

The design of purpose built, public sector housing provision for young single people

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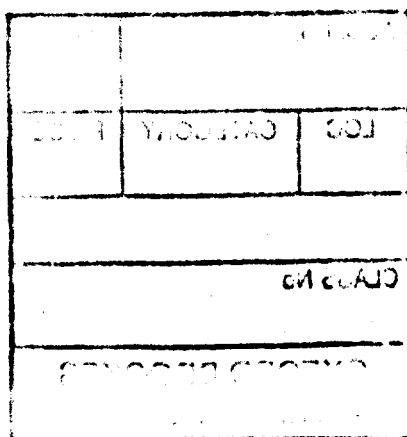
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**THE DESIGN OF PURPOSE BUILT, PUBLIC SECTOR HOUSING PROVISION
FOR YOUNG SINGLE PEOPLE**

By

Frances Veronica Warren



A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Doctor of Philosophy, submitted to the Council for National and Academic Awards, undertaken at the Post-graduate Research School, Department of Architecture, Oxford Polytechnic.

Submitted in January 1988.



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ABSTRACT

The Design of Purpose Built, Public Sector Housing Provision for Young Single People

Frances V. Warren

A preliminary examination of the range of housing provision for young single people in both the public and private sectors of the housing market in England and Wales indicated that a large proportion of young single people have no viable alternative to renting from the public sector, yet little consideration is given to their housing need.

From this main problem area, that is the relationship between the housing requirements of young single people who are dependent on rented accommodation and the housing provision made for this group through the public sector, three main research propositions were formulated. These were tested through detailed examination and analysis of data which was collected, using a variety of methods, from the architects, designers, housing managers and tenants of three young single person housing schemes used as case studies.

The research found that specifically designed public sector housing provision available for young single people to rent is designed according to recommendations and standards contained in the design guidance. These, it is argued, are based on inaccurate perceptions of the characteristics and housing requirements of young single people.

The research identified a number of mismatches between the perception of young single people, both stated and implicit, in the design guidance, and the actual characteristics of the tenants of the three schemes surveyed, who were taken as representative of young single people. In particular the research found that young single people were no more mobile than older single people and spent more time in the home than the design guidance had anticipated, due to different patterns of both employment and social activity. This finding is crucial because the assumption of a high level of mobility with little time spent in the home forms the basis for the design guidance recommendation for two distinct categories of accommodation, smaller bedsits or shared flats for younger single people and larger one-bedroom flats for older single people.

The research considered whether the specifically designed public sector housing provided for young single people matched their housing requirements. A number of mismatches were identified, in particular between the provision and requirement for space and some services in the flats and for tenants' social requirements, including control over their environment. There was a higher incidence of mismatch in the design of the individual dwelling units than in the general design features of the scheme.

From this investigation conclusions were drawn and new recommendations made for the future provision of more appropriate accommodation for young single people.

TO MY PARENTS

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CONTENTS

<u>INTRODUCTION</u>	1
<u>CHAPTER 1</u>	
1.1 Introduction	4
1.2 Defining Young Single People	4
1.3 Changes in Household Formation	5
1.4 The Problems of Assessing Housing Need and Demand	7
1.5 Assessing Young Single Person Housing Need and Demand	8
1.6 Summary	18
<u>CHAPTER 2</u>	
2.1 Introduction	24
2.2 The Nature of the Housing Market	24
2.3 Housing Policy 1945 - 1951	25
2.4 Housing Policy 1951 - 1964	29
2.5 Design Standards: The Parker Morris Report	31
2.6 Housing Policy 1960s and into the 1970s	32
2.7 Housing Associations	34
2.8 Design Guidance	36
2.9 Homelessness and the 1977 Housing (Homeless Persons) Act	39
2.10 Housing Finance	41
2.11 Summary	42
<u>CHAPTER 3</u>	
3.1 Introduction	50
3.2 The Public Sector Housing Programme in the 1970s	50
3.3 Changes in Housing Tenure	53
3.4 Condition of the Housing Stock	55
3.5 The Current Range of Accommodation for Young Single People	58
3.5.1 Access to Private Rented Accommodation	58

CHAPTER 3 (CONTINUED)

3.5.2	Access to Home Ownership	64
3.5.3	Access to Public Sector Housing	70
3.5.3.1	Access to Local Authority Accommodation	70
3.5.3.2	Access to New Town Development Corporation Accommodation	76
3.5.3.3	Access to Housing Association Accommodation	78
3.6	Summary	82

CHAPTER 4

4.1	Introduction	91
4.2	The Development of Design Guidance	92
4.3	The Role of Design Guidance	95
4.4	Criticism of Design Guidance	97
4.5	Design Guidance for Young Single Person Housing Provision	99
4.6	Defining the Research Problem	104

CHAPTER 5

5.1	The Research Problem	111
5.2	The Research Programme	112
5.3	Methods Used to Test the First Research Proposition	112
5.4	The Case Studies	115
5.5	Methods Used to Test the Second Research Proposition	116
5.5.1	Identification of Design Guidance Profiles of Single People	117
5.5.2	Identification of Single Person Profiles	121
5.5.3	Identification of the Housing\Accommodation Requirements of Single People	122
5.5.4	Structuring the Analysis	124
5.6	Methods Used to Test the Third Research Proposition	124
5.7	Methods of Data Collection	125
5.7.1	The Questionnaire	126

CHAPTER 5 (CONTINUED)

5.7.2	The Pilot Study	128
5.7.3	Interviews and Surveys	129
5.8	Summary	133

CHAPTER 6

6.1	The First Research Proposition	137
6.2	The Use of Design Guidance	138
6.3	Factors Relating to Architects' Use of Design Guidance	140
6.3.1	The Experience of the Designing Team	140
6.3.2	Finance	141
6.3.3	The Design Process	143
6.4	Summary of the Evidence Relating to the First Research Proposition	148
6.5	The use of Design Guidance in the Three Case Studies	148

CHAPTER 7

7.1	The Second Research Proposition	165
7.2	Age	168
7.3	Marital Status	174
7.4	Income	176
7.5	Employment	185
7.6	Mobility	189
7.7	Possessions	200
7.8	Domestic Routine	203
7.9	Social Activities	206
7.10	Summary of the Evidence Relating to the Second Research Proposition	208

CHAPTER 8

8.1	The Third Research Proposition	212
8.2	The Provision of Different Flat Types	215
8.2.1	The Provision of Furniture	218

CHAPTER 8 (CONTINUED)

8.3	<u>Bedsits</u>	221
8.3.1	Space	221
8.3.2	The Use of Space	221
8.3.2.1	The Size and Shape of the Bedsit	228
8.3.2.2	Activities	231
8.3.2.3	Provision of Electric Sockets	234
8.3.3	Storage	235
8.3.4	Ventilation	237
	(a) Kitchen	238
	(b) Bathroom	240
8.3.5	Daylight	241
8.3.6	Summary of the Evidence Relating to the Third Research Proposition: Bedsits	241
8.4	<u>One-Bedroom Flats</u>	242
8.4.1	Space	242
8.4.2	The Use of Space	247
8.4.2.1	Furniture	250
8.4.2.2	Activities	252
8.4.2.3	Provision of Electric Sockets	254
8.4.3	Storage	255
8.4.4	Ventilation	258
8.4.5	Daylight	258
8.4.6	Summary of the Evidence Relating to the Third Research Proposition: One-Bedroom Flats	260
8.5	<u>Two-Bedroom Flats</u>	261
8.5.1	Space	261
8.5.2	The Use of Space	265
8.5.2.1	Provision of Electric Sockets	270
8.5.3	Storage	271
8.5.4	Ventilation	274
8.5.5	Daylight	275

CHAPTER 8 (CONTINUED)

8.5.6	Summary of the Evidence Relating to the Third Research Proposition: Two-Bedroom Flats	276
8.6	Conclusions	277

CHAPTER 9

9.1	Communal Facilities	282
9.1.1	Residents' Lounge	283
9.1.2	Entrance Hall	287
9.1.3	Laundry	
9.1.3.1	Provision	289
9.1.3.2	Location of the Laundry	291
9.1.4	Guest Room	292
9.1.5	Public Telephone	293
9.2	Site Related Factors	294
9.2.1	Location	294
9.2.2	Outlook	298
9.2.3	Security	
9.2.3.1	Internal - Security	300
9.2.3.2	Car Park Security	301
9.2.3.3	Security in the Grounds	302
9.2.4	Noise	304
9.3	Services	
9.3.1	Heating and Hot Water	307
9.3.2	Refuse Disposal	312
9.3.3	Storage	313
9.3.4	Mail Delivery	314
9.4	Management Issues	316
9.4.1	On-Site Warden/Caretaker	316
9.4.2	Rules	320
9.4.3	Waiting List	321
9.4.4	Allocations	323

CHAPTER 9 (CONTINUED)

9.5	Summary of the Evidence Relating to the Third Research Proposition	324
9.6	Conclusions	325

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSIONS, DESIGN CONSIDERATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.1	The First Research Proposition	330
10.1.1	The Architects' Experience	330
10.1.2	Finance	331
10.1.3	The Design Process	331
10.2	The Second Research Proposition	332
10.2.1	Personal Characteristics	
	Age	332
	Marital Status	332
	Income	333
	Employment	333
10.2.2	Lifestyle Characteristics	
	Mobility	333
	Possessions	334
	Domestic Routine	334
	Social Activity	335
10.3	The Third Research Proposition	335
10.3.1	<u>Individual Dwelling Units</u>	
10.3.1.1	Bedsits	336
10.3.1.2	One Bedroom Flats	337
10.3.1.3	Two Bedroom Flats	338
10.3.2	<u>General Aspects of the Schemes</u>	339
10.3.2.1	Communal Facilities	339
	Residents' Lounge	339
	Entrance Hall	340
	Laundry	340
	Guest Room	340
	Public Telephone	341
	Shop	341
10.3.2.2	Site Related Factors	
	Location	341
	Outlook	342
	Security - Internal	342
	Security - External	342
	Noise	343

CONCLUSIONS (CONTINUED)

10.3.2.3	Services	
	Heating and Hot Water	343
	Ventilation	343
	Refuse Disposal	344
	The Position of Electric Sockets	344
	Mail Delivery	344
10.3.2.4	Management Issues	345
10.4	<u>DESIGN CONSIDERATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS</u>	346
10.4.1	The First Research Proposition	
10.4.1.1	Architects' Experience	346
10.4.1.2	Finance	346
10.4.1.3	The Design Process	346
10.4.2	The Second Research Proposition	347
10.4.3	The Third Research Proposition	347
	<u>Individual Dwelling Units</u>	
	a) Bedsits	347
	b) One Bedroom Flats	348
	c) Two Bedroom Flats	348
	Storage Space	348
10.4.3.1	Communal Facilities	
	Residents' Lounge	349
	Entrance Hall	349
	Laundry	349
	Guest Room	350
	Public Telephone	350
	Shop	350
10.4.3.2	Site Related Factors	
	Location	350
	Outlook	350
	Security - Internal	351
	Security - External	351
10.4.3.5	Services	
	Heating and Hot Water	351
	Ventilation	351
	Sound Insulation	351
	Refuse Disposal	352
	The Position of Electric Sockets	352
	Mail Delivery	352

<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>		353
APPENDIX I	Design Literature for Young Single Person Housing	365
APPENDIX II	Semi-structured Interview Schedule for Use in Informal Interview with Housing Professionals	367
APPENDIX III	The Questionnaire	369
APPENDIX IV	Prompt Questions for Semi-structured Interviews With Selected Tenants	370

FIGURES

1.1	The Number of young Single People at Successive Census: England and Wales	9
1.2	Divorce: England and Wales	13
1.3	Projections of Future Household Formation	16
3.1	Permanent Dwellings Started by Types of Authority and Sector: Great Britain	52
3.2	Housing Tenure in Britain	54
3.3	Percentage of Dwellings in Need of Repairs Over 2,500 (1981)	57
3.4	The Range of Housing for Young Single People	59
3.5	Local Authority Housing Stock: Size of Dwellings: England and Wales	74
5.1	The Main Characteristics Attributed to Single People by Design Bulletin 29	118
5.2	Criteria used in the Evaluation of User Profile Analysis	119
5.3	Young Single Person Housing Requirements	123
5.4	Aspects of Bedsits Highlighted by Tenants	131
5.5	Aspects of One-Bedroom Flats Highlighted by Tenants	132
5.6	Aspects of Two-Bedroom Shared Flats Highlighted by Tenants	132
6.1	Case Study Comparison	151
7.1	Design Guidance Life-style Criteria of Single People	166
7.2A	Age Profile of Respondents	169
7.2B	Age Profile of Respondents	169
7.3	Questionnaire Response Rate	171
7.4	Different Types of Accommodation Provided in the Young Single Person Housing Schemes Used as Case Studies	172
7.5	Age Profile of Respondents; (II)	173
7.6	Marital Status of Respondents	175
7.7	Distribution of Income: Age	177
7.8	Distribution of Income: Gender	177
7.9A	Weekly Accommodation Charges	179

FIGURES (CONTINUED)

7.9B	Detailed Breakdown of Weekly Charges	180
7.10A	Tenants' Opinion of Rent Levels: Age	182
7.10B	Tenants' Opinion of Rent Level: Scheme	182
7.11	Tenants' Perception of the Items Included in the Weekly Accommodation Charge	184
7.12	The proportion of Tenants Who Qualified for Housing Benefit	184
7.13	Tenants' Occupations	187
7.14	The Reasons Tenants Gave for Moving House Prior To Entering The Young Single Person Housing Scheme	192
7.15	The Length of Tenants' Residence in the Housing Scheme	192
7.16	The Length of Time Tenants Expect to Reside in the Housing Scheme	194
7.17	Reasons for Tenants' Possible Future Departure	194
7.18A	The Tenants' Actual and Intended Length of Residence	196
7.18B	The Tenants' Actual and Intended Length of Residence: Age	197
7.19	The Tenants' Opinion of Social Contact within the Scheme	207
7.20	The Tenants' Definition of Social Contact	207
8.1	Personal and Life-style Criteria of Single People: Implications for Design	213
8.2	Accommodation: Tenants - Younger: Older Single Person	218
8.3	Furnishings Provided in the Case Study Schemes	220
8.4	Tenants' Opinion of Furnishings	220
8.5	Additional Furniture Tenants Requested	220
8.6	Comparison of Space: Bedsits	227
8.7	Restrictions On Tenants' Use of Space: Bedsits	227
8.8	Living Space in Bedsits	229
8.9	Activities and Space in Bedsits	232
8.10	Comparison of Space: One-Bedroom Flats	247
8.11	Restrictions on Tenants' Use of Space: One-Bedroom Flats	248
8.12	Living Space in One-Bedroom Flats	251

FIGURES (CONTINUED)

8.13	Activities and Space in One-Bedroom Flats	253
8.14	Comparison of Space: Shared Two-Bedroom Flats	266
8.15	Living Space in Two-Bedroom Flats	267
8.16	Activities and Space in Two-Bedroom Flats	268
9.1	Communal Facilities Provided in Each Scheme	283
9.2	Tenants' use of the Communal Lounge	286
9.3	Tenants' use of the Laundry Facilities	291
9.4	Tenants' Personal Transport	297
9.5	Tenants' Opinion of the Public Transport Provision	297
9.6	Tenants' Opinion of the Outlook from their Flat	299
9.7	Noise Disturbance	305
9.8	Sources of Noise Disturbance	305
9.9	Tenants' Opinion of the Heating Provision	309
9.10	Tenants' Comments on the Heating Systems	309
9.11	Tenants' Opinion of the Refuse Disposal Systems	313
9.12	Tenants' Opinion of the Warden Service	319
9.13	Tenants' Contact with the Warden	319
9.14	Tenants' Comments on the Scheme Rules	321

PLANS

Plan A.	Site Plan of Case Study A	152
Plan B.	Site Plan of Case Study B	153
Plan C.	Site Plan of Case Study C	153
Plan 1.	Plan of Bedsit 1	222
Plan 2.	Plan of Bedsit 2	223
Plan 3.	Plan of Bedsit 3	224
Plan 4.	Plan of Bedsit 4	225
Plan 5.	Plan of Bedsit 5	226
Plan 6.	Plan of One-Bedroom Flat 6	243
Plan 7.	Plan of One-Bedroom Flat 7	244
Plan 8.	Plan of One-Bedroom Flat 8	245
Plan 9.	Plan of One-Bedroom Flat 9	246
Plan 10.	Plan of Two-Bedroom Flat 10	262
Plan 11.	Plan of Two-Bedroom Flat 11	263
Plan 12.	Plan of Two-Bedroom Flat 12	264

INTRODUCTION

The main objective of the research is to examine the relationship between the housing requirements of young single people who are dependent on renting accommodation and the housing provision made for them by the public sector. In particular the research considers the recommendations and standards contained in a series of Government Design Bulletins which were formulated in the 1970s and still influence the provision of this type of housing. There have been considerable changes, both political, economic and social, since the design guidance was formulated. The research aims to assess whether the design of single person housing schemes remains appropriate to match these new requirements.

In order to establish the dimensions of the problem and Government response to it, an analysis of the relevant literature is discussed in two main parts. First the problems of defining young single people and estimating their present and future housing demand are considered (Chapter 1). Demographic projections show that the number of young single people seeking independent accommodation will continue to rise. The research notes that these projections, based as they are on current trends, considerably underestimate the real present and future demand for young single person independent housing since this housing need is not registered by the traditional sources of housing statistics.

Having considered the level of present and future demand for independent single person housing the research briefly traces housing policy since 1945, paying particular attention to the priority given to young single person housing need and considering the range of different types of housing provision to which young single people have access (Chapters 2 and 3).

The initial research identified three broad groups of young single people seeking accommodation. First, those who are able to purchase housing either independently or with friends because they are eligible for a mortgage or in receipt of an inter-generational gift or loan. Although home ownership currently dominates housing policy the research shows this is not always an appropriate or an accessible option for all young single people. Second, the research identified a small minority of young single people who could be classified as 'vulnerable' under homeless legislation. Although rarely housed through this legislation, they are considered to require some degree of care and support incorporated into their accommodation. Those younger single people who do not fit into either of the two previous groups and who require rented accommodation are the majority of younger single seeking accommodation at any given time and form the third group on whom the research focuses.

The drastic decline in both the amount and condition of the private rented sector has caused particular problems for this third group who have traditionally sought accommodation here. The research considered current housing policies designed to stimulate the private rented sector and found that these may well be both unsuccessful, judging on past performance, and an inappropriate use of severely reduced Government housing expenditure. Thus the options open to these young single people seeking rented accommodation are declining. It therefore can be argued that if such housing requirements are to be met, the onus is upon public sector housing provision.

Both the design and the amount of public sector housing provision are controlled by statutory guidelines. The research considers the development of design guidance with particular reference to the design guidance for public sector, independent, housing provision for young single people (Chapter 4). The inconsistencies

between the characteristics attributed to young single people by the design guidance on which its perception of their housing requirements and thus the recommendations and standards are based, together with the actual profiles of young single people obtained from an initial survey, form the basis of the research problem.

The research problem is presented in three research propositions, each of which is examined in detail. The methods used for the analysis are considered in Chapter 5, whilst Chapters 6,7,8 and 9 present and evaluate the findings. First, the extent to which design guidance influences the design of purpose built, public sector housing provision for young single people is examined (Chapter 6). Second, the actual characteristics of a representative sample of young single are examined and compared with the design guidances' anticipated profiles (Chapter 7). Third, using a comparative case study analysis, the design of specifically designed public sector housing provision for young single people is compared with their actual housing requirements (Chapters 8 and 9).

From this investigation of the research propositions conclusions are drawn and new recommendations for the future provision of more appropriate accommodation for young single people have been formulated and are presented in Chapter 10. Although this study was carried out in certain areas and in particular schemes, the findings and the design recommendations and considerations are likely to be of use for providing design information for those planning and designing independent housing for young single people in the future. A new design brief for this type of accommodation is currently being compiled by the Institute of Housing and the Royal Institute of British Architects and it is hoped that these findings will be of assistance.

CHAPTER 1

1.1 Introduction

This chapter will consider the problems involved with both defining and quantifying young single people and the associated difficulties of estimating the housing requirements of this group. The factors affecting young single peoples' access to housing will be considered and from this analysis the specific young single people on whom the research focuses will be outlined.

1.2 Defining Young Single People

The term 'young single people' occurs frequently in literature. Superficially it appears that this term refers to a specific and homogeneous group of people who can be distinguished from other single people and from the population as a whole. More detailed investigation of the literature shows that first, there is no consensus as how to define this group and second, that there are considerable difficulties involved in not only defining young single people as a housing user group, but also in determining the housing needs and demands of this group. In order to demonstrate these difficulties an examination of different definitions of young single people will be made and the question of how these affect the perception of the housing needs and demands of this group will be explored. Later in this chapter it will be argued that despite these difficulties the limited information available indicates an increasing demand and need for young single people housing.

Taking young single people to be at one end of the age range of single people does not aid attempts to define this group. Not only do different sources disagree over the age range considered 'young' but also the definitions of single people vary widely. The narrow view proposed by Donnison's 'categories of housing need' in 1967 which

reduced single peoples' housing needs to a brief period between the parental home and marriage, (1) has been largely superseded by wider definitions. For example in 1981 Buchanan defined single people as any people not currently married or temporarily separated from their spouses for working reasons and not having any dependent children living with them. (2) Drake et al in 1977 included people not living with a spouse, child, cohabitee or parents, (3) whilst in 1985 Venn used the term 'single people' to refer to individuals without dependents, aged between 16 and 60/65, irrespective of marital status. (4)

Although the definitions of single people may have changed the assumption in Donnison's definition of single people, ie that they are young adults who are waiting to get married, still persists. Austerberry and Watson note that, 'so often the notion of single is associated with young adults who have not 'yet' married'. (5) Whilst this assumption influences not only the range of housing that young single people have access to (Chapters 2 and 3) but also the design of the housing that is provided (Chapter 4) it cannot be ignored. Yet to unqualifyingly accept this assumption is to ignore those people who are single at different stages in their life cycle. In order to understand who these people are and why they are single it is necessary to explore changes in household formation which have occurred over the past twenty years.

1.3 Changes in Household Formation

Considerable changes in patterns of household structure have been taking place in recent years. Notably a move to more young single person households, later marriage and increases in the number of cohabiting couples, childless couples and divorce. (6) Such demographic changes make some conceptual models of family life cycle and thus the projections of housing need and demand based on such concepts

questionable and possibly redundant. For example in 1967 Donnison identified five stages in the family life cycle in relation to housing needs. These were the young single person household, married couples, families with children, older couples, and finally, older single person households.(7) Whilst such generalisation may provide a useful starting point for discussing housing need they are inadequate for more detailed explanations of this complex topic, failing not only to account for the diversity and complexity of the movement of individuals through different household structures but also to consider other factors such as class or race which play an important part in household structure. Donnison's concept of family life cycle identified demand for single person housing at only two stages. First, housing demand from young single people which he cites as 'a brief spell between parental home and marriage' and, second, older single person households, that is, widows or widowers.(8) However, there may be various occasions in an individual's life when she or he may be single and require single person housing.(9) The first occurs when leaving the parental home, presuming that the move is not in order to cohabit, marry or have a child. The second occurs if a person is involved in a relationship which ends through death, divorce or separation and there are no children. There are no limits to the number of times an individual may become single in this way. If there are children then either through losing the children to the other partner, or, when the youngest child reaches 16, the single parent then acquires, in terms of housing need, single person status.

All stages in the family housing cycle are, by definition, temporary, but because the state of being single has regularly been defined as 'never married' it is perceived as lasting for a shorter period than the state of being married or widowed and there has been a tendency to regard the housing needs of young single people as being

too temporary to warrant attention.(10) However, although the stages may be temporary for each individual, in aggregate they produce a permanent and apparently growing demand for accommodation for young single people.

1.4 The Problems of Assessing Housing Need and Demand

Those difficulties which arise in any attempt to define such a broad group as 'young single people' are reflected in the problems associated with assessing the extent of the housing need and demand of this group. In general the terms 'housing need' and 'housing demand' are often used as if they were interchangeable.(11) This may give rise to confusion which is exacerbated by the fact that both the definitions and interpretation of these terms vary. Donnison and Ungerson appear to regard housing need as an utopian ideal rather than a necessary quantity, defining housing need as 'something people believe they or others lack and ought to have'.(12) However, they do agree that housing needs are neither simple nor self evident, 'they are a collection of rights, opportunities, assets and attributes, complex and liable to change.'(13)

Housing need is usually taken to represent a measure of the extent to which existing accommodation falls short of that required to provide a minimum specified standard, irrespective of the ability and willingness to pay.(14) Some estimates of housing need based on such a definition assess existing accommodation purely in terms of the quantity, ignoring quality. In addition, national figures for housing need often tend to ignore discrepancies of location.

Housing demand, on the other hand, is generally considered to be an economic rather than an absolute measure, representing an individuals' willingness and ability to pay for accommodation.(15) Again Donnison and Ungerson, to give one example, disagree with

this, defining demand as 'something people want'.(16) The 1980 DOE guidelines for local authorities to follow when assessing local housing need suggest that evidence on housing preferences, desires and aspirations should also be taken into account in any assessment, particularly considering the increase in the problem of 'difficult to let' housing stock.(17)

This simple comparison between only two sources indicates the differences in terminology which exist. Donnison and Ungersons' definition of housing demand seems more akin to the DOE's description of housing preferences. The distinctions between housing needs, housing demands and housing preferences are not absolute and often tend to merge. For example, an increase in housing aspirations, in line with an increase in affluence, should eventually raise the minimum standards used to define housing need. The term 'housing requirements' can be used as an umbrella term taking housing needs, demands and preferences into account. People who have the ability and are willing to pay may well satisfy their housing demands and preferences through home ownership. However, many individuals who do not have the means to buy a home will find difficulties in achieving their housing needs, let alone demands and preferences. There are a number of reasons for this, the most important being the limits imposed on public expenditure, though other factors, including geographical location and the type of housing needed, cannot be ignored.

1.5 Assessing Young Single Person Housing Need and Demand

The actual number of single people provides an indication of the potential housing need and demand in different age groups. Figure 1.1 shows the number of single people between the ages of 15-29 at successive censuses in England and Wales. The recent increase in the number of younger single people, particularly in the youngest cohort,

Figure 1.1 The Number of Young Single People at Successive Census: England and Wales

(Figures in Thousands)

	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>*1981</u>
15 - 19	2291.8	3441.1	3510.8	3909.3
20 - 24	2118.1	1792.5	2125.8	2295.5
25 - 29	1060.8	726.6	687.4	874.3
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	6170.7	5960.2	6324.0	7079.1

Source: General Registrars Office, Census 1974 England and Wales, HMSO, 1974, Table 5 Age and Marital Condition at Successive Census 1851 - 1971.

* Government Statistical Service, Census 1981 Sex, Age and Marital Status, Great Britain, HMSO, 1983, Table 3 Usually Resident Population: Age by Marital Status by Sex.

ie 15-19 year olds, is clearly visible. Between 1961 and 1981 the total number of young single people between the ages of 15-29 increased by 1,118,900 to over 7 million. During this same period total population, irrespective of marital status, increased by 2,417,048 in England and Wales to approximately 48.5 million in 1981.(18) The increase in the number of young single people is due, in part, to this past steady increase in population which has now stabilised and to the trend towards later marriages and later pregnancies.(19) Whatever the reason for the increase in the number of young single people, 7 million in a total population of 56 million represents a significant proportion, though obviously not all these young single will require independent accommodation.

Whilst the absolute number of young single people is important in assessing the potential housing needs of this group, a number of factors will affect their access and demand for housing.

These include, inter alia, gender and marital status. These factors are not discrete and tend to be interrelated.

Income varies considerably among young single people, as it does in any other broadly defined housing user group. However, when attempting to assess the housing requirements of young single people it is important to note two points in relation to income and age. First, there is a significantly higher incidence of unemployment amongst young single people than in other age groups, except, perhaps, those nearing retirement. Government figures for April 1985 indicated 3.3 million unemployed claimants, of these roughly one third were between the ages of 16-24.(20) Despite the considerable impact of the special training and employment measures for 18-19 year olds, in particular the Youth Training Scheme introduced in 1983, and the fact that a number of school leavers cannot have been unemployed for over 12 months, there is still a significantly large number of younger men who were unemployed for over one year.(21) Comparative statistics for the level of unemployment amongst younger women are not available.

Second, for those young single people who are working, the average wage is generally lower than that for older people in similar employment, since wages tend to rise with age and experience. Despite this, in Summer 1986, the wage council protection for those under 21 was removed.(22) The Government took this step in an attempt to alleviate high youth unemployment which it attributes, inter alia, to the fact that the wages for young people are inappropriately high in comparison with other age groups. Whether or not this action will help to reduce youth unemployment, it is argued that it will probably lower the incomes of a considerable number of young single people.

Income is not only affected by age but also, inter alia, by gender. Women tend to earn less than their male counterparts. In 1984 the average gross weekly earnings for female full time employees on

adult rates was approximately £117 compared with £178 for males.(23) In addition, women tend to be in less stable areas of employment and more frequently in part time work than men.(24) Thus, in general, women have less purchasing power than men, and this has an effect on their access to the housing market. Traditionally, Building Societies, the main source of mortgage finance, were reluctant to grant mortgages to women. This, however, is gradually changing. In 1983 the Nationwide Building Society carried out a sample survey of borrowers.(25) The survey indicated that 14.7% of borrowers were women. However, the average weekly wage of female borrowers was considerably less than for male borrowers, £140.39 per week compared to £182.35 for male borrowers.(26) In addition, female borrowers generally bought much cheaper properties than male borrowers and required on average rather lower mortgage advances.(27)

Whilst income is undeniably the vital factor in both assessing housing access and determining housing demands, marital status also has to be taken into account. Marriage, divorce, separation or widowhood will all affect a person's housing situation. Marriage frequently produces a joint income, increasing purchasing power and thus access to housing. Cohabitation may also affect a person's access to housing in this way, but cohabiting couples, especially if the same sex, are not necessarily visible through traditional methods of statistical presentation. In some cases, divorce, separation and widowhood may result in one partner retaining the family home; 50% of all single person heads of households can be accounted for in this way.(28) In other cases, both partners, rather than only one, may have to seek single person accommodation. Although many divorcees remarry, whilst others return to the parental home, it has been estimated that for every household which breaks up due to divorce 1.5 households are reformed.(29) However, the chances of the

formation of single person households through divorce, separation or death tend to increase with age and so will probably have more bearing on the housing prospects of older single people. Nevertheless, changing patterns of divorce have contributed to the increase on the numbers of younger single people living alone.

The number of separations and divorces has risen rapidly in the last twenty years to become one of the major demographic influences on the demand and need for housing in the present decade. Figure 1.2 shows the number of divorce petitions applied for in England and Wales in recent years. A total of 191,000 divorces were applied for in England and Wales in 1985, nearly double the number of divorces in 1971 when the 1969 Divorce Reform Act came into force in England and Wales.(30) Changes were introduced to the divorce procedure in 1984 to allow petition for divorce after only one year of marriage instead of three.(31) Between 1984 and 1985 petitions for divorce increased by 6% changing the previous pattern which had levelled off after a peak of 151,000 divorces in England and Wales in 1980,(32) that is approximately one in three marriages ending in divorce.

There are a number of reasons why the divorce rate levelled off. These include a decline in the number of teenage marriages, a factor closely associated with the increase in divorce. Over the last thirty years the average age at first marriage gradually fell, one reason for this being the change in the age of majority which was reduced from 21 to 18 years in April 1969. More recently the trend is reversing and people are marrying later in life. In 1981 in Great Britain the median age at marriage was 25.8 years for men and for women it was 23.3 years, compared with 24.0 and 22.0 years respectively in 1970.(33) A second factor contributing to the stabilising of divorce statistics may be the increase in cohabitation. A recent government

Figure 1.2 Divorce - England and Wales.

	YEAR							
Petitions Filed	1961	1971	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
By Husband	14	44	43	47	47	45	49	52
By Wife	18	67	123	123	128	124	131	139
	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
	32	111	172	170	174	169	180	191

Figures in Thousands

Reference: Central Statistical Office, Social Trends 16: 1986 Edition, HMSO, 1986, Table 2.15.

survey indicated that in 1982 10% of single women aged 18-49 years were cohabiting. The proportion of divorced women who were cohabiting was roughly twice as high as that among single women.(34) Cohabiting couples who separate do not necessarily appear in divorce and separation statistics. A third reason for the stabilising of divorce statistics may be the current economic recession which affords less opportunity for couples to separate because the lack of employment and reduced income make it more difficult to leave the family home and find suitable accommodation.

Whatever the reasons for the stabilising of divorce statistics, the fact that one in three marriages now ends in divorce indicates that divorce has become a common occurrence and should be treated as such. This will necessitate vast changes in attitudes at many levels of society, for example, the concept of the family wage which was based on the 'normal' family where the economically dependent wife stays in the home caring for the children. This concept contributed to the idea that female income was of secondary importance, if any, to the household budget. Married women's wages were regarded as 'pin money', a frippery rather than a necessity.(35) This idea lends

force to the legitimisation of lower wages for female employees. However, in 1984 the traditional family of 'breadwinning' father, housewife mother and two children under 18 years accounted for only 5% of all households,(36) whilst the proportion of single parent households with dependent children had doubled since 1961 from 2.5% to 5% of all households in 1983, 90% of which are headed by women.(37) The well documented increase in poverty and deprivation amongst female headed single parent households (38) indicates the need not only for a reappraisal of the concept of the (male) family wage but, more pertinent to this research, for the economic recognition of the frequent occurrence of divorce and the changing demands for, inter alia, housing resulting from these phenomena.

Any attempt to assess the housing requirements of a particular user group, such as young single people, must not only define and quantify the group but also take into account the particular characteristics of the group which affect access to housing provision, for example, income which itself is influenced by factors such as age, gender and race. In addition, the proportion of the group actually requiring accommodation must be ascertained. This can usually be indicated through information collected from housing waiting lists and/or household formation data. Unfortunately, traditional indicators of housing requirements, such as waiting lists, are not necessarily appropriate in determining the housing requirements of young single people.

Local authority waiting lists are inadequate for assessing potential need, let alone demand, for single person housing since many local authorities actively exclude some or all single people from their waiting lists. A recent survey by Venn in 1985 found 188 local authorities who placed restrictions on applications for the waiting list.(39) Restrictions of age and, more importantly, residence, i.e. a

minimum period of residence in the area prior to acceptance on the waiting list, particularly affect the eligibility of young single people to qualify. Other housing organisations, such as housing associations, who cater specifically for young single people, can only indicate the magnitude of the demand for housing for this group by pointing out that, although they do not advertise their waiting lists, they frequently have to close them since the waiting period has become too long to be feasible for many applicants.(40) This represents only the demand of those young single people who know of the existence of this type of housing provision. However, most young single people have traditionally looked to the private rented sector for accommodation,(41) and no records exist detailing the past or present number of applications for accommodation in this sector.

Information on household formation can also be used to estimate the proportion of young single people seeking independent accommodation. Between 1971 and 1981 the total number of households in Great Britain increased by about 6.5 million compared with a population increase of less than 1%.(42) Certain types of households increased more than others. The proportion of one person households increased from 17% of all households in 1971 to account for 25% of all households in 1984.(43) This increase on one person households can be attributed to an increasing number of elderly widows and to the fact that more young single people are living on their own.(44) Figure 1.3 indicates the projections of future household formation based on these current trends. This figure shows that the number of households in England and Wales is expected to increase by 2.0 million between 1983 and 2001. About 80% of this estimated increase, i.e. 1.6 million households, is attributed to a rise in the number of one person households.(45) About 1 million of these will be pensioners, leaving an estimated increase of 600,000 in single person households between the ages of 16-60/64.(46)

Figure 1.3 Projections of Future Household Formation by Type and Head of Household: England and Wales.

