design (Gallagher, 2006); I hypothesized that the participants would have increased the size of one of their bedrooms in order to create a master bedroom. Related to my hypothesis regarding bathrooms, I also theorized that the addition of a second bathroom would be a part of this master bedroom renovation.

House #1

House #1 was constructed as a two-bedroom house. When the current owners moved into the house in 1965, the house had three bedrooms. The previous owners had extended the south exterior wall out ten feet to increase space in the basement as well as the first floor. This extension enabled the previous owners to add a third bedroom for a growing family. When the current owners moved in they utilized the third bedroom as a nursery. In 1972, they knocked down the nursery walls to increase the size of the den. A few years later, in the late 1970s, they raised the roof in the attic space in order to create a second floor that included two bedrooms and a full bathroom.

In 1985, the hall bathroom was moved in order to create a master bedroom closet. The bathroom was shifted west into the bedroom space while the walk-in closet took the place of the original bathroom. The front façade was bumped out toward the front yard in order to create a large master bedroom and add a bay window on the front of the

house. House #1 was the only house where the homeowners were able to build an addition to the front of the house due to setback rules. Because of the shape of the lot, this house was originally built farther back from the street.

In addition to the changes to the master bedroom, the residents added a two-car garage at the back of the lot with a small apartment on over the garage. The participants described adding the small apartment over the garage in order to house their son who was returning home after college.

House #2

Besides minor aesthetic changes the only major addition that the homeowner of House #2 took on was adding a second bathroom and closet onto the second bedroom (see Figure 17). In order to create this addition, the contractor utilized an existing window to create the doorway into the new space. Immediately through the new doorway is a walk-in closet that features a small laundry area where the resident has a stacked washer and dryer. Through a second doorway in the closet is the new full bathroom that includes a small linen closet. The resident, who moved into the house in 1981, waited twenty years to make these major changes.

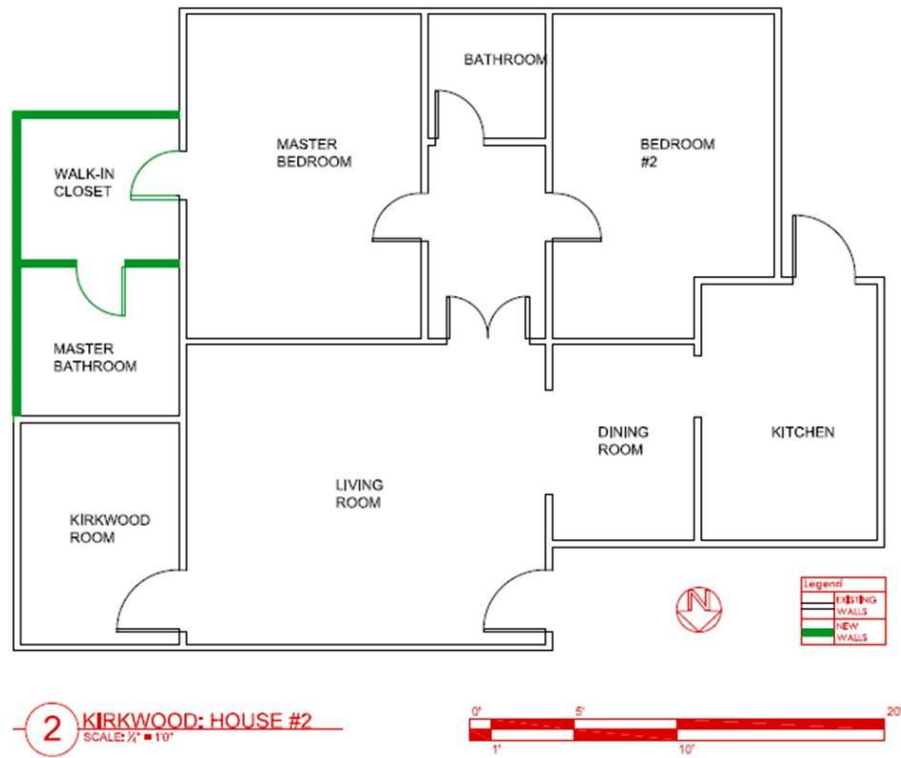


Figure 18. House #2 Floor Plan. The only major addition to this house was the walk-in closet and second full bathroom, inserted in order to create a master suite (Source: Author).

House #3

The residents of House #3 are the original owners of the house. After living in the house for approximately 25 years they took on an extension of the eastern side of the house where the two original bedrooms are located. In order to create a larger master bedroom as well as a walk-in closet the homeowners moved the eastern wall back approximately ten feet. In the front bedroom, or guest bedroom, the additional ten feet

was planned to create a second full bathroom. The homeowners never completed the second full bathroom so the extra space became a closet for miscellaneous items.

House #4

The resident of House #4 described making only minor cosmetic changes to the house since living there for 15 years. However, the homeowner did express future plans to create a second floor utilizing the attic space. A stairway would be added in the hallway adjacent to the living room. The second floor would act as a master bedroom and master bath for the resident. This addition would not interfere with the roofline.

House #5

As mentioned previously, the original owners of House #5 built a large addition in 1951 onto the rear of the house. This addition not only included the kitchen and breakfast eating area, but a fourth bedroom as well as a second full bathroom. The original owners utilized this fourth bedroom as a nursery as it was located off of the third or master bedroom for easy access. Before moving into the house in 1999, the current owners converted this fourth bedroom into a laundry area and walk-in closet. The full bath became the master bathroom and was left in its original position.

House #6

The current owners of House #6 moved into the home in 2002. The previous owners, in 1990, utilized the space of the original third bedroom to create a laundry area and the master bathroom as mentioned above. In order to create a master suite, the

previous owners extended the southern wall back approximately twenty feet. This new space created a den and master bedroom. The master bathroom is accessible through the master bedroom.

The Bathroom

In Kirkwood, each house originally featured one full bathroom located in the hallway outside the bedrooms. I made a hypothesis that residents would add at least one half bathroom. As Gallagher describes, the bathroom's "locked door guarantees a few minutes' peace and quiet. A study of 200 households showed that regardless of a home's size, half of the residents who had only one bathroom felt stressed by their perceived lack of living space, as opposed to 20 percent who had more than one" (2006, p. 166).