	YEAR				
	1983	1986	1991	1996	2001
Married Couples	11.4	11.3	11.3	11.4	11.4
One Parent Households	1.6	1.7	1.8	1.9	1.9
One Person Households	4.4	4.7	5.3	5.7	6.0
Other	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.3
All	18.6	18.9	19.7	20.3	20.6

Figures in millions

Reference: Central Statistical Office, Social Trends 16: 1986 Edition, HMSO, 1986, Table 2.5.

Although this indicates a significant future need and demand for single person accommodation it underestimates this demand for a number of reasons.

The first is that the way demographic data on which such estimates are based is collected and presented will affect the outcome. For example, the definition of 'household' used in the 1981 census was different to that used in any previous census. Prior to 1981, people living at the same address were counted as belonging to the same household only if they were catered for by the same person for at least one meal per day. In the 1981 census, membership of a single household was extended to include everyone who shared a common living room, whether or not they had common catering arrangements. Thus people who had previously been regarded as two or more individual households were

now only one household.(47) This change in definition not only meant that fewer households would be shown as sharing amenities, but that fewer small households would be recorded.

Second, in addition to such problems of data comparison, projections of household formation based on current trends do not take potential households into account. Many young single people remain in the parental home or share with other families or friends because they cannot find an alternative, rather than through choice,(48) providing a demand for housing whilst not necessarily expressing a housing need. A survey of the London based Housing Advice Switchboard, which offers advice to single homeless people, found that 64% of the people who contacted them were, or had been prior to becoming homeless, living with parents.(49) Whilst this reflects the circumstances of a small, self selected sample, considering the scarcity of information available, this does provide a useful indication of the extent of hidden housing need amongst young single people.

The dramatic increase in the numbers of young single people becoming homeless has prompted considerable concern, indicated by the volume of local authority research into this problem.(50) It has been suggested that the recent increase in the numbers of young single people becoming homeless could be attributed, in part, to the increase in youth unemployment. Unemployment, it is argued, gives rise to increased tension within the parental home which, combined with a lack of finance for and access to independent accommodation, results in homelessness.(51) In addition, a number of young single people move away from their parental home to seek work, unaware of the housing difficulties awaiting them.

Whatever the causes for the increase in the numbers of young single people becoming homeless, these figures can be taken as an indication of the increase in the numbers of young single people who

want to live independently, since only these young single people in particularly desperate circumstances will risk the miseries of homelessness.

The 1977 Housing Green Paper recognised the problems involved in accurately determining the housing needs of certain user groups, including young single people, due, inter alia, to the numbers of concealed households.(52) However, the 1978 National Dwelling and Housing Survey defined concealed households as 'a married couple with or without children or a lone parent with children who form part of someone else's household'.(53) This definition effectively denies the existence of concealed young single person housing need.

1.6 Summary

From the literature, it becomes apparent that neither single people nor young single people form an homogeneous group.(54) There are young single people from various backgrounds with different levels of skill and income and with different housing needs and demands. A number of studies has shown that single peoples' present accommodation and housing aspirations vary significantly with age, sex, ethnicity, marital status and income.(55) For practical purposes, selective groupings have been made, for instance, subdividing single people into two groups, the older working single people and the young and mobile,(56) or arbitrary lines drawn, for example omitting those aged under twenty 'since a very small proportion are active in the housing market'(57) or including only those aged under twenty-four.(58)

As Drake et al,(59) found in their work on the single homeless, such broad terms are liable to conflicting interpretations by various agencies. The apparent confusion in defining young single people affects the formulation and implementation of policies. These influence the type of housing provision provided which will itself, in

turn, colour the perception of young single people as a group. This self perpetuating cycle indicates, in part, the need for research to break or at least investigate this area.

For the purposes of this research, it was decided to consider younger single people according to their access to housing instead of trying to add yet another definition of young single people to the profusion already in existence. Three main groups of younger single people seeking accommodation were identified in this way from the literature and from preliminary interviews with those providing accommodation for the group. First there are those who are able to purchase housing either individually or with sharing with friends because they are eligible for a mortgage or because they are in receipt of an intergenerational gift or loan. Second, those who could be clarified as 'vulnerable' under the 1977 Housing (Homeless Persons) Act or the accompanying Code of Guidance. Although not necessarily housed under this Act, they are considered to require some degree of care and support incorporated into their accommodation. Those younger single people who do not fit into either of the previous two groups and who require rented accommodation form the third group. This last category incorporates the majority of younger single people requiring accommodation at any given time. It is the housing provision available for this group on which the research will focus. In the next chapters, housing policies and other influences which have resulted in the current range of housing provision for younger single people will be considered.

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CHAPTER 2

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will consider housing policies in England and Wales from 1945 up until the late 1970s with particular reference to those concerned with allocating the provision of housing between different sections of society with competing housing needs. The provision made in these housing policies for young single people will be highlighted in order to form the background to the present housing situation of young single people.

The election of a Conservative government in 1979 brought a radical change in housing policy, shattering the degree of political consensus that had been built up over the years.(1) The following chapter will consider these recent housing policies in conjunction with the present housing situation of young single people.

In this chapter the main focus is on central government housing policy since this determines the parameters of local authority activity. Whilst it could be argued that local authorities are probably the best judges of housing need in their own areas, the way in which they can respond to perceived housing needs is controlled by central government, perhaps more so in the 1980s than in the past.

2.2 The Nature of the Housing Market

It is important to note that the term housing market is used for convenience. The production, consumption, allocation and exchange of housing takes place in a mosaic of submarkets.(2) Variations in the quality and the distribution of housing exist in both the public and the private sector.

The housing market is usually divided into three main sectors by tenure; the private rented sector, the public rented sector and owner occupation. These do not exist in isolation but interact

together. Housing policies aimed at influencing one sector of the housing market will inevitably affect, and occasionally have conflicting effects, on the other tenures. Also the sectors of the housing market do not stay distinct. Sales of council housing, the formation of co-operatively owned housing and shared ownership schemes are just three examples where movement and/or overlap occurs between different sectors.

Bearing these points in mind, housing policy since 1945 will now be considered with particular emphasis on the provision made for young single people in each of the three main sectors of the housing market.

2.3 Housing Policy; 1945-1951

In 1945 the immediate problem facing the Labour government was building to meet the acute post-war housing need despite shortages of building materials and a severe balance of payments deficit.(3) The Housing White Paper presented in March 1945 estimated that with 200,000 houses destroyed by the war; a further 3.5 million damaged, of which 250,000 were uninhabitable; and with an increase in population of one million since 1939, 750,000 dwellings would be required to provide 'a separate dwelling for every family that desired one'.(4) In addition, 500,000 dwellings would be required to complete the pre-war slum clearance and overcrowding abatement programme.(5) These two housing policy objectives, that is the repair and replacement of war damaged dwellings and the rapid completion of pre-war slum clearance and the reduction of overcrowding programmes, initiated from the Housing Acts of 1930 and 1935 respectively, together with the long term policy objective of improving standards, dominated post-war housing policy until the early 1950s.

Local authorities were seen as the most appropriate instruments of housing provision due to the need to ensure both the fair distribution of the scarce supply of building materials and in the allocation of housing which, unlike pre-war Local Authority housing, was to be according to need rather than the ability to pay.(6,7) To this end the 1946 Housing (Financial Provisions) Act introduced higher subsidies for local authority housing and restricted private house building through a licensing system which covered all new private dwellings until 1951 and although modified, remained in force until repealed in November 1954.(8) In addition the 1949 Housing Act officially and symbolically removed from local authorities the restriction to provide houses only for the 'working classes', inherited from the 1890 Housing of the Working Classes Act.(9,10) This stipulation had been widely disregarded prior to repeal. It was now stressed that council housing was intended for general need, rather than solely for the poor or the underprivileged.(11) Local authorities were to attempt to meet the varied needs of the whole community. However, probably due to the pressure of demand on local authorities to provide a separate dwelling for every family that required one, providing housing for general need was interpreted as providing housing for families regardless of class. Other housing needs of the community, for example the housing needs of other user groups such as single people, were not included. The term 'general need' became synonymous with 'family'.

This change reflects arguably one of the most important and wide ranging social effects of the war, which was the well documented radicalising of a large proportion of the population, reflected in the growing desire and expectation for a new, more equal, society.(12,13)

During the war a number of all-party committees were formed to produce plans for post-war welfare provisions. Although no national

plan was drawn up for housing, unlike education or the social services, in 1944 the Dudley Committee was set up under the Ministry of Health to consider the design of public housing.(14,15) The Dudley Report not only reflected the change in policy attitudes by its marked difference in tone from the previous design report on public housing, the report of the Tudor Walters committee in 1918, but also proposed substantial increases in space standards (which had fallen over the years from those recommended by the Tudor Walters committee) and recommended that council estates should have a mixture of dwelling types.(16,17) The post-war Labour government implemented, and, for a time, exceeded, the recommendations of the Dudley Committee which, given the post-war shortages of both labour and materials, was a considerable achievement.(18,19)

This desire to increase space standards led to restrictions on overcrowding in council housing. One effect of this was a tighter control imposed by local authorities on their tenants taking lodgers. As more people moved into council houses, so the number of lodgers, who were usually single people, declined and accommodation for them became more scarce.

Although at the end of the war the emphasis of housing policy was on building for families to meet the acute housing shortage, the housing needs of other groups were appreciated.(20) In 1951 the newly formed Ministry of Housing and Local Government (MOHLG) set up to take over the responsibility for housing from the Ministry of Health, set up a sub-committee of the Central Housing Advisory Committee to update the 1944 Housing Manual.(21) The manual contained the Governments' official advice to local authorities on the siting, design, construction and equipment of their housing.(22) The committee had extended terms of reference to include advice to local authorities on, 'the erection of houses of different sizes for different purposes'.(23) The sub-

committees' report, Housing for Special Purposes, published as a supplement to the 1949 Housing Manual, looked at specific groups of people, including the old, the single and the disabled, whose housing needs were not being adequately met.

Whilst acknowledging that it had no clear idea of the extent of the housing needs of single people which was left to local authorities to ascertain, the sub-committee recommended that, where appropriate, hostels offering full board should be provided.(24,25) Thus in 1951, whilst the extent of the housing problems of single people were not known, the fact that single peoples' housing needs were not being adequately met was officially recognised. The design recommendations for the accommodation proposed to meet this identified need, full board hostels, were recommendations to increase the amount of existing provision. They did not reflect the same increase in design standards found in recommendations for general needs housing. These recommendations were presented at a time when the predominant aim was to maximise the number of family houses being built.

Central government, mindful of the public discontent which had led to widespread squatting in 1945/46, put pressure on local authorities to meet housing targets.(26,27,28) The exchequer housing subsidies to local authorities, introduced through the 1946 Housing (Financial Provisions) Act, were weighted to encourage non-traditional types of construction which, although more expensive, would, it was hoped, offset the shortage of unskilled labour and reduce demand for traditional building materials which had to be imported. Considering these constraints, it is hardly surprising that local authorities' compliance with the recommendations in the Housing for Special Purposes supplement to the 1949 Housing Manual with regard to housing single people was limited.

2.4 Housing Policy; 1951-1964

In 1951 a Conservative government was elected following on election promises of 300,000 house starts a year. When this target was reached in 1953 it was mainly through public sector achievements attained at the cost of lowering space standards.(29,30) However, the importance of the effects of the relaxation of the private house building licensing system cannot be ignored, especially since this heralded a marked change in the emphasis of housing policy from public sector to private sector housing provision. This was outlined in the 1953 White Paper; Housing, The Next Step.(31) The main points of particular relevance to housing provision for young single people in this White Paper were the encouragement of both the private rented sector and owner-occupation and the planned return to a residual role for local authorities in the housing market, as mainly agents for slum clearance and associated rehousing programmes.

Unfortunately the policy aims of the 1953 Housing White Paper appeared to overlook the interconnection between tenures of the housing market. This impeded the success of the resulting legislation. The Housing (Repairs and Rent) Act,1954 and the Rent Act,1954 were intended to encourage private landlords to maintain and repair their properties and to provide an incentive to increase the supply of privately rented accommodation by allowing the owner to increase rents on a change of tenancy.(32) Not only did these Acts, in practice, result in some tenants losing their occupancy rights and allow the situation to arise whereby the name of Rachman became notorious, but they failed in their desired effect to increase the private rented sector because simultaneous Government stimulation of owner-occupation, through, inter alia, loans to Building Societies to encourage lending on pre-1919 housing, income tax incentives introduced in 1962, and a reduction of stamp duty on less expensive dwellings helped to create a ready and

profitable market for these properties.(33) An estimated 1.8 million properties were lost from the private rented sector to owner-occupation in this manner.(34)

The loss of a further 1.2 million dwellings from the private rented sector can be attributed to the impact of the slum clearance and rehousing programme carried out by local authorities under the impetus of the 1956 Housing Subsidies Act.(35) This Act abolished all subsidies for new mainstream public housing, except for subsidies on dwellings to rehouse previous slum dwellers, which were designed to encourage multi-storey building, and subsidies on one-bedroomed dwellings for the elderly.(36) It was felt necessary to give priority to the elderly in this way for a number of reasons, one being a calculated effect of the 1957 Rent Act. By making investment in rented property more attractive through allowing rents to rise, it followed that these tenants, less able to compete in an open market, would encounter difficulties. The elderly were recognised as such a group and allowances were made for public sector housing provision to compensate for their displacement from the private rented sector.(37)

However, although the private rented sector had traditionally been the main source of housing for young single people they were not identified as a group less able to compete for housing in the decontrolled private rented sector and no compensatory provision was made for them.(38) A number of reasons for this can be proposed. First, very little was known about the housing requirements of young single people at this time.(39) Young single people had not yet been recognised as a distinct group with particular housing needs. This may be because the demand for young single person housing was probably less than it had been previously and is today. Available census data indicates a drastic fall in the numbers of young single people (between the ages of 15 and 29) from 1931 to 1951 with continual decline to

1961.(40) Second, the Second World War not only caused the deaths of many young men, and women, in this age group but also affected the age of marriage for those surviving.(41) The nuclear family, (two adults and two children) so important in propaganda during the war, became, with the 'Homes fit for Heroes' campaign, a reality for many more people.(42,43) Third, in the 1950s, prior to the advent of the 'teenage' phenomena the predominant lifestyle for many young single people involved remaining in their parents' homes until they married, and often into the early years of the marriage. Local authorities who were already hard pressed to meet existing housing commitments did not want to exacerbate their problems by extending these commitments, nor did they wish to be seen to be encouraging the breakdown of the family. Another factor which may help to account for the fact that no compensatory provision was made for young single people at this time is that, in a time of relatively high employment, they were not on fixed incomes, unlike the elderly, and were better able to compete for the increased costs in the private rented sector.

2.5 Design Standards; The Parker Morris Report

Thus during the immediate post-war period and through the 1950s the dominant theme in housing policy was one of quantity, providing as many family homes as the economy could support, even though, from 1951 onwards, this was achieved at the cost of reducing standards. This decline in housing standards led to the formation of a design committee whose report Homes for Today and Tomorrow, known as the Parker Morris Report, was published in 1961.(44) The report emphasised the need for improved housing standards, particularly increased space and heating standards.(45) Although the Parker Morris Report began by considering 'New Patterns of Living', this referred mainly to the perceived activities which the members of the traditional

nuclear family would wish to indulge in.(46,47) The report did include reference to 'Homes for persons living alone', stating that with higher standards of living a rise in the number of single people seeking self-contained accommodation could be expected and suggested that self-contained bed-sitting rooms would be appropriate to meet this demand.(48)

Thus the Parker Morris Report substantially improved the recommended appropriate provision for single people from the recommendation for hostels providing full board in the 1949 Housing Manual supplement, Housing for Special Purposes.(49) However, the recommendations contained in the Parker Morris report were not made mandatory and did not come into general use until 1967 when public housing was required to be built to Parker Morris standards and additional subsidy provided for this purpose through the introduction of the Housing Cost Yardstick by the new Labour government.(50)

2.6 Housing Policy; 1960s - 1970s

The main housing problems of housing shortage and scarcity of resources did not disappear in the 1960s. For example, the 1963 Housing White Paper recommended, inter alia, the establishment of the National Building Agency to investigate further development of industrial building systems to supplement traditional building methods and so increase provision.(51) Nevertheless a number of new themes did begin to emerge in the housing field. One of the most obvious was the radical change from the previous political polarisation of tenures between the main political parties to a common acceptance that owner-occupation was the 'normal' form of tenure for the majority and that the public sector would provide housing only for those with exceptional needs as outlined in the Labour government's 1965 White Paper.(52) In addition, a succession of government advisory reports covering a

wide range of areas of concern placed housing in a broader context, highlighting a variety of housing needs which had previously been given little or low priority.(53) The Seebohm Report and the Cullingworth Report made recommendations of particular significance to the provision of housing for young single people.(54,55)

In 1968 the Report of the Committee on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services stated, inter alia, that housing was one of the foundations upon which an effective family service must be based. This concept of a comprehensive family service was proposed, a key recommendation made by the committee. Their report stated that local authorities should assist families whether in the council house sector or not.(56) This, and other recommendations in the report, were influential in the framing of new legislation which widened local authorities' concept of housing need. Previously in the 1957 Housing Act (Part V, Sections 76 and 91) a specific duty had been placed on local authorities to consider local housing needs and to frame appropriate proposals to meet these needs. Section 70 of the 1969 Housing Act extended these responsibilities by requiring local authorities to seek out unsatisfactory housing conditions, as well as deal with matters brought to their attention by outside agencies, as described by West,1979.(57)

Although the Seebohm Report did not challenge the existing emphasis in housing policy for the provision of family accommodation, it was important because it attempted to integrate social services with housing provision, so widening the context of local authorities' understanding and response to housing need. In contrast the 1969 Cullingworth Report which was specifically concerned with housing placed greater emphasis on the housing requirements of diverse groups, including single people.

The Cullingworth Report (the ninth report of the housing management sub-committee of CHAC entitled Council Housing, Purposes, Procedures and Priorities), recognised, inter alia, that increasing numbers of single people were needing separate accommodation. It referred to a survey by the Social Research Section of the MHLG, which showed an overwhelming preference among single people in all income and age groups for self-contained accommodation.(58) The Cullingworth Report noted that there had been a marked decline in the numbers of both small, ie; one or two bedroomed dwellings or bed-sitting rooms, and large, ie; four and five bedroomed dwellings, since 1911. The report stated that if the supply of small houses did not expand, many single people would be forced to share and might compete with larger households for family accommodation.(59) The report considered the most significant features of housing provision in Britain to be the division between public and private sectors. It noted that major issues facing each sector stemmed from policies designed to deal with quite different matters in other sectors. These points led the committee to recommend that local authorities should give greater attention to the housing needs of single people and accept responsibility for ensuring that these needs were adequately met, not necessarily through the local authorities themselves providing more dwellings for single people but by working through other agencies to attain this end.(60)

2.7 Housing Associations

Housing associations were the main agencies local authorities chose to utilise for this purpose. Traditionally referred to as the voluntary housing movement because of their philanthropic origins, housing associations, whilst playing a significant role in the provision of housing for the homeless, the elderly and the disabled, had only had a minor effect on the total housing market.(61,62)

However, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Conservative government was attempting to stimulate the private rented sector, and to this end, allowed housing societies' loans at preferential interest rates.(63) The government's growing support for a 'third arm' of the housing market, halfway between owner occupation and local authority housing, led to the formation of the Housing Corporation.(64) This was first mentioned in 1963 in the outgoing Conservative government's White Paper; Housing .(65) The ideas proposed in this were incorporated into the Labour government's Housing Act 1964.(66) The Housing Corporation was set up by this legislation to encourage the building of publicly financed dwellings for rent, to help offset the decline in the private rented sector, through the formation of housing societies and associations.

Despite divided opinion about the effectiveness of the Housing Corporation, the 1974 Housing Act increased the funding available to housing associations registered with the Housing Corporation, creating a new form of subsidy, Housing Association Grant.(67) This could be given to housing projects designed to meet housing needs which had been established by specific housing associations in conjunction with the local authority.(68) The 1974 Housing Act outlined the broad priorities for housing association activity which were: to improve housing conditions in areas of housing stress, that is in Housing Action Areas or General Improvement Areas, designated by local authorities using powers established in the Housing Acts of 1969 and 1974 and to support the housing needs of special groups such as the mentally ill, the physically handicapped and single people.(69,70)

Thus, the Government advisory reports issued during the 1960s, particularly the Seebohm Report and the Cullingworth Report, showed an increasing awareness of the different housing needs of

various groups within society, including those of single people of all ages, not just single elderly people. This awareness in the 1960s led to Government concern for these groups during the 1970s. This was expressed in a number of ways, including a series of Design Bulletins, in occasional legislation such as the 1974 Housing Act which, inter alia, positively identified special housing needs groups for priority, and circulars, for example DOE Circular 24\75 which highlighted the need for single person housing provision.(71) Despite this expressed concern there was no decisive financial policy to provide the means for meeting the housing needs of non-family groups, such as young single people.

2.8 Design Guidance

The Design Bulletins and occasional papers issued by the Housing Development Directorate (HDD) of the Department of the Environment (DOE), outlined detailed proposals for accommodation to meet the housing needs of specific groups. In 1968 the first of these, Some Aspects of Designing for Old People was published.(72) Further guides for housing the elderly, the disabled, and single people followed.(73) Design Bulletin 23, Housing Single People 1; How they live at present, published in 1971, confirmed that demand for single person accommodation was increasing and distinguished two main groups of single people, the low paid, middle aged and the relatively better off working mobile young.(74) Design Bulletin 29, Housing Single People 2; A design guide with a description of a scheme at Leicester, published in 1974 and Design Bulletin 33, Housing Single People 3 An appraisal of a purpose built scheme, published in 1978, both discussed a high rise block of single person accommodation which provided bedsits, individual flats and shared accommodation that Leicester City Council had built. A local authority housing initiative which was held

as a model for other housing organisations to copy. Design Bulletin 29 stated that provision of accommodation for single people should not be considered a special, peripheral activity but part of the overall housing strategy, emphasising that local authorities now had a wider role to play. It stated that:

New public sector building for these (single) people will often release accommodation either in the private or public sector for family use; so that, while being directly beneficial for single people and in keeping with local authorities' wider role in attending to all aspects of housing need in their areas this activity can result in benefits for families also.(75)

Government concern for the housing needs of non-family groups was also expressed through a series of circulars. In these local authorities and the Housing Corporation were encouraged to follow Government guidelines by their dependency on Exchequer subsidies to help finance building programmes. The main means of achieving this was by the use of the Housing Cost Yardstick introduced in April 1967.(76) The Housing Cost Yardstick was based on the concept of national building costs per person and set the maximum cost of dwellings eligible for Exchequer subsidy. Central Government weighted Housing Cost Yardstick allowances according to where its priorities for housing provision lay. For example in 1971 the Department of the Environment placed the largest increases in Housing Cost Yardstick allowances on low density schemes and dwellings specifically for old people, thus encouraging local authorities to provide this type of housing.(77)

In 1974 a cost yardstick allowance was introduced for the provision of shared accommodation for single working people along the lines and standards set out in Design Bulletin 29.(78) A similar cost yardstick was later extended to housing associations. Housing Association Grant became available for single person hostel accommodation, though its use was not encouraged, as the circular considered that the provision of hostel accommodation should remain the

responsibility of the social services.(79) This circular outlined in detail six categories of projects which would be given descending priority for Housing Association Grant. As previously noted, projects providing special needs housing ie; housing designed for the elderly, disabled or single, were placed second in priority to projects in Housing Action Areas or General Improvement Areas. With increasing financial constraints these priorities became rigidly adhered to and, as financial constraints tightened during the 1970s and into the 1980s, only projects with top priority were able to proceed, as described by Balchin,1977.(80)

In 1975, DOE Circular 24/75, Housing Needs and Action, emphasised the need for greater attention to be given by local authorities to the needs of smaller households, both by making improved use of existing housing stock and by devoting a larger proportion of new building to the provision of smaller dwellings.(81) This reflected current independent housing research which indicated that whilst the number of small, ie; one and two person households, was increasing, the stock of smaller dwellings was declining.(82) Later the same year, DOE Circular 61/75 included a new cost allowance for smaller dwellings. In addition the HDD publication The Need for Smaller Homes, following the policy emphasis of circular 24/75, considered alternative means of building low cost housing in the private sector.(83)

This growing emphasis on the provision of smaller dwellings was orientated towards providing a first home for young couples and for couples who were at, or near, retirement age and no longer required family accommodation.(84) This new development in housing policy was not primarily intended to improve the housing situation of single people.

2.9 Homelessness and the 1977 Housing (Homeless Persons) Act

The emphasis on the social aspects of housing provision in housing policy, which began in the 1960s, gradually increased in political importance during the decade. Partly due to the publicity generated in 1966 by the television documentary *Cathy Come Home* and the formation of Shelter, the national campaign for the homeless, homelessness became an important housing issue.(85) A number of research initiatives investigated the problems of homelessness and, in particular, the problems facing single homeless people, for example work by the Community Relations Commission, the Office of Population Census and Surveys and the Department of Health and Social Services.(86,87,88) However, despite considerable parliamentary concern the 1977 Housing (Homeless Persons) Act did not include provision to house single homeless people.(89,90) Richards charts the change in political climate during the formation of the Housing (Homeless Persons) Act and shows how the growing fear of 'queue jumpers' and 'home leavers' ie; encouraging young single people to leave home unnecessarily, contributed to restrict the bill.(91)

Although single homeless people were not given a statutory right to housing under the 1977 Housing (Homeless Persons) Act, the Code of Guidance which accompanied the Act attempted to mitigate the effects of this exclusion.(92) The Code of Guidance recommended that young single people who were at risk of sexual or financial exploitation should be considered vulnerable under the Act and therefore eligible for housing. However, the recommendations in the Code of Guidance were not mandatory and local authorities' implementation of the Act has varied considerably.(93) Single homeless people have not benefited from the protection which this Act extended to other groups in housing need. In addition a recent judgement by the House of Lords concerning the 1977 Housing (Homeless Persons) Act,

Puholfer v London Borough of Hillingdon, threatened to undermine the intentions of the Act to provide homeless people with permanent accommodation.(94) Lord Brightman stated that the 1977 Housing (Homeless Persons) Act 'is not an Act which imposes any duty upon a local authority to house the homeless ... It is an Act to assist persons who are homeless, not an Act to provide them with homes'.(95) This interpretation of the Act severely reduces the extent of local authorities' responsibility to all homeless people. Fortunately this ruling has since been overturned but the fact that it was made indicates the vulnerability of the homeless.

The exclusion of single people from the 1977 Housing (Homeless Persons) Act was a considerable set back to the housing prospects of all single people. This exclusion was not, however, unexpected. The Green Paper published the same year reiterated the Government's main housing policy commitment.(96) The Green Paper stated:

The Government believes that all families should be able to obtain a decent home at a price within their means. This has been the dominant theme of post war housing policy. Although the emphasis has changed from time to time the objective has remained the same.(97)

However, the public debate which accompanied the progress of the Housing (Homeless Persons) Act focused attention on the increasing demand for single person housing and the need for positive action in order to meet this housing need. Central Government responded in a number of ways. In January 1976 a Housing Cost Yardstick allowance for dwellings designed for single working people, on lines recommended in Design Bulletin 29, was introduced in DOE Circular 12/76.(98) At the same time the Housing Corporation increased the finance available for 'special needs housing', ie; dwellings designed to accommodate such groups as the young, single, handicapped, elderly or one parent families. In April 1976 the government announced further initiatives to encourage the provision of housing for single people, aimed

particularly at helping young single people. The rapid growth of Further Education during the late 1960s and 1970s, documented in detail elsewhere, for example, Evans created pressures for student accommodation which the education establishments alone could not meet.(99) In order to help ease the situation government grants were made available to both local authorities and housing associations providing student accommodation, through schemes providing accommodation for a mix of students and other young single people were encouraged, providing the dwellings contributed either directly or indirectly to meeting the general housing needs of the area.(100) Two points need to be noted here. First, by not differentiating between the housing needs of young single people and the housing needs of students, the provision of temporary short-term accommodation, required by students, is not questioned for young single people. Second, the stated use of the process of filtering down, which Merrett refers to as 'that recurrent rationalisation of inegalitarian housing practices', whereby, when a household moves, the vacant property is filled by a household of lower socio-economic status and the dwelling is said to have filtered down the income scale.(101) One reason for utilising this process of filtering down was the general consensus that the housing needs of young single people were not so pressing as those of other groups in housing need. Unfortunately, justifying such expenditure in this way serves to legitimise and to further reinforce the original values or norms, making it more difficult to challenge such views. For further discussion of this social process see, for example, Leslie et.al., or Worsley (Ed.).(102)

2.10 Housing Finance

Another important aspect of housing policy during the 1970s was the reform of housing finance due, in part, to high inflation and

increased interest rates on government subsidies in both the public and the private sector.(103) The 1972 Housing Finance Act instigated a number of radical changes of which all but the rebate scheme (whereby housing subsidies to tenants became means tested) were repealed by the 1974 Housing Act, introduced by the new Labour Government. A comprehensive review of Housing Finance was presented in the 1977 Green Paper on Housing policy which, inter alia, outlined the proposed Housing Investment Programme. This presented a major change in the allocation of Exchequer subsidies, since funds would now be allocated according to central government's concept of housing need. Local authorities were asked to justify their housing programmes according to the shortfall in private sector provision, thus presenting public housing as the residual, rather than the normal, tenure. The proposals in the 1977 Green Paper were incorporated in the 1979 Housing Bill. Although this fell with the Labour government it is worth noting that the Bill made no reference to housing for single people or other disadvantaged groups.(104) The change of government in May 1979 brought a major change in emphasis in a new Housing Bill. The 1980 Housing Act moved from the position in the past Government's proposed Housing Bill which aimed to strengthen the role of local authority housing through increased tenant involvement and security, to a provision which reduced its importance through increased privatisation.

2.11 Summary

Thus a number of distinctive themes of particular significance to the current housing conditions of young single people can be traced through housing policy since 1945. The most urgent matter for successive governments was the need for high levels of house construction and the prevailing concern was with the numbers of families being housed. During the 1960s and into the 1970s this focus

of housing policy moved away from the number of houses being built to consider housing provision in the wider social context. Housing policy expanded from a predominant concern for general need, family dwellings, to include other housing needs, such as those of the elderly, the disabled, one parent families and single people. However, the need for reform in housing finance dominated the 1970s, coinciding with strict financial controls by central government and the concern expressed in the 1960s and early 1970s could not develop fully through lack of finance.

The changes in policy emphasis towards the three main tenures of the housing market influenced the relative decline or growth of these tenures and radically changed the housing market profile during this period.

The impact of these themes in housing policy on the current housing conditions of young single people and the effect of housing policies in the late 1970s and early 1980s on this provision will be discussed in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER 3

3.1. Introduction

The previous chapter traced, inter alia, two important themes in housing policy from 1945 until the late 1970s which have affected the current housing situation of young single people. The first was the changing balance between the level of public and private sector provision and the second was the dominant need, due to an overall housing shortage, for family housing provision which, it was argued, obscured the housing needs of other user groups to a large extent. This chapter discusses the relevant housing policies introduced in the late 1970s, in particular the reduction of the public housing programme, the fall in housing construction overall and the prominent emphasis placed on home ownership enshrined in the 1980 Housing Act. The effects of these, and subsequent policies, on the current housing situation of young people will be investigated. In addition the profile of housing tenure, namely private rented accommodation, public rented housing provision and home ownership will be considered.

3.2 The Public Sector Housing Programme in the 1970s

The reduction since the late 1970s in the public housing programme has had a major impact on the housing conditions of young single people. By the 1970s for the first time since the Second World War there was no longer an absolute national housing shortage. In 1976 government figures indicated 500,000 more houses than households.(1) However, it is important to recognise that national statistics of demand and supply may hide local patterns of shortfall and conceal the numbers of houses in unsatisfactory condition. In addition such statistics also fail to take account of those people, such as young single people who would like but have not been able, for various

reasons, to form a separate household.(2) The 1977 Housing Green Paper recognised these problems and stated that a substantial level of new housebuilding would be necessary to meet the needs of households who were sharing involuntarily and to cope with the projected increase in household formation.(3)

Unfortunately although the housing needs of young single people were recognised, changes in circumstances since 1977 meant that these aims were not realised. In the late 1970s a national economic crisis necessitated a loan from the International Monetary Fund. The loan was conditional on cutbacks in public expenditure, which were to a considerable extent made mainly in the public housing programme.(4) The Conservative Party, increasingly opposed to the traditional concept of public housing, have, since elected to Government in 1979, further cut public housing expenditure. In 1979/80 public housing expenditure was estimated at £5.5billion. This had drastically fallen to £3.5billion in 1985/6.(5) The changes in the level of public expenditure on housing are reflected in public sector housing starts. Figure 3.1 shows the decline in public sector housing starts from the late 1970s. It should be noted that these figures include those dwellings built in the public sector for sale under the various new initiatives, introduced since 1980, which are discussed in detail later in the section on home ownership.

The second main theme in housing policy in recent years relevant to the housing provision for young single people has been, and is currently, the dominant emphasis on home ownership. The 1980 Housing Act shattered the previous political consensus on housing tenure, incorporating policies designed to strongly encourage home ownership and reduce public housing to a residual form of tenure. The Right to Buy clause allowed most public sector tenants in most types of accommodation to purchase their property at considerable discounts, 33%

Figure 3.1 Permanent Dwellings started by type of authority and sector:
Great Britain

Figures in 000s

	Local Authorities	New Towns	Housing Associations	Government Departments	Total Public Sector	Total Private Sector	Total Dwellings Started
1976	124	15	29	2	170	155	325
1977	92	11	28	1	132	135	267
1978	77	10	20	1	107	157	264
1979	56	8	16	-	80	144	224
1980	35	7	15	-	57	100	157
1981	24	2	11	-	37	117	154
1982	33	2	18	-	53	141	194
1983	32	2	13	-	47	170	217
1984	25	1	13	-	39	154	193

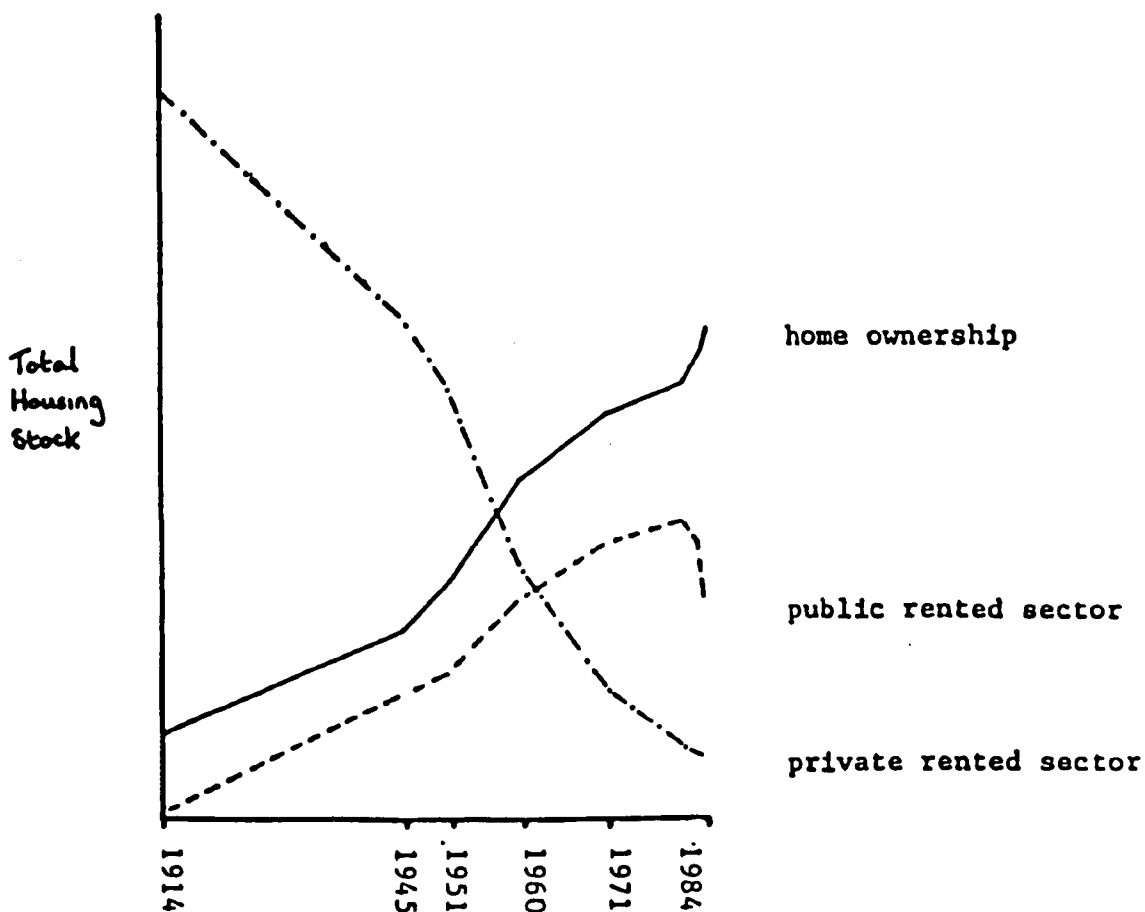
for tenants of three years, rising to 50% discount for tenants of twenty years. At the same time the Conservative Government embarked on a revision of the subsidy system. Government subsidies to council house tenants were reduced to levels well below those going to average home owners with mortgages. The 1984 Housing and Building Control Act extended the Right to Buy scheme and introduced the concept of Right to Shared Ownership where secure tenants can purchase at least part of the dwelling if they cannot afford the full Right to Buy. Such policies have contributed to the dramatic change in the housing tenure profile, in particular the increase of home ownership.