Five out of the six houses studied revealed that the participants had added at least one bathroom. The homeowner of the fourth house explained their future plans to expand the upstairs attic space into a finished second floor creating a bedroom and a second full bathroom.

Homeowners got creative when figuring out how to add additional bathrooms in such a small floor plan. The homeowners of House #1 converted a linen closet off of the den into a half bath. The resident of House #2 was able to extend the exterior wall out in line with the protruding Kirkwood room in order to create a master bath, closet, and laundry area for the master bedroom. The owners of House #3 were able to utilize what was once the exterior door from the kitchen to the backyard. They created a small

hallway using the door as the cased opening into the hallway from the kitchen. The half bath was tucked neatly in the small hallway along with a washer and dryer.

In the 1951 drawings for the renovations to House #5, a bedroom and full bathroom addition is visible adjacent to the relocated kitchen and dining area (see Figure 10). The current owners of House #5 have kept the placement of that additional bedroom and bathroom by making the added bedroom a master closet and laundry area and keeping the use of the bathroom for the master bedroom.

In House #6, the Kirkwood Room or screened in porch was converted into a finished room by the previous owners. They used this room as a nursery and because of the new room use added a full bathroom onto the room, connecting it with the bedroom behind. And then as described earlier, the previous owners converted the original middle bedroom into the laundry area accessible through the hallway and the master bathroom accessible through the master bedroom putting House #6 with a total of three full bathrooms (see Figure 18).

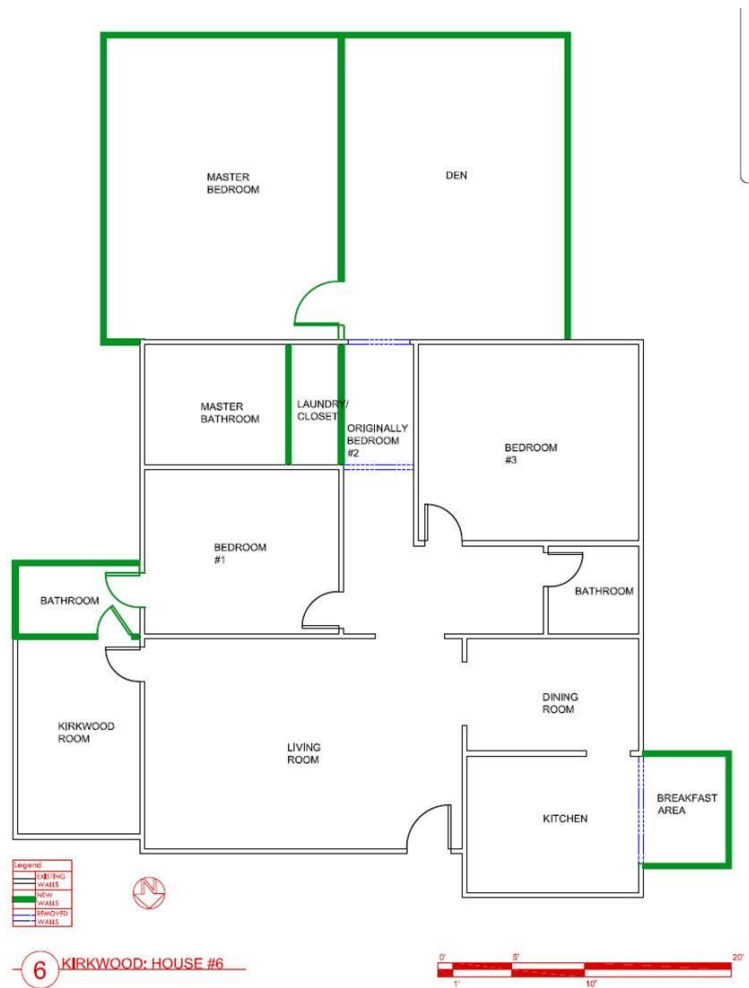


Figure 19. House #6 Floor Plan. The previous owners of this house added two full bathrooms. One was added off of the Kirkwood Room that at the time was used as a nursery, while the second additional full bathroom was added in order to create a master suite (Source: Author).

The Kirkwood Room

The majority of the houses in Kirkwood featured what the neighborhood residents call a “Kirkwood room.” This was a small screened-in porch that varies due to renovations, but generally sized at 8’-0” by 12’-0”. One home in this study, House #1,

did not originally include a Kirkwood Room, due to the fact that this house is one of the only homes to have a basement level. Overall, the residents of this study have been turning their screened-in porches into utility rooms, a new room use that originated in the post-war era. Out of the five homes that have Kirkwood Rooms, four in this study featured a renovated Kirkwood room. Four out of five homeowners converted the screened in porch into a finished room. The renovations completed by participants of this study included two houses that now use it as a laundry or utility area, one house that converted it into an office, and one that converted it into a sitting room. There was one house included in the study that removed the existing Kirkwood room to make way for a new carport, but this project included the addition of a mud room off of the kitchen, essentially inserting a space similar to the Kirkwood room back into the house (House #5). House #2 retains the original screened-in porch in its original condition.

Summary of Analyses

The Shift from the Front Yard to the Backyard

While the homeowners changed their kitchens in some way after moving in, with the exception of one, my hypothesis was inaccurate in thinking that the majority of the participants would have removed the wall between their kitchen and dining room in order to create a more open space. This surprised me because the “great room” became popular during and after the post-war period. Homeowners that did major changes to their

kitchens, House #1 and #6, only extended them length-wise, as the cabinets are generally in a galley style kitchen shape. Only the original owners of House #5 broke out of the constraints of the small kitchen by creating a completely new space off the rear side of the house. The participant of House #4 was the only resident to mention future plans to modify the kitchen by completely knocking down existing walls.

While every homeowner with the exception of one updated their kitchen in some way, 50% of the participants took on extensive remodeling in order to make the kitchen larger. Out of the participants that enlarged their kitchens only one set of homeowners broke away from the original layout and location of the kitchen. This suggests that the separation between the dining room and kitchen was still wanted. The post-war kitchen was meant to be small and efficient in order to not take away from the living spaces. Also, the shape and layout of the kitchen is still efficient today considering that out of the three who made major changes to the space, two simply extended the kitchen lengthwise and kept a similar layout while adding more workspace.

Out of the 50% of participants in the study that undertook remodeling projects to enlarge their kitchen, all included the addition of a breakfast area. This illustrates the shift from the front of the house to the rear of the house that took place during the post-war era (Gelernter, 1999). All three of the breakfast room additions feature windows or some sort of view overlooking the backyard. This pattern within the data suggests that

the homeowners needed the more casual eat-in kitchens as well as the visual connection to their outdoor backyard space.

Four out of the six houses featured major additions to the rear of the house in order to create a family room or den (see Table 3). The fact that the majority of the houses included a den addition reinforces the idea that the families needed more casual living space. These additions signify a return to the Victorian era formal sitting room for guests, while using the back family room for activities such as watching television. This pattern correlates to the 50% of participants that added eat-in kitchen space oriented toward the backyard. The three homes that now have eat-in kitchens all included den additions as well. These patterns further illustrate the shift of focus within the house to the back yard as opposed to the more forward-facing rooms such as the living room and dining rooms.

Table 4. Shift from the Front Yard to the Back Yard. This table illustrates the shift of focus from the front of the house to the back of the house by detailing the change in use of the Kirkwood Room and the additions of dens or family rooms and backyard outdoor areas.

House #	Remodel/Addition of Den in Rear of Plan	Kirkwood Room (Located in Front of Plan)	Addition of Back Porch/Deck
1	Yes	Originally None due to basement plan	Added Back Deck
2	No	Original Condition	No
3	Yes	Finished into Office	Added Back Porch
4	No	Finished into Laundry	Added Back Patio
5	Yes	Removed	Added Back Porch
6	Yes	Finished into Sitting Room	Added Back Porch

The removal and or remodeling of the Kirkwood Room into a completely different room use epitomizes the trend of the abandonment of front porches for the backyard. The room was no longer needed by residents as a screened in front porch. As front porches were generally used for social gathering and communicating with neighbors in more previously pedestrian environments, this use was no longer needed with the increase in reliance on the automobile (Hunter, 1999). In accordance with the patterns previously discussed, the kitchens overlooking the backyard, the rear den additions, and the abandonment of the street-facing screened in porches illustrates the tendency for homeowners to situate themselves toward the back of their homes in the years following WWII. In a suburb where cars would be continually driving by with increased visibility into the front of the house, these interior alterations demonstrate the need for more privacy and intimate settings in the home with homeowners saving what is best for more formal occasions to the front of the house in the formal living room and dining room.

Public vs. Private Space

Despite the small original floor plan of these houses, it is evident that the builder made an effort to separate the more public spaces from the private spaces. Regardless of being a two-bedroom or three-bedroom floor plan, each layout that was incorporated in this case study featured a wall with small double doors or a hallway space that separated the living room from the bedrooms. The public living spaces including the living room, dining room, kitchen, and Kirkwood room or screened porch were all located at the front

of the house. In the houses that I documented, the back of the house was reserved for the two or three bedrooms and one shared hall bathroom. Each variation of floor plan that I encountered utilized a small foyer-type space to connect the private areas with the more public areas.

When people add a significant amount of new space onto these houses, the only possible location for the addition is at the rear of the house, due to the way the house is situated on the lot. The houses are approximately thirty feet from the street, but the backyards extend behind the home at least twice that distance. Setback rules restrict any additions to the front of the house. Therefore the only way to increase the square footage would be to go up to a second story or back. In other words, a more casual living space for watching TV or would have to be added onto the back of the house. This means that one must walk through the previously or originally more private hallway leading to bedrooms in order to reach the more casual living space.

The den additions previously mentioned, which in effect interrupted this barrier of public to private space, were counterbalanced by the addition of master suites. The original bathroom, located in the hallway, serves as the guest bathroom while a new and larger bathroom tucked behind a bedroom serves as the master bath. Five out of six of the houses have been modified to create a master suite which includes a bedroom, closet, and bathroom. This overall theme suggests the need for a private, secluded master bedroom contrasting with the original layout of the home that featured two to three

similar sized bedrooms centered on the hall bathroom. The desire for a more isolated bedroom suite creates a social hierarchy inside the home, placing the homeowners at the top with their own private wing of the home.

The hypothesis that the homeowners would add a second bathroom, whether that was a full bathroom or a half bathroom, was accurate. Five out of the six houses underwent changes in order to accommodate a second, and in some cases a third bathroom. Even the participant who did not add a second bathroom described plans to add a full bathroom on a future second floor. The post-war bathroom was about utility and efficiency, taking up as little space as possible to ensure more room for living spaces (Hunter, 1999). The fact that the majority of the participants kept the original bathroom with only cosmetic changes or plumbing upgrades shows that while the homeowners needed more than one bathroom, the original bathroom still serves its purpose and is efficient enough to stay in its original position. This theme indicates that the small efficient bathroom of their post-war era house is still working for residents, but is not enough space.