3.3 Changes in Housing Tenure

The Labour Government's 1977 Housing Green Paper was widely criticised for being a weak document not only for continuing the promotion of owner occupation and the devaluation of council housing, instigated by the previous Conservative Government, but also for failing to redress the imbalance of financial advantages bestowed on home ownership.(6) Whilst a number of reports, including the recent Inquiry into British Housing, chaired by the Duke of Edinburgh(7) have called for similar changes in housing finance, the radical change in the profile of housing tenure resulting in the current domination of the market by private ownership renders such action a potential political disaster. An understanding of the factors involved can be gained from Figure 3.2 which outlines the changing profile of the housing market by tenure.

Three main trends can be identified from Figure 3.2. First the continued drastic decline of the private rented sector from approximately 90% of the housing market in 1914 to a mere 13% in 1981. Second the gradual increase in the proportion of public rented housing (including local authority, housing association and new town

Figure 3.2: Housing Tenure in Britain



Sources: Trends in Housing Construction
National Building Agency August 1976, p.32

Housing and Construction Statistics 1974-1984 Great Britain
Department of the Environment, Scottish Development
Department and Welsh Office, HMSO 1985 Table 9.3

corporation dwellings) from 12% of the housing market in 1947 to approximately 37% in 1981. The recent decline in this sector reflects the marked change the Conservative Government's 1980 Housing Act has brought to the housing market. Similarly the third important trend in tenure profile is the increase, dramatic in recent years, of home ownership. From comprising a relatively insignificant proportion of the housing market in 1914, home ownership accounted for 61% of the market in 1984.

The changes in housing tenure profile are the result of a number of interrelated factors which are discussed elsewhere and are not the subject of this research.(8) However, the changes in the amounts of private rented, public rented and owner occupied accommodation influence the current and future housing prospects of young single people. It is not only the amount of accommodation available in each of the housing tenures which affects their prospects, but also the condition of the accommodation available in each tenure and the access young single people have to this, often in competition with the population as a whole.

3.4 The Condition of the Housing Stock

A superficial examination of the evidence might suggest that the most unsatisfactory housing conditions are concentrated in the older private housing stock. In 1981 the English House Condition Survey found that 75% of dwellings in need of repairs of £2500 or more were in the private sector, and, of these, 50% were owner occupied.(9) This concentration of unsatisfactory housing in the private sector has been attributed to the intrinsic nature of private tenure and/or the lifestyle of the occupants.(10) In the private rented sector it has long been recognised that it is rarely in the financial interests of landlords to improve their rented properties due to the scarcity of

supply of this type of accommodation and the rent controls imposed on it. The increasing number of unsatisfactory owner occupied properties has been attributed to a number of factors, including the owners' practical inability to undertake repair work, due to their age, lack of technical understanding and poverty despite the availability of improvement grants.(11)

During the past twenty years concern about the deterioration of private sector housing has produced a number of innovations aimed at encouraging the improvement of this housing, including the offer of improvement grants, and the creation of Housing Action Areas, General Improvement Areas, and Housing Improvement Zones.(12,13,14)

In addition, a number of agencies have developed initiatives, for example, Anchor Housing Trust have recently developed 'Staying Put' initiatives. These are aimed at enabling elderly owner occupiers to improve their deteriorating properties so that they are able to remain in their own homes.(15) Although all these measures have had some impact on the problem of deteriorating private sector housing, much still needs to be done.

The focusing of attention on the high proportion of unsatisfactory dwellings in the private sector could imply that public sector housing provision is relatively satisfactory. This view could be further encouraged by the fact that repair and maintenance work is more systematic in the public sector and that generally public housing is of more recent construction. However, if the age of property within the tenures is taken into account, as shown in Figure 3.3 it becomes clear that whilst private rented property is less well maintained than other tenures, there is little difference in the condition of pre-1919 housing in the public rented and owner occupied sectors, whilst inter-war and post-war council housing is in a worse state of repair than owner occupied property. Henderson and others have argued that

Figure 3.3 Percentage of Dwellings in Need of Repairs over £2500 (1981)

<u>Date House built</u>	<u>Owner Occupied</u>	<u>Public Rented</u>	<u>Private Rented</u>
Pre 1919	49	46	56
1919-1944	17	21	33
1945+	3	8	3

Source: English House Condition Survey 1981
Part I Report of the Physical Condition Survey
Housing Survey Report No 12 HMSO 1982, Table 21

rather than the poorer housing stock being concentrated in the private sector the real division is between rented and owner occupied property, with the public rented sector beginning to show signs of lack of investment and proper maintenance which for years has characterised the private rented sector.(16) This is relevant to the following discussion which considers the access young single people have to housing and where young single people live at present.

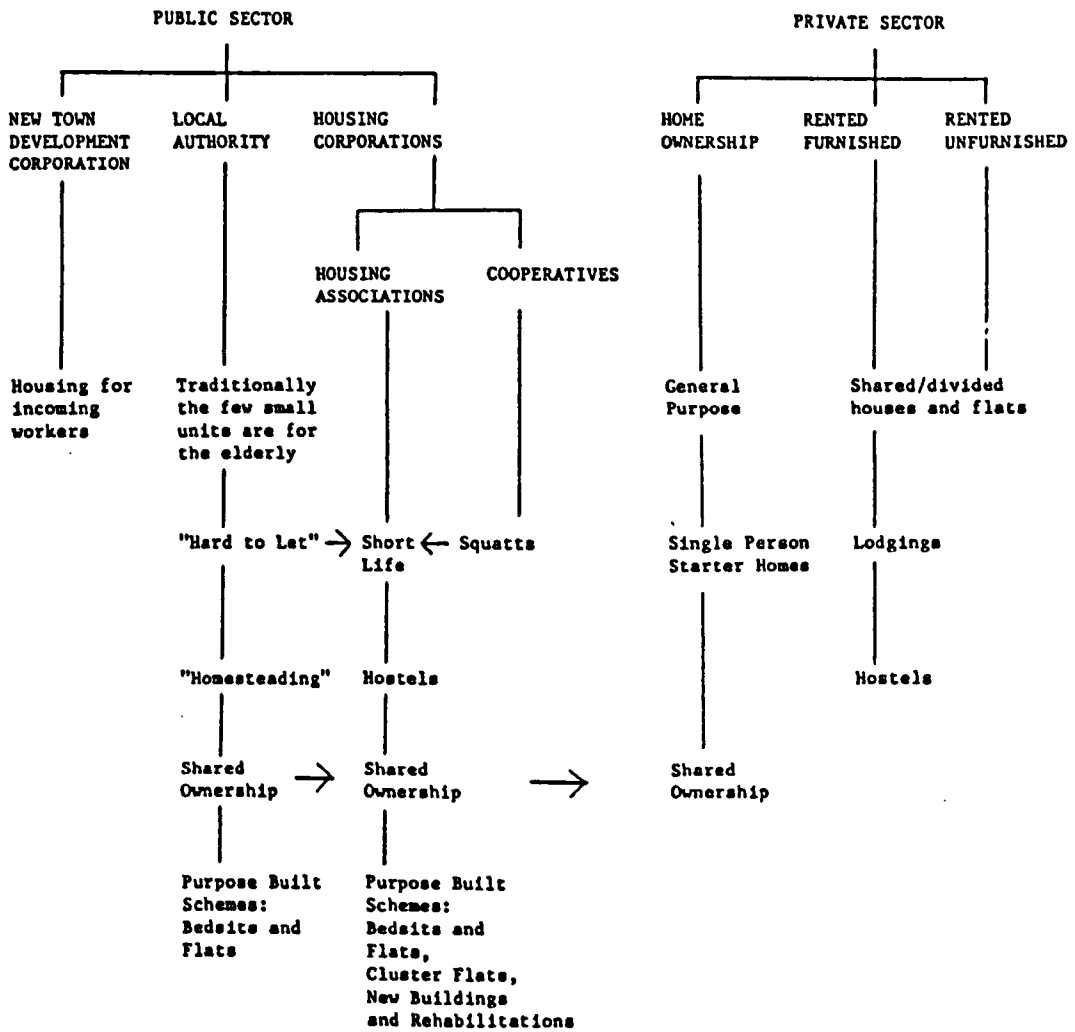
3.5 The Current Range of Accommodation for Young Single People

Figure 3.4 lists the different types of housing to which young single people have varying degrees of access. Each type of housing provision will be considered in turn, taking into account recent legislation affecting different types of housing provision and the access young single people have to the accommodation. In Figure 3.4 the public and private sector are shown connected since a number of new initiatives, including for example, the Right to Buy clause in the 1980 Housing Act and the Right to Shared Ownership clause in the 1984 Housing and Building Control Act have linked the tenures to some extent.(17,18) However, for the purposes of this research such initiatives are included in the discussion of the public sector where the impetus for their development usually originates.

3.5.1 Access to Private Rented Accommodation

The extent and characteristics of private rented accommodation are difficult to identify. Many statistical sources do not distinguish between furnished and unfurnished accommodation yet this distinction radically affects the occupancy rights of the tenant.(19) Private rented accommodation is not readily identifiable nor does it exist in large concentrations unlike council housing estates or owner occupied estates.(20) In addition official statistics

Figure 3.4: The Range of Housing for Young Single People



have a tendency not only to obscure considerable local variations, but also to underestimate both the numbers of people living in this sector and the extent of overcrowding and shared amenities. This underestimation can occur in two main ways, first, through landlords supplying false information due to tax evasion and second, because the so called 'normal' definitions of household found in official statistics, which relate household to a separate dwelling unit, are inappropriate for shared accommodation.(21)

Private rented accommodation is very diverse, including furnished and unfurnished flats and houses, bedsits, shared housing, tied accommodation, hostels and 'bed and breakfast' establishments. Private landlords range from owner occupiers with a single lodger to large companies with many properties.(22) Single people have traditionally looked to the private rented sector for accommodation.(23) In 1971 35% of all private furnished rented accommodation was occupied by single people below pensionable age.(24) The fall in supply of private rented housing, outlined in Figure 3.2 has made this form of tenure expensive and access to it very competitive. In addition there is evidence that some private rental agencies deliberately discriminate against single people in favour of married couples.(25) However other landlords appear to prefer single people since they can get higher rental income from four adults sharing than from a family of four, either directly or via Housing Benefit payments.

The private rented sector is generally perceived as the residual sector of the housing market despite the recent attempts by the Conservative Government to residualise council housing. This image of the private rented sector is due, in part, to the poor quality of much of this housing stock, the relatively high rents that unregistered properties can command due to the shortage of such accommodation and

the lack of security of tenure in this sector. In addition, for many private rented sector tenants, particularly young single people, home ownership or public rented accommodation may not be viable alternatives.

A number of studies have distinguished two main categories of private sector tenants.(26) First are those people residing temporarily in private rented accommodation. This group consists mainly of students, young single people, and recently married couples who intend to buy a home and use the private rented sector as a necessary phase in their housing career.(27) The second category includes low income, middle-aged small households and elderly long term residents, all of whom may aspire to other forms of tenure but lack the resources to move. The common factor between these two categories of private rented sector tenant is their wish to move on to another form of housing tenure.

As previously noted the decline of the private rented sector has been attributed, in part, to the problems of first, rent control which makes it difficult for a landlord to obtain a viable return on the property, and second, security of tenure, which makes it difficult to evict an unwanted tenant. Policies designed to alleviate this inevitable conflict between landlord and tenant have been implemented. For example, a formula designed to calculate rents agreeable to both parties, known as Fair Rents, has been produced and, in addition, security of tenure whilst allowing the landlord right of access has been established.(28,29) Despite these measures, few Fair Rents have been registered and tenancies are frequently outside the provision of the Rent Acts. For example, a study of Accommodation Agencies in London found that only 12% of the agencies claimed to ever offer protected tenancies, whilst 44% of the agencies only dealt in lettings that avoided the Rent Acts such as licences, holiday lets and

company lets.(30)

The 1977 Green Paper on housing policy, whilst identifying the decline of the private rented sector as one of the major limitations on young single peoples' access to housing stated that the reduction in the number of privately rented dwellings need not give cause for concern.(31) This statement has been criticised by organisations concerned with homelessness as showing a lack of awareness of the extent to which the private rented sector is still the sole source of housing for many single people.(32) When young single people have to compete with other private sector consumers such as childless couples with two incomes who can more easily afford the large deposits and rents, their chances of obtaining accommodation recede.(33) Despite the complacency of the 1977 Green Paper, further attempts to stimulate the private rented sector were included in the 1980 Housing Act.

Firstly, the 1980 Housing Act introduced Shorthold and Assured tenancies.(34) Shorthold tenancies are designed to encourage landlords to let their property by guaranteeing repossession after a fixed period. Assured tenancies were intended to increase the amount of private rented housing by allowing approved landlords to build accommodation for rent at market prices. Initial interest in the scheme was minimal. Only 5000 shorthold tenancies had been created by November 1981 and by February 1982 only six bodies had applied for approval.(35,36) In order to stimulate the creation of assured tenancies under the amended Finance Act 1982 some capital allowances were designated for the construction of such rented accommodation for an experimental period of five years.(37) By April 1986 188 bodies had been approved, of which only 25% had built 609 assured tenancies.(38) However the Housing and Planning Act 1986 extended the scheme to include empty dwellings that had been substantially improved or

converted. This may increase the number of assured tenancies although Shelter, the national organisation concerned with homelessness has stated that one effect of these new forms of tenancy may be that more tenants will become homeless or be too scared of eviction to ask for essential repairs and maintenance.(39)

The second way in which the 1980 Housing Act attempted to stimulate the private rented sector was by reducing the period for Fair Rent reassessment from three to two years, thus enabling rents to rise more frequently and encouraging more Fair Rents to be registered. However, in 1982 the Environmental Committee identified the central problem of the private rented sector as that of tenants being unable to pay sufficiently high rents to give landlords a rate of return on their investment which would act as an inducement for them to continue letting or even provide new accommodation to let.(40) The Committee suggested that increased rent allowances combined with a campaign to encourage private sector tenants to claim rent allowances might help stimulate the private rented sector by allowing rents to rise. However, the report stressed that the private rented sector would require a vast increase in public subsidy in order to survive and questioned whether this would be the best use of limited public expenditure.(41)

Unfortunately, rent allowances, now Housing Benefit since the 1982 Social Security and Housing Benefit Act, have not increased sufficiently to act as an incentive to increase the amount of private rented accommodation. One development, however, as Franey details in a local case study, is that the system of paying social security and housing benefit has encouraged unscrupulous landlords to either overcrowd the existing accommodation, or merely provide a home address for homeless people in return for financial gain.(42) Such accommodation is referred to as 'houses in multiple occupation' (HMOs).

The Institute of Environmental Health Officers define HMOs as 'any house which is occupied by persons who do not form a single household, and in addition includes a house which is intended to be so occupied'.(43) The Institute estimates that 80% of 180,000 recognised HMOs are in unsatisfactory condition. The racketeering bed and breakfast hotel establishment and lodging houses mentioned previously cause most concern. The residents of HMOs are mainly people referred by local authorities under the Housing (Homeless Persons) Act. As already noted in Chapter 1, very few single people are accepted as homeless under this Act. In 1983 a private members bill was introduced to Parliament to try and pass legislation to enforce safety controls and standards in HMOs. Unfortunately the bill failed.

The third main way the 1980 Housing Act attempted to stimulate the private rented sector was by allowing local authority tenants to take lodgers.(44) This approach has been criticised on two main grounds. First, statistics indicate that lodging is the least desirable form of accommodation, apart from hostels. A recent study by Buchanan found that only 1% of the sample of 300 single people cited hostels as their preferred type of accommodation, whilst only 2% preferred lodgings or 'digs'.(45) Second, research has shown that those people who might benefit from living in an established home as lodgers, such as ex-psychiatric patients or young offenders, are not considered 'desirable' tenants.(46) Whilst local initiatives such as the RAFT Scheme in Canterbury which provides 'Rented Accommodation For Teenagers', a cross between fostering and lodgings, may fill a gap in the social service provision for vulnerable young single people it will not provide for the majority of young single people.(47) Despite these strong objections to lodgings the recent Inquiry into British Housing, suggested, inter alia, that owner occupiers should be encouraged to let spare rooms by being exempt from tax on market rents.(48)

Thus although recent legislation attempts in a number of ways to stimulate the private rented sector the indicators are that it will continue to decline. First, most existing tenants are too poor to pay the sort of rents which would produce a high enough return to encourage investment in this sector. Second, those that can afford to pay such rents would be better off financially and obtain more security by becoming owner occupiers.(49) Even if successful, it is questionable whether these policies will result in an increase in the type of accommodation required by user groups. In addition it is debatable as to whether the vast increase in public subsidy required in order to stimulate the private rented sector is, or would be, an appropriate use of limited public resources, especially considering the difficulties of safeguarding such public investment. The decline of the private rented sector particularly affects young single people who have traditionally looked to this sector for accommodation. In future it seems they will have little choice other than to seek accommodation in either the public rented sector or through home ownership. This raises the question to what extent do young single people have access to these forms of tenure.

3.5.2 Access to Home Ownership

The significant increase in home ownership in recent years (Figure 3.2) can be attributed to a favourable tax/subsidy system for those taking on a mortgage at a time when subsidies to public rented housing are being withdrawn and central Government policies actively encourage the sale of such housing, and when the private rented sector cannot meet demand. Kilroy, among others, has argued that the present government subsidies available to home owners, which artificially increase the attractiveness of ownership, can

directly undermine the private rented sector at the same time.(50)

Owner-occupiers neither pay tax on current benefits from their investment nor on capital gains from the sale of their home, if it is sold in order to replace it. In contrast, someone who buys a house to let to others pays both investment income tax on current receipts and pays capital gains tax on any money released from the sale of the asset.(51)

The key factor determining access to home ownership is income, although household structure, ethnic origin, gender and the type of property being considered, have also been shown to influence a person's access to mortgage finance.(52) Whereas in the private rented sector single people can share accommodation in order to raise their total household income to a level which will meet the rent, it has usually not been possible to make similar arrangements to share the purchase of a house. Building societies, the main source of mortgage finance, and local authorities, have traditionally been opposed to giving joint mortgages to unrelated single people. Although some owner-occupiers may meet their mortgage commitments by taking tenants, this usually contravenes building society regulations.(53) With only one income, particularly in areas of high property prices, many single people can only afford the cheapest properties, usually the oldest. Boddy, amongst others, has documented building societies' unwillingness to lend on such properties.(54)

In recent years building societies' traditionally conservative attitudes to both the types of people and properties considered eligible for mortgage finance have changed. This is partly due to government encouragement, for example local authorities guaranteeing mortgages on 'down market' lending, and the entry of banks into the mortgage market.(55,56) A survey carried out by the Nationwide Building Society found that in 1983, 23.9% of all borrowers

were single people, of all ages. However, only 7.6% were single women compared with 16.3% single men.(57) In addition there is evidence suggesting that members of ethnic minorities may find it difficult to obtain a mortgage. Clarke considered Asian owner occupiers in the West Midlands.(58) His research indicated that only 22% of Asian first time buyers received Building Society mortgages compared with 76% of all first time buyers, whilst 23% of Asian first time buyers had to obtain finance from banks or private loans compared with only 6% of first time buyers as a whole. Whilst access to mortgage finance for home ownership has changed in recent years, it has not become easier for everyone.

Income is still the main factor influencing building societies mortgage advances and thus access to home ownership. A small number of single people may purchase a house using finance in the form of an intergenerational loan or gift sometimes in conjunction with a small mortgage. Increasingly two or more single people are purchasing a house together, both having mortgages for a share of the property. Although applications may be made by three or more prospective sharers the larger lending institutions prefer to lend to no more than two people on such a 'multiple purchase'.(59) Whilst more single people may be purchasing property in this way, this form of housing is still restricted to a small proportion.

Since 1979 the Government's main housing policy thrust has been to increase home ownership. This has been achieved by, inter alia, increasing the supply of low cost housing and providing subsidies to offset deposits and monthly repayments. In the same period investment in public sector housing has been cut and the decline in the availability of private rented accommodation has continued.(60) The entry of the larger volume private building firms into this market through their development of 'Starter Homes', minimum dwellings which

are often sold fully furnished, indicates that the demand for single person units exists. Such developments have extended the choice available and given the opportunity to many people, including younger single people, who would otherwise not have considered this form of tenure to become owner occupiers.

Although the most successful element of the Government's low cost home ownership initiatives has been the 'Right to Buy,' encouraged by discounts introduced in the 1980 Housing Act, which were increased under the 1984 Housing and Building Control Act, this policy has not helped house young single people. The sitting tenant purchasers of council housing have tended to be middle aged with a grown up family and in skilled manual work.(61) During the first four years of this policy, 10% of all council housing stock was sold, usually the better quality housing in suburban areas.(62)

After the Right to Buy the home ownership policies which have made the most impact on extending home ownership are those of local authority land disposal for Starter Home building under licence.(63) Due to the unpopularity of the proposal, the 1980 Local Government and Planning Act made it compulsory for local authorities to maintain a register of vacant sites and gave the Secretary of State power to enforce disposals.(64) Murie et al found that where there were no local restrictions placed on the purchasers of Starter Homes, about 15% of purchasers were young (under 35), single people.(65)

In comparison with the two schemes outlined above other low cost home ownership initiatives have had little impact. The 1980 Housing Act introduced, inter alia, Shared Ownership.(66) Generally a 25%, 50% or 75% equity is purchased, primarily by first time buyers, with rent payable on the non purchased portion. The agreement includes the right to purchase further shares at a later date. From 1983 'Do It Yourself Shared Ownership' (DIYSO) became available for individuals to

purchase specified properties through nominated housing associations. The 1984 Housing and Building Control Act introduced, inter alia, an 'Open Door' Index Linked Shared Ownership scheme, almost entirely financed by the Nationwide Building Society and extended public sector tenants' right to include the right to shared ownership.(67) A recent survey of Shared Ownership Schemes by the Department of the Environment found that people entering into shared ownership were noticeably older than first time buyers in general and less likely to be single people.(68) The small contribution to extending home ownership that shared ownership schemes make does not significantly benefit young single people.

The public sector New Initiatives, such as Shared Ownership, and the private sector Starter Home provision have been criticised on the grounds that people are being encouraged to buy property of low standard which they cannot afford. The low space standards of Starter Homes, which are encouraged by Government pressure on local authorities to relax the standards they would normally adopt in order to develop Starter Home schemes, the problems associated with their resale, and the complexity of Shared Ownership schemes, have all been cited as indications that such policies are likely to create serious problems in the future.(69,70,71)

However, despite these openings in the home ownership market the proportion of young single people for whom owner occupation is a viable form of tenure remains small. A recent survey by the Department of the Environment considered a small sample of purchasers of dwellings provided by English local authorities, new towns and private developers under these new initiatives. The survey found three-quarters of new initiatives purchasers were existing married or cohabiting households. Only 19% were single people between the ages of 16-59.(72)

Having considered the access young single people have to current housing provision in the private sector, through both renting and home ownership, the focus here is on public sector housing provision and young single people's access to it. The two main forms of public sector housing provision, that is, housing association and local authority provision will be considered in detail. Reference will also be made to housing provided by New Town Development Corporations.

3.5.3 Access to Public Sector Housing Provision

3.5.3.1 Access to Local Authority Accommodation

In an attempt to ration a scarce resource of unequal quality, local authorities allocate their housing through a number of different systems which categorise housing need and give priority to predetermined groups. According to Karn it is difficult to make an accurate assessment of the impact that the allocation policies of local authorities' housing departments have upon households that do not conform to the prevalent ideas of what constitutes a conventional family. (73) As with any large bureaucracy, housing departments do not respond quickly. Considerable changes have occurred in the size and form of households in recent years. Housing stock is relatively static in that often its design prohibits significant alterations and, even if these are possible, financial constraints may curtail redevelopment programmes. In contrast alterations to the housing allocation policies are comparatively inexpensive, but face the practically unsurmountable problem of changing the existing attitudes and assumptions, not only of the providers but also those requiring housing, some of whom may have been waiting for housing for many years.

Since 1978/1979 local authorities have presented their annual Housing Investment Programme (HIP) to the Government. The Government's allocation of resources to local authorities to meet this need is,

however, based on factors other than local assessment of need. These factors include, the General Needs Index (GNI), the level of capital receipts each authority has acquired through land and house sales and the discretion of the Department of the Environment (DOE) which is based on each authority's past performance. The GNI introduced in 1982/83 uses a number of indices such as homeless households and houses needing improvement. The indices are multiplied by various weighting factors to reflect the relative importance of each local authority's need. The GNI is used, not to identify absolute need, but to force local authorities to compete against each other for limited finances allocated on the basis of relative need. The GNI uses a narrow interpretation of the factors determining housing need. It does not, for example, refer to the influence of insecurity of tenure, bad design, housing costs versus income, unemployment or divorce rates which have been suggested as critical to an adequate assessment of housing need.(74)

If a local authority's estimate of housing need does not consider all the pertinent sources of information, then categories of housing need may be overlooked. Local authority housing waiting lists have traditionally been used as a means of projecting housing need. However, a comprehensive study by Venn found that 79% of authorities imposed either age, residence or present housing condition restrictions on single people's eligibility to register on the waiting list.(75) Projections based on waiting list statistics will drastically underestimate single persons' housing need. The 1980 Tenants' Rights (Scotland) Act made such restrictions illegal for applicants over the age of 18. Unfortunately no similar legislation exists for England or Wales.

Even if young single people are allowed to register on a local authority waiting list, their access to housing may be further

restricted by the method the local authority uses to determine priority between applicants. Under the 1980 Housing Act both housing associations and local authorities are required to publish details of their allocation rules.(76) This provision was intended to make, through public scrutiny, allocations policies more responsive to the needs of the community.

There are four main systems for determining priorities between applicants. The first, date order schemes, operate on first-come, first-served basis and take no account of housing need. The second, merit schemes, which are based on personal knowledge of the applicant, are impracticable for large organisations. The third, group schemes, consider applicants with a common denominator, for example, type of accommodation required or household composition. These may be used in conjunction with the fourth system, points schemes, which are the most common method of priority assessment. Points schemes allow a variety of factors to be weighed against one another in order to reflect housing need. The Campaign for Single Homeless People (CHAR - formerly the Campaign for the Homeless and Rootless) considers that allocation through a points system will be most likely to reflect housing need, though may still not fairly treat the particular needs of single people.(77)

There is a growing recognition by the most progressive local authorities that they must respond to the needs of the single as well as families; an indication of this changing attitude is reflected by the number of local authority publications on this subject.(78) However, local authorities are hampered, to some extent, in their ability to respond by the fact that existing responsibility for housing the single is split between a number of local and central government departments and agencies. These include the Housing and Social Services Departments in DOE and DHSS as well as the education

probation services and health authorities. This division of responsibility has evolved because the housing requirements of special needs groups, such as ex-offender or ex-psychiatric patients were recognised before the housing needs of young single people in general, and resources were provided by different Government departments for different special needs housing. Unfortunately the special needs criteria have frequently been used to draw inappropriate conclusions about the nature and quality of the housing requirements of all single people. Organisations providing housing for single people without special needs other than the fact that they are single, find that finance is not readily available since finance is linked to the special needs categorisation. (79)

In addition, local authorities are hindered in their ability to respond to changing local needs, in particular the growing need for young single person accommodation, by the fact that there is a mismatch between dwelling size and household requirements. Having consistently built housing for nuclear families, local authority housing stock consists predominantly of larger dwellings. Figure 3.5 shows that in 1985 nearly 80% of local authority dwellings had two or more bedrooms. Three bedroomed dwellings alone count for 43% of the total housing stock. (80) Although in 1985 nearly 21% of local authority dwellings had one bedroom most of these were not in fact available to young single people. The National Building Agency states that the increasing numbers of small dwellings can be attributed to a significant trend in local authority house construction towards a 'preponderance of one bedroomed dwellings for the elderly'. (81)

Although these are national figures and may hide local shortages, the fact that a large proportion of local authority dwellings are three bedroomed makes it more difficult for both smaller households, such as single people, and larger households, particularly

Figure 3.5 Local Authority Housing Stock: Size of Dwellings

England and Wales excluding New Towns

	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Flats</u>	<u>Bungalows</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
1 Bedrooms	5,299	195,591	183,845	884,735
2 Bedroom	548,143	592,809	114,343	1,255,295
3 Bedroom	1,680,125	177,149	7,879	1,865,153
4+ Bedroom	113,851			
Other	149,660			
TOTAL				4,268,694

Figures in 000s from responding Local Authorities only.
Approximately 89% of total Local Authority housing stock

From Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy (CIPFA)
Housing Rent Statistics at April 1985
Reeds 1985, p.5

extended families often of Asian origin, to obtain council housing. The problems of smaller households are compounded by local authorities' traditional reluctance to under-occupy a dwelling, by the problems housing managements associate with non-traditional forms of tenancy agreements and also, for younger single people under the age of 18, the question of legal responsibility.(82,83,84)

'Hard to let' housing has in some cases provided a source of public housing for young single people. During the late 1970s the increasing social problems associated with high-rise estates led to Government advice not to let high-rise flats to families with children.(85) In order not to aggravate the problems on such estates by leaving large pockets of empty property the local authorities developed policies of allocating these properties to young single people.(86) This approach was extended to other properties which for various reasons, including poor quality or undesirable location, the council found 'Hard to let'. These ad hoc policies of utilising undesirable housing stock were criticised by CHAR as token acknowledgement of the housing needs of young single people.(86) However, the change in Government housing policy emphasis from 1979 towards the private sector has curtailed even this meagre source of accommodation for young single people. 'Hard to let' stock is being allocated to families again and is no longer readily available for young single people.(88)

The statutory responsibility placed on local authorities to provide decent accommodation for those with housing need can be fulfilled through the local authority encouraging other agencies, such as housing associations, or, increasingly, by entering into joint schemes with the private sector. Such new initiatives which might directly benefit young single people's housing circumstances include shared ownership, selling local authority land for the private

development of starter homes, and encouraging downmarket lending by Building Societies, through local authority mortgage guarantees. This last scheme frequently provides the finance for the sale of local authority unimproved homes for improvement by the purchaser, known as 'Homesteading'.

A number of these new initiatives were described earlier when discussing the private sector. Whilst they may extend the opportunity of home ownership to a few young single people, they do not affect the majority of young single people who require rented accommodation. The growing realisation that young single people had a housing need that was not being met through existing housing provision and allocations policies has led some local authorities to develop purpose built accommodation for this group. Such accommodation, based on an innovative scheme which Leicester City Council built in the early 1970s, makes up the majority of local authority housing provision for young single people. It is this form of purpose built accommodation for young single people provided not only by Local Authorities but also by New Town Development Corporations and housing associations, which forms the focus of this research.

3.5.3.2 Access To New Town Development Corporation Accommodation.

Both the profile of the housing stock and the allocations procedures of New Town Development Corporations and local authorities differ significantly from each other. These differences are due, in part, to the different historic origins of each form of provision, which affected both finances and management. In order to understand this it is necessary to consider how New Towns have developed their housing provision for young single people.

The development of New Towns originated from the 1946 New Towns Act which itself was largely based on the ideas of Ebenezer

Howard and the Garden City Movement.(89) New Towns can be divided into four broad categories. Of the earlier New Towns, those designated between 1946 and 1950, half were an attempt to decentralise the growth of London, such as Hemel Hempstead and Crawley, and the others were intended to stimulate particularly depressed areas designated for development, such as East Kilbride and Peterlee. The New Towns designated in the 1960s and early 1970s were an attempt to decentralise from other major urban centres. The greenfield policies of the early 1960s which, for example, produced Livingston and Telford, were replaced by less ambitious policies to expand existing towns. These, for example, resulted in Peterborough and Milton Keynes.(90)

Each New Town developed under the control of a Development Corporation which was responsible not only for the construction of housing but also for attracting industry to the town, the creation of the social fabric, in fact all factors which combine to produce a thriving community. One way in which New Towns tried to attract industry was by the creation of a skilled pool of labour. To this end housing allocation policies, unlike those of local authorities, were weighted towards incoming workers, ie households moving into the area to commence pre arranged employment. New Town Development Corporations did not in general have restrictions on under-occupation and were willing and able to allocate properties to single incoming workers, unlike local authorities.

Despite such differences many sources do not distinguish between New Town Development Corporation and local authority dwellings.(91) This is due, inter alia, to the 1976 New Town (Amendment) Act which legislated for the effective transfer of New Town properties to local authority and other agencies for management. The differences in tenant profile, attributable to the New Towns, allocation policies which the local authorities inherited, has encouraged a number of local

authorities to reevaluate their allocations policies. For example a local authority whose policy to exclude single people under 60 from the waiting list but inherits young single tenants from a New Town transfer is clearly in a contradictory position.

As previously stated, in order to meet their statutory housing responsibilities to respond to housing needs local authorities can encourage and utilise other housing agencies. Housing associations appear ideally suited to provide accommodation for young single people, given their traditional emphasis on developing new forms of tenure.

3.5.3.3 Access to Housing Association Accommodation

Housing Trusts or Societies have been in existence since the last century when many were established with charitable money from wealthy benefactors, such as the Peabody or Guinness Trusts.(92) These origins account for the term 'Voluntary Housing Sector' which is often used to refer to housing association, housing trust and co-operative housing provision. Government subsidies have been available since 1964 to registered housing associations to try new forms of tenure such as co-operative housing or equity sharing (now Shared Ownership).(93) However, most housing association provision has been to meet the housing need of people who did not, at the time, qualify for local authority housing, such as the elderly, single or one-parent families or those who were prevented from purchasing by the soaring house prices of 1971-73 and the mortgage rationing in 1973.(94) Until the early 1970s the effect of Housing Associations on total housing provision was comparatively small. By 1973 housing association stock was approximately 250,000 dwellings, about 1.3% of the total national housing stock.(95)

The majority of housing association development has occurred since the 1974 Housing Act endowed the Housing Corporation the power to grant Housing Association Grant (HAG) to registered housing associations providing dwellings to let at Fair Rents. It is worth noting that whilst the Conservative Government drafted the Housing Bill, the incoming 1974 Labour Government passed the legislation with little alteration, reflecting the bi-partisan public/private status of this form of tenure.

Housing associations have been able to provide accommodation for young single people in a number of ways because of their ability to develop new forms of tenure. Some Housing Association innovations have since been adopted by local authorities, for example, equity sharing and co-ownership schemes which developed into shared ownership. For the purpose of this research, such schemes were considered in the discussion of home ownership. 'Short-life Housing', however, is one form of provision which is still mainly organised by housing associations and forms a source of potential accommodation for young single people.