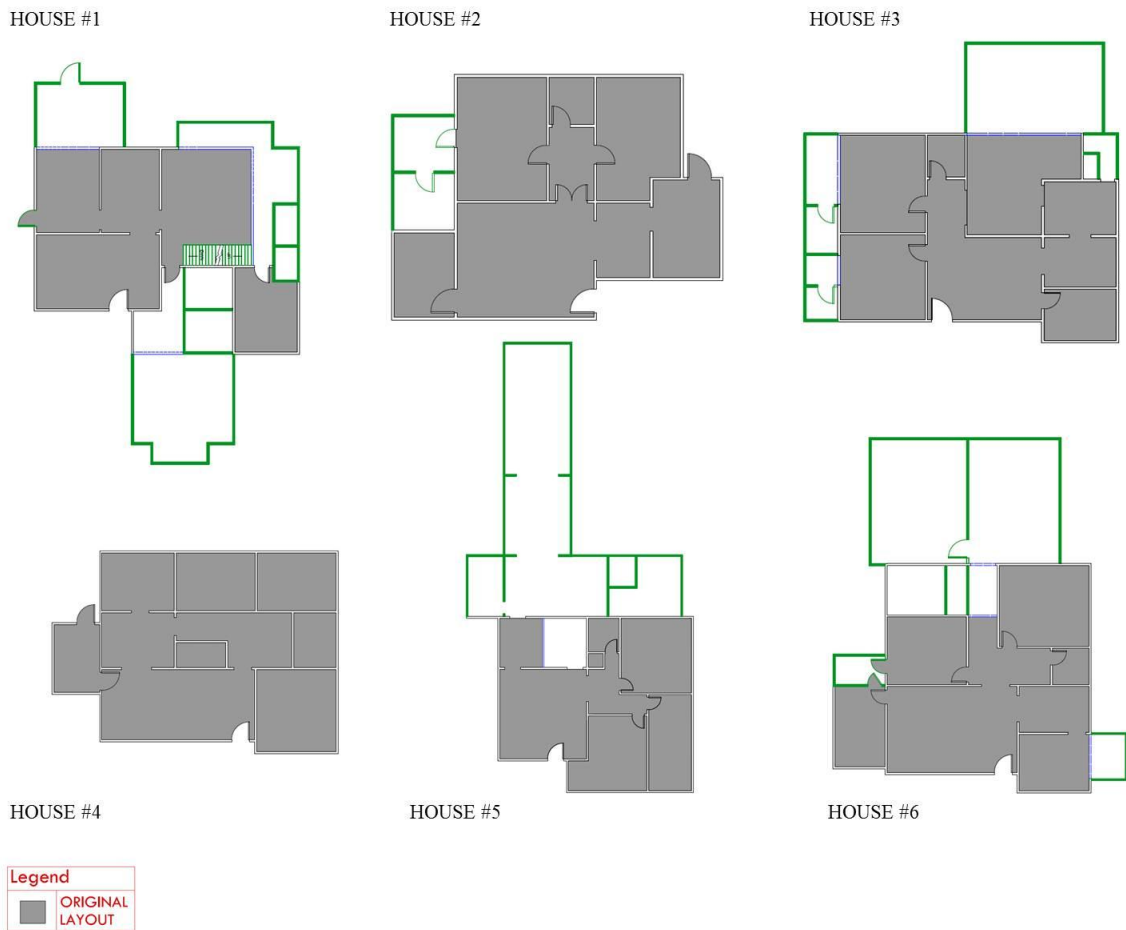


Figure 20. Remaining Area of Original Layout. The shaded area on each plan represents the spaces that retain the original layout of the post-war design. In every house with the exception of House #4 which still retains the layout with no additions, at least 50% of the interior space is the original layout. The cores of the historic homes are still intact regardless of additions made to the front or rear of the home (Source: Author).

As the preservation community begins to embrace the recent past, the traditional framework for preservation shifts to include the constructed and experiential authenticities. In this particular group of houses, the majority have altered too much material fabric to operate under the previous framework that relies on a more fabric-based approach. However, the core of each original layout remains intact (see Figure 19)

as well as the overall sense of community throughout the neighborhood. The original layout of the neighborhood also remains largely intact. In comparing GIS mapping of today's conditions with the original plat plan for Kirkwood, it is clear that the lot sizes, setbacks, and number of houses followed the 1946 plan and remains largely the same. In this way, the overall experience of the neighborhood has been preserved through the years. Something only revealed both through an overall examination of the neighborhood and a careful examination of the lived interior experience.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND EVALUATION

The overall layout and character of the Kirkwood suburb is largely intact and even when major additions were made to the specific case study houses, the original layout of each house was unchanged for the most part (see Figure 20). Layout is a key indicator of constructed and phenomenological authenticity because of the impermanence of furnishings, finishes, and materials. The standards for preservation have to be re-evaluated to fit these mid-twentieth century homes. The constructed and phenomenological aspects of the neighborhood should be given a closer look in order to gain a complete picture of the significance. With the realization that this is a qualitative case study and that these conclusions should not be taken as generalizable on a larger scale, the data presented some interesting insights into the ways in which long-term residents are currently using these post-war homes for their contemporary needs.

Every participant expressed an appreciation for the roots and the sense of community felt through the neighborhood, by certain events like the annual Kirkwood Fourth of July parade. It is evident that although not all of the original historic fabric remains, especially the exterior materials, the sense of place and strong sense of community is still present. Unlike many other postwar suburbs, these houses are not being demolished in favor of new construction. The participants expressed a love of their

houses and chose to update them to fit a more contemporary lifestyle rather than demolish them in favor of new construction. Five out of the six homeowners expressed an interest in the history of their home and the original layout. This shows that the cultural and experiential aspects of the neighborhood are strong elements that make up the suburb's current state. To the participants, the history behind their individual homes and the history of the neighborhood as a whole play an important role in their opinion of the neighborhood's success. Their positive experiences living in the neighborhood were largely why it means so much to them.

The original core of each plan is for the most part intact because this housing type still works for the homeowners. Every single home retained the original location of the bathroom and all but one kept the original location of kitchen and a similar cabinet layout. The general locations of the bedrooms have not changed in relationship to the core living spaces, but some have enlarged them or turned them into complete master suites.

As was popular during the post-war era, builders would try to create the "quiet zone" by separating the living spaces from the bedrooms and bathroom. In the majority of the houses included in this study, that barrier disappeared with the additions of dens that are only accessible through this quiet zone. However, homeowners provide a counterbalance to this new public space by creating more secluded master suites that have their own private bathroom and walk-in closets. In order for these families to

expand their space, they added bathrooms, master suites, family rooms, and laundry areas.

The majority of additions were towards the rear of the lot, with the exception of House #1 which extended the front façade. The core spaces of the original floor plan that includes the kitchens, living rooms, and Kirkwood rooms, are still in their original locations, regardless of cosmetic and technical/utility upgrades. This further reinforces the conclusion that these participants are still able to utilize the original design of the home in support of their contemporary lifestyles.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, one of the main concerns of post-war housing is that new materials used for housing after World War II are cheap, quick and easy and do not hold up in the long term. Preservation of post-WWII resources has to address whether the fabric-based authenticity or constructed authenticity is acceptable (Wells, 2010). This becomes a major preservation question that will possibly change the standards of the study.

Because Kirkwood was built with some of the very first materials released for residential uses after World War II the builders had an assortment of resources. However, the materials soon started running short, so the builders had to resort to mass produced materials. As materials were scarce, green lumber was used for the exterior wood siding. The southern pine on the exterior had been cured improperly which resulted in the difficulty of keeping the siding painted and sealed from deterioration problems. Because of this, every house in this study has at some point had the original

siding replaced. Four out of the six houses are now clad in aluminum siding. Of the remaining two houses, one is clad in cedar shakes while the other replaced aluminum siding with vinyl due to storm damage.

Other problems that participants encountered included a sinking foundation. The homeowner of House #2 found when making repairs, that the front window in the dining room was the sole component holding the exterior wall up. The siding and windows had to be replaced as well as some repairs to the foundation below the front door and front steps. Participants also mentioned that the original walls are plastered and therefore harder to keep up, unlike using regular dry wall. House #2 also shows evidence of failing plaster; in the two bedrooms cracks are visible near the windows and doors (see Figure 20).

Each plan featured a window in the shower of the hall bath. Most of the participants expressed the problems with the wooden window rotting due to the moisture from the shower. In each home, that window either had to be replaced with a vinyl window or it was taken out completely and tiled over to avoid any further problems. These problems are not atypical of dealing with older homes which is why including the constructed and experiential aspects when considering significance would help preserve the overall character of the neighborhood and homes.



Figure 21. House #2 Bedroom. Several large cracks can be seen in the original plaster of the second bedroom (Source: Author).

Overall, this research project was successful because it confirms the appropriateness of using qualitative research methods such as interviewing and interior documentation as a way to understand and reveal the ways in which post-war housing is utilized for contemporary needs. The interviewing process as well as the process of interior documentation through photographs and drawings allowed me to explore the usefulness of the Kirkwood floor plan and interior spaces.

This study demonstrated the ways in which long-term residents of Kirkwood have adapted their postwar homes to fit their contemporary needs. Utilizing interviewing and interior documentation, methods, patterns and themes within the relationships of the participants and their space became evident. Throughout the sample of houses in this

case study, homeowners over the years kept the core of the original home including the living room, dining room, kitchen location, and bathrooms. The Kirkwood post-war designs are still functional spaces.

Due to the increase in construction projects following WWII, these post-war homes exist in great abundance. The quick response of developers and builders, who wanted to capitalize on this issue, helped the increase in suburban sprawl that occurred predominately after WWII. As this study shows, these houses are a great resource as residents choose to update rather than demolish them in favor of new construction. They are utilizing existing residential architecture. Regardless, if preservationists or people in general appreciate a minimally styled tract-home, these houses are an important part of Greensboro's built environment, displaying important suburban trends of the time period.

The study could be improved by widening the scope of the research. Conducting more interviews with homeowners in the focus area would have allowed me to make broader statements about patterns and cultural implications of the neighborhood overall. While the focus of this thesis remained mostly within the interior design of the homes, further research regarding the exterior spaces, such as driveways and back porches or patios, could be beneficial in understanding the cultural patterns of the era. Also, studying factors such as the socio-economic status of each homeowner would allow greater insight into the ability of the participants and need to expand or remodel their house. These things would be necessary to consider in order to move the knowledge gained herein into a larger and more complete framework.

In conclusion, people in Kirkwood in this sample have demonstrated that the core of their post-war house is still functional and supports continual updating as trends and needs change over time. This study illustrates that the post-war house, although lacking in exceptional architectural style, is still a usable resource in our built environment. This research contributes to my own understanding of qualitative research methods, literature in the field of preservation, and to my general knowledge of the history and significance of the post-war era and common themes and concepts associated with the time period. This research contributes to my discipline by providing insight into the usability of a housing type that is sometimes overlooked or looked down upon when considering historic significance. Overall, this study has contributed to a larger understanding of the viability of preserving this type of housing and the possibility of looking to preservation as a process, and preserving the sense of community through placing a focus on the constructed and experiential authenticities that make up significance.

There have been many negative connotations regarding post-war homes, and the study of the suburban sprawl movement of mass produced houses and the disappearance of traditional neighborhood design, is something that shouldn't be overlooked by preservationists. However, as preservationists, we should also examine their developmental processes and changes in design in relation to the social and economic context of the time period. The question to be asked next is can we preserve the process of updating houses like this in order to delve further into discerning residential design trends and the evolution of suburbs as a whole? These suburban homes are cultural

artifacts that reflect the evolution of homeowners' ideals over time (Moe & Wilkie, 2007). The embrace of cultural and experiential authenticity by the field of preservation furthers the goals set by the National Register to "ensure that the National Register is truly a list of historic places" (Sherfy & Luce, 1990). This study provides one working model by which to examine and make apparent the value of these spaces as we work to fulfill these important goals.