Short-life housing is accommodation, often arranged through a housing association, for a short term, six months or less, by licence. Short-life housing is usually housing that is due for demolition or is in a derelict condition prior to refurbishment, and instead of being allowed to stand empty is licensed by the owners who may be local authorities, housing associations or organisations, such as British Rail, either directly, or usually through a Short-life Housing Association, to people in housing need. These may include referrals from the local Homeless Persons Unit or single and childless people who have no prospect of public sector housing.(96) Short-life accommodation is, by its nature, basic, and rents are set accordingly low. It is usually licensed to residents by the Short-life organisation on a similar basis to that provided by the owners of the

organisation. Licences have no security of tenure under the 1980 Housing Act, nor do they include the Right to Buy. Short life housing is increasingly found in run down inner city areas, enabling many people who were homeless to stay in the area in houses that would otherwise have been wasted.

Where a building has been squatted, i.e. inhabited by people other than the owners and without the owners' consent, who do not pay rent, the squatters may be able to persuade the owner to agree to turn the squat into short life housing.(97) This has the advantage of offering security to the residents and rent to the owner, minimal in both cases.

Whilst Short life housing is an important source of housing for young single people in the major conurbations it can hardly, from its very nature, be considered a satisfactory form of accommodation. Most Short Life Housing Groups are unable to consolidate their position, finding it difficult to maintain a supply of short life accommodation.(98) Short life housing and squatting provide temporary shelter and have not been considered in depth here; Franklin, for example, provides a more detailed analysis.(99)

Depending on their historic origins, a few housing associations have charitable status, whilst the majority are exempt charities in that their rules define their objectives as being of a charitable nature and this exempts them from certain tax requirements. The Right to Buy clause in the 1980 Housing Act did not extend to tenants of charitable associations. However, the 1984 Housing (Building Control) Act introduced the Home Ownership for Tenants of Charitable Housing Associations (HOTCHA) Scheme. Under this scheme tenants of charitable housing associations cannot purchase their own residence but can accrue discount which can be transferred to another property which is for sale. This scheme is limited both by the

finances made available by, and the associations nominated by, the Housing Corporation to run the scheme.(100) Thus although single people may form a larger proportion of housing association tenants than the proportion of single people in local authority housing provision, the numbers becoming home owners will not be significantly greater.

A number of Housing Associations cater primarily for young single or single people, providing a wide range of accommodation to suit the specific needs of specific user groups. 'Special Needs' finance has enabled the growth of supported hostels and less institutional forms of supported accommodation. In addition, the housing stock profile has been diversified by the introduction of new types of dwellings, for example cluster flats. These are flats consisting of a number of bedsitting rooms with shared living room, kitchen and bathroom facilities.

However, one problem currently facing housing associations is the mismatch between provision and demand. Recent DOE research indicated that 85% of single homeless people seek independent accommodation but Housing Corporation finance is increasingly biased towards hostels and other shared schemes.(101,102) Since the 1980 hostels initiative 800 schemes providing 10,000 bedspaces have been provided.(103,104) These have ranged from highcare schemes with residential staff for single people with particular difficulties, such as ex offenders or former mental health patients, to lowcare shared housing and cluster flats for those seeking independent accommodation with domestic support. The role of the housing association varies from purely a development agent, to joint management arrangements with voluntary support groups, such as NACRO (National Association for the Criminal Rehabilitation of Offenders) or MIND (National Association for Mental Health). These schemes are primarily intended for single people with particular difficulties, not the single per se.

Some housing associations have developed larger schemes comprising bedsits and shared flats for young single people. These are normally managed directly. As explained previously it is these schemes and similar ones developed by Local authorities which are the main concern of this research.

3.6 Summary

This chapter briefly considered the recent and current trends in housing policy emphasis in relation to the current range of housing provision available for young single people and the access this group has to such provision. It was noted that the drastic decline in both the amount and condition of the private rented sector has caused problems for those people who traditionally found accommodation in this sector, in particular, young single people, whose housing problems have been compounded by their disadvantages of access to the other two main forms of housing tenure, namely home ownership and public rented accommodation.

Current housing policies designed to alleviate the housing problems of such groups as young single people through, inter alia, stimulation of the private rented sector and new initiatives in the public sector aimed at increasing private home ownership were considered and the potential outcome of such schemes and the effects on young single persons' housing evaluated. It was suggested that attempts to stimulate the private rented sector may well be both unsuccessful, judging on past performance, and an inappropriate use of severely reduced Government housing expenditure.

Whilst the new initiative schemes to promote home ownership have met with varied success, extending home ownership to couples of all ages and a small number of young single people, they can not provide sufficient housing to accommodate the effects produced by the

decline of the private rented sector and the increase in the numbers of single people wishing to form independent households. It therefore follows that if such housing requirements are to be met, the onus is upon public sector rented housing provision.

From a review of the current range of public sector housing which young single people are eligible to rent, a number of different types of accommodation, both shared, supported and independent were identified. The concern of this research is with the unsupported, independent public housing provision for young single people, as the evidence presented in this chapter has shown that this is the form of accommodation which most young single people require. In the next chapter the research problem identified in relation to this type of housing provision will be considered.

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CHAPTER 4

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapters highlighted, inter alia, the demand for young single person housing to rent. In addition the problems involved with defining young single people and in attempting to quantify the housing need and demand of this group, were discussed. These problems of definition not only affect attempts to quantify this group but, more important for the purposes of this research, influence the design literature and thus the design of housing provided for this group. In this chapter the existing design literature concerned with housing provision for young single people will be examined and compared with the findings of initial research in this field in order to identify the research problem. First, however, the role and influence of design literature will be briefly discussed, in order to set design guidance for young single people in context.

A range of organisations concerned with housing design produce a variety of design publications. However, the design guidance produced by housing associations or local authorities tends to be used to co-ordinate and ensure continuity in the publishing organisation's own housing design policies. The design guidance produced by central Government for specific building types tends to be more influential because it is applied nationally. Government Design Bulletins and Guides contain a combination of both general guidance and recommendations and specific standards. Whilst standards are specific, providing a definite level of excellence or adequacy, guidance is usually a mixture of general advice; guidance directs regulates or influences. (1,2) However, this distinction becomes blurred in some design publications. Documents intended as guidance often prescribe standards. (3) In addition standards may be either mandatory or advisory. For example, specific standards recommended by the Parker

Morris report were advisory until 1967 when they were made mandatory by legislation.(4) This situation is further complicated by Central Governments' use of guidance documents as yardsticks for the granting of loan sanctions and subsidies.

Central Government design guidance is not a new phenomena. Its content, direction and influence has changed over time, reflecting the context in which it was produced. A comprehensive discussion of the historical development of design guidance for different types of buildings can be found in Jenks.(5) The main stages in the development of Central Government housing design guidance are now outlined briefly.

4.2 The Development of Design Guidance

Early design guidance for housing stemmed from the reports of two committees; the Tudor Walters Report in 1918 and the Dudley Report in 1944.(6,7) Guidance, in the form of Housing Manuals, was produced immediately following both these reports. The Housing Manual of 1919 was accompanied by a pattern book of plans, elevations and working drawings which although not binding, served to influence standards and opinion.(8,9,10) The Housing Manuals of 1944 and 1949 were accompanied by various technical appendices and supplements, including, for example, one on special needs housing.(11) These documents were considered by some to be an unsatisfactory method of providing guidance, not only due to the rigid and inflexible plans but also due to the way these plans had been produced by committee with no basis in research.(12) However, it must be remembered that both these Housing Manuals were produced immediately after World Wars when the problems of damaged property, lack of housebuilding materials and shortages of labour coupled with an increase in household formation exerted immense pressures on the building programmes. The Housing Manuals served to

advise on and control these building programmes.

After the Second World War changes in social legislation and raised expectations increased the pressure on an already hard pressed building programme. In 1949 the Ministry of Education (MoE) published the first, in a subsequent series of, Building Bulletins.(13) This was an ambitious document which aimed to review educational and building requirements to give advice on how to translate these requirements into design and to encourage, simultaneously, the raising of standards and the reduction of costs.(14) The Ministry of Education Bulletins and, a decade later, the design guides produced by Ministries responsible for health and housing were radically different from previous Government design guidance in that they were wider in scope and no longer set out to prescribe solutions. In addition they were based on research undertaken by multidisciplinary development groups set up in each main Government department rather than consultative committee reports.(15)

In January 1959 in order to improve its housing design guidance, the Ministry of Housing and Local Government (MHLG) set up a multidisciplinary housing development group to investigate housing design and construction techniques. Between the publication of the first design guide (named Design Bulletin) in 1962 and 1978, 50 design guides were produced comprising 38 Design Bulletins and 12 Occasional Papers. A wide range of subjects were covered by these guides, including, for example, housing estate layout,(16) accommodation for the elderly,(17) the disabled,(18) and housing for young single people.(19)

The 1961 Parker Morris Report, Homes for Today and Tomorrow proposed a new way of setting housing standards by outlining design problems rather than providing standard plans as the earlier housing manuals had done.(20) This was intended to free architects from the

type of standardised designs and planning prevalent in the 1950s. In this respect it has been considered more liberal in outlook than many of the subsequent design guides, such as Housing the Family, (21) and Design Bulletin 6: Space in the Home, (22) which offer one particular, conventional, interpretation of how the design problems of housing for stereotyped nuclear family households might be solved. (23)

Housing the Family is a collection of government bulletins reprinted in 1974 and is in current use for both public and private housing. (24) It covers various aspects of family housing design including the arrangement of internal space, site considerations, safety in the home and childrens' play areas.

Design Bulletin 6, Space in the Home, published by the MHLG in 1963 was based on the recommendations contained in the Parker Morris report. This Design Bulletin assesses the amount of space people will require in their home on the basis of the activities they are likely to undertake in particular rooms. The hypothetical families portrayed for this analysis comprise an employed male, an economically dependent female who works in the house and either two or three children. Activities are discussed according to the time of day, for example; '7.00 pm - when father makes or repairs something he needs to be out of mother's way in the kitchen and where he will not disturb sleeping children'. (25) Here the division of activities in the home is according to strict gender stereotypes. These guides, whilst used selectively by most designers, are often considered to provide objective information. Many designers fail to appreciate that guidance is based on value-laden assumptions about gender roles and family life. (26) Design guidance, based on such assumptions, may encourage housing design to fit these assumptions. Unless recognised and investigated, it is impossible to say whether these assumptions are correct, and thus whether design recommendations may be appropriate, or whether, in fact, these

assumptions are incorrect, in which case it is highly likely that the design recommendations based on these assumptions will not be appropriate. It is interesting to note that the guidance in Design Bulletin 6 was based, inter alia, on the expectation that single children would remain in the family home until 25 years of age.(27)

Since a peak of activity and production in the 1960s there has been a steady decline in the volume of Government design guidance. By the beginning of the 1980s the research and development group in housing (renamed the Housing Development Group in the early 1970s) was disbanded as a separate professional group within the DOE. Although no new housing Design Bulletins have been published by the DOE since then, other organisations including the Housing Corporation, the National Federation of Housing Associations and the Scottish Development Department have all published design guidance relating, inter alia, to housing provision for young single people.

4.3 The Role of Design Guidance

The influence of design guidance in relation to the design of housing is complex. The extent to which general guidance and recommendations as well as specific standards influence different aspects of housing design is not clear. This situation is further complicated by the use of such documents by Government as measures for the granting of loan sanctions and subsidies.

Government subsidies for public housing were first introduced in the Housing, Town Planning etc. Act of 1919.(28) This Act together with the accompanying housing standards and technical drawings were based on the Tudor Walters Report of 1918. Many of the advisory recommendations taken from the report and incorporated into the Housing Manual of 1919 needed to be observed in order to obtain Government approval.(29) Similarly the standards and design guidance incorporated

into the Housing Manuals of 1944 and 1949 taken from the Dudley Report of 1944 had to be adopted in order to qualify houses for Government subsidy.(30) Although the design recommendations in these Housing Manuals which were linked with qualifying for housing subsidy were mainly concerned with density, the principle of applying Government standards in order to qualify for housing subsidy was established.

The majority of Government sponsored design guides were produced during the 1960s and early 1970s . During this period the main central government control of public sector housebuilding was through the Housing Subsidies Act of 1967.(31) This Act made it mandatory for public sector housing to conform to certain standards within defined cost limits in order for the local authority to qualify for Government loan sanction and subsidy.(32) The standards used were based on recommendations in the Parker Morris Report of 1961 whilst the cost limits were calculated using the Housing Cost Yardstick which had first been introduced in Design Bulletin 7 in 1963.(33,34) Cost tables related building costs to the number of people (bed spaces) per dwelling and the density was measured in persons (bed spaces) per acre.(35) The Housing Cost Yardstick was introduced before the Parker Morris recommendations became mandatory in 1967. Although the Housing Cost Yardstick was later revised to allow for these new, higher design standards and intermittently reviewed in order to keep pace with inflation, it has been argued that the Housing Cost Yardstick was never raised sufficiently to allow for the overall improvement of design.(36)

The Housing Cost Yardstick was replaced in 1982 by a new system for assessing a scheme's eligibility for financial subsidy known as Total Indicative Costs. Although no longer in use, the Housing Cost Yardstick needs to be considered because of the considerable influence it exerted over the design and provision of existing young single person housing schemes. The Housing Cost Yardstick tables were designed

to enable the costs of proposed schemes to be compared and the most economical one chosen. Generally these tables indicated that the higher the density and the lower the average number of people (bed spaces) per dwelling then the higher the costs would be. This could be seen to discourage the provision of single person dwellings. Flatlets for the elderly were excluded from Housing Cost Yardstick assessment, but unfortunately housing provision for young single people was not granted the same exemption.(37)

4.4 Criticism of Design Guidance

Whilst it is apparent that design guidance exerts a general influence on the design of housing, if only through Government's use of specific standards and recommendations as measures of cost control, neither the extent of this influence, nor whether in fact the implementation of standards and guidance actually serves to achieve the desired housing objectives, have been ascertained. The inherent assumption in design guidance that if prescribed standards or recommendations are followed then the aims of the design will be satisfied is frequently cited as a criticism of design guidance. In addition the pertinence of design guidance can be questioned, in particular, does design guidance accurately reflect housing requirements or does it serve to reinforce the existing assumptions concerning housing provision? For example, Design Bulletin 29, Housing Single People 2 states, inter alia, that the housing need of young mobile single people, one of the two categories of single people identified, is for short term housing, a 'pied a terre'.(38) The Design Bulletin recommends lowering the Parker Morris standards in force at the time, 1974, to build small bedsits for this group. By identifying mobility as one of the major characteristics of young single people and accordingly recommending the provision of short-term

accommodation for this group, this chosen characteristic is reinforced, since accommodation designed for only a short term stay does not necessarily provide a satisfactory longer term home.

The very nature of design guidance, based as it often is on detailed research of how people currently use dwellings, can be a limiting factor. The Department of the Environment's research which forms the basis of many government publications has been criticised on the grounds that it is the researchers rather than the users who define the problems, therefore the problems investigated tend to be those perceived as important by policy makers and administrators rather than the users. For example, Taylor discusses the issue of difficult to let flats.(39) In addition such research has been criticised for uncritically describing the current use of dwellings rather than exploring households' expectations and the relationship of the home to other aspects of life and life-style. These approaches, it has been argued, would provide a better understanding of the housing people require.(40) For example, it is now accepted by designers that women with small children frequently stand in front of kitchen sinks so there should be a window over the sink, preferably looking on to the garden if there is one, so that children playing outside can be watched. However the research which led to this insight was based on particular questions, for example, 'How can life with your hands in the sink be made more pleasant?' not 'Why do women spend so much time at the kitchen sink?'.(41) Housing the Family contains a checklist of questions along the lines of the previous first example. This is not to say that design guidance is necessarily the only way to question such assumptions or to advocate that it is necessarily an appropriate medium for doing this, rather, to highlight the shortcomings and biases present in design guidance.

This brief discussions of the development, influence and some of the limitations of design guidance for housing provides a context within which to view the design guidance concerned with single person housing provision. The main sources of such design details will now be briefly considered.

4.5 Design Guidance for Young Single Person Housing Provision

The range of literature concerned with the design, management, finance and planning of different types of housing provision for young single people is listed in Appendix I. This research is concerned with the design of young single person accommodation. There are three main Government design guidance publications which deal specifically with the design of independent accommodation for single people. These are: Design Bulletin 23; Housing Single People 1: How they live at present, published in 1971 (42), Design Bulletin 29, Housing Single People 2: A design guide with a description of a scheme at Leicester, published in 1974 (43) and Design Bulletin 33, Housing Single People 3: an appraisal of a purpose built scheme, published in 1978.(44) Design Bulletin 23 contains the report of a survey undertaken by the Housing Research and Development Division, the Housing Development Directorate, of the Department of the Environment. The survey concentrated on two predetermined groups of single people; 'the low paid middle-aged and the relatively better off mobile working young.'(45) The residents of five single person hostels were interviewed. From this preliminary research conclusions were drawn on which the design guidance for young single person housing schemes was based. This guidance was published in Design Bulletin 29. Design Bulletin 33 contained a detailed appraisal of a single person housing scheme built to the standards and recommendations in Design Bulletin 29 at Leicester called Goscourte House. The design

recommendations contained in Design Bulletin 29 are reviewed in Design Bulletin 33 in the light of the building appraisal.

The main Government design recommendations for young single person housing are set out in Design Bulletin 29. Before examining these it is necessary to consider certain points from Design Bulletin 23, on which the design recommendations found in Design Bulletin 29 are based. Design Bulletin 23 states that whilst it was originally intended to carry out a nation-wide survey to find out who were the young single people needing accommodation and what were the design implications of their needs and demands, lack of time and resources prevented this. Design implications were therefore based on three ready-made samples of single people seeking accommodation; those on Leicester City Council's waiting list, those living in hostel accommodation, and a selection of workers with the larger employers in the area. The Design Bulletin acknowledges the biases present in using these self-selecting samples. Those under 55 years of age on Leicester City Council's housing waiting list were mainly middle-aged women. In order to redress the balance and obtain a cross section, hostel residents were also surveyed; these were mainly younger single people of both sexes. In addition the larger employers in Leicester were asked to distribute a questionnaire to single employees, but the response rate was impossible to assess.(46) Appendix II of Design Bulletin 23 states; 'We cannot say that our findings apply to all single people, only that groups of single people with similar characteristics to those in our samples will probably react in a similar way on subjects dealt with in our investigation'.(47) Unfortunately, no similar statement accompanies the design recommendations and standards in Design Bulletin 29 which, although based on this research, are geared to the provision of two distinct types of accommodation for two distinct types of single people. The inference in Design Bulletin 29 is that it is possible to

divide single person housing need in this way, although Design Bulletin 23 stated otherwise.

In addition to these three main Government Design Bulletins concerned with single person housing, other Government publications and other organisations have produced informative and influential documents. The Department of the Environment Circular 12/76 Housing for Single People Standards and Costs accompanied Design Bulletin 29.(48) The Circular extended the Housing Cost Yardstick allowance to single person units built to space standards below that of Parker Morris to which all other housing types had to comply.(49) Self contained bedsits built to this lower standard of 25 m² floor area were to be called Category 'b' flats whilst self contained single person flats built to Parker Morris standards of 35.2 m² floor area were to be called Category 'a' flats. This provision was made because it was thought that the smaller, Category 'b' flats, would be suitable for the young and mobile.

The Housing Corporation document, Design and Contract Criteria for Fair Rents Projects provides housing associations with design criteria and specification requirements and schemes for rent where the Housing Corporation is the tending authority.(50) It is not intended as a comprehensive design or specification guide and includes a list of further guidance which associations are required to refer to. The recommended documents for designing housing provision for young single people, are Design Bulletin 29 and Circular 12/76.

The Housing Corporation states that such documents indicate the framework of current understanding within which acceptable schemes should be developed. Housing Corporation guidance on hostels and cluster flats is not contained in this document but is published separately.(51) In the document, Design and Contract Criteria for Fair Rents Projects, the Housing Corporation sets out the basis on which its

design criteria and specification recommendations and requirements are made. The document states that whilst there are no longer mandatory standards in respect of minimum dwelling areas, storage capacities or scale of WC provision (due to the removal of mandatory Parker Morris standards in 1980) housing associations are required to ensure that schemes comply with the basic design considerations outlined in the document, in order to obtain certification of approval for the scheme. The specification requirements and recommendations outlined in this document are derived from 'generally accepted standards of good construction and from the substantial practical experience of the Corporation'.(52) Recommendations, unlike requirements, are not mandatory but are included as advice to minimise future maintenance problems and/or for the general interest of the tenants.(53) The Housing Corporation Circular, Housing for Single People of Working Age: Guidance for Housing Associations summarises in tables the existing information available on the development and management of a wide range of housing for single people.(54) The information is divided into three categories. General factors, and two client groups for whom further details are provided; single people who require independent accommodation and single people who require supportive management. This form of categorisation might imply a change in attitude from that in previous design publications, for example, in Design Bulletin 29 where accommodation divisions appeared to be based on age. However, Table II of Circular 4/78 reiterates that the smaller bedsitting flats are usually more suitable for young, mobile people.(55)

One of the Housing Corporation's series of Occasional Briefing Notes is Housing for Single People of Working Age.(56) This document set out to provide a factual background to the housing needs of single people to enable regional Housing Corporation offices to encourage and assist housing associations to make the most effective

provision for single people. It states that in 1977 the Housing Corporation's general policy towards housing single people was to aim for 20-25% of all units to be for single people and childless couples of working age. It suggested that ordinary Parker Morris one and two person dwellings would be the most appropriate form of provision to meet this housing need. Although this document concentrates on the provision of independent housing for single people it also refers to 'the more specific kinds of provision which may be appropriate for some single people'.(57) In addition a number of studies have concentrated on the provision of shared accommodation for young single people. Although the research is concerned with the provision of independent housing for this group, the influence of the attitudes towards young single people and the design interpretations reflected in the design literature for shared accommodation cannot be ignored.

The Society for Co-operative Dwellings (SCD) is a servicing agency providing a wide range of information and experience to groups wishing to establish housing co-operatives. The SCD publication Design Manual for Single People Sharing sets out the stages involved in developing a new build housing co-operative with particular reference to the needs of young single people.(58) The manual contains details of scheme preparation, design and building. The section on design draws specifically on SCDs' past experience of developing housing co-operatives for young single people. It includes general background information on subsidy systems and discusses particular design problems in detail. The design points it contains are intended as reference points for further refinement and discussion. Although the manual deals specifically with communal, shared housing provision for young single people, the general points it makes are applicable to other types of housing provisions for this group.

The design section of the SCD manual contains, inter alia, information on cost limits and their relation with subsidies operated by central government via the Housing Corporation. This manual was produced before the introduction of the 1980 Housing act and refers to 'cost yardstick' tables and their relationship to housing subsidy under the 1974 Housing Act. Although this system of assessing a scheme's financial viability is no longer used it has affected the majority of young single person housing schemes which exist today since they were built during this time. The manual reiterates Housing Corporation policy by stating that higher standards than those laid down in Design Bulletin 29, and uneconomic design features, are not eligible for Housing Association Grant. Since the majority of housing association and housing co-operative building was and still is, though to a lesser extent, financed solely by Housing Association Grant through the Housing Corporation, this acts as an obvious incentive to ensure that the standards in Design Bulletin 29 are not exceeded.

4.6 Defining the Research Problem

This brief discussion of the main sources of design literature for independent single person housing provision has highlighted, inter alia, the importance of Design Bulletin 29. This is probably the most important design guide influencing public sector housing provision for young single people as both local authorities and housing associations are referred to it by their respective financing authorities. This research therefore concentrates on the design criteria contained in Design Bulletin 29 whilst making reference to the design criteria of other design guides where appropriate.

Design Bulletin 29 acknowledges that single people are not confined to any one particular age or income group and that their characteristics are as diverse as those of family groups.(59) Despite

this the design recommendations contained in Design Bulletin 29 are based on two distinctly identified categories of single people. The two groups are described as, 'older, working, single people' and 'young, mobile people'. Older working single people are depicted, inter alia, as unskilled women, men whose work has kept them on the move and the divorced or separated, all of whom presently live in either very poor accommodation or a large family home.(60) Those in this group are perceived as requiring a permanent home of their own in which they can settle down.(61) Young, mobile people are depicted, inter alia, as a more diverse group, ranging from apprentices and manual workers to professionals. They are considered to currently live either as lodgers or in substandard shared housing or in the parental home.(62) Design Bulletin 29 states that these single people 'do not wish to tie themselves down', and require short term housing.(63) This division of single people into two distinct groups is justified on the ground of practical housing purposes.(64) Whilst it is obviously practically simpler to produce design recommendations for two distinct groups of single people rather than produce a range of design recommendations to facilitate the provision of a wide range of housing for single people, it does not necessarily follow that two distinct designs of accommodation for single people will be practically suitable for the residents who, the Design Bulletin acknowledges, come in 'all shapes and sizes'.(65) This inconsistency in Design Bulletin 29, coupled with the results of initial interviews with housing providers, formed the starting point for defining the research problem.

The initial research consisted of semi-structured interviews conducted with architects and housing managers. The findings from these indicated that major inconsistencies existed between the statements made in the design guidance about young single people, on which the design recommendations were based, and the evidence gathered.

For example, Design Bulletin 29 identified two main distinct groups of single people, older working single people and young mobile single people and recommended two distinct designs of accommodation for these groups. Design Bulletin 29 states that 'older working single people need a two room flat of 35.2 m² to Parker Morris standards with a separate bedroom whilst young mobile single people would be content with a small flat of 25 m²'. (66) Evidence gathered from the initial interviews indicated that single person housing demand does not divide in this way and that differences in design requirements could not be attributed solely to differences attributed to age. Another example of the inconsistencies between design guidance and the initial interviews is that design literature characterises young single people as a highly mobile group. (67) Design Bulletin 29 states that this group requires short term housing. (68) However, evidence from initial interviews indicated a low occupancy turnover, suggesting that young single people do not necessarily require short term accommodation.

The inconsistencies between the characteristics attributed to young single people in design guidance, and those found through the initial research, indicated by the previous two examples, led to the formulation of the research problem which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

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5.1 The Research Problem

The previous chapter briefly discussed the historic development, influence and limitations of design guidance in general before considering in detail the design guidance which not only advises on and regulates the provision of housing for young single people but also includes a tenant profile on which the advice and recommendations are based. Initial research, comprising an extensive literature survey and preliminary interviews not only with architects but also with housing managers from a wide range of housing organisations, suggested that there were a number of differences between the young single people currently living in purpose-built, public sector accommodation and the characteristics attributed to this group in the design guidance used in designing these housing schemes. In particular, discrepancies were noted in the basic characteristics and life style of young single people as portrayed in the design guidance and the young single people actually living in these schemes. Examples of the differences between guidance and reality included the period of expected residence, the type of employment and the social activities of residents. The existence of such differences in characteristics and life style suggested the possibility of a mismatch between the accommodation provided, which had been based on design guidance recommendations and the actual housing requirements of the young single people living in this type of accommodation.

Thus on the basis of this evidence from preliminary research the main research problem was formulated in the form of three inter-related propositions.

1. Specifically designed public sector housing provision available for young single people to rent has been and continues to be designed according to the recommendations and standards in the design guidance for young single persons' housing.

2. The relevant design guidance is not based on accurate perceptions of the characteristics of young single people.

From these two propositions the third one should follow:

3. There is a mismatch between the specifically designed public sector housing provided for young single people and their accommodation requirements.

5.2 The Research Programme

A research programme was devised in order to test these research propositions. Five stages were identified in the formulation of the research programme. First, each research proposition was considered in turn and broken down into component sub-propositions which could be tested empirically to provide the evidence necessary and evaluate the main propositions. Second, the data required in order to evaluate these sub-propositions was identified. Third, the survey sample was chosen. Fourth, the technique and methods of data collection were selected and, finally, the data analysis was organised. These five stages in the formation of the research project will now be discussed, taking each proposition in turn. It should be noted that the research propositions are inter-related. Each research proposition was evaluated in turn. The results at each stage influenced the approach adopted on the evaluation of the next proposition.

5.3 Methods Used to Test the First Research Proposition

The first research proposition states that:

Specifically designed public sector housing provision available for young single people to rent has been and continues to be designed according to the recommendations and standards in the design guidance for young single persons' housing.

It was not necessary to subdivide this into sub-propositions as it posed a researchable question in its own right. In order to ascertain whether in fact specifically designed, public sector housing for young single people to rent was designed and built to design

guidance recommendations, interviews were conducted with professionals from different disciplines responsible for the design of young single person housing. Those interviewed were asked questions concerning their use of design guidance and how their organisation structured the design briefing process. Details of the structure of the organisation, financial procedures and operating factors were amongst other factors also considered. A copy of the interview schedule listing the range of topics covered in these interviews can be found in Appendix II.

Informal, semi-structured interviews were carried out in preference to a more structured method of obtaining information, such as a postal questionnaire or use of a detailed, structured interview schedule, for two reasons. First, according to the literature on research methodology a semi-structured interview would provide the opportunity for a wider ranging discussion than could be obtained from the confines of a postal questionnaire or a highly detailed structured interview schedule. Slightly tangential points arising from the interviews could be swiftly followed up, enabling a far broader range of background information to be obtained.(1) Second, it should be possible to obtain a higher response rate through personal contact.(2) Thus the interviews were conducted personally on an informal, semi-structured basis in order to enhance flexibility of questioning and response and to allow the person interviewed to introduce relevant themes or ideas not included in the interview schedule. Contact was made with architects, housing developers and planners working in appropriate Local Authority and New Town Departments and with housing associations specifically concerned with providing accommodation for young single people.

A range of housing organisations were approached in order to ensure that information was obtained from both 'in house' designers and

'external' architects who had been specifically commissioned to design single person housing schemes.

Initial enquiries showed that Local Authority internal organisation for the provision of young single person housing varies considerably. Some local authorities incorporate their housing functions within other departments such as Environmental Health, whilst in others the housing and architect sections are usually distinct and separate entities. The larger housing associations may well have housing management, housing development and architect departments but smaller housing associations do not usually employ their own in-house architects. The housing developers in a housing association are concerned not only with processing schemes, through the Housing Corporation and other financing organisations' procedures but also with formulating a design brief for the architects who will be designing the scheme.

In order to obtain a representative cross section of housing organisations providing young single person accommodation the National Federation of Housing Associations (NFHA) was contacted. It provided a list of housing organisations based in the south east of England, which were primarily concerned with providing housing for young single people. All these organisations were approached to take part in the initial interviews. However, upon investigation it emerged that a number of these organisations were voluntary bodies formed with the intention of providing accommodation for young single people, which were in the process of doing this in conjunction with a secondary, servicing housing organisation, that is, an established housing organisation providing, inter alia, professional services and expertise. As these voluntary bodies had no knowledge of design guidance or experience of the design process they were not included in the sample. This was selected from servicing housing organisations and

others which designed and developed their own housing for young single people. In addition further detailed, semi-structured interviews were held with the designers who had worked on the housing schemes selected as case studies.

Altogether, those interviewed at this stage provided a small sample group of housing professionals with a wide range of expertise and knowledge from different backgrounds and involved in different aspects of the provision of housing for young single people. These included representatives from small housing associations who employed external architectural firms to work on specific schemes, larger housing associations whose in-house architects and housing development staff worked not only on their own schemes but also on schemes for other housing organisations, and representatives from local authority and New Town architect, planning and housing departments.

The information obtained from the interviews was ordered and analysed in order to evaluate the first research proposition, the results are set out in Chapter 6. The young single person housing schemes used as case studies will be briefly described in the following section as an understanding of them is necessary to the discussion of propositions 2 and 3.

5.4 The Case Studies

During the initial stages of the research a number of organisations had been approached in order, inter alia, to ascertain the type of accommodation they provided and for whom it was intended. From these initial interviews and visits five single person housing schemes were identified as suitable case studies as they met the following criteria. First, they were reasonably large schemes within the design guidance recommendations, ranging from 107 to 172 tenants. This was important since it enabled a larger population to be surveyed,

providing a broad base of statistical information with which to evaluate the research propositions. Second, the schemes had been completed at least four years previously, enabling turnover rates and length of residence information to be collected. Third, due to the limited resources available to the research and the intensive nature of the data collection methods used, the schemes had to be within travelling distance from the research base.

Although all five schemes met these three criteria which were essential to the eventual choice of case studies, two schemes had to be omitted from the research programme. In one of these schemes a small survey of tenants, was currently being undertaken by the scheme's managers, who were concerned that an additional research project might jeopardise the response rate to both projects and reduce the tenants' quality of life by making them feel like the proverbial guinea pigs. A second scheme had to be eliminated because of difficulties with both access to the scheme and lack of co-operation of housing managers, which seemed likely to result in a comparatively low level of data. Particular design details will be discussed in greater detail, where relevant to the evaluation of the research propositions, in Chapters 7 and 9.

5.5 Methods Used to Test the Second Research Proposition

The second research proposition states that:

The relevant design guidance is not based on accurate perceptions of the characteristics of young single people.

There are three stages in the evaluation of this proposition. First, it was necessary to identify the characteristics of young single people on which the design guidance recommendations were based. Second, the actual characteristics of young single people requiring young single person housing to rent had to be investigated. Third, these two

sets of young single person characteristics had to be compared in order to assess the extent to which they did, or did not, match. The methods used to obtain the information required for these three stages of the evaluation of the second research proposition will now be described. The findings relating to this research proposition will be considered in Chapter 7.

5.5.1 Identification of the Design Guidance Profiles of Single People

The evaluation of the first research proposition had indicated, inter alia, the range of design guidance referred to by designers of single person housing schemes. The Department of the Environment Design Bulletins emerged as those most frequently referred to, both directly and indirectly through their incorporation into housing organisations internal briefs and through their influence on the methods used to determine a scheme's financial viability.(3) An extensive search of this design guidance literature provided a detailed list of the characteristics attributed to young single people.

Figure 5.1 outlines the main characteristics attributed to young single people by Design Bulletin 29 which the research identified as the most relevant for young single person housing (see Chapter 7). It should be noted that these characteristics are not set out in a structured way in the design guidance. Although they are an important base for the design recommendations some of the characteristics are only mentioned indirectly and their influence is unacknowledged. The amount of detail on each characteristic varies, therefore it was necessary to order and classify them.

Figure 5.1 Design Guidance Profiles of Single Person Characteristics

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS	*YOUNG MOBILE PEOPLE	*OLDER WORKING SINGLES
Age	Young	Older
Marital Status	Single	Single Divorced Widowed
Income	Higher Wage	Lower Wage
Employment	Apprentices Manual Workers Professionals	Unskilled MEN whose work has kept them on the move WOMEN Domestic Clerical Factory Workers

*Two groups of single people identified in Department of the Environment, Housing Single People 2: A Design Guide with a description of a scheme at Leicester, Design Bulletin 29, HMSO, 1974.

These characteristics have been divided into two types. Personal Characteristics refer to tangible details such as age, income and employment whilst Life-style Criteria refer to young single peoples' living arrangements. Design Bulletin 29 divided single people seeking accommodation into two groups, which are referred to as the 'young mobile people' and 'older working singles'.(4) Although the main concern of the research is with the housing provision for young single people, both the groups of single people identified in the Design Bulletin were considered in the research. They were both included because although the two groups are defined in the Design Bulletin in relation to each other, and it is recognised that they are

relative rather than absolute groups, evidence from the preliminary research showed that the design recommendations, and, in fact, the housing allocation policies are implemented as if they were absolute groups. Information from interviews with housing managers showed that they provide two distinct types of accommodation based on the recommendations in the Design Bulletins which, when built, are allocated according to the two categories of single person outlined in the Design Bulletin.