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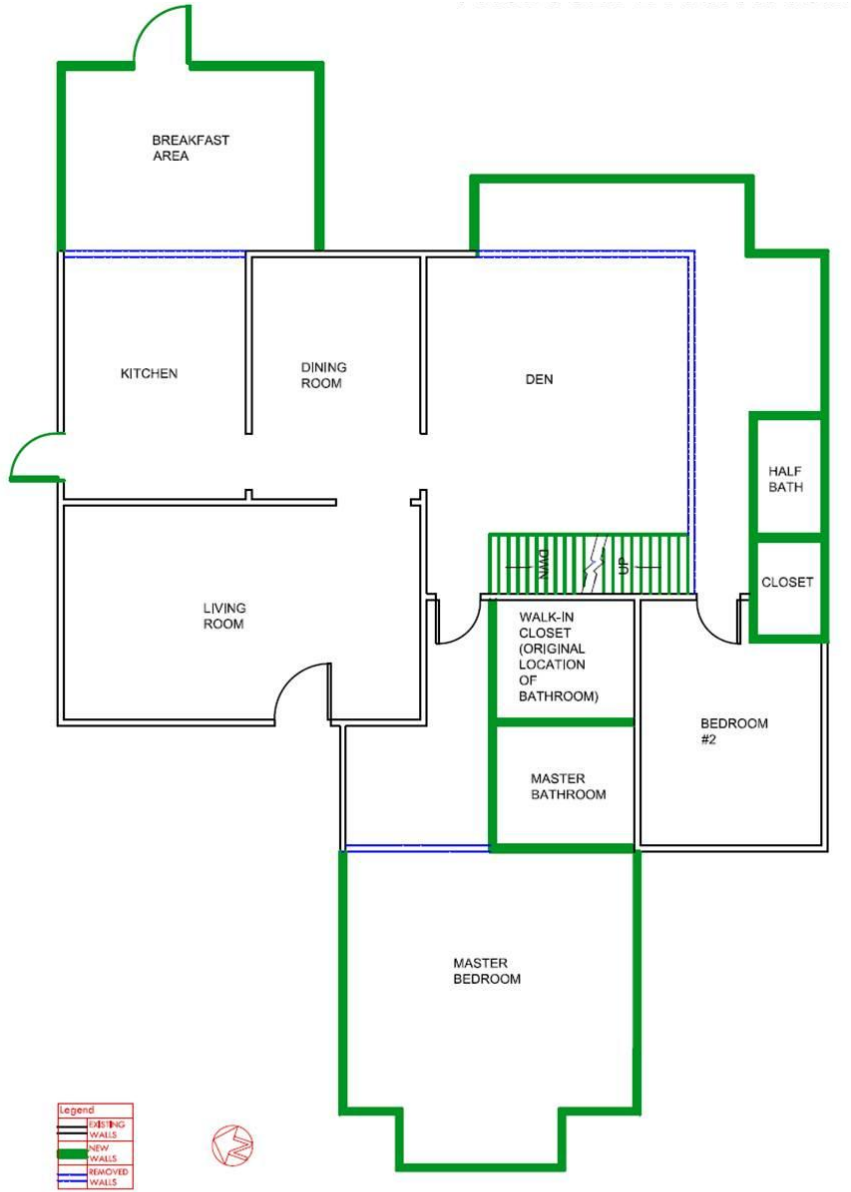
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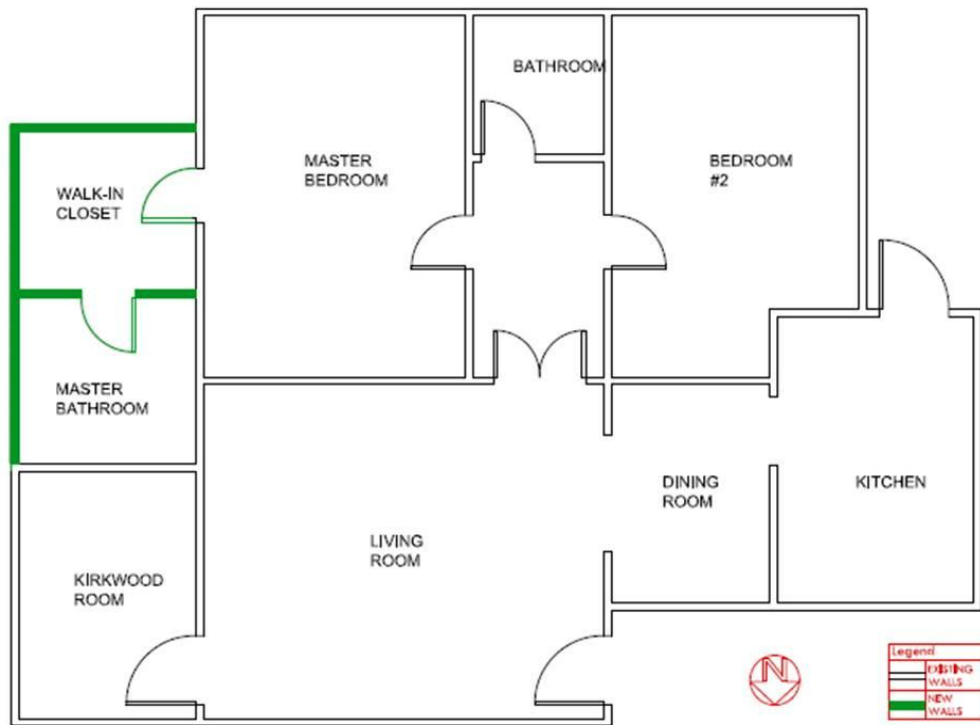
APPENDIX A