The way in which the Design Bulletins used the two identified profiles of single people as the basis for two different single person housing design recommendations presents problems because although the two single person user profiles obtained from the design guidance are distinct, they are not precise in their distinction. The two groups of identified single people are defined in relation to each other rather than defined absolutely with a precise cut off point in terms of the age when a 'young mobile person' becomes an 'older working person'. Figure 5.1 shows the descriptive nature of the design guidance user profiles. In order to evaluate the data it was necessary to determine precise criteria for delineation and comparison. The profiles obtained from the design guidance were not accurate enough for this purpose. Therefore, other factors such as management decisions were brought into consideration.

In order to allocate and manage the housing schemes used as case studies effectively, the housing managers concerned had introduced definite criteria, based on personal characteristics, namely, age and income, which were used to aid allocation. For example, in Scheme C the management had defined young single people as those under 25 years old. Those tenants who were 24 years old were warned that their tenancy would terminate and were given advice and help in finding alternative accommodation.(5) In Scheme B potential tenants' income was

taken into account when considering their eligibility for housing. Only those with an income of less than £8,000 per annum were accepted on to the waiting list. (6) Since these management criteria would obviously influence the user profiles obtained from the questionnaire survey, these factors were used in order to derive precise criteria for data comparison, which are outlined in Figure 5.2. It should be noted that the criteria used in the design guidance for distinguishing between two single person user groups on the basis of age was adhered to.

Figure 5.2 Criteria used in the Evaluation of User Profile Analysis

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS	YOUNGER SINGLE PEOPLE	OLDER SINGLE PEOPLE	
Age	Under 25	25 and over	
Marital Status (From Design Bulletin 29)	Single	Divorced Single Widowed	
Income	Over £60 per week	Under £80 per week	
Employment (From Design Bulletin 29)	Apprentices Manual Workers Professionals	Unskilled MEN whose work has kept them on the move until now	WOMEN domestic, clerical, factory workers

It should be noted that the design guidance profiles of single people included criteria relating to single people's lifestyles, namely the type of previous accommodation single people will have had and their reasons for leaving; and their need for furnished or unfurnished accommodation as shown in Figure 5.1. The design guidance

relates these life-style characteristics to a combination of factors including the tenants' attitudes towards their dwellings, whether they are viewed as permanent or temporary residences, as a home or merely a place to stay. Whilst these life-style criteria have an important influence on the design guidance and form an integral part of the research they are not explicitly stated in the guidance and cannot be attributed to any one indicator. Accordingly they are more complex to identify, quantify and analyse than the personal characteristics. The life-style characteristics will be considered in detail in the evaluation of the second research proposition in Chapter 7.

5.5.2 Identification of Single Person Profiles

The second stage in the evaluation of the second research proposition required the identification of the actual profile characteristics of young single people, including details of living arrangements, housing aspirations and life-style characteristics. In order to obtain a complete picture of these characteristics all young single people living in rented accommodation would have to be surveyed but limited time and resources and practical feasibility prevented this. After considering, and rejecting, a number of different sample populations, it was decided that the young single people actually living in purpose-built, public sector, single person housing provision would provide an ideal sample population. In addition to obtaining information on the profile characteristics of young single people, it would also be possible to obtain data on user satisfaction with the dwelling, which was required in order to evaluate the third research proposition. This choice of sample population and the range of information required from the sample led directly to the use of a questionnaire survey and a case study approach.

5.5.3 Identification of the Housing/Accommodation Requirements of Young Single People

The design guidance does not list young single peoples' housing requirements, but it refers to them, often implicitly. Different summaries of young single persons' accommodation requirements have been made elsewhere, of these Smith not only lists the requirements contained in the design guidance most effectively, but also introduces others as follows:

Physical Requirements

- 1) Cheapness
- 2) Mobility
- 3) Provision of certain amenities, eg launderette (due to their income, mobility and life-style, young single people do not accumulate large possessions such as washing machines)

Social Requirements

- 1) Privacy - not to be confused with the isolation often experienced in a completely self-contained single person dwelling unit.
- 2) Sociability - a need for a facility for easy and natural social interaction at varying levels of intimacy... not the artificially introverted and enforced socialisation of a traditional hostel or student hall.
- 3) Control - the ability to control their own life-styles. Not to be confused with independence as the three social needs taken together call for interdependence.(7)

This classification has been expanded for the purpose of this research, in particular Section 3 of the physical requirements has developed as shown in Figure 5.3.

Through the analysis of the second and third research propositions the extent to which these requirements are recognised, perceived and interpreted is explored. Chapter 7 considers the perception of the characteristics of young single people on which design recommendations are based. These include their mobility, possessions, domestic routine and social activities (sociability).

Chapters 8 and 9 concentrate on the design of the housing provided for young single people and how this matches their physical and social requirements. Figure 5.3 itemises the actual housing requirements investigated in the research. This figure was used as a checklist and matched against both the individual dwelling units and aspects of the design of each scheme as a whole.

Figure 5.3 Young Single Peoples' Housing Requirements

PHYSICAL

Space Preparing food
 Cooking
 Eating
 Reading or watching television
 Studying
 Hobbies
 Entertaining people:
 for drinks/coffee
 for a meal
 to stay
 Laundry
 Drying washing
 Ironing
 Bathing etc
 Sleeping
 Storing: personal
 kitchen
 dwelling

SOCIAL

Privacy
 Sociability
 Control
 Cheapness

Services

Heating and hot water
 Electric sockets
 Ventilation
 Daylight

Site Related Factors

Location
 Parking
 Security

5.5.4 Structuring the Analysis

Evaluation of the first research proposition had shown, inter alia, that the design guidance most frequently referred to in the construction of public sector housing schemes for young single people to rent was the series of government Design Bulletins. In order to analyse the data required to evaluate the second research proposition it was decided to adopt the Design Bulletin criteria as the basis for comparison. It was intended to compare the profiles of single people outlined in the Design Bulletins, on whom the design recommendations had been based, with the profiles of tenants actually living in the case studies in order to ascertain the extent to which they matched. Initial research had suggested that there would be considerable mismatch between these groups. The degree of mismatch is discussed in Chapter 7 and leads to the formulation of the third research proposition.

5.6 Methods Used to Test the Third Research Proposition

The third research proposition will follow on from the previous research propositions, if they are supported by the evidence. It states that:

There is a mismatch between the specifically designed, public sector, rented housing provided for young single people and their accommodation requirements.

Three stages can be identified in the evaluation of this research proposition. First, the accommodation requirements of young single people had to be identified. Second, the accommodation provided had to be considered in detail. Third, the data obtained from the first two stages was compared and evaluated in order to ascertain whether in fact a mismatch existed between the type of accommodation young single people require and that specifically provided by the public sector. A description of the methods used to obtain the

information required to evaluate the third research proposition follows. The evaluation of this research proposition will be considered in Chapters 8 and 9.

As previously outlined in Section 5.3 the information required to evaluate the second stage of research proposition 2 was obtained by using a questionnaire and a follow up in-depth survey of selected tenants and flats. This two stage approach to data collection was also used to obtain the information required to evaluate the third research proposition. Questions concerning the accommodation requirements of young single people and their attitude towards the dwelling, the surrounding area and the management of the scheme, formed the larger part of the questionnaire. The follow-up survey of selected tenants provided more detailed information on these issues in addition to providing information on tenants' life-styles, required for the evaluation of the second research proposition. Both the questionnaire and the survey will be considered in detail in the following section.

5.7 Methods of Data Collection

For the reasons previously discussed in Sections 5.5 and 5.6 of this chapter a questionnaire was considered the most appropriate method of obtaining the bulk of the information required to complete the evaluation of the second and third research propositions. However, the questionnaire was considered too clumsy a research tool to extract the detailed personal information required for an evaluation of life-style characteristics. Accordingly a second stage of data collection was undertaken. In-depth personal interviews were conducted together with detailed surveys including observation and measurement of selected tenants' flats. These two methods of data collection used in the research will now be considered in turn.

5.7.1 The Questionnaire

The questionnaire was designed to serve two main functions. First, it was designed to extract profile data from tenants in order to evaluate the second research proposition. Thus relatively straightforward questions on age, sex, marital status, etc. were included. In addition, to the extent that an impersonal questionnaire allows, more complex questions relating to life-style characteristics were included; for example mobility, that is, the temporary or otherwise nature of occupation. The second function the questionnaire served was to obtain the data required to evaluate the third research proposition. For this purpose questions designed to ascertain the housing requirements of young single people and the extent to which these requirements were met by the accommodation provided, were included.

There are a number of different methods of building appraisal, reflecting the different approaches toward evaluation and the different aspects of the building which may be evaluated.(8) The Housing Appraisal Kit, (HAK) is a simple sociological tool designed for obtaining practicable and usable information about the complex and interrelated problems of tenants' attitudes towards their dwellings.(9) This provided the starting point in the design of the questionnaire used in this research.

The HAK is designed to appraise schemes in terms of user satisfaction by identifying the main problem areas. This research is concerned with the concepts behind the design of these main problem areas rather than the design problems, if any, per.se. The research was undertaken in order to ascertain whether, and how, those concepts which were translated into design recommendations by the Design Bulletins matched the housing requirements of young single people.

The Housing Appraisal Kit was designed jointly by the Department of the Environment and the Greater London Council. The HAK was designed in order to assist local authorities undertaking social surveys of their tenants' attitudes to the design and layout of their housing, with the eventual aim of enabling local authorities to build the housing that their tenants want. First published in 1978 it was intended for new housing schemes but the revised version, published in 1983 extended the scope of the Housing Appraisal Kit to include improvement work.(10) The HAK contains full instructions for mounting and reporting on a survey, together with all the necessary questionnaires and a computer programme for analysing the results.(11)

Although the HAK questionnaire was designed for the appraisal of user satisfaction of general needs housing estates it was decided to use the basic design of the HAK questionnaire for two reasons. First, the design of the HAK questionnaire had already been tested and problems removed. Second, providing data in a standardised form would allow ready comparison between schemes should future research be undertaken in this field. The questionnaire format was the only part of the HAK appropriate for use in this research. The survey methods presumed a large team at the disposal of the researcher which was not the case here, whilst the computer programme did not provide the analysis required for the purposes of this research.

The HAK questionnaire includes different types of questions ranging from those which are answered simply by a tick against a limited choice of options, to open questions which allow respondents to freely express their views. It mainly deals with the dwelling and the estate but also includes some questions on the surrounding area. The same format of questions were maintained in the questionnaire used in this research. However, the content and direction of the questions was altered to ensure that the questionnaire, and the data it obtained,

were pertinent to the evaluation of the research propositions. Design guidance, in particular the series of Design Bulletins relating to young single person housing schemes, highlights the importance of a number of factors to the success of such schemes. These include, inter alia, the importance of location and access, communal facilities and design to enhance social integration, and the influence of management. Accordingly questions designed to elicit information on these issues were included in the questionnaire used for this research.

5.7.2 The Pilot Study

Having compiled the questionnaire a pilot study was undertaken in order to ascertain whether it was appropriate for obtaining the relevant information from tenants which was required to evaluate the research propositions and to ensure that the questions were clear and unambiguous. A small sample of twenty tenants were selected and given pilot questionnaires. The tenants taking part in the pilot study were chosen from one block in the scheme designated as Case Study C. This scheme comprised of three separate accommodation blocks. This design enabled a degree of physical separation between the location of the flats of the tenants taking part in the pilot study and those who would be asked to respond to the main questionnaire. Research literature indicates that it is important to ensure that the pilot sample is not only representative of the population to be surveyed, but that there is also a degree of separation to minimise the risk of contamination, i.e. the chance that the tenants responding to the pilot survey might influence the responses of those responding to the main questionnaire.(12) In addition, as short a time lapse as possible was allowed between the pilot and the actual survey in order to help minimise the chance that the conditions under which the research was being carried out might change and thus the main survey

might receive a different reception from the pilot survey.

The questionnaire was distributed to those tenants taking part in the pilot study and picked up a few days later. On collection the respondents were asked a number of personal details about themselves in order to obtain information considered too sensitive to elicit a response if it had been included in the main questionnaire. In addition, the respondents to the pilot questionnaire were questioned about their response to the format of the questionnaire and the character of the information discussed in it. The information obtained from this pilot study was used to refine the research questionnaire. The main change made was to include the supplementary personal questions obtained by interview in the main questionnaire since the pilot study had indicated that people were prepared to provide such information and, in a number of cases, were surprised that they had not been requested to do so originally. One respondent stated that the questionnaire was very 'cold' and that it should include 'more about the people themselves'.

A few respondents stated that they felt the pilot length of half an hour was optimistic. However, since all those who queried the length of the pilot questionnaire had completed it, no reductions were made in the length of the research questionnaire.

Having piloted and revised the questionnaire one copy was presented to every tenant living in the three housing schemes used as case studies. A copy of the questionnaire is included in Appendix III.

5.7.3 Interviews and Surveys

The Design Bulletins refer, indirectly, to a range of criteria concerning the tenants' life-style and also to base recommendations and standards for the design of young single person housing schemes based on, inter alia, these criteria. These life-style

criteria are composed of inter-related variables and because of this are more complex to identify and evaluate. Some questions relating to life-style criteria, for example the tenants' previous accommodation and reasons for leaving, or the importance of social contact within the scheme, were included in the research questionnaire. However the research demanded a more detailed evaluation of life-style criteria than could be gained from the data obtained through the use of a questionnaire. Accordingly a second stage of data collection, involving detailed personal interviews and accompanying surveys of tenants' flats, was undertaken to provide information on how tenants actually lived.

Limited resources prevented all tenants in the three young single person schemes used as case studies from being included in this second stage of data collection. In-depth interviews and surveys were completed with selected tenants from one scheme referred to as Case Study A. The selection of tenants for this second stage of the survey was made to ensure that the range of accommodation provided in the scheme was represented.

Analysis of the initial questionnaire survey indicated the main points tenants particularly liked and disliked in the three types of accommodation provided in the young single person housing scheme referred to as Case Study A. The range of both positive and negative feedback was ranked according to the number of times mentioned. These rankings are shown for the three types of accommodation in Figures 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6. It should be noted that the information was compiled from open-ended questions on the questionnaire, the range of response was entirely at the tenants' discretion. The rankings shown in these figures reflect the response obtained from 35 bedsit tenants, 40 tenants of one bedroom flats and 8 tenants of shared two-bedroom flats. This information provided an indication of the areas to be investigated

in greater detail by the in-depth follow-up interviews. The main points are briefly discussed below.

A semi-structured interview format was used to allow for flexibility in responses and enable a wide range of information to be obtained. A copy of the interview schedule is enclosed in Appendix IV. The flats were surveyed at the same time as the interview was conducted. Plans obtained from the scheme architect were used to note measurements of rooms and furniture, the use of space and the positioning and grouping of furniture. The data obtained from these surveys is discussed in detail in the evaluation of the second and third research propositions in Chapters 7, 8 and 9 respectively.

Figure 5.4 Aspects of the Bedsits Liked by Tenants

	No.	%
1 Self contained	13	37
2 Central heating	7	20
3 Constant hot water	4	11
3 Well equipped	4	11
3 Secure	4	11
4 Quiet	3	9
5 Good size of living room	2	6
6 Position	1	3
6 Storage	1	3
6 All charges included	1	3

Aspects of the Bedsits Disliked by Tenants

	No.	%
1 Poor Ventilation	12	34
2 Noisy	8	23
3 Kitchen too small	6	17
4 No windows in kitchen	5	14
4 Flat too small	5	14
5 Shape of room	4	11
6 Poor quality finishes	3	9
7 Lack of daylight	2	6
7 Not enough storage	2	6
8 Position	1	3
8 Fridge too small	1	3
8 Rent too high	1	3

Figure 5.5 Aspects of the One-Bedroom Flats Liked by Tenants

	No.	%
1 Self Contained	9	23
2 Central Heating	7	18
3 Size	4	10
4 Layout/Design	3	8
4 Separate Bedrooms	3	8
4 Furniture provided	3	8
4 Everything included in rent	3	8
5 Plenty of electrical points	2	5
5 Location	2	5
6 Storage	1	3

Aspects of the One-Bedroom Flats Disliked by Tenants

	No.	%
1 Windows	20	50
2 Storage	9	23
3 Ventilation	7	18
3 Size	7	18
4 Space	6	15
5 Services	5	13
6 Noise	3	8
6 Poor finishes	3	8
7 No drying space	1	3
7 No garden	1	3
7 Furnished	1	3
7 Expensive	1	3
7 Non tenants use facilities	1	3

Figure 5.6 Aspects of the Two-Bedroom Shared Flats Liked by Tenants

	No.	%
1 Size of living room	8	50
2 Constant hot water	4	25
3 Central heating	4	25
3 Carpets	2	13
3 Laundry	2	13
3 Freedom to decorate	2	13

Aspects of the Two-Bedroom Shared Flats Disliked by Tenants

	No.	%
1 Windows - size and position	12	75
2 Windows - not enough	8	50
3 Poor ventilation	6	38
4 Kitchen not a separate room	4	25
5 Bedrooms too small	2	13
5 Front door not secure	2	13
5 No pets allowed	2	13
5 No garden	2	13

From Figures 5.4, 5.5, and 5.6 it can be seen that tenants of both bedsits and one bedroom flats most frequently cited the self-contained nature of their accommodation as the feature they most appreciated. All tenants enjoyed the central heating and constant hot water, though with some reservations which will be considered in detail in Chapter 9. Poor ventilation and the lack of and small size of windows were the aspects of design most frequently cited as inadequate by tenants of all three types of accommodation. Ventilation of the kitchen was particularly selected for criticism and this may be an important factor in determining the number of bedsit tenants who felt that the kitchen was too small. The fact that both the kitchens had bathrooms and no windows was also disliked. Lack of natural daylight in the bedsit in particular was criticised.

Tenants of both the bedsits and one-bedroom flats found problems with noise. However, it should be noted that a small number of tenants stated that they liked their bedsit because it was quiet. This difference in opinion reflects not only the quality of sound insulation and design of the accommodation but also the position within the scheme and the tenants' tolerance. It was decided to investigate these variables further in the follow-up interviews. A copy of the interview schedule is enclosed in Appendix III.

5.8 Summary

This chapter states the research problem and identifies the three research propositions. The research programme devised to obtain the information required to evaluate the three research propositions is discussed and the methods used for data collection are considered. These were, namely, the interviews carried out to obtain the information required to evaluate the first research proposition and the questionnaire and follow up in-depth survey designed to obtain the

information required to evaluate propositions 2 and 3. The analysis of the data and the evaluation of the research propositions follows in the next chapters.

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Chapter 6

This chapter will examine the evidence in order to evaluate the first research proposition. The second and third research propositions will be considered in the following chapters.

6.1 The First Research Proposition

The first research proposition states that:

specifically designed public sector housing provision available for young single people to rent has been and continues to be designed according to the recommendations and standards contained in the design guidance for young single person housing.

This proposition forms the basis of the research problem. If this proposition is found to be incorrect then the research problem as proposed could not be investigated.

In order to collect the data required to evaluate this proposition, interviews were conducted with a range of people responsible for the planning and design of young single person housing in a number of different housing organisations including local authorities, New Town Development Corporations, housing associations and voluntary organisations. The methodology for the selection of the range of housing organisations approached, and the techniques of investigation used, have been discussed in detail in the previous Chapter. Two distinct groups of people involved in the design of young single person housing were interviewed. First, preliminary informal interviews were conducted with the architects and housing developers of twelve London-based housing associations and housing co-operatives which specialised in providing accommodation for young single people. Second, more detailed semi-structured interviews were held with the architects and planners involved in the development of the three young single person housing schemes selected as case studies. The questions asked aimed to establish whether design guidance was used by these

organisations, the types of design guidance they referred to, the process by which design guidance recommendations and standards were incorporated into their designs and the extent to which these recommendations and standards had actually been included in the completed building. A copy of the interview schedule is enclosed in Appendix II.

6.2 The Use of Design Guidance

All of those interviewed stated that they used at least one form of design guidance during the planning, briefing and design of housing for young single people but the extent of usage varied and this is discussed in the next section. In addition they all stated that either directly or indirectly they made use of the information contained in the relevant Design Bulletins (numbers 29,31 and 33). Two of the London housing associations stated that although most of their work was on the rehabilitation of existing property, they referred to Design Bulletin 29 when working on a new build scheme. For rehabilitation schemes they preferred to use the general purpose brief introduced by the Circle Thirty Three Housing Trust. This was used as a basic check list rather than a design guide. Interviews with officers from the Circle Thirty Three Housing Trust found that this document does in fact incorporate the main details from the Design Bulletins. The GLC Housing Manual was also referred to by one organisation; the architect interviewed stated that they had tried to use it but had found it an 'enormous unwieldy document, nearly unuseable (because) it is so very specific'.

In addition to published design guides nearly all the organisations contacted referred to internal 'check lists' of one sort or another. However, these were often so informal as to be passed on by word of mouth, the actual compilation of these documents was something

that more than one organisation 'never seemed to get around to doing'. However, the check list used by one national housing association incorporated main details from the Design Bulletins.(1)

Thus the interviews showed that of the wide range of housing organisations consulted, all used design guidance literature in the formulation of their housing provision for young single people. Design Bulletins 29 and 33 were the documents most frequently referred to, both directly and indirectly. This is in accordance with both Housing Corporation and Government procedure. The Housing Corporation requires housing associations to bring a list of design publications to the attention of their consultants. Design Bulletin 29 is the Housing Corporations recommended design guide for single person housing. In its publication 'Design and Contact Criteria for Fair Rent Projects' the Housing Corporation states that the design guides they recommend 'do not prescribe particular design solutions but indicate the framework of current understanding within which acceptable schemes should be developed'.(2) Similarly Government regulations concerning the approval of housing finance for local authority housing schemes follow Design Bulletin criteria. This will be discussed in greater detail in the next section.

Whilst the organisations consulted all referred to design guidance, the extent to which they used the standards and recommendations contained in the design guidance varied. A number of factors contributed to determine the extent to which design guidance recommendations and standards were utilised. These will be discussed in the following sections.

6.3 Factors Relating to Architects' Use of Design Guidance

From the interviews three main factors influencing the extent to which the design guidance recommendations and standards were incorporated into the design of young single person housing schemes were identified. These were, first, the experience of the designing team, second, the influence of the system for resource allocation and third, the design process, that is, the way in which the housing organisation formulates the design and the relationship between those involved in this process. Each of these factors will now be considered.

6.3.1 The Experience of the Designing Team

From the interviews it emerged that those architects and designers who had considerable previous experience of designing single person housing schemes tended to refer to design guidance less than those who were working on their first schemes of this type or had only limited previous experience of such schemes. This tendency of architects to rely less on guidance as their design experience of a building type increased corresponds with the literature expectations.(3) However, regardless of their previous professional knowledge of designing young single person housing schemes, the majority of those interviewed made reference to their own personal understanding of student accommodation, citing this as one of their qualifications for designing young single person housing schemes. Although personal experience may have some relevance and should not automatically be dismissed it is important to note that such statements explicitly equated young single peoples' housing requirements with those of students. This is understandable to some extent as for many architects their student days may well be the only period in their lives when they were young single people requiring rented accommodation. However, as the young single people who live in these

housing schemes do not necessarily have the same background, education, job prospects and housing aspirations as student architects, reliance on the architects own experience of student accommodation as a basis for the design of young single person housing schemes is obviously inadequate.

6.3.2 Finance

The research indicated that the condition on which finance is made available, or not, to housing reorganisation can influence the design of the housing produced by these organisations. Both the rules and regulations governing the allocation of Housing Corporation finance to housing associations and co-operatives and the stringent rules of financial allocation in operation in local authorities appeared to affect design.

A number of architects interviewed were currently working or had previously worked with local authorities designing young single person housing schemes. These interviewees with local authority experience stated that the schemes they had designed for local authorities had to comply with the Housing Cost Yardstick measurement of housing finance allocation which was in operation at the time of design. This has previously been considered in Chapters 3 and 4. The important factor in determining whether any housing scheme would meet the financial limitations for public capital finance was that of site density. The influence of site density requirements for mainstream family housing has been documented elsewhere, for example the Institute of Housing has, inter alia, considered the implications of such policies on the encouragement of high rise flat design.(4) However housing for young single people was outside the regulations for mainstream housing. The first young single person housing scheme built by a local authority, Goscourte House in Leicester, was built to an 'ad

hoc' yardstick.(5) This was later extended to other local authorities' young single person housing schemes.(6) The architect who designed the young single person housing scheme used as Case Study A stated that; 'The Department of the Environment at that time were allocating money against density so the more (flats/bed spaces) we could get on, the more money we would get'.(7)

Whilst public finance via the Housing Corporation to housing associations and co-operatives operated along similar guidelines to those of bedspace density, (later superseded by a value for money or Total Indicative Cost (TIC) assessment) the financial regulations were and continue to be different. One housing association developer interviewed stated there was a 'strong financial incentive to influence design'. The Housing Corporation allocated the money available for capital finance to housing associations in the form of Housing Association Grant, (HAG). This grant is divided between different categories of housing provision according to changing priorities. One such category, Shared Housing, includes cluster flats, group homes and hostels. Additional revenue finance is available from the Department of the Environment for hostel projects in the form of Hostel Deficit Grant to cover management and service costs in excess of those generated by other types of housing. Given the uncertainty of revenue finance, Hostel Deficit Grant is the only secure form of income. This acts as a strong incentive to set up hostel projects. The interviewee stated that:

I think all housing associations have done hostel projects for groups that didn't really need hostels. On the other hand those people housed in them probably wouldn't be housed today if the hostels hadn't been built. Although the hostel was inappropriate it was better than nothing.

However, architects and developers from three other housing associations considered that whilst finance does indeed influence design, it does so only marginally. To substantiate their claim, they referred to simple changes in design feature, such as the addition of a

porch or the provision of extra storage, which only slightly changed the building but was sufficient to maximise the grant eligible according to the Total Indicative Cost limits. One architect stated that, '(we) arrange the accommodation to maximise the grant. This requires some forethought'.

One key point which emerged from the research interviews was the duplication required by the participation of several government departments in the development of a scheme. The Department of the Environment, the Department of Health and Social Security, and local authority Planning and Environmental Health departments all have slightly different definitions of the distinctions between the categories of shared housing used by the Housing Corporation. The majority of housing associations interviewed stated that it was common practice to provide a different set of drawings for each funding/approving body. One architect stated that, 'The design of the scheme would not necessarily change but the descriptions and annotations may do so in order to get the scheme passed by the different bodies'.

Thus the research indicated that whilst those architects interviewed disagreed on the extent to which finance influenced design, ranging from the 'inappropriate provisions of hostels' to 'slight alterations to maximise grant eligibility', a general consensus existed that finance did in fact influence design.

6.3.3 The Design Process

Different housing organisations have different ways of organising the design process, that is, the way in which they arrange the production of a young single person housing scheme. The choice of interviewees at this stage of the research reflected this range of approaches to the design process. As previously discussed in Chapter 5,

the architects and other professionals involved in the design of young single person accommodation came from both large organisations where the professionals involved in the design process worked in different departments and from private firms who worked for housing organisations on specific projects. The evidence from the research indicated that whilst different approaches to organising the design process did not appear to have a direct effect on the architects use of design guidance, the different design processes did enable varying degrees of client input towards the final design. This is important since previous research has argued that effective communication between client and architect in the design of buildings in general is necessary if all the available experience and expertise are to be brought to bear in the design of the scheme and problems with the completed buildings are to be avoided.(8) For example, in one of the interviews it emerged that design features which had caused problems to both housing management and tenants in one scheme had been repeated in a subsequent scheme. This might have been avoided if the organisation and procedures for feedback and consultation had existed.

However, before considering the differences in the organisation of the design process and the varying degrees of client input it is first necessary to identify the client for whom the young single person housing scheme is designed. The research considers the young single person housing schemes from the tenants' position. The tenants can be regarded as the user clients for whom the scheme is being designed. However, tenant participation in the design process of public sector housing is a relatively new concept. None of the young single person housing schemes considered in the research had any form of tenant input into their design. The evidence from the interviews indicated that the housing managers who have the eventual responsibility for the running of such housing schemes were regarded as

the clients by those involved in the design process. This discussion will distinguish between the formal client, that is the housing management client, and the tenants who are the ultimate or user clients.

In order to consider the way in which different approaches to design allowed for different degrees of client impact on design the structure of the housing organisations' design processes were considered.

Despite the advantage that in-house architects appear to have over the commissioned architect regarding ease of access to the formal client, the research found that in all of the local government organisations studied and in one of the larger nation-wide housing associations, there was little communication between the housing managers who act as clients and the architects' department. The evidence suggested that in some cases the design process is regarded solely as a function of the architects' department and liaison with housing management or user groups is not deemed necessary. Since their contribution to the design process on behalf of the tenants is not recognised, no formal channels of communication for briefing have been established between departments. In addition, in larger housing organisations, such as local authorities or nation-wide housing associations, the technical services department may well be situated in separate buildings or based in a different area from the housing managers (who act as formal clients), thus creating a physical barrier to informal input.

Even where housing management input at the design stage of a project is considered vital by those involved, the process by which this is organised may hinder the initial aims of the exercise. For example, the architect of Case Study A stated that briefing meetings had been held both prior and during the development of this scheme. In this case the briefing team consisted of the maintenance officer, the housing manager and the architect. In addition members of the local

authority housing committee had to approve the decisions made. However despite this procedure a number of design changes had to be made whilst the scheme was under construction. The caretakers' flat was increased first from a one bedroom to a two bedroom apartment and subsequently to a three bedroom apartment because housing management found it impossible to attract a suitable applicant to the position with only a small apartment to offer. In order to allow for these changes, cuts had to be made elsewhere in the scheme. In addition the mix of accommodation was reconsidered and the larger units intended for four people sharing were withdrawn.

The architect attributed the fact that 'the briefing period wasn't so successful', to two main factors. First, to the urgency with which the scheme had to be on site and completed despite the delays caused by referring design decisions to the local councillors. Second, to the fact that only the architects were bringing design information to the briefing process. However, according to the same architect, the actual briefing process appeared to consist of the architects presenting housing management with the number of units of accommodation which could fit in the site and asking for their comments on the mix of unit size and the ratio of furnished provision. He stated that the housing managers did not have 'much idea' about the design process and did not appear particularly interested at this stage, yet this is hardly surprising since the briefing process he described did not appear to encourage additional housing management input. Whilst this procedure may reflect both the financial and physical constraints placed upon design it does not fully utilise the available experience and expertise of those supposedly involved in the design process. It also confirms the findings of other research that involving the client, in this case the housing managers, does not necessarily mean that they are able to structure and present relevant client briefing information

in a form which can be incorporated into design.(9)

The evidence from the research indicated that in the housing organisations where an external architectural practice was usually or even only occasionally employed, the formal client, who may be either the housing organisation or a voluntary body for which the housing organisation was providing a professional service, appeared to have a greater input into the design process. Where a voluntary organisation was the formal client, the most usual arrangement for input into the design process appeared to be through a series of informal discussions between the formal client, housing organisation representatives and the architect. At these meetings the formal client's aspirations and expectations for the eventual scheme were discussed and formulated into design proposals. The provision of a formal brief and or formal briefing documents was not common practice in the smaller housing organisations. One housing development officer stated that 'given that our work is mainly conversion the brief usually arises out of trying to match up the requirements of the voluntary agency with the actual properties we have'.

So far the discussion has concentrated on the relationship between formal client input into the design process and the utilisation of in-house or external architects. The internal organisation of the housing associations and local authorities was another factor in defining the extent of formal client input into the design process. For example, one of the housing associations interviewed had area housing management teams who, in theory, would be the formal client because they had local knowledge of the housing needs of young single people. However, the development officer stated that invariably the design process would be virtually completed before the property for development was purchased and thus before the area housing management team could be identified.

6.4 Summary of the Evidence Relating to the First Research Proposition

The evidence from the research supported this research proposition. It showed that a cross section of housing organisations who provide specifically designed housing for young single people to rent, base their designs on the recommendations and standards contained in the design guidance. In particular the series of Government Design Bulletins concerned with this type of housing provision, Numbers 23, 29 and 33, emerged as the design guidance most frequently referred to both directly and indirectly through the incorporation of the main details into various in-house briefing documents.

The extent to which the design guidance is referred to and the standards and recommendations are incorporated into young single person housing design varies. Three main factors appear to affect the use of design guidance. First, the experience of the designing team, second, the influence of finance and third, the design process, that is the way in which the housing organisation arranges the design formulation. In addition the relationship between those involved in the design process was also found to affect design in respect to effective feedback and client input and participation.

Having considered the general use of design guidance in the design of young single person housing a more detailed examination of the use of design guidance in the three young single person housing schemes used as case studies follows.

6.5 The Use of Design Guidance in the Three Case Study Schemes

The single person housing scheme referred to as Case Study A is a local authority scheme and was the first such scheme the authority built. The scheme was begun in September 1975 and completed in March 1978, during this period the design of the scheme was changed three times, as previously discussed in Section 6.3.3. However, despite these

alterations, the architect concerned stated that the design closely followed the standards and recommendations contained in the Design Bulletins. He stated that there was 'close collaboration' with the Department of the Environment's consultants who were working on the Leicester scheme, Goscourte House, which is discussed in detail in Design Bulletins 29, and 33.

Case Study B was designed by a private practice of architects for a nation-wide housing association. Like Case Study A this scheme was also completed in 1978. The space standards and recommendations adhered to were those defined in Design Bulletin 29 which at the time of briefing was, according to the architect concerned, 'only in draft form'. The considerable expertise in the field of single person housing gained by the housing association through its history of providing this type of accommodation was also drawn upon via the briefing process.

Case Study C was designed and planned by a New Town Development Corporation and was then handed over to a housing association for management. The distinct division of the design and management functions between these two organisations and the fact that the management housing association was not finally determined until the scheme was nearing completion did not allow for any design input from the management team, despite their considerable knowledge of this field. The housing association who manages this scheme is a nation-wide one concerned solely with the provision of single person accommodation and is closely affiliated with a youth work organisation. Like the previous two case studies, this scheme was designed to Design Bulletin 29 specifications, although it was completed slightly earlier in 1977.

Whilst the three case study schemes were all built according to the design recommendations and standards contained in Design

Bulletin 29, the schemes do vary in composition and appearance. Figure 6.1 summarises and compares the main features of the three young single person housing schemes used as case studies. These aspects of design will be considered in greater detail, together with the design of the individual units of accommodation provided, in the analysis of the third research proposition in Chapters 8 and 9. The following photographs and site plans clearly show the difference in design and layout between the three case study schemes.

The layout of the case study schemes was considerably influenced by the nature of the site made available for the project. It is interesting to note that during the interviews with the architects of Case Studies A and B it emerged that they both considered that they had been allocated waste or residual land for these schemes. It appeared to be an accepted fact that single person housing was the only housing provision suitable for these sorts of sites, i.e., 'difficult sites'. One architect stated that the site 'couldn't be used for anything else but single person housing'. This attitude towards single person housing provision reflects the generally perceived residual nature of this type of accommodation which still persists.

Plan A shows the site plan of Case Study A. This shows that the site is bounded to the north by a railway line which is frequently used at night for shunting goods wagons. The main Aylesbury to Oxford road which, 'may be widened at any time to dual carriageway', lies to the south east next to a brook which 'regularly floods'.(10) The architect stated that preservation orders on four of the large oak trees on the site and the presence of a gas main running from the main road through to the housing estate on the far side placed additional restrictions on layout.