FLOOR PLANS



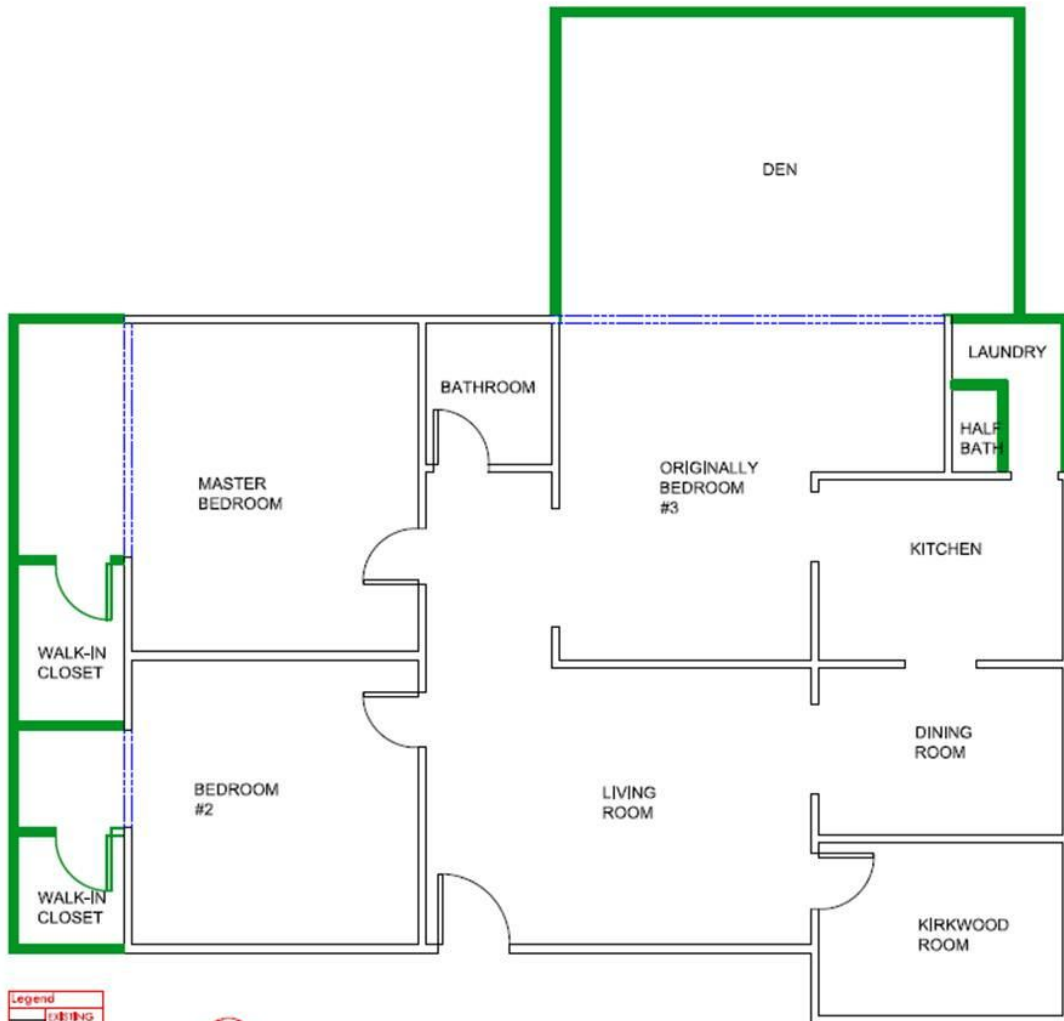
1 KIRKWOOD: HOUSE #1





2 KIRKWOOD: HOUSE #2
SCALE: 1/4" = 10'



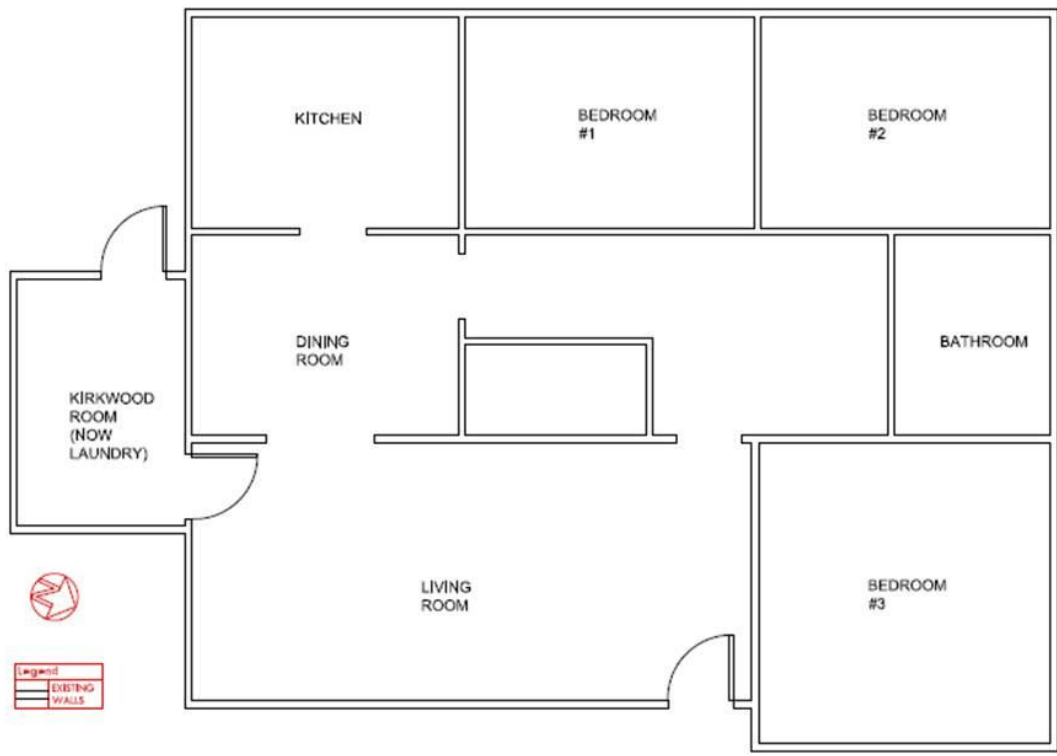


Legend	
	EXISTING WALLS