Figure 6.1 Case Study Comparison

	<u>SCHEME A</u>	<u>SCHEME B</u>	<u>SCHEME C</u>
LOCATION	0.5 miles from town centre One small grocery shop in the adjoining estate Frequent bus service to town centre	2 miles from city centre Shops and post office 5 minutes walk away Infrequent bus service to city centre	Next to city centre No late night local shops Central for bus services over city
ACCOMMODATION	88 Bedsits * } 50% Furnished 64 One-Bedroom Flats } 10 Two-Bedroom Flats All Furnished 162 units * 2 bedsits designed for wheelchair users	38 Bedsits 31 One-Bedroom Flats 19 Two-Bedroom Flats 88 units	88 bedsits * - 18 Two-Bedroom Flats 106 units * 1 bedsit designed for wheelchair user
SIZE	172 tenants	107 tenants	124 tenants
AGE LIMITS TO TENANCY	18 - 50	17 - 50	17 - 25
SCHEME FACILITIES	Common Room Laundry Pay Phone Guest Room Car Parking Bike Racks	Residents Lounge and Bar Laundry Pay Phone - Car Parking -	Common Room - - - Car Parking -
SERVICES			
Heating	Full central heating during winter Radiators individually controlled in flats from scheme boilers	Underfloor background heating during winter controlled centrally	Warm air heating during winter controlled centrally from scheme boilers
Refuse	Central refuse shuts for each block Internal access on first and second floors only	Four refuse sheds at the perimeter of the scheme containing individual dust bins	Refuse room situated on the ground floor of each residential staircase
Security	Door entry system automatic opening between 6 - 8 am	-----	Door entry system
Mail	Each flat has a letter box	Each flat has a letter box	Mail boxes grouped by main entrances, due to vandalism these are no longer in use and mail has to be collected from the office.
MANAGEMENT	Residential warden Office	Residential manager Office	Residential warden Residential caretakers assistant Office
Rent	Includes rates and all heating and service charges Managed and designed by different departments of a local authority	Includes rates and background heating and service charges Each flat individually metered for electricity charges Managed by a housing association designed by a commissioned firm of architects	Includes rates and all heating and service charges Managed by a housing association designed by a New Town Development Corporation, now owned by a local authority

Plan A
Scheme A

Plan C
Scheme C

CASE STUDY A: BLOCK C

CASE STUDY A: View from Oxford Road

CASE STUDY A: Block D and Car Park

CASE STUDY A: Blocks E and D

CASE STUDY A: Entrance to Scheme, Blocks A, B and C

CASE STUDY A: Block C

CASE STUDY B: Entrance to Scheme, Common Room

CASE STUDY B: Passage Leading to Common Room

CASE STUDY B: Views of Courtyard and Flats

CASE STUDY B: Views of Courtyard and Flats

CASE STUDY B: Shared Flats

CASE STUDY B: Shared Flats

CASE STUDY C: South View of Block C

CASE STUDY C: North View of Block C

CASE STUDY C: East Passage

CASE STUDY C: East View of Scheme

Case Study A is composed of five blocks of two and three storeys. The main entrances (m) give access to a stairwell from which the central corridor extends. This corridor runs the length of the block on the top floor only, though fire doors and internal staggering maintain the separate identity of each residential grouping.

The site allocated for Case Study B, shown in Plan B, was a residual area between family housing to the north, a primary school to the east, and the main road, part of the kilometre grid system of Milton Keynes. The architect stated that he decided to reflect the triangular site in his design.(11) The scheme is composed of five two-storey 'L' shaped buildings with the residents' lounge and Managers' Office and residence situated at the central pivot of the scheme. The main vehicular entrance to the scheme faces the landscaping around this central building. The flats and bedsits surround two central courtyards and face the landscaped rise at the rear of the scheme, which serves as a sound barrier from the main road. Every four first floor flats are served by a separate external stairway.

Plan C shows the site plan of Case Study C. This scheme contains three large three-storey blocks. Each block is composed of two separate residential buildings. Blocks A and B have shops and offices on the ground floor with residential dwellings on the top two floors. Block C has residential dwellings on all three floors. A through footpath at each side of the scheme links the blocks and also provides access to the adjacent residential area to the rear of the scheme. The area between Blocks A and B is landscaped and car parking is provided between Blocks B and C. Each block is divided internally into two separate buildings, the flats are grouped off the two stairways leading from the entrance halls.

The main criticisms commonly leveled at design guidance were previously considered in Chapter 4. It is worth noting here the fact

that design guidance is often regarded as a limit to design since the minimum standards which it advocates become, due mainly to the way in which housing finance is allocated, standard design. This comparison shows that it is possible to achieve a degree of flexibility in design, at least regarding external appearance, whilst following the guidance. The difference in appearance and content between the schemes, in particular, between Case Study B and the other two schemes, attests to this. However, the distinct similarities between the design of Case Studies A and C support the claim that guidance can limit design, or create a climate which encourages limited design.

This brief comparative discussion of the three young single person housing schemes used as case studies shows that they were designed according to the recommendations and standards in the design guidance, in particular Design Bulletin 29. The next chapter will consider the criteria upon which this design guidance is based through the analysis of the second research proposition.

CHAPTER 6 REFERENCES

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CHAPTER 7

7.1 The Second Research Proposition

The second research proposition states that:

The relevant design guidance is not based on accurate perceptions of the characteristics of young single people.

In order to evaluate this research proposition each of the characteristics attributed to both younger and older single people in the relevant design guidance were compared with the characteristics of the tenants in the three single person housing schemes used as case studies. The evaluation of the first research proposition found, inter alia, that the series of Government Design Bulletins were the design guides most frequently referred to, both directly and indirectly, by the designers of young single person housing schemes.(1) The profiles of single people outlined in this series of Design Bulletins were used as the basis for this stage of the analysis since the design recommendations and standards they contain are based on this assessment of the characteristics of single people. Both personal characteristics and life-style criteria were considered. The personal characteristics of age, marital status, income and employment are self explanatory. The life-style criteria are more complex.

The life-style criteria can be grouped into four broad categories which will be referred to as Mobility, Possessions, Daily Routine and Social Activities. The relevant paragraphs from the design guidance which refer to these life-style criteria are shown in Figure 7.1. These life-style criteria are more complex than the personal characteristics, since each is composed of a number of attributes and may relate to more than one aspect of design. For example, the design guidance states that single people are work rather than home orientated.(2) The design guidance has previously outlined the type of work that single people of all ages are expected to be employed in. The nature of the work was linked with mobility; young single people

Figure 7.1 Design Guidance Lifestyle Criteria of Single People

	<u>YOUNGER SINGLE PEOPLE</u>	<u>OLDER SINGLE PEOPLE</u>
MOBILITY	Single people are work rather than home orientated.(1)	
	Mobile. (Para. 12b). own.	Wish to settle down in a permanent home of their own (Para. 12a)
POSSESSIONS	Do not want to tie themselves down by buying furniture. (Para. 12b) Do not possess furniture. (Para. 96)	May have their own furniture. (Para. 12a)
	Accumulate a lot of belongings (Para. 51) Often have a lot of electrical equipment (Para. 112)	
DOMESTIC ROUTINE	Single people are out all day at work (Paras. 36, 39, 43, 66, 117, 119)	
	Young single people are often out all evening as well (Para. 24)	
	Most single people like to be able to cook for themselves on quite a scale. A few, mainly men, never cook and make do with snacks unless they have visitors. (Para. 65)	
SOCIAL ACTIVITIES	Single people rely on social contact outside the home more than other people. (Para. 24)	
	Single people will want to make friends within the housing scheme as well as in the district. (Para. 25)	
REFERENCES	1. Housing Corporation, <u>Occasional Briefing Paper No.4, February 1977, p.5.</u>	
	<u>Paragraphs from Department of the Environment, Housing Single People II: A Design Guide with a description of a scheme at Leicester, Design Bulletin 29, HMSO, 1974.</u>	

are highly motivated to move for or with their employment, whilst older single people want to settle down. This is translated by the design guidance into recommendations for two distinct categories of accommodation; smaller units intended for the temporary residence of younger single people and larger units for the older, more permanent residents. In addition, young single people's expected orientation towards their work affects the expected picture of their daily routine; they will be out all day and only use the accommodation in the evenings. When the Social Activities life-style characteristic is also considered, in particular the design guidance expectation that young single people will often be out in the evenings, (3) then the design recommendation for temporary accommodation which provides merely a place to sleep appears to reasonably follow. The research intends to investigate these perceptions of personal and life-style characteristics. Greater emphasis will be placed on the analysis of the life-style criteria since they have a more profound influence on design which will be discussed in the analysis of the third research proposition in Chapters 8 and 9.

Whilst it would be interesting to consider each and every characteristic attributed to the two groups of single people by the design guidance, only those characteristics which have design implications and therefore are of relevance to the analysis of the third research proposition were considered. Thus whilst Design Bulletin 29 refers to a difference in educational achievement between younger and older single people, this factor has not been analysed since there is no link made or inferred in the design guidance between the level of education tenants might obtain and the design recommendations and standards.

Although the research is concerned with housing provision for young single people, both the profiles of younger and older single

people were considered since the Design Bulletins recommended two different types of accommodation for these two categories of single people. Each characteristic identified from the Design Bulletins and previously outlined in Figure 5.1 will now be considered. The age of respondents is the first characteristic to be examined since this is the main criteria used in the Design Bulletins to divide single people into two categories for whom different design standards are recommended.

7.2 Age

Design Bulletin 29 divides single people into two categories, the young mobile and the older working but does not define the boundary age limits for each group. The cut off age limit of 25 was used in the analysis to divide the younger from the older single people as this was the upper age limit for tenancy in operation in Case Study C, whilst in Case Studies A and B the upper age limit to tenancy was 50. Since these conditions of tenancy would obviously affect the age range of tenants they were incorporated into the analysis.

Figure 7.2A shows the respondents from each scheme according to their age. This figure should be viewed in conjunction with Figure 7.2B which is derived from classifying the data in Figure 7.2A according to whether the respondents were younger, (under 25 years of age), or older, (25 years and over). From Figure 7.2B it can be seen that 34% of tenants who responded to the questionnaire were younger single people, 51% were older single people.

The previous discussion considered the age of tenants in the three young single person housing schemes collectively. However, when the data for each scheme is considered separately differences between schemes emerge. From Figure 7.2B it can be seen that in Case Studies A and B the vast majority of respondents were older single people, 77%

Figure 7.2A Age Profile of Respondents

AGE	<u>CASE STUDY</u>						ALL SCHEMES	
	A		B		C		No.	%
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
16 - 19	2	3	1	5	12	25	15	10
20 - 24	11	13	3	17	22	46	36	24
25 - 29	25	30	5	28	1	2	31	22
30 - 34	15	18	2	11	-	-	17	11
35 - 39	11	13	-	-	-	-	11	7
40+	13	16	4	22	-	-	17	11
Unknown	6	7	3	17	13	27	22	15
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	83	100	18	100	48	100	149	100

Figure 7.2B Age Profile of Respondents

	<u>CASE STUDY</u>						ALL SCHEMES	
	A		B		C		No.	%
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
YOUNGER SINGLE PEOPLE AGED UNDER 25	13	16	4	22	34	71	51	34
OLDER SINGLE PEOPLE AGED 25 AND OVER	64	77	11	61	1	2	76	51
SINGLE PEOPLE AGE UNKNOWN	6	7	3	17	13	27	22	15
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	83	100	18	100	48	100	149	100

and 61% respectively. It could be argued that the higher proportion of older single respondents reflects a difference in attitude and willingness to complete questionnaires between the younger and older age groups rather than an indication of the predominance of older tenants in these two young single person housing schemes. However this argument can be refuted by considering the proportion of tenants who responded to the questionnaire in each scheme, outlined in Figure 7.3. The rate of response from Case Study A was 48% and this compares favourable with the 39% obtained from Case Study C where management operated an upper age limit of 25 years. The lower rate of response from Case Study B reflects the difficulties of access previously discussed in Chapter 5.

One interesting observation was the identification of an older single person in Case Study C, a young single housing scheme which, according to the housing manager, 'only housed those under 25'. This response could be interpreted as representing a pleasing degree of trust in the confidentiality of the research since this respondent is clearly over the scheme's upper age limit for tenants. It may be that this trust was not shared by other respondents who preferred not to include their age on the questionnaire.

The higher proportion of respondents not giving their age in Case Study C (27%) may reflect the difference in management attitudes to the implementation of the upper age limit for tenancy combined with the degree of help management offers, and the rate of success tenants have, in finding follow-on accommodation. From the interviews with the housing managers of the three case study schemes, it appeared that the upper age limit for tenancy was in fact operated more stringently in Case Study C than in Case Studies A or B. In addition, whilst the housing managers of all three schemes liaised with other local housing organisations to find follow-on accommodation for their

Figure 7.3 Questionnaire Response Rate

	CASE STUDY						ALL SCHEMES	
	A		B		C		No.	%
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
RESPONDENTS	83	48	18	17	48	39	149	37
BEDSPACES*	172	100	107	100	124	100	403	100
RECALCULATED PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS ALLOWING FOR 10% EMPTY FLATS		54		19		43		41

* These figures indicate the total possible number of tenants. They do not allow for the number of vacant flats in the young single person housing schemes at the time that the survey was carried out.

tenants who were nearing the upper age limit for tenancy, the age limit of 50 operating in Case Studies A and B afforded these tenants a degree of priority with local authorities as 'elderly singles', (not to be confused with sheltered housing). Those tenants nearing the upper age limit of 25 in Case Study C would obviously not qualify for priority in this way and it could be argued that they would therefore have more to lose by disclosing their age if they were nearing or at the upper age limit to tenancy.

As previously noted, the design guidance recommends distinct types of accommodation for these two groups of single people. Small furnished bedsits or furnished shared accommodation are recommended as suitable for young people, whilst larger unfurnished two-roomed flats with a separate bedroom are recommended for older single people (4). Figure 7.4 shows the units of accommodation provided in the three case

Figure 7.4 Different Types of Accommodation Provided in the Young Single Person Housing Schemes Used as Case Studies

UNITS OF ACCOMMODATION RECOMMENDED BY DESIGN BULLETIN 29 FOR:	<u>CASE STUDY</u>						<u>ALL SCHEMES</u>	
	A		B		C			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>YOUNGER SINGLE PEOPLE</u>								
Furnished Bedsit	44	26	38	35.5	88	71	170	42
Furnished Shared Bedspaces	20	11	38	35.5	36	29	94	24
SUBTOTAL	64	37	76	71	124	100	264	66
<u>OLDER SINGLE PEOPLE</u>								
Unfurnished Bedsits	44	26	-	-	-	-	44	10
Furnished and Unfurnished One Bedroom flats	64	37	31	29	-	-	95	24
SUB TOTAL	108	63	31	29	-	-	139	34
Total Number of Bedspaces	172	100	107	100	124	100	403	100

study schemes. These are classified according to the type of tenant for whom they were designed. It can be seen from Figure 7.4 that Case Studies A and B had a mix of accommodation for both age groups of single people whilst Case Study C provided only the type of accommodation recommended for young single people.

In Case Study B 71% of the accommodation was of the type recommended for young single people and 29% was of the type recommended for older single people. However, assuming the respondents to be representative of the range of tenants living in the three case studies

schemes, Figure 7.2B shows that the majority of tenants in Case Study B, 61% were older single people. Figure 7.4 shows that in Case Study A 37% of the accommodation was of the type recommended for young single people, 63% of the type recommended for older single people, whilst, from Figure 7.2B, the research indicated that 16% of tenants in Case Study A were younger single people, 77% were older single people. The implications of this imbalance between the proportions of younger and older single people living in the case study schemes and the types of accommodation provided for these two groups will be considered in detail in Chapter 8.

Figure 7.5 Age Profile of Respondents:II

	<u>CASE STUDY</u>						<u>ALL SCHEMES</u>	
	<u>A</u>		<u>B</u>		<u>C</u>		<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>		
<u>YOUNGER SINGLE PEOPLE AGED UNDER 30</u>	38	46	9	50	35	73	82	55
<u>OLDER SINGLE PEOPLE AGED 30 AND OVER</u>	39	47	6	33	-	-	45	30
<u>SINGLE PEOPLE AGE UNKNOWN</u>	6	7	3	17	13	27	22	15
<u>TOTAL RESPONDENTS</u>	83	100	18	100	48	100	149	100

As previously discussed in detail in Chapter 1 considerable discrepancies, even contradictions, exist between different definitions of young single people. Some organisations adopt a narrow, specific age band. Others do not consider young single people to be in the housing market if they are under 20, whilst an upper age limit of 25, inferring that 26 - 30 year olds are 'old,' is unworkable for others.(5) Whilst the age limits in operation in the young single person housing schemes used as case studies are pertinent to the research it is interesting to note that even if the upper age limit for young single people is raised to 30, as shown in Figure 7.5, the proportion of 'young single person' accommodation provided still exceeds the proportion of 'young single people' in the schemes.

7.3 Marital Status

The second characteristic of single people included in the design guidance profile is marital status. This characteristic is important since the design guidance links it, inter alia, with design recommendations and standards in two main areas. First with regard to furnishings and second, related to the first, with regard to space requirements. These will be discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

Figure 7.6 shows the marital status of respondents. In general the research supported the the design guidance expectations. The majority of younger single people, 86% were in fact single and had never been married, but the remainder were engaged, separated or divorced. The majority of divorced/separated or widowed single people were older single people. However, there were exceptions to this. The existence of even only two respondents who declared that they were living as married and two younger divorced or separated people gives cause to speculate on the validity of the single person profiles found in the design guidance and thus the design recommendations and

Figure 7.6 Marital Status of Respondents

MARITAL STATUS	YOUNGER SINGLE PEOPLE AGED UNDER 25		OLDER SINGLE PEOPLE AGED 25 AND OVER		SINGLE PEOPLE AGE UNKNOWN		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Single	45	86	51	68	5	23	101	68
Engaged	5	10	3	4	-	-	8	5
Living as Married	-	-	2	3	-	-	2	2
Divorced/ Separated	2	4	12	16	-	-	14	9
Widowed	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1
Unknown	-	-	6	8	17	77	23	15
TOTAL	52	100	75	100	22	100	149	100

standards they contain, especially since it is possible that a number of the respondents who did not answer this question are in fact living as married and do not wish to jeopardise their single person tenancy by declaring this. The existence of tenants who cohabit in accommodation specifically designed for one occupant, though only a small minority, has implications for both management and design and will be considered in Chapters 8 and 9.

7.4 Income

The profiles of single people contained in the design guidance include reference to income. Two statements are relevant to this stage of the analysis. First, the design guidance states that younger single people would generally earn more than older single people and second, that younger single people will be prepared to spend a larger proportion of their income on accommodation. (6) The evidence from the research contradicted these statements. Figure 7.7 shows the distribution of average net weekly income for the 111 single people who provided this information. From Figure 7.7 it can be seen that both younger and older single people can have high, over £100 per week, or low, under £20 per week, incomes. Whilst the income of both groups varies, the majority of single people earn middle range incomes. However, the income distribution range of older single people is weighted towards the higher income groupings indicating that generally older single people earn more than their younger counterparts (1984 Figures).

Gender is considered in the analysis of income in Figure 7.8, which compares the proportion of female and male respondents in each income bracket. This shows that women are less well represented in the higher income bands, reflecting the situation in the general population. (7)

The second point related to income concerns the design guidance statement that younger single people will be prepared to spend a higher proportion of their income on accommodation than older single people. (8) From this it might follow that smaller, and thus cheaper accommodation, would be recommended for older single people. However, the reverse is in fact the case. Design Bulletin 29 recommends the larger units of accommodation, and thus higher rents, for older single people. This apparent contradiction contained in the design guidance is worth noting before considering the actual attitudes towards rent

Figure 7.7

Distribution of Income: Age
(1984 Figures)

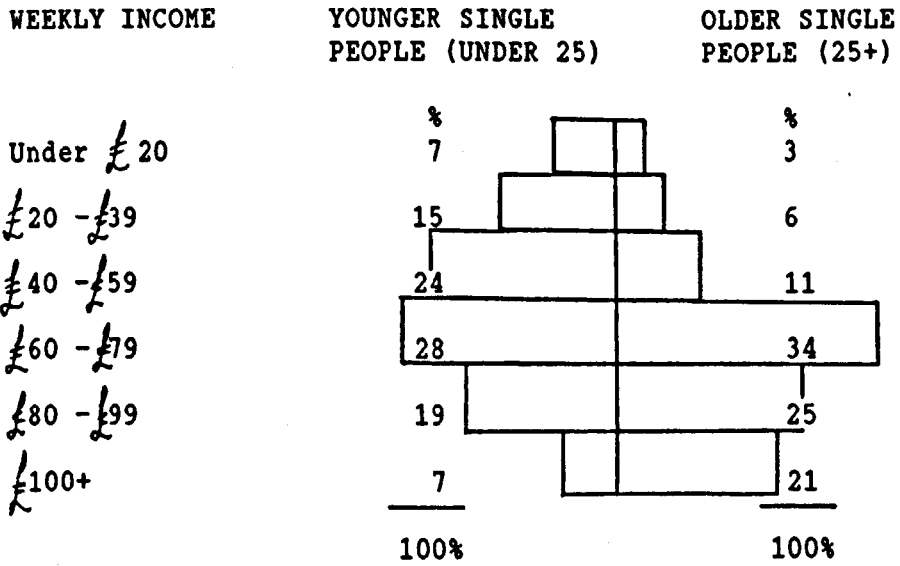
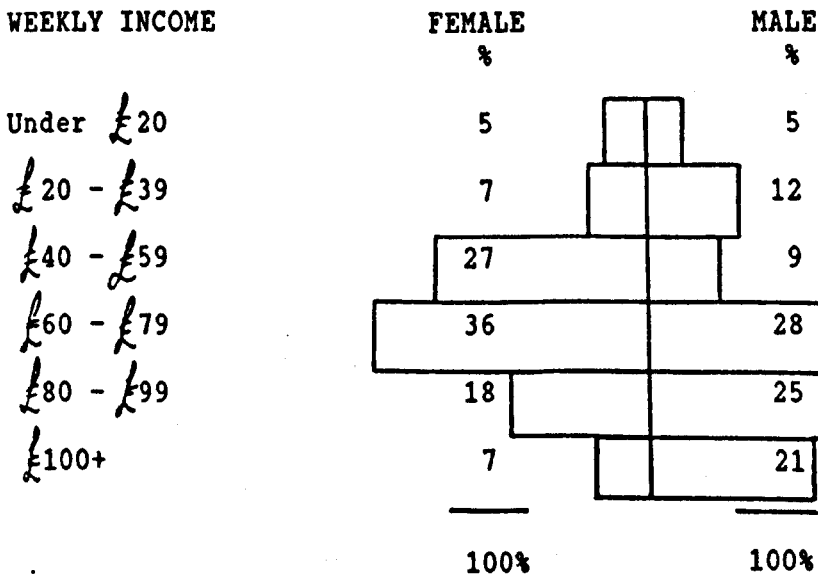


Figure 7.8

Distribution of Income: Gender
(1984 Figures)



levels of the tenants living in the three young single person housing schemes used as case studies.

It was decided not to ask the tenants an open question concerning how much they would be prepared to spend on rent as it was considered that the data obtained would not be comparable. Instead the tenants were asked their opinion of the current rent levels. Figure 7.9A shows the weekly charge levied in the three different types of accommodation provided in the three young single person housing schemes used as case studies. These charges were commonly referred to as rent by both tenants and managers but they also included charges for rates, water rates, heating and lighting of communal facilities and Warden/Caretaker provision. A more detailed breakdown of charges is provided in Figure 7.9B. In Case Studies A and C the rent included charges for the heating and lighting of individual flats whilst in Case Study B background heating only was provided and each dwelling was individually metered for electricity. It is interesting to note that the heating charges were a source of complaint in all three young single person housing schemes and will be considered in greater detail in Chapter 9.

From Figure 7.9A it can be seen that the weekly rent for comparable accommodation was considerably lower in the young single person housing scheme referred to as Case Study A. This difference in the weekly charge levied on tenants is attributed partly to the fact that rates were more than twice as high in the city where Case Studies B and C were situated. For example the combined rates and water rates for a bedsit in Case Study A amounted to £1.90 per week whilst in Case Study B the combined rates were £4.80 per week. However the main factor contributing to the difference in weekly charges between Case Study A and Case Studies B and C is probably the method by which the rent level is determined. Schemes B and C were managed by housing

Figure 7.9A Weekly Accommodation Charges
July 1984

TYPE OF ACCOMMODATION	CASE STUDY		
	A	B	C
	£	£	£
Bedsit (Furnished)	17.58	26.18	27.20
Bedsit (Unfurnished)	17.05	-	-
One Bedroom Flat (Furnished)	22.09	-	30.20
One Bedroom Flat (Unfurnished)	21.56	23.95	-
Two Bedroom Flat (Furnished)	*14.53 (29.06)	*22.53 (45.06)	*19.00 (38.00)

* Per person. Figure in brackets shows total charge levied on flat.

associations and were let at fair rents determined by an independent rent office, whilst Case Study A was managed by a local authority housing department who determined their own rents. Fair rents are inevitably higher than local authority rents since a fair rent is assessed according not only to the type of property and its rateable value but also according to the rent a similar property could command on the private market. Local authorities traditionally determined their own rent levels by referring to rateable value or some other measure of the properties' value, but they were not obliged to take account of the rents levied on comparable properties in the private sector. One of the tenants of a bedsit in Case Study C stated that 'The rent is too high; for the same amount I could get a flat with separate bedroom and lounge, but they belong to the Borough Council'.

However, although their rents might have been lower, at the time of the survey the Borough Council did not allocate housing to young single people. As previously discussed in Chapter 1, this policy is common in many local authority housing departments.

Figure 7.9B Detailed Breakdown of Weekly Charges
July 1984

CASE STUDY A

	RENT	(£ per week) RATES WATER RATES		SERVICE CHARGE	TOTAL
Bedsit:-					
Un Furnished	11.43	1.39	0.51	3.72	17.05
Furnished				4.25	17.58
One-Bedroom Flat:-					
Un Furnished	13.55	1.85	0.60	5.56	21.56
Furnished				6.09	22.09
Two-Bedroom Flat:-					
Un Furnished	17.10	2.86	0.80	7.44	28.20
Furnished				8.30	29.06

CASE STUDY B

	RENT	(£ per week) RATES		SERVICE CHARGE	TOTAL
Bedsit (Furnished)	16.27	4.80		5.11	26.18
One Bedroom Flat (Unfurnished)	12.62	5.35		6.98	23.95
Two Bedroom Flat (Furnished)	27.88	7.12		10.06	45.06

*Comparative figures were not available for Case Study C.

Reference has been made to rent at this stage of the analysis in relation to design guidance expectations of tenants' attitudes towards rent. Figures 7.10A and B outline the tenants' response to a question concerning their opinion of the rent they were paying at the time the research was carried out. From Figure 7.10A it can be seen that slightly more younger single people than older single people, 23% compared with 19%, felt that the rent was too high whilst far more older single people, 37% compared with 16%, considered the rent they paid to be reasonable. Since a higher proportion of young single people considered the rent to be too high, this indicates that, contrary to design guidance expectations, it would not be likely that young single people would be willing to spend a higher proportion of their income on rent than older single people. In fact, when the response to this question is considered for each scheme as shown in Figure 7.10B, it can be seen that despite the considerable difference in rent levels for comparable accommodation in Case Studies A and B, the tenants' opinion of the rent is remarkably similar. However, in Case Study C where the rents are comparable to those in Case Study B but where the tenants are mainly younger single people, a large majority of tenants considered the rent to be too high.

Obviously the tenants' opinion of the rent charged is not only related to their income and the rent they pay. Findings from the research indicated that other variables including the tenants' perception and/or awareness of the various charges which combined to form the weekly rent, and whether the tenant was in receipt of or was eligible to receive housing benefit, influenced the tenants' opinion of the weekly rent levied. These two variables will now be briefly considered. Figure 7.11 shows the tenants' perception of the items included in the weekly 'rent' they paid. In all three young single person housing schemes the majority of tenants were aware that the

Figure 7.10A Tenants' Opinion of Rent Levels: Age

OPINION OF RENT LEVEL	YOUNGER SINGLE PEOPLE UNDER 25		OLDER SINGLE PEOPLE 25 AND OVER		SINGLE PEOPLE AGE UNKNOWN		NO.	%
	NO.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Too High	29	23	24	19	1	1	54	43
About Right	18	14	34	27	2	2	54	43
Very Reasonable	2	2	13	10	1	1	17	14
TOTAL	49	39	71	56	4	4	125	100

Figure 7.10B Tenants' Opinion of Rent Levels: Scheme

TENANTS' OPINION OF RENT LEVEL	CASE STUDY		
	A %	B %	C %
Too High	33	32	63
About Right	38	42	31
Reasonable	22	15	1
No Response	7	11	5
TOTAL	100	100	100

weekly rent they paid included charges for heating, lighting, the warden/caretaker and communal facilities. However, in Scheme C there was a high level of misunderstanding, particularly in relation to lighting; 89% of tenants did not think that the cost of lighting was included in their rent. This percentage was higher than the other two case study schemes. This higher level of misunderstanding closely matches the higher proportion of tenants in Case Study C who thought that their rent was too high. In Scheme C the management wanted to minimise the problems of bills for the tenants and no explanation of the service charges included in the weekly rent was provided, although according to the scheme manager it could be provided if the tenant so requested. The management of both Case Studies A and B provided tenants with an itemised list of the service charges.

Another relevant variable is Housing Benefit. This is a means-tested benefit available to those on low income to help with their housing costs. It does not cover heating and lighting costs even though they are included in the weekly charge. Figure 7.12 shows the proportion of tenants in each case study who were in receipt of, or were eligible for Housing Benefit. The research shows that as expected a far lower proportion of tenants received Housing Benefit in Case Study A, where the rents were lower, than in Case Studies B and C.

Yet although the rents in Case Studies B and C were similar nearly twice as many tenants in Case Study C qualified for Housing Benefit, reflecting the high number of low income young single people in Case Study C. However, if anything, receiving Housing Benefit only served to reinforce the tenants' opinion that the rents were too high since the research indicated that tenants in low paid employment considered that they should not have to apply for Housing Benefit when they were working.

Figure 7.11 Tenants' Perception of the Items Included in the Weekly Accommodation Charge

CHARGES INCLUDED IN WEEKLY RENT	CASE STUDY			ALL SCHEMES %
	A %	B %	C %	
Heating	90 (2)	77 (11)	78 (22)	75 (7)
Lighting	88 (4)	56 (28)	7 (89)	57 (24)
Warden/ Caretaker	56 (8)	72 (16)	87 (7)	56 (15)
Communal Facilities	48 (10)	78 (17)	65 (28)	60 (17)

* Figures in brackets indicate the proportion of tenants who were incorrect in their knowledge.

Figure 7.12 The Proportion of Tenants Who Received Housing Benefit.

	CASE STUDY		
	A (%)	B (%)	C (%)
TENANTS IN RECEIPT HOUSING BENEFIT	11	27	57
TENANTS NOT ELIGIBLE FOR HOUSING BENEFIT	83	48	23
TENANTS WHO WERE NOT AWARE IF THEY QUALIFIED FOR HOUSING BENEFIT	-	17	20
NO RESPONSE	6	8	-
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

Thus the evidence from the research indicated that, contrary to design guidance expectations, young single people generally had lower incomes than older single people. In addition, a greater proportion of younger single people considered that the rent they were paying was too high for the accommodation and services provided. Tenants' opinions about this were not only related to their level of income, but also other variables such as the level of rent, the tenants' knowledge of the service charges included in the rent and the tenants' entitlement to Housing Benefit. The research also found that younger single people considered the current rent they paid too high, in contrast to older single people who tended to consider the rent reasonable. This indicates that younger single people would not be prepared to spend more on rent than older single people, which is contrary to design guidance expectations.

7.5 Employment

The design guidance outlined the types of employment that both younger and older single people were expected to be engaged in. These have previously been listed in Figure 5.1. The nature of employment is an important factor in the single person profiles contained in the design guidance of relevance to design in three ways. First; employment affects the level of income which was considered in the previous section. Second, it is related to tenant mobility and third, to the daily routine of tenants' lives, Income was considered in detail in the previous section, here the concern is with the relationship between two life-style criteria which, for the purposes of the research have been defined as Mobility and Daily Routine. Each of these will be considered in detail in subsequent sections of this chapter but they will be discussed briefly in relation to employment in this section.

The design guidance states that single people of all ages are work rather than home orientated.(9) Figure 5.1 in Chapter 5 shows the type of work the design guidance expected single people to be engaged in. This varies from apprentices to professional employment for younger single people whilst older single people are expected to be predominantly unskilled with low prestige jobs for women. In order to facilitate analysis of the data the stated occupations of single people were grouped and graded according to the socio-economic groupings used by the Office of Population Census and Surveys.(10) Figure 7.13 shows the main occupation of the respondents according to their age and gender. From Figure 7.13 it can be seen that contrary to the design guidance expectation, both younger and older single people were nearly equally represented in the professional Grades 4 and 5, although women were absent from the higher grade. However, following design guidance expectations, the majority of single people of both age groups were employed in non-managerial office or shop work, (Grade 6).

An important point to emerge from this analysis is the sizeable proportion of unemployed single people in both age groups; 22% of the younger single respondents to this question and 21% of the older single respondents were unemployed. It might be argued that these figures could over-estimate the proportion of unemployed people in these three single person housing schemes because unemployed people are more likely to be in the home to receive the researcher and are more likely to have the time and inclination to complete questionnaires. However, these figures correspond with the unemployment figures for the nation as a whole in 1984.(11)

The employment situation for the population as a whole and for young single people in particular has changed considerably since the design guidance was written in the mid 1970s. However, the recommendations and standards contained in the design guidance are

TABLE 7.13 - TENANTS' OCCUPATIONS

	GRADE 4	GRADE 5	GRADE 6	GRADE 8	GRADE 9	GRADE 10	GRADE 11	UNEMPLOYED	STUDENT	WORK VARIED	RETIRED	TOTAL
YOUNGER SINGLE PEOPLE AGED UP TO 25												
FEMALE	-	5	13	-	-	1	-	6	3	-	-	
MALE	3	5	3	1	4	2	2	6	-	-	-	
TOTAL	3	10	16	1	4	3	2	12	3	-	-	54
PERCENTAGE	5	19	30	2	7	6	3	22	6	-	-	100%
OLDER SINGLE PEOPLE AGED 25 AND OVER												
FEMALE	-	7	9	-	1	3	2	3	-	-	-	
MALE	6	5	6	2	8	4	5	14	2	2	1	
TOTAL	6	12	17	2	9	7	7	17	2	2	1	82
PERCENTAGE	7	15	21	2	11	9	9	21	2	2	1	100%
NUMBER	9	22	33	3	13	10	9	29	5	2	1	136
PERCENTAGE	7	16	24	2	10	7	7	21	4	1	1	100%

Reference: Office of Population Census and Surveys, Classification of Occupations,
Government Statistical Service, HMSO, 1980, p.xi - xii.

Grade 4: Professional Workers - Employees
Grade 5: Intermediate Non-manual Workers
Grade 6: Junior Non-manual Workers
Grade 8: Foreman and Supervisors Manual
Grade 9: Skilled Manual Workers

Grade 10: Semi-Skilled Manual Workers
Grade 11: Unskilled Manual Workers

still applied to current buildings. The existence of a sizeable proportion of unemployed tenants could have significant implications for design. The two types of single person accommodation recommended in the design guidance are both based on the expected profiles of the tenants. Two important factors in the design guidance profiles of single people are, first, their orientation towards work and second, their active social life, especially for younger single people. These two factors contribute towards the profile of a single person who rarely spends any time in the home, being out all day at work and out most evenings socialising. The validity of these statements will be assessed in the following sections which cover life-style criteria. However, at this point in the analysis it is important to note that due to unemployment approximately a fifth of respondents were spending most of their time in accommodation built on the assumption that they would only spend a small proportion of their time at home. In addition, of the tenants in employment, 15% stated that they worked some form of shift system and a further 10% were employed on a part time basis only. Thus a further 25% were often in the flats during the day. The implications of this mismatch on design will be considered in Chapters 8 and 9.

A common denominator of the range of design guidance employment expectations for young single people, both professional and unskilled, is the emphasis on mobility; that is their willingness or acceptance of moving. Young professional single people are expected to move as they are promoted in their job. Older single people are also expected to move as necessary for their work but not necessarily for promotion and many are expected to be at a stage in life when they will be seeking a more permanent work base. This perception of younger single people as highly mobile is one of the most important influences on the design recommendations and standards contained in the design

guidance. Since the tenants of single person housing are expected to stay in this accommodation for only a relatively short period the recommendations and standards provided are for temporary accommodation. This particular life-style characteristic of single people is one of the factors used by the design guidance as a basis for recommending smaller units of accommodation for younger, more mobile single people.