	NEW WALLS
	REMOVED WALLS



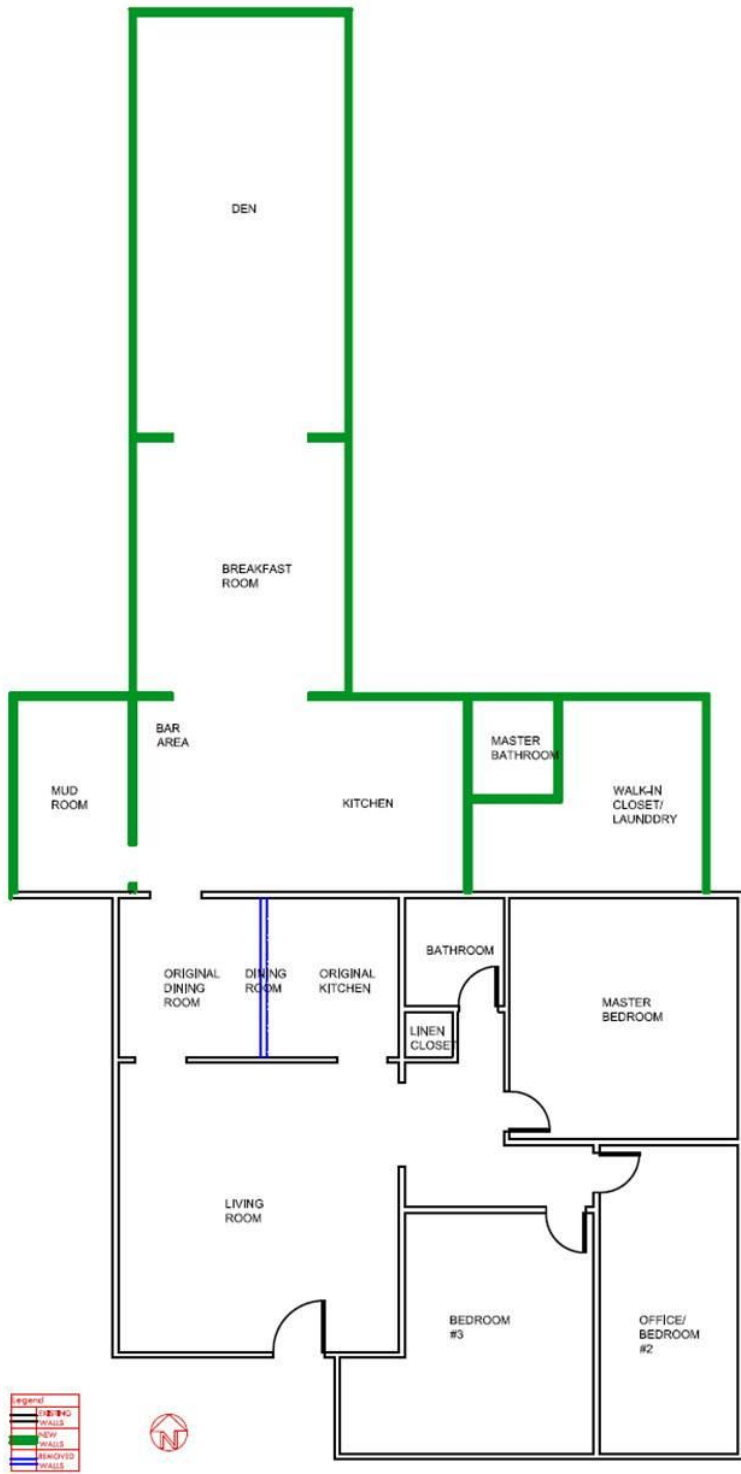
3 KIRKWOOD: HOUSE #3

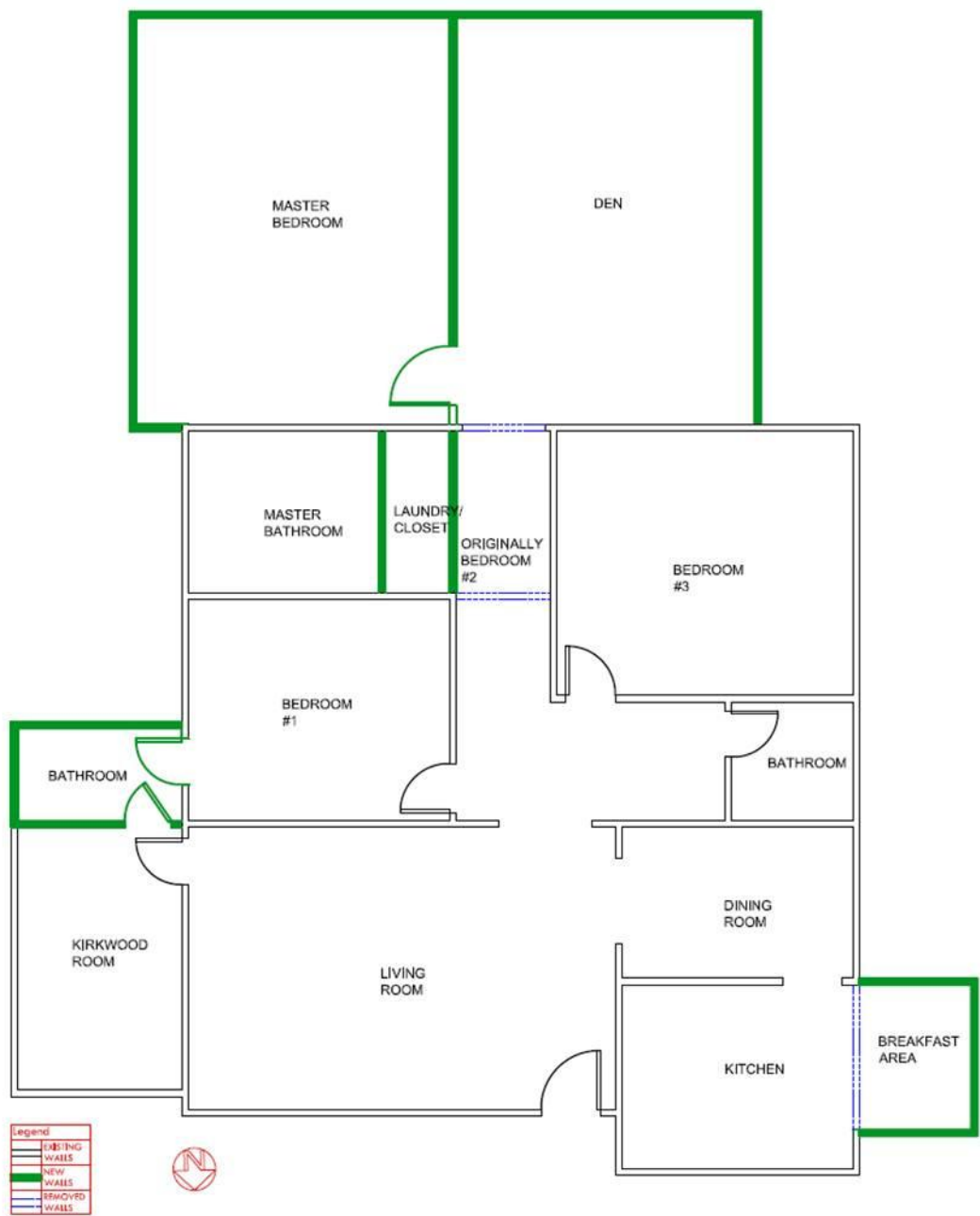




4 KIRKWOOD; HOUSE #4







6 KIRKWOOD: HOUSE #6