The third way in which employment influences the single person profiles contained in the design guidance is by influencing the daily routine of the tenant. The design guidance expectation that single people will be work orientated has implications for the amount of time single people are expected to spend in the home, particularly when the design guidance expectations concerning social activities are included in the analysis. The importance of the design guidance perception of single peoples' mobility, daily routine and social activities will be discussed in the following sections. These life-style criteria have been mentioned at this point of the analysis in order to emphasise that the criteria identified in the single person profiles contained in the design guidance relate to each other and often serve to reinforce, though sometimes apparently to contradict, each other.

7.6 Mobility

Mobility, that is, the characteristic attributed to younger single people of being ready and willing to move home, usually for reasons of employment, and to a greater degree than the other sections of the population, is one of the most critical life-style criteria in the single person profiles obtained from the design guidance. Mobility is important because it is one of the main factors contributing to the recommendation contained in the design guidance that smaller units of accommodation should be provided for younger single people. Design

Bulletin 29 states that younger single people are mobile, and because of this they want short term housing, a 'pied a terre'.(12) The Design Bulletin continues, 'young single people expect to get flats quickly and to be able to leave at short notice after staying perhaps a few months'.(13) It concludes that young single people would be content with a small flat.(14)

The design guidance emphasises the greater mobility of younger single people by highlighting the non-mobility of older single people. Design Bulletin 29 states that, 'older working single people wish to settle down in a permanent home of their own, ...they need the space of a two room flat'.(15) This distinction made by the design guidance between the mobility attributed to younger single people and the more settled life-style of older single people is a factor of critical importance to the second research proposition because of the way in which the design guidance translates this life-style characteristic into the design recommendation for two distinct types of accommodation, smaller temporary units for younger single people and larger permanent units for older single people.

As the life-style characteristic referred to as mobility was considered such an important factor in influencing design recommendations and standards a number of questions concerning mobility were included in the questionnaire. The tenants were asked about their housing movements prior to settling in the case study schemes and their reasons for moving into these schemes, how long they had been living in them, how long they intended to stay and, if they were considering the possibility to moving in the future, their reasons for this.

The evidence showed that tenants cited three main reasons for moving into the single person housing schemes. These were, in order of priority, first to improve upon their housing conditions, second for reasons of employment and third due to family problems. The first of

these far outweighed the second and third in importance as shown in Figure 7.14, which outlines the reasons tenants gave for their housing moves prior to entering the young single person housing scheme.

Figure 7.14 shows that 55% of the tenants who responded stated that they had moved in order to improve upon their previous accommodation. Most of these tenants cited the importance of privacy and independence which they felt they had gained from moving into the scheme. There was also a sizeable proportion of all respondents, 17%, who indicated that it was the poor conditions in their previous accommodation which had induced them to seek an alternative. Eviction from the private sector or the lack of any lease or security were frequently cited as reasons for looking to the public sector. Several considered that this, in one tenants' words, provided 'the best form of housing for single people'.

A much lower percentage of respondents, 15%, had moved into the young single person housing schemes for reasons related to work. A number stated that they had warranted priority for housing as incoming workers to the New Town. The managers of Case Study B and, to a lesser extent, of Case Study C did try to work with the Development Corporation to implement the key workers' housing plan. However, from the interviews with the housing managers of both schemes it appeared that it was not always possible to provide appropriate accommodation at the time required due to the vagaries of turnover. In addition, the concept of incoming workers as tenants was not particularly welcomed by the housing manager of Case Study B since it was presumed that, as they tended to be on higher incomes, they were more likely to be interested in purchasing property and so would only stay a short time which increased administration and was a disturbing influence on the scheme.

Figure 7.14 The Reasons Tenants Gave for Moving House, Prior to Entering the Young Single Person Housing Schemes

	YOUNGER SINGLE PEOPLE AGED UP TO 25		OLDER SINGLE PEOPLE AGED 25 AND OVER		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Family Problems	6	12	11	15	17	14
Work	19	38	20	27	39	31
To Improve Living Conditions	25	50	43	58	68	55
	50	100	74	100	124	100

Figure 7.15 The Length of Tenants' Residence in the Housing Scheme

	<u>CASE STUDY</u>			<u>ALL SCHEMES</u>
	A %	B %	C %	%
Under 6 Months	11	-	35	19
6 - 12 Months	5	-	26	13
1 - 2 Years	18	83	26	24
2 - 3 Years	14	17	4	11
3 - 4 Years	11	-	7	9
4 - 5 Years	13	-	2	9
5 - 6 Years	11	-	-	6
6 - 7 Years	16	-	-	9
7 - 8 Years	1	-	-	1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Only 12% of the tenants had moved into the scheme because of family problems. These problems were either the divorce of parents and the subsequent breakdown of the family home or more frequently, the divorce of the tenants themselves.

Figure 7.15 shows the length of time the tenants who responded to the questionnaire had been living in the three young single person housing schemes. This shows that overall 45% of the respondents had been living in the schemes for over two years, including 16% who had been living there for over five years. This indicates that there was a sizeable proportion of tenants who were, contrary to design guidance expectations, not highly mobile. It could be argued that Figure 7.15 also shows that 19% of tenants had only been living in the scheme for six months. However, this does not necessarily indicate that this 19% are mobile since their length of intended stay is not shown.

Figure 7.16 shows the length of time tenants intended to stay in the three young single person housing schemes and Figure 7.17 summarises the most frequent reasons given by tenants to explain why they considered they might move in the future. From Figure 7.16 it can be seen that the majority of tenants intended to live in the three young single person housing schemes for at least a few years.

The thought of purchasing a home of their own appeared a more likely inducement for them to leave rather than marriage or for reasons of employment. The higher proportion of tenants who intended to leave within the next few months in Case Study C can be attributed, in part, to the lower maximum age limit to tenancy in operation in this scheme. This is supported by the evidence from Figure 7.17 which shows that a higher proportion of tenants in Case Study C as opposed to A and B cited the upper age limit to tenancy as the reason for moving out of their accommodation in the future, 19% of the respondents stated that

Figure 7.16 The Length of Time Tenants Expect to Reside in the Housing Scheme

	CASE STUDY			ALL SCHEMES
	A %	B %	C %	%
Months	17	-	31	21
Years	12	43	28	19
As Long As Possible	26	14	8	19
Until Work Moves	3	-	-	2
Until Marriage/Cohabitation	3	-	-	2
Until I Buy a Property	1	28	8	5
Don't Know	38	15	25	32
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Figure 7.17 Reasons for Tenants' Possible Future Departure

	CASE STUDY						ALL SCHEMES	
	A		B		C		NO	%
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%		
For Better Accommodation	9	19	2	20	6	15	18	19
To Buy Own Home	10	22	5	50	10	26	25	26
Moving For Work	4	9	-	-	5	13	9	9
Marriage	10	22	1	10	6	15	17	12
Age Limit on Tenancy	9	19	1	10	9	23	19	20
Moving out of Area; Reasons Other Than Work	4	9	1	10	3	8	8	8
TOTAL	46	100	10	100	39	100	95	100

they would move to 'better' accommodation. Tenants' definitions of 'better' accommodation covered a wide range of attributes. Those most often mentioned included privacy, independence, security and more space.

Figure 7.18A shows how long tenants have lived in the scheme and how long they intend to stay. Of the 16% of tenants who have lived in the scheme for only a few months, only 3% intended to leave shortly and could therefore be considered to be highly mobile, the remainder intended to stay in the scheme for at least a few years. The profiles of single people obtained from the design guidance expected younger single people to be significantly more mobile than older single people, the difference was felt sufficient to be a contributing factor to the recommendation for two distinct types of accommodation for these two age groups. Figure 7.18B compares the length of tenants residence in the schemes with the length of time they intend to stay in the scheme according to the two age groupings. In general younger single people appear not to have lived in the schemes for as long as older single people. Whilst this might appear to support the expectations contained in the design guidance concerning the mobility of younger single people three points should be noted. First, as previously noted, the upper age limit to tenancy of 25 years is apparently stringently applied in Case Study C forcing the young single people in this scheme to move on earlier than they necessarily want to. Second, it could be argued that to distinguish between younger and older single people and to attribute a higher degree of mobility to younger single people is a truism because as the tenants' length of residence increases, the tenant is getting older. Thus a long staying younger single person may have been re-classified as an older single person. Third, the figures in Figures 7.16 - 7.18B relate to the tenants' intended length of residence and intentions can change. During the follow-up in-depth interviews it was

Figure 7.18A The Tenants' Actual and Intended Length of Residence

LENGTH OF TIME TENANTS INTEND TO LIVE IN THE SCHEME	LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN YEARS											TOTAL												
	6 MTHS		6-12 MTHS		1-2		2-3		3-4		4-5		5-6		6-7		7-8		UNKNOWN					
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO		%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%			
A Few More Months	4	3.1	2	1.6	6	4.7	1	0.8	2	1.6	4	3.1	2	1.6	1	0.8					22	17.3		
A Few More Years	5	3.9	3	2.4	6	4.7	2	1.6	1	0.8										2	1.6	19	14.9	
As Long As Possible	4	3.1	1	0.8	3	2.4	1	0.8	2	1.6	2	1.6	3	2.4	2	1.6	1	0.8	1	0.8			20	15.7
Until Work Moves	1	0.8							1	0.8													2	1.6
Until Marriage					1	0.8					1	0.8											2	1.6
Until Purchase of Property			1	0.8	3	2.4								1	0.8					1	0.8		6	4.7
Dont't Know	7	5.5	5	3.9	8	6.3	8	6.3	4	3.1	3	2.4	3	2.4	8	6.3					10	7.9	56	44.1
TOTAL	21	16.4	12	9.5	27	21.3	12	9.5	10	7.9	8	6.3	8	6.3	12	9.5	1	0.8	14	11.0			127	100%

Table 7.18B The Tenants' Actual and Intended Length of Residence According to Age

YOUNGER SINGLE PEOPLE (aged 25 and under)

LENGTH OF TIME TENANTS INTEND TO LIVE IN THE SCHEME	LENGTH OF RESIDENCE										TOTAL	
	Months		Years									
	6	6-12	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6	6-7	7-8	Unknown		
A few more months	3 6.4%	2 4.3%	5 10.6%		1 2.1%							11 23.4%
A few more years	4 8.5%	2 4.3%	5 10.6%									11 23.4%
As long as possible	2 4.3%			1 2.1%								4 8.5%
Until Work moves												
Until Marriage												3 6.4%
Until I purchase	1 2.1%	2 4.3%										3 6.4%
No idea	5 10.6%	3 6.4%		4 8.5%	2 4.3%	1 2.1%	1 2.1%			2 4.3%		18 38.3%
TOTAL	14 29.8%	8 17.1%	12 25.5%	5 10.6%	3 6.4%	1 2.1%	1 2.1%			3 6.4%		47 100%

OLDER SINGLE PEOPLE (aged 25 and over)

LENGTH OF TIME TENANTS INTEND LIVE IN THE SCHEME	LENGTH OF RESIDENCE										TOTAL	
	Months		Years									
	6	6-12	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6	6-7	7-8	Unknown		
A few more months	1 1.25%		1 1.25%	1 1.25%	1 1.25%	4 5.0%	2 2.5%	1 1.25%				11 13.75%
A few more years	1 1.25%	1 1.25%	1 1.25%	2 2.5%	1 1.25%					2 2.5%		8 10.0%
As long as possible	2 2.5%	1 1.25%	3 3.75%		2 2.5%	2 2.5%	3 3.75%	2 2.5%	1 1.25%			16 20.0%
Until Work Moves	1 1.25%				1 1.25%							2 2.5%
Until Marriage			1 1.25%			1 1.25%						2 2.5%
Until I Purchase			1 1.25%					1 1.25%				3 3.75%
No Idea	2 2.5%	2 2.5%	8 10.0%	4 5.0%	2 2.5%	2 2.5%	2 2.5%	8 10.0%			8 10.0%	38 47.5%
TOTAL	7 8.75%	4 5.0%	15 18.75%	7 8.75%	7 8.75%	9 11.25%	7 8.75%	12 15.0%	1 1.25%	11 13.75%		80 100%

found that a number of tenants had always intended to move to 'better' accommodation but had been unable to find anything suitable and were forced to stay. Thus the proportion of tenants who stated that they intended to live in the scheme for only a few months more may be over-represented since it includes the higher housing aspirations and/or more naive understanding of the housing market of some tenants.

Despite these provisos, evidence from the research did not support the design guidance expectation of a higher degree of mobility amongst younger single people. Figure 7.18B shows that only 6.4% of the younger single respondents and 1.25% of the older single respondents, had lived in the young single person housing schemes for under six months and intended to move out in a few months and could therefore be considered to be highly mobile. The research found, inter alia, that the main factor influencing single people of all ages to move, into, within and out of the scheme, was in order to improve their standard of accommodation rather than for reasons of employment as the design guidance had predicted. Figure 7.14 shows that 55% of respondents stated that they had moved into the scheme in order to improve their living conditions and from Figure 7.17 it can be seen that 19% said they would move out for the same reason. A further 26% stated that they would move out in order to achieve greater security through purchasing their own home.

It is important to note that 13% of the tenants who responded to the questionnaire had moved inside the schemes in order to improve their living conditions. These internal transfers were mainly from shared accommodation to a bedsit or from a bedsit to a one-bedroom flat. This was often the only way in which a tenant could obtain a one-bedroom flat. In Case Study C the housing manager stated that the one-bedroom flats were never let to people from the waiting list, only to internal transfers. Due to the high demand for this type of

accommodation the transfer system was used as a tool to rationalise a scarce resource. In Case Studies A and B, the one bedroom flats were in principle let to people from the waiting lists, but in practice the bedsits were more easily obtainable since their turnover was higher and prospective tenants were always advised to take a bedsit and apply for an internal transfer to a one bedroom flat if that was their original choice. This system of internal transfers is important since it emphasises the fact that single people are prepared to move in order to improve their living conditions. In addition, it highlights the fact that the accommodation provided on, inter alia, the incorrect premise that young single people are mobile and thus temporary accommodation is appropriate can perpetuate a situation in which young single people are encouraged into moving. Thus mobility, whilst used as a factor in determining lower standards of accommodation, can be in reality an effect of the low standard of accommodation available for single people.

Whilst the analysis of the data has concentrated on evaluating the design guidance perception of younger single people as being mobile, and thus temporary tenants, the design guidance perception of older single people as non-mobile and thus permanent tenants must also be considered. From Figure 7.14 it can be seen that the reasons older single people gave for having previously moved accommodation are the same as those given by younger single people. That is, improving living conditions is a far greater motivating force than either family problems or reasons associated with work. It is interesting to note that whilst the design guidance expected younger single people to move home for reasons associated with work or marriage, the evidence from the research indicated, as shown in Figure 7.18B, that older single people, not younger single people, considered moving home for these reasons.

Whilst similar numbers of younger and older single people want to stay in the scheme for a few more years, more older single people state that they want to live in the scheme for as long as possible (Figure 18B). This might be due to the fact that in Case Studies A and B where older single people are resident the upper age limit to tenancy of 50 in both schemes is a more tangible reality to older single people. However, the large number of older single people who stated that they had not considered how long they intended to remain in the scheme does not support this idea. A more likely reason for the larger number of older single people stating that they intend to stay in the scheme for as long as possible is that older single people are more settled with the accommodation provided since they have a higher standard of accommodation than younger single people, who have been provided with the smaller units of accommodation designed for a temporary length of residence. This supports the research proposition.

The evidence obtained from the research indicated that the design guidance perception of older single people as not mobile and seeking permanent accommodation, was on the whole correct. A small proportion of older single people, 9%, were prepared to move for reasons associated with work or marriage or increased security through buying their own home. Only 6% of the younger single respondents were prepared to move in this way and these cited the purchase of their own home as the reason. Thus, contrary to design guidance expectations, younger single people were no more mobile than older single people.

7.7 Possessions

The second life-style characteristic to be considered from the single person profiles obtained from the design guidance is referred to in the research as that of possessions. Reference is made in the design guidance to the difference between the amount of

furniture and belongings younger and older single people are expected to have. This characteristic has two main influences on design recommendations. First, there is an indirect influence on design through the association of the amount of possessions with mobility. Second, the life-style characteristic labelled possessions has a direct influence on the design recommendations for storage space. These two channels of influence will be considered in turn. In addition, the apparent contradictions which appear in the design guidance statements relating to possessions will be considered.

First, the indirect influence of possessions through the association with mobility. The design guidance states that, 'young single people don't as a rule own furniture'.(16) The design guidance then links this perceived characteristic with that of mobility by stating that young single people 'hope to find a furnished bedsitting room which they can rent on a short-term basis having no wish to acquire property and furniture which might restrict their mobility'.(17) In contrast, in relation to older single people the design guidance states that they 'have their own furniture' and 'prefer unfurnished flats' though Design Bulletin 29 does allow that 'there may be a few male exceptions to this'.(18,19,) The difference between younger and older single peoples' possessions of furniture and their subsequent requirements for furnished or unfurnished accommodation will not be discussed here since Design Bulletin 33 has already refuted this personal characteristic. Design Bulletin 33, which contains the results of the appraisal of the young single person housing scheme built to the recommendations and standards contained in Design Bulletin 29, found that 'as many young single people preferred unfurnished as furnished accommodation' and suggested that the allocation of furnished or unfurnished accommodation should be feasible, according to tenants' preference rather than age.(20) The

important point to note is that whilst this statement from Design Bulletin 33 contradicts and corrects the original perceived distinction between the furniture owned by younger and older single people, the link between possessions and mobility was not questioned. This is important since the possession of furniture was considered to be a contributing factor to the life-style characteristic of mobility and its influence on the design recommendation for two distinct types of accommodation.

The second point to be considered in relation to the life-style characteristic labelled possessions is its influence on the design recommendations for storage space. Design Bulletin 29 states that 'single people often accumulate a lot of belongings' and accordingly recommends that 'single people need generous storage provision'.(21) In addition, the design guidance states that 'young single people are likely to have a lot of electronic equipment' and so recommends that young single person accommodation should be given plenty of 13 amp sockets.(22) An important point to note here is the apparent contradiction in the design guidance concerning the quantity of possessions single people are expected to have. Young single people are not expected to have furniture since this would restrict their mobility but they are expected to have a lot of belongings which, apparently, do not infringe on their perceived mobility.

The two main points to emerge from the evaluation of the life-style characteristic of possessions both relate to mobility. First, whilst the provision of furniture according to age was discounted by the appraisal contained in Design Bulletin 33, this was not extended to cover the recommendations for space requirements according to age, although the possession of furniture did influence the recommendations for space requirements. Second, the design guidance appears to be contradictory in that it states that young

single people will not have furniture as they do not want to tie themselves down at the same time expecting young single people to have a lot of belongings.

7.8 Domestic Routine

The design guidance states that single people of all ages are work rather than home orientated and expects single people to be out all day at work.(23) In addition, younger single people are expected to be often out in the evenings as well.(24) This perception of single people as spending very little time in the home is important since it affects the recommendations for a number of different aspects of design including scheme site, the provision of facilities, such as shops and launderette, the provision of services, in particular heating, security, access and space. The design recommendations influenced by the perceived domestic routine of single people will be considered in Chapters 8 and 9. It is interesting to note an apparent contradiction in design guidance perception of single peoples' domestic routine. As previously stated, the design guidance expects single people to be out all day at work and that younger single people will often be out in the evenings as well; however, at the same time the design guidance states that 'most single people like to cook for themselves on quite a scale'.(25) Whilst the design guidance does allow that a few single people, mainly men, never cook and that some make do with snacks unless they have visitors, (26) it appears that the majority of younger single people are expected to only be in the house for a few minutes after work when they rapidly cook a large meal for themselves before rushing out for an evenings' entertainment. The actual domestic routine of the tenants in the three young single person housing schemes used as case studies will now be considered.

The design guidance expectation that single people are work rather than home orientated has previously been discussed in connection with employment in Section 7.5 and mobility in Section 7.6. The research found that whilst the majority of single people were employed, a sizeable proportion of the respondents, 22% of younger single people and 21% of older single people, were found to be unemployed and would not, therefore, contrary to design guidance expectations, be out at work all day. It does not necessarily follow that unemployed tenants will be in the house all day, in fact one unemployed young single person stated that he so hated being 'cooped up' in his bedsit that he made a conscious effort to get out whenever he could. However, the fact remains that a sizeable (and increasing) proportion of young single people are spending the majority of their day in accommodation which was only designed as a base for a young worker to return home to between work and leisure. In addition the evidence relating to the number of single people employed in part-time and/or shift work questions the design guidance perception of single people in employment being out all day at work. 15% of the respondents who were working stated that they worked some form of shift system and were thus often at home during the day. Those included police officers, nurses, entertainment workers, drivers and factory workers. A further 10% of the respondents in employment had part-time work only, either from choice but more usually due to circumstances, so their daily routine was not as rigid as design guidance profiles expected.

It was not considered appropriate to include personal questions concerning the tenants' daily movements in the questionnaire. Although envelopes were provided for their confidential return, the collection of questionnaires was often via a third party and this might have allowed details tenants did not wish to divulge to become known within the scheme and possibly jeopardise their security. Accordingly,

rather than risk an adverse affect on the rate of response, such questions were included in the in depth follow-up interviews conducted with a small sample of tenants from Case Study A.

From the information gained from these in depth interviews it appeared that whilst the daily routine of the majority of older single people matched the design guidance expectation, the majority of younger single people spent considerably more time in the home than the design guidance profiles had allowed. Although the number of tenants interviewed at this stage was small, there is no reason to suppose that these tenants are unrepresentative. 50% of the older single people interviewed at this stage in the research stated that they spent the majority of their time outside work in the home, only going out for shopping or some other domestic chore (though these were often carried out on the journey to or from work) with a once weekly excursion out, either to visit a particular friend or social venue. Of the younger single people interviewed only one, male, stated that he was out most evenings, 'in the pub'. The majority of younger single people stated that they went out a maximum of between 2 to 3 times a week spending at least 3 to 4 evenings in the flat. When they were in during the evening, approximately three-quarters of their time was spent alone, a quarter with friends, though as the analysis in Chapter 8 shows, the majority of tenants would have preferred to spend more time entertaining friends in their home if space permitted. The design guidance expected that young single people would often be out in the evenings, the evidence from the research indicated that whilst a number of young single people were out 2 to 3 evenings a week, the majority of evenings young single people spent alone in their flat.

With respect to cooking, about 25% of tenants interviewed stated that they did not cook very often. Contrary to design guidance expectation, these were not only men but included older women who had

previously cooked for their families and younger women who had other priorities. Thus the evidence from the research indicated that the single person profiles contained in the design guidance held too rigid a view of single peoples' domestic routine. In particular the design guidance perception of single people as being out all day and younger single people being out all evening as well does not take the factors of unemployment, shift work or part-time work into account.

7.9 Social Activities

The last characteristic identified from the single person profiles contained in the design guidance has been labelled social activities and refers to the perceived need that single people have for social contact. The design recommendations which try to cater for this perceived need, affecting the site of the scheme, internal planning and the provision of communal facilities will be considered in detail in Chapter 9.

Design Bulletin 29 states that 'single people rely more on social contacts outside their flats than other people' and continues, 'both younger and older single people are likely to make friends within the housing schemes as well as in the district'.(27,28) These statements might appear contradictory but in actual fact they are intended to be comprehensive, emphasising the greater importance single people attach to social contacts and friends than do other people, such as married or co-habiting couples or people sharing accommodation with family or friends.

The evidence from the research supported the design guidance expectations that both younger and older single people would want to make friends within the single person housing scheme. Figure 7.19 outlines the tenants' opinion of the importance of social contact within the scheme, whilst Figure 7.20 outlines what the tenants meant

Figure 7.19

The Tenants' Opinion of the Importance of
Social Contact within the Scheme

Social Contact within the scheme is:-	Younger Single People aged up to 25		Older Single People aged 25 and over	
	No.	%	No.	%
Important	35	59	30	36
Not Important	24	41	53	64
	59	100	83	100

Figure 7.20 The Tenants' Range of Social Contact within the Scheme

<u>Social Contact</u>	<u>The Number of People Tenants have this Social Contact with</u>									
	Most other Tenants		Quite a Few		One or Two		None		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Have a chat	7	5	59	42	61	44	12	9	139	100
Loan/borrow from	2	1.5	32	24	61	46.5	37	28	132	100
Invite to your flat	3	2	37	28	62	47	31	23	133	100
Visit their flat	2	1.5	36	27.5	62	47	31	24	131	100
Socialise in the evenings	1	1	26	21	56	45	41	33	124	100
Share shopping /housekeeping	3	2	10	8	20	15	97	75	130	100

by the term social contact. From these two tables it can be seen that social contact ranged from a conversation in the corridor to a more formal arrangement to enjoy each others, company. A larger proportion of younger single people, 59% as opposed to 36% of older single people felt that such social contact was important. This reflects the design guidance expectation and recommendation concerning a common lounge room, namely that older single people will not require such a facility since they have larger flats.(29) However, this aspect will be discussed in greater detail in Chapters 8 and 9. The tenants' range of social contact varied between schemes, reflecting the different interpretation of the design recommendations in the three young single person housing schemes. This aspect is also considered in the following chapters.

7.10 Summary of the Evidence relating to the Second Research Proposition

The research found considerable mismatch between the design guidance perception of young single people and their actual characteristics. Age is the main criterion used in the Design Bulletins to divide single people into two categories for whom two different design standards are recommended. This distinction affects all other characteristics which, it was predicted, would vary with age. The research showed that the precise boundary between the two groups was difficult to define in practise and there was a higher proportion of older single people than anticipated in the guidance. Although the perceived marital status of respondents generally followed design guidance expectations there were exceptions, notably the incidence of divorce amongst younger single people. Contrary to design guidance

expectations younger single people generally earned less than older single people, whilst the pattern of employment was quite different with 20% of respondents unemployed, 15% working irregular shifts and 10% in part-time employment. The research found that younger single people were generally no more mobile than older single people, and spent more time in the home than the design guidance had anticipated. This was due to different patterns of both employment and social activity. Whilst all single people wanted a social life they tended to go out less frequently than anticipated.

The design guidance basis its perception of young single peoples' housing requirements on these characteristics and makes the design recommendations and standards accordingly. Thus the differences which the research identified between the design guidance perception of young single peoples' characteristics and their actual profiles indicates a possible mismatch between the accommodation provided and young single peoples' housing requirements. This forms the basis for the third research proposition which is considered in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 7 REFERENCES

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Department of the Environment, Housing Single People III: An Appraisal of a Purpose Built Scheme, Design Bulletin 33, HMSO, 1978.
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- 11 Fothergill, S., Vincent, J., (1985), op.cit., p.50.
- 12 Department of the Environment, (1974), op.cit., para.12b.
- 13 Ibid., para.101.
- 14 Ibid., para 101.
- 15 Department of the Environment, (1971), op.cit., para 12.
- 16 Department of the Environment, (1974), op.cit., para.96.
- 17 Ibid., para.96.
- 18 Ibid., para.12a.
- 19 Ibid., para.99.

- 20 Department of the Environment, (1978), op.cit., para.30.
- 21 Department of the Environment, (1974), op.cit., paras.51, 52.
- 22 Ibid., para.112.
- 23 Housing Corporation, (1977), op.cit., p.5.
- 24 Department of the Environment, (1974), op.cit., para.24.
- 25 Ibid., para.65.
- 26 Ibid., para.65.
- 27 Ibid., para.24.
- 28 Ibid., para.25.
- 29 Ibid., para.29.

CHAPTER 8

8.1 The Third Research Proposition

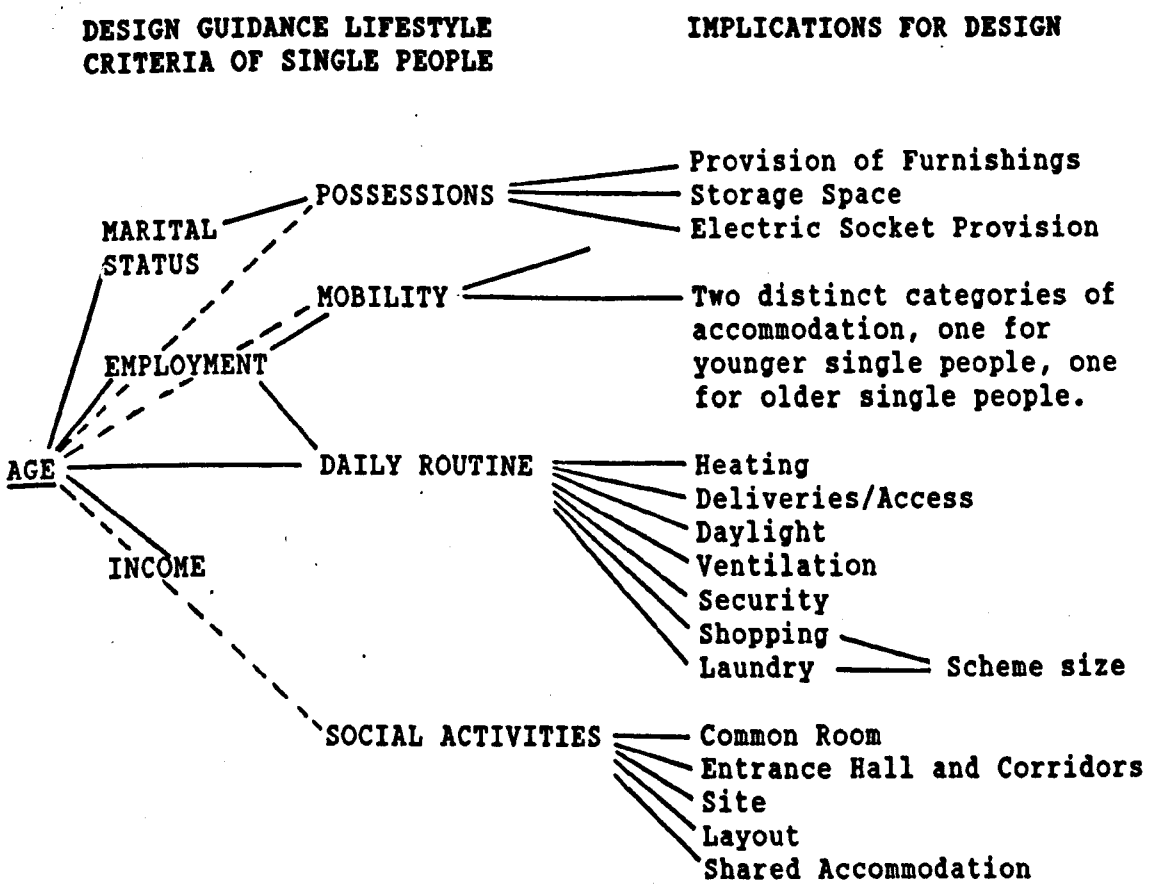
Evaluation of the first research proposition established the importance of the Design Bulletins in the design of public sector housing provision for young single people. Discussion of the evidence in relation to the second research proposition showed that considerable mismatch existed between the characteristics attributed by the design guidance to young single people and the actual characteristics of the tenants of the three young single person housing schemes used as case studies. This supported the second research proposition: that the recommendations and standards contained in the design guidance were not based on an accurate perception of the characteristics of young single people. The third research proposition follows on from this. It states that:

There is a mismatch between the specifically designed public sector housing provided for young single people and their accommodation requirements.

In order to evaluate this research proposition each aspect of design based on the design guidance perception of the accommodation requirements of single people was assessed and compared with the tenants' actual accommodation requirements. The design guidance perceptions of the housing requirements of young single people, which are sometimes implicit rather than stated, refer both to basic activities, for example cooking and laundry, and also to abstract requirements, for example privacy and friendliness. These have previously been considered in Chapter 5. Figure 8.1 lists the personal characteristics and lifestyle criteria attributed to both younger and older single people by the design guidance and indicates the areas of design that these attributed characteristics influence.

In order to gather the data required for this stage of the analysis a detailed semi-structured interview was conducted with the

Figure 8.1 Diagram Illustrating the Main Connections Between the Perceived Characteristics of Single People, their Housing Requirements and Design.



tenants of five bedsits, four one-bedroom flats and three shared two-bedroomed flats - a total of 14 tenants. The flats, both furnished and unfurnished were chosen from throughout one young single person housing scheme (A) on ground, first and second floor levels. The semi-structured interviews were designed to elicit information concerning two main topics. First, the particular aspects of design which the questionnaire survey had indicated as presenting possible problems were to be examined in greater detail. These have been outlined previously in Chapter 5, which showed that the information obtained from the questionnaire survey had supported the proposition that there was a mismatch between the lifestyle characteristics of the tenants and the design guidance expectations. The second main aim of the semi-structured interviews was therefore to ascertain how much this mismatch in lifestyle characteristics affected the tenants' use of the dwelling.

Due to the difficulties associated with limited resources and the willingness of tenants to co-operate, the detailed information required for the analysis of the research proposition was primarily obtained from the young single person housing scheme referred to as Case Study A. Additional evidence from the other two case studies is referred to where appropriate. The analysis begins by considering the design recommendations for two distinct categories of housing provision, then discusses the specific design details of the individual dwelling units, and then broadens in perspective to consider aspects of the design of the scheme as a whole. This last section of the analysis of the third research proposition follows in Chapter 9. The emphasis of the analysis is on the aspects of design which relate directly to the perceived characteristics of young single people. However where appropriate the discussion also refers to general design considerations.

8.2 The Provision of Different Flat Types

The design guidance states that 'what would satisfy most groups of single people ... is a small self contained dwelling for themselves'.(1) The evidence from the research supported this statement. As previously noted in Chapter 5, the most popular aspect of the bedsits and one-bedroom flats was that they were self-contained and afforded privacy.

The design guidance recommends different types of accommodation for younger and older single people, based on the design guidance perception of the characteristics of these two groups - in particular, their length of residence and the amount of time they spend in the home each day. The design guidance perceived young single people as mobile, that is, they do not wish to stay for long periods of time in any one place. To emphasise this point the design guidance attributes distinct characteristics to young single people. Each of the points the design guidance makes in support of this argument will now be considered.

First, the design guidance states that 'young single people expect to get flats quickly and to be able to leave at short notice after staying perhaps only a few months'.(2) This perception of young single people is incorporated into the design recommendations that 'young single people want short-term housing, a pied-a-terre'.(3) In contrast older single people, are perceived by the design guidance as wanting to 'settle down in a permanent home of their own'.(4) The design guidance recommends permanent accommodation for older single people.(5) This distinction between demand for short stay and permanent housing is one of the factors influencing the design recommendation for two standards of accommodation - a smaller bedsit for the younger, short-stay tenants and a larger flat with a separate bedroom for the older, permanent tenants.(6) However, evidence from

the research previously discussed in Chapter 7 Section 7.6 showed that the young single people studied were no more mobile than the older single people. This indicates that there may be a mismatch between the space requirements of younger single people and the accommodation provided for them.

Second, this concept of mobility amongst young single people and non-mobility amongst older single people is reiterated in the design guidance perception of single people's attitude towards furniture. As previously discussed in Section 7.7, the design guidance states that 'young single people don't as a rule own furniture' and 'young single people don't want to tie themselves down buying furniture'.(7,8) Following on from this perceived characteristic, the design guidance recommends that furniture should be provided for this group.(9) The design guidance summarises this accordingly: 'young single people ... hope to find a furnished bedsitting room which they can rent on a short term basis, having no wish to acquire property and furniture which might restrict their mobility'.(10) Older single people, however, are characterised by the design guidance as owning furniture.(11) Therefore the design guidance recommends that older single people prefer unfurnished accommodation, though the design guidance does note a difference here between older single men and women, since it states that there may be a few male exceptions to this.(12) Whilst Design Bulletin 33, which appraised a single person housing scheme built to design guidance specifications, found that single people's furniture requirements were not dependent on age, the concept of changes in mobility according to age was not questioned.

The third factor the design guidance uses to support the recommendation for the provision of two standards of accommodation is the design guidance perception of how single people spend their time. The design guidance asserts that 'single people are out at work all

day' and that young single people are 'often out in the evenings as well'. (13) The design guidance argues that as young single people spend so little time at home, space is not important to them. Therefore they require a small flat, or an individual room in a shared flat. (14,15) However the evidence from the research, discussed in Chapter 7, Sections 7.5 and 7.8, showed that both young and older single people spend far more time in the home, due to different patterns of employment and social activity, than the design guidance anticipated.

Thus the difference between the design guidance perception of the characteristics of mobility and daily routine amongst young single people and the actual profile of those characteristics obtained from the tenants in the case study schemes indicates a possible mismatch between the housing requirements of the tenants and the accommodation provided for them. In order to investigate this, it was first necessary to define the proportion of young single person accommodation, that is, bedsits and two-bedroom shared flats, and older single person accommodation, that is one-bedroom flats. This has previously been noted in Chapter 7, where Figure 7.4 showed that in Case Study A, 37% of the accommodation was designed for older single people.

Figure 8.2 shows the number of younger and older single person units in Scheme A which were examined in detail at this stage of the analysis and the type of tenant who occupied them. This figure shows that three of the younger single person dwellings, two bedsits and one two-bedroom shared flat, were occupied by older single people. None of the one-bedroom flats, designed for older single people, were occupied by younger single people. This reflects both the findings in Chapter 7, that more of the tenants - 77% - were older single people, and the management system of allocating the one-bedroom flats through a system of internal transfers from smaller accommodation. The effects

Figure 8.2 Accommodation : Tenant
Younger : Older Single Person

<u>TENANT</u>	<u>ACCOMMODATION</u>		
	<u>Young Single Person</u>		<u>Older Single Person</u>
	<u>Bedsit</u>	<u>Two-Bedroom</u> <u>Shared Flat</u>	<u>One-Bedroom</u> <u>Flat</u>
Young Single Person	3	2	-
Older Single Person	2	1	4

that this imbalance has on the tenants' attitude towards the dwelling will be considered in the following sections which deal with the different aspects of design in each of the three flat types. However since the provision of furniture is applicable to all three types of dwelling, this will be considered first.

8.2.1 The Provision of Furniture

Design Bulletin 29 stated that younger single people do not as a rule own furniture, that they do not wish to spend money buying it and if they can not get furnished accommodation they may resort to living on mattresses and boxes.(16) In addition the Design Bulletin stated that providing furniture has the advantage that it can be chosen to fit in the restricted space of a small flat.(17) Accordingly the guidance recommended that accommodation provided for young single people should be furnished.(18) However, the appraisal of a single person housing scheme in Design Bulletin 33 found that as many young single people preferred unfurnished as furnished accommodation and recommended flexible provision.(19)

In the three young single person housing schemes surveyed, only Case Study A had followed the amended design guidance recommendations, providing a mix of both furnished and unfurnished

bedsits and one-bedroom flats; all the two-bedroom shared flats were furnished. In Case Study B all the young single person accommodation, (bedsits and two-bedroom shared flats) were furnished and the one-bedroom flats were unfurnished. In Case Study C all the accommodation was designed for younger single people and was fully furnished. Figure 8.3 lists the furniture provided for each tenant in the three case studies. This shows that similar furnishings were provided in the three schemes, the main exceptions being that two movable wardrobes were supplied in Case Study B whilst Case Studies A and C had large built-in wardrobes with greater storage capacity and second, no easy chairs were provided in Case Study C; in Case Study A, fitted carpets, curtains, a gas cooker and an electric refrigerator were standard provision in all the flats; in Case Study B all flats, including the unfurnished one-bedroom flats, were provided with carpets and curtains. There was no unfurnished accommodation in Case Study C.

Figure 8.4 shows the response tenants gave when asked about the furniture provision in their flats. This figure shows that the majority of respondents in each scheme stated that the furniture met their requirements. Some tenants stated that they required additional items; these are listed in Figure 8.5. The range of items listed reflects the findings from the detailed survey considered in detail in this chapter - in particular the clothes drying rack, since the research found that the tenants did a considerable amount of washing and drying of clothes in their flats, the request for additional storage, particularly for personal items, and the fact that the tenants in Case Study A wanted an alternative source of heating. In addition 10% of respondents in Case Study A requested an alarm system. This reflects their feelings about the security of the scheme and is considered in Chapter 9.

Figure 8.3 Furnishings Provided in the Case Study Schemes

CASE STUDY A	CASE STUDY B	CASE STUDY C
*Carpets	*Carpets	Carpets
*Curtains	*Curtains	Curtains
*Gas Cooker	*Electric Cooker	Electric Cooker
*Refrigerator	*Refrigerator	Refrigerator
Bed	Bed with two storage drawers	Bea
-	-	-
Bedside Cabinet	-	Bedside Cabinet
Easy Chair	Easy Chair x 2	-
Dining Chair x 2	Dining Chair x 2	Dining Chair x 4
Table	Table	Table
-	Bookcase	-
-	Chest of Drawers	-
-	Wardrobes x 2	-
Built-in Storage:	Built-in Storage:	Built-in Storage:
Kitchen	Kitchen	Kitchen
Dwelling	-	Dwelling
Personal	-	Personal

*These items were provided as standard in all types of accommodation including unfurnished
 NB; In two-bedroom flats two sets of bedroom furniture were provided

Figure 8.4 Tenants' Opinion of Furnishings

	<u>Case Study A</u>		<u>Case Study B</u>		<u>Case Study C</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Good	10	12	1	6	13	27
Adequate	24	29	4	22	26	54
Poor	14	17	2	11	7	15
No Response	35	42	11	61	2	4

Figure 8.5 Additional Furniture Tenants Requested

	Case Study A	Case Study B	Case Study C
	No.	No.	No.
Wall units/Bookcase	3	2	4
Storage units	5	4	1
Storage drawers	3	3	5
Easy chair/sofa	8	-	25
Small coffee table	5	-	2
Clothes drying rack	6	-	1
Screen	9	-	-
Electric fire	7	-	-
Extractor fan	15	-	4
Alarm system	8	-	-

It is interesting to note that although all the flats in Case Study C were fully furnished, a very high proportion of tenants, 75%, considered that their accommodation was only partially furnished. These flats did not have any comfortable seating which the majority of tenants considered to be essential.

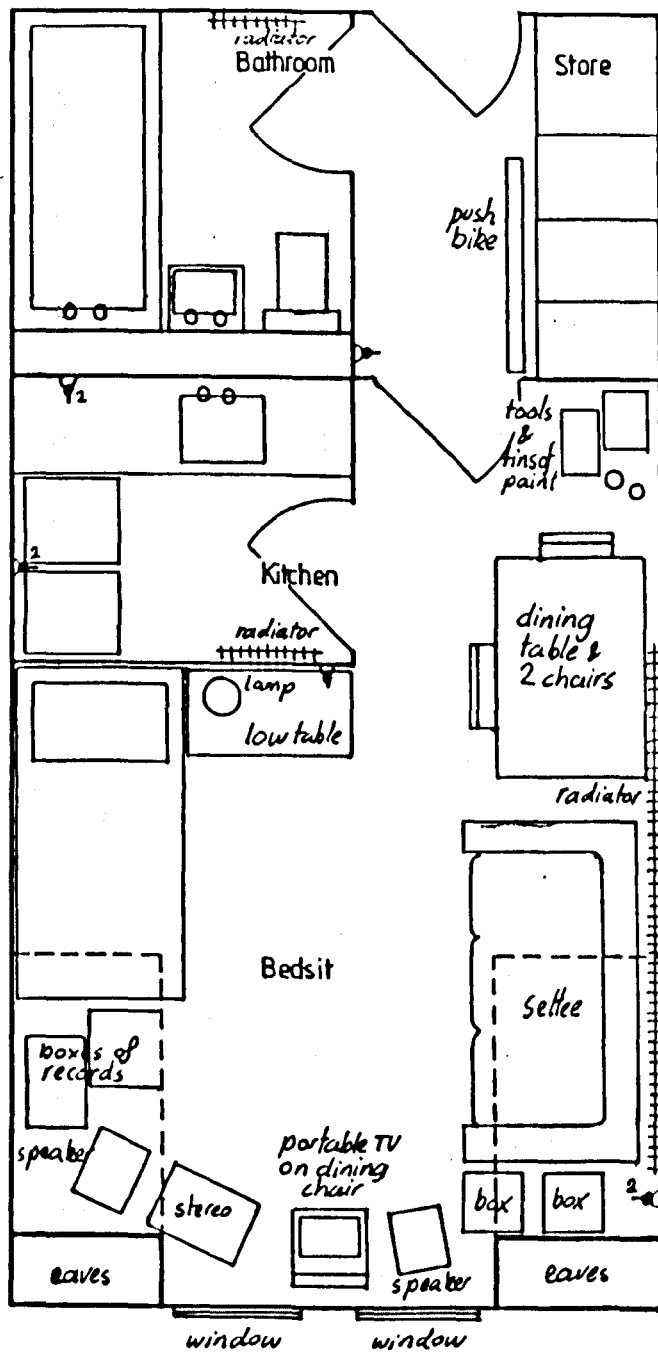
8.3 BEDSITS

8.3.1 Space

The design guidance recommends a minimum area of 25m^2 , including storage space, for the young single person bedsit. (20) In the five bedsits examined in detail, shown in Plans 1,2,3,4 and 5, the area of the dwelling, including storage space and the service duct, slightly exceeded the design guidance minimum, varying between 25.8m^2 to 26.7m^2 . Figure 8.6 presents the breakdown of the area within the bedsits. It shows that the kitchen, including storage, was 3m^2 , the larger floor and ceiling built-in storage unit in the hall was 1.3m^2 , the service duct between the kitchen and the bathroom containing plumbing, ventilation and services occupied 0.9m^2 , and that the remainder of the space which varied from 15.0m^2 to 15.9m^2 , constituted the main bedsitting room. This variation in area between the bedsitting rooms, which according to the architect had been built to a common specification, can be attributed to the intrusion of eaves which support the sloping roofs of the blocks in the first and second floor dwellings, shown in the case study plans and photographs in Chapter 6.

8.3.2 The Use Of Space

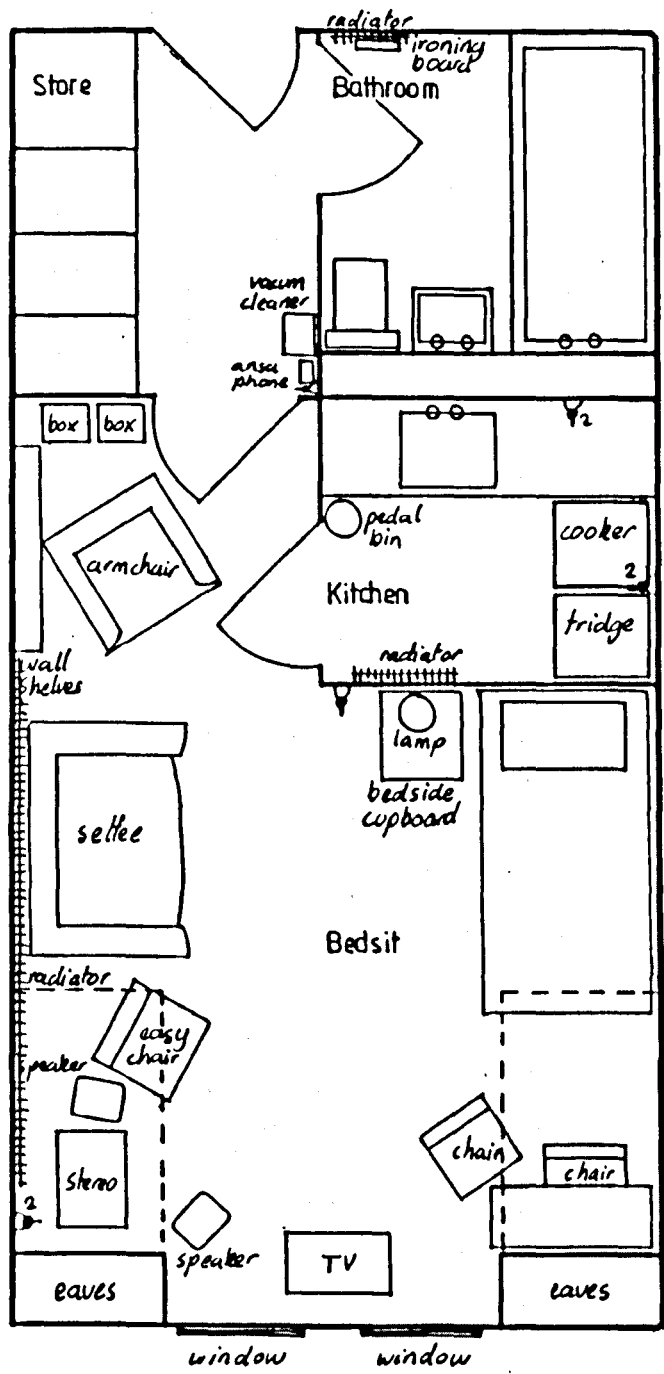
The way in which tenants used their accommodation was a combination of how they wished to use the accommodation, limited by restrictions imposed by the design and, to a lesser extent, management



↔ = electric power socket

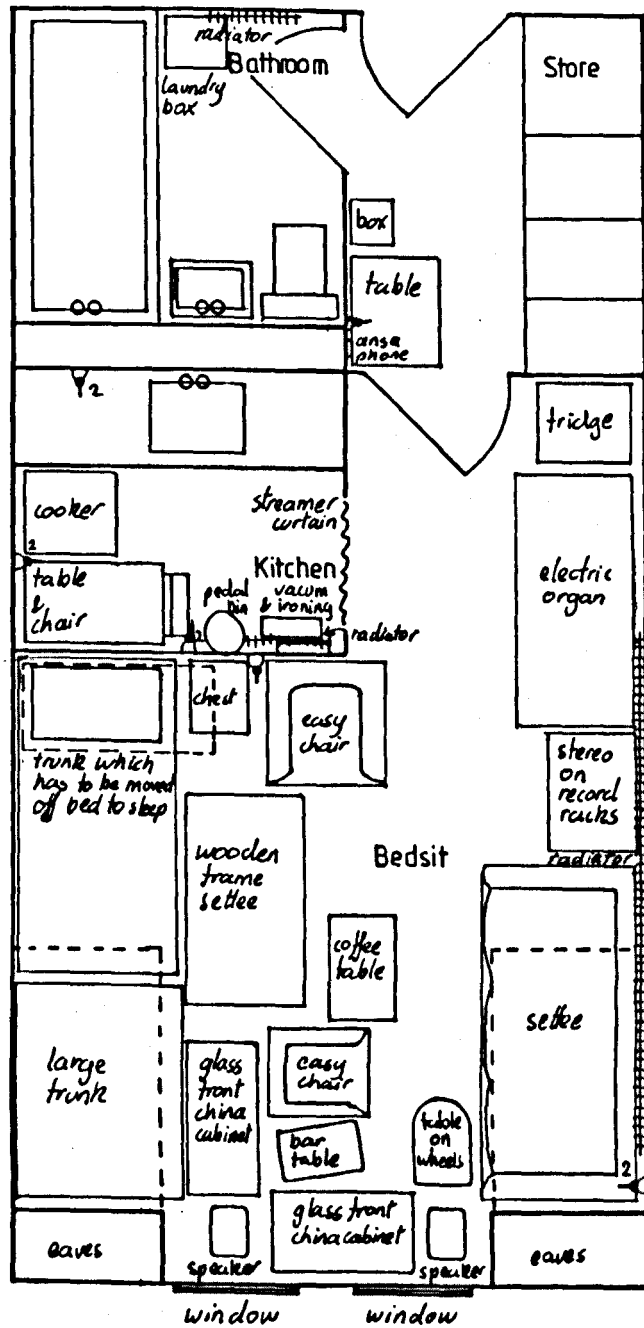
Plan 1
Bedsit 1

Scale 1:50



Plan 2
Bedsit 2

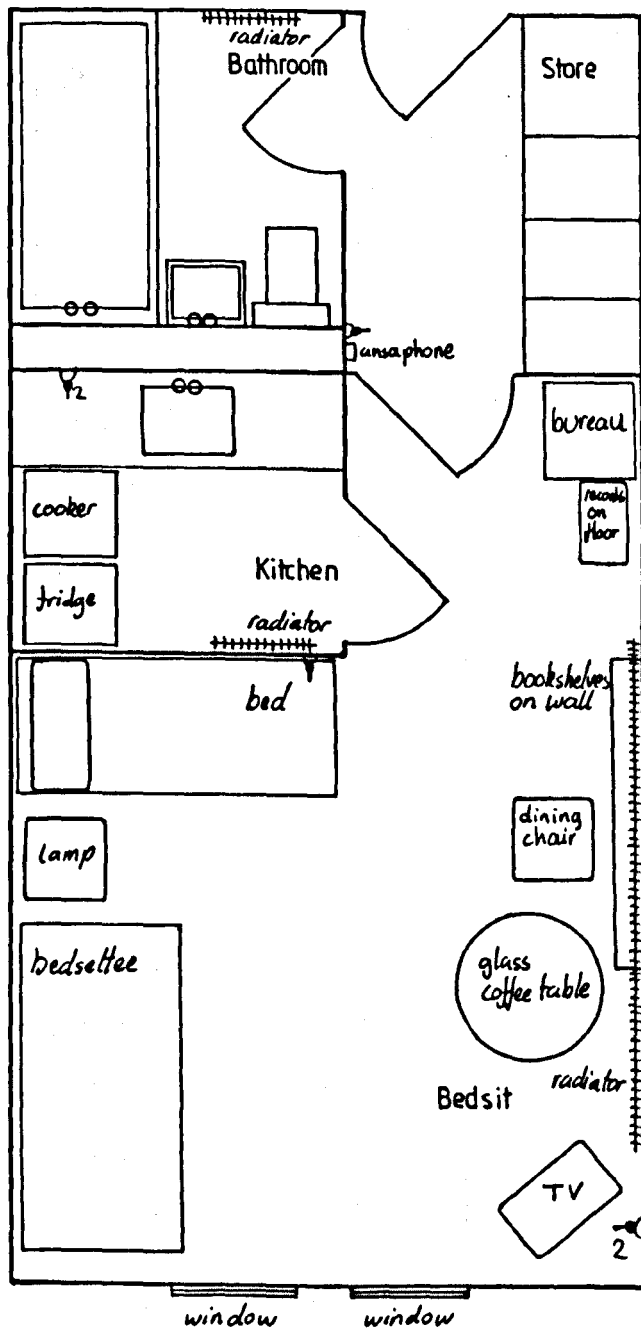
Scale 1:50



☐ = electric power socket

Plan 3
Bedsit 3

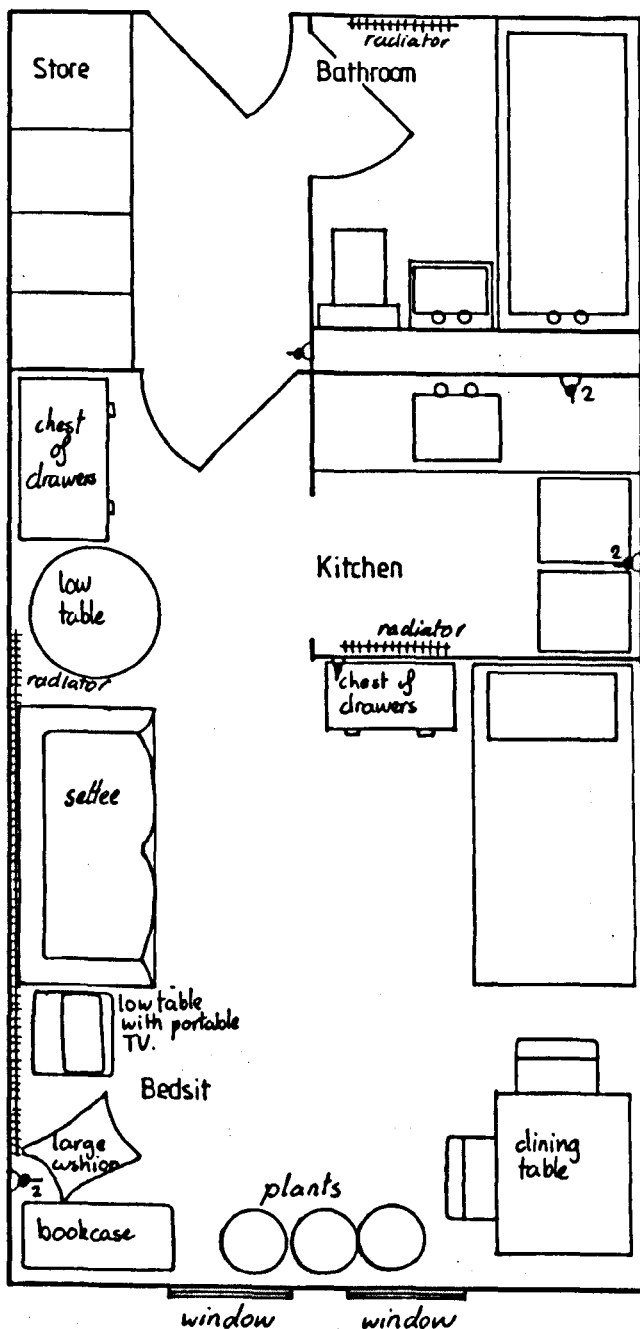
Scale 1:50



⌘ = electric power socket

Plan 4
Bedsit 4

Scale 1:50



Plan 5
Bedsit 5

Scale 1:50

Figure 8.6 Comparison of Space: Bedsits

	Bedsits				
	1	2	3	4	5
Bedsitting	15.1	15.0	15.0	15.9	15.9
Kitchen	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
Bathroom	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3
Hall	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3
Hall Cupboard	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3
Service Duct	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9
TOTAL AREA	25.9	25.9	25.8	26.7	26.7

Figures in m²

Figure 8.7 Restrictions on Tenants' Use Of Space: Bedsits

	Bedsitting Room		Kitchen	
	No.	%	No.	%
Room Size	23	57	7	17
Room Shape	16	40	-	-
Position of Windows	7	17	-	-
Position of Doors	12	29	4	11
Position of Sockets	2	6	-	-
Position of Radiators	-	-	-	-

of the accommodation. Figure 8.7 tabulates the data obtained from the questionnaire survey and shows the constraints that tenants considered design placed upon their use of the bedsits. From Figure 8.7 it can be seen that 57% of bedsit tenants stated that the actual size of the accommodation was the main constraint upon their use of the space provided, whilst 40%, stated that the shape of the bedsitting room, which was affected by the intrusion of eaves, imposed restrictions. The position of doors, windows, and, to a lesser extent, electric sockets also affected the tenants' use of space. The constraints these design features placed upon the tenants use of space will now be considered in detail.

8.3.2.1 The Size and Shape of the Bedsit

The design guidance states that the living space in small flats has to be able to accommodate a variety of activities, 'some of which will have to go on at the same time, and accordingly recommends that a 'squarish shape' is most appropriate, since it permits a variety of arrangements of furniture.(21) The evidence from the research concurred with the design guidance expectations in that it was found that a number of tenants in both bedsits and one-bedroom flats regularly wanted to undertake activities which required more space than the basic activities of cooking, eating, watching television, or sleeping. Such activities included practising yoga, aerobics, karate or taichi, carpentry and bicycle repairs. However from the plans it can be seen that the bedsitting room in the bedsits in Case Study A was 'L' shaped rather than 'squarish'. The tenants of the five bedsits examined in detail mainly used the square of the room from the kitchen wall to the window. The use of that part of the bedsitting room by the side of the kitchen was restricted since it was the passage to and from the kitchen and hall, and space had to be allowed for the opening of doors. In addition to access, all five tenants used this part of the room for storage, either in the form of a bureau or a chest of drawers or for boxes and bulky household items. In Bedsit 2 the tenant had placed a chair here, although if this was in use it was drawn into the main part of the room, restricting access. In Bedsit 1 the tenant had placed his dining-table and chairs next to the kitchen, although when in use for entertaining passage was likewise restricted.

Of the five bedsits examined in detail from Case Study A, two were furnished, Plans 2 and 5, and three were unfurnished, Plans 3,4 and 5. The tenants of the furnished bedsits had added a settee and an armchair or floor cushion to the furniture provided. Evidence from the questionnaire indicated that these tenants were not untypical, since

80% of tenants in furnished accommodation stated that they required comfortable seating additional to that provided.

Figure 8.8 shows the living space in the bedsits. This was calculated by measuring the furniture and stored items and deducting this area from the total room area. Living space is referred to as one indicator of how the tenants used the accommodation. Figure 8.8 shows that the living space in these five bedsits ranged from 10m² to 16.5m². This difference in living space reflects the intrusion of eaves in some bedsits and the amount of furniture and belongings tenants possessed. For example, the tenant of Bedsit 4, where there were no eaves, had more living space in the bedsitting room alone than the tenant of

Figure 8.8 Living Space In Bedsits

<u>Room Area</u>	<u>Bedsit</u>				
	1	2	3	4	5
Bedsitting Room	15.1	15.0	15.0	15.9	15.9
Furniture	7.5	6.3	9.7	5.0	7.2
Living Space	7.6	8.7	5.3	10.9	8.7
Hall	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3
Furniture	0.3	0.1	0.4	-	-
Living Space	2.0	2.2	1.9	2.3	2.3
Kitchen	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
Furniture (including fixtures)	1.6	1.7	1.8	1.6	1.6
Living Space	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.4	1.4
Bathroom	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3
Furniture (including fixtures)	1.4	1.5	1.7	1.4	1.4
Living Space	1.9	1.8	1.6	1.9	1.9
TOTAL LIVING SPACE IN BEDSIT	12.9	14.0	10.0	16.5	14.3

2
 Figures in m

Bedsit 3, where there were eaves, had in his whole bedsit. The slope of the eaves not only reduced the area of some of the bedsits but also restricted the use of space and positioning of furniture in them. From Plans 1 and 3 it can be seen that the tenants of those bedsits stored bulky possessions under the eaves. The settee in these bedsits was positioned half under the eaves, causing tenants problems with headroom. The positioning of electric sockets and the communal television aerial (shown on Plans 1 to 5 and discussed in detail in a later section) had determined the arrangement of the bed in Bedsit 1, allowing no alternative position for the settee and no way to avoid the problem of restricted height above it, whilst the large amount of furniture in Bedsit 3, where the tenants had been waiting two years for an internal transfer to a larger one-bedroom flat, left little room for an alternative furniture arrangement. In Bedsit 2 the tenant had placed a table and chairs under the eaves, although the lack of headroom restricted his use of them. Thus it appeared from the fact that these three tenants could only use the space under the eaves for storage or rarely used furniture that the intrusion of eaves not only decreased the area of the bedsit by up to 8% but also restricted the effective use of the already small space available.

Due to the position of coat hooks on the back of the entrance door to Bedsit 3 and the amount of clothing hanging on these hooks, the entrance door would only open a short way. The tenant had to enter the bathroom and then shut the entrance door in order to enter the flat. This severely restricted access and could cause considerable problems in an emergency.

Bedsit 3 was the worst example of inadequate space. It had a smaller living area, due to the eaves, and the tenant had a considerable number of possessions. This tenant could not use most of his furniture since it was stacked so closely together. Bedsit 3 was

so crowded that, in order to sleep, the tenant had to remove a trunk and other belongings which were stored on the bed during the day. This tenant had previously had his own home but marital breakdown had forced him to move. He had been waiting for two years for an internal transfer to a larger, one-bedroom flat which was not likely to happen in the near future. The managers of Case Study A had removed the refrigerator from this bedsit in order to allow more space. This was an unprecedented move and according to the caretaker was actively discouraged since, due to insurance difficulties the communal storage provision was not used. This is discussed in detail in Chapter 9. However, again the storage of bulky items presented problems in the hall. This will be discussed in detail when storage is considered.

The lifestyle of the tenant of Bedsit 3 was severely restricted by the lack of space. The tenant had access to the kitchen to prepare meals etc, but in order to sit down, or sleep, he had to move furniture around. He stated that he felt the bedsit was 'merely a place to sleep, not a home' because it was 'impossible to invite friends around as they couldn't get inside'. The tenant had been living in this way for over two years. However the definition of home, as, inter alia, a place where people could visit frequently, was given by all tenants, the majority of whom stated that they did not consider their accommodation to be a home since it did not fulfil this function.

8.3.2.2 Activities

Figure 8.9 was compiled from data obtained from the questionnaire survey. The tenants were asked whether they had sufficient space in their bedsit to perform various activities. From Figure 8.9 it can be seen that whilst the majority of bedsit tenants felt able to invite friends around for a coffee or drinks, 46% felt that the bedsit was too small to invite people for a meal, although

Figure 8.9 Activities and Space in Bedsits

ACTIVITIES	ADEQUATE SPACE							
	YES		NO		NOT APPLICABLE		NO RESPONSE	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Laundry	13	36	10	29	10	29	2	6
Drying Washing	9	26	16	46	4	11	6	17
Preparing Meals	22	62	11	32	-	-	2	6
Eating in the Kitchen	-	-	26	74	7	20	2	6
Sitting Down to Eat	28	80	4	11	-	-	3	9
Just Sitting to Read or Watch T.V.	30	85	2	6	1	3	2	6
Studying	26	74	1	3	6	17	2	6
Hobbies	22	62	8	23	3	9	2	6
Entertaining; for coffee/drinks	22	62	8	23	2	6	3	9
a meal	13	37	16	46	2	6	4	11
to stay	9	26	20	57	2	6	4	11

they would have liked to do this if they had more room, whilst 57% stated that they could not have friends or relations to stay because there was insufficient space. Case Study A contained a guest room (on the ground floor of Block A) which tenants could rent to accommodate overnight guests. The tenants' use of this will be discussed in a later section. It is relevant to note here that the guest room was provided on the designer's initiative to compensate for the lack of space in the tenants' own accommodation but was very rarely used. It was considered to be 'institutional'. A number of tenants stated that if they invited friends they wanted them in their own home, not 'miles away'.

Figure 8.9 shows that 36% of bedsit tenants felt that they had adequate space in their flats to wash clothes but 46% stated that

drying clothes was a problem, due to lack of space. From the in-depth interviews with bedsit tenants it appeared that after doing their laundry in either the flat or the Laundry Room the tenants lived surrounded by wet or damp clothing 'hanging over every available surface'. The heating in winter quickly dried things but in summer when the heating was off drying could take a few days. The 29% of bedsit tenants for whom this was not applicable did all their washing and drying of clothes in the Laundry Room provided in Block A.

In the kitchen, Figure 8.9 shows that a sizeable proportion of tenants, 32%, stated that they did not have sufficient space to prepare meals. As shown on Plans 1-5 this was due to the small amount of worksurface provided; 0.2m², and the fact that this was situated between the sink and the cooker. It was compounded by the fact that tenants kept here items regularly used such as kettles, teapots, breadbins, and spices. All five of the tenants interviewed complained about the position of the work surface and in particular the cupboards and drawers underneath. Due to the position of the cooker, access to the corner cupboard was virtually impossible and only rarely used. Small items could be stored here. 74% of bedsit tenants would have liked to eat in the kitchen rather than the bedsitting room but were unable to do this. All of the bedsit tenants interviewed ate their meals from a tray in the living room: even the two with dining tables preferred not to use them as it was 'a hassle' to organise. The tenant of Bedsit 3 had managed to fit a table in his kitchen because he had moved his own fridge to the living room. However this was due more to default rather than design, because the large size of his fridge-freezer meant it would not fit into the kitchen. None of the other bedsit tenants considered this arrangement viable.

8.3.2.3 The Provision of Electric Sockets

The design guidance states that young single people are likely to have a good deal of electronic equipment and recommends provision of nine 13amps sockets in each unit of single person accommodation, to be situated in the 'usual places'.(22,23) In Case Study A the bedsits had 8 electric sockets, one less than the recommended minimum. These were situated in the following positions; one in the hall, four in the kitchen and three in the bedsitting room, two on an internal wall at the window end of the room next to the communal television aerial point and one on the internal wall between the bedsitting room and the kitchen. The position of the sockets is shown on the accompanying plans.

The number of sockets and their position limited the number of ways in which tenants could arrange the furniture and thus utilise the space. In both Bedsits 1 and 2 the electric flex for the television trailed across the floor in front of the window. In Bedsit 1 access to the windows was restricted by the position of the stereo and television set. In Bedsit 2 the tenant stated that he tended to stumble over the flex when opening and closing windows, but he kept the television there because he found the reception deteriorated in other positions. The manager of Case Study A stated that the television reception in the scheme was poor ; she stated that 'only one aerial has been provided for the whole scheme but really each block needs one'. Given the positions of the electric sockets and the communal television aerial point there is no alternative position for the television and stereo. The tenants of Bedsits 4 and 5 did not have any difficulties with cords across the access to the windows since they did not possess stereos in addition to television sets. In Bedsit 3 the tenant was using an extension lead which ran along the back of the settee and provided four additional sockets from which his stereo, electric organ

and fridge-freezer could be powered.

All five tenants in the bedsits studied in detail had placed their beds adjacent to the kitchen wall, either facing or parallel to the window, in order to plug a bedside lamp into one of the sockets positioned there. This position for the bed was recommended in the guidance - 'the best place for a bed is probably in a corner away from the window ... with a small table alongside on which is put a light'.(24) The tenants had followed this expectation and did not have any problems with the bed in this position. However, three of the five bedsit tenants interviewed stated that their furniture arrangement resulted from the position of the bed, itself determined by the position of sockets, which left them no room for alternative arrangements of other items of furniture.

8.3.3 Storage

As previously mentioned in Chapter 7, when considering the key lifestyle characteristics of young single people, namely mobility, possessions and furniture, the design guidance contained contradictory views, stating that young single people would want furnished accommodation as they did not wish to tie themselves down by buying furniture (25) whilst at the same time they were expected to accumulate a lot of unspecified 'belongings'.(26) The design guidance contains detailed recommended areas and volumes for storage space (27) For the young single person bedsit the design guidance recommends 3m³ of personal storage (including 2m² of shelves and drawers). These are all recommended minimums. The design guidance states that 'areas of shelving or drawers are given in addition to volumes so as to avoid vast empty cupboards. Generally speaking, the more shelves you can get into a storage unit the more you can store'.(28)

The bedsits in Case Study A had a large built-in floor to ceiling storage unit in the hall, providing 3m^3 of personal storage space with 2.1m^2 of shelving. In the kitchen there were three large storage cupboards under the sink with one drawer under the draining board and another two storage cupboards over the cooker and refrigerator. These cupboards provided a total of 1.5m^3 storage; two shelves in each of the larger wall cupboards under the sink unit, together with a drawer under the draining board provided 4.5m^2 of shelving and drawer area. These areas include the bottom of the unit as shelf space. Thus although the total kitchen storage volume exceeded the design guidance minimum, the area of shelving provided in the kitchen was slightly less than the recommended minimum. It is difficult to see how the design guidance recommended minimum of 5m^2 of shelving and/or drawers could have been usefully met in a kitchen of this size. Additional shelving with storage units would have raised the area of shelving provided but would have reduced the usefulness of the cupboards by precluding the storage of large items.

All of the bedsit tenants were satisfied with the amount of kitchen storage. However two problems were identified here. First, access to the storage cupboard below the worksurface was blocked by the position of the cooker. This was considered to be 'ludicrous design' by more than one respondent. The size of the kitchen prevented the cooker being sited elsewhere. A second pattern arose with the storage of items on the worksurface. The kitchen in the bedsit had 0.7m^2 of work surface, including the top of the fridge. The questionnaire survey found that 58% of bedsit tenants used the kitchen work surface to provide additional storage. Of these, 70% had to move these items before they could use the work surface for the preparation of food. This caused considerable inconvenience.

The main problem with storage in the bedsits appeared to be the storage of bulky, essential household items such as vacuum cleaners, ironing boards and clothes horses. In Bedsit 2 (Plan 2), these items were stored in the hall and bathroom which meant that access to the bathroom was sometimes restricted. In Bedsit 3 (Plan 3), these items were kept on top of a large trunk under the eaves, whilst in Bedsit 1 (Plan 1), they were piled together with a toolbox and tins of paint in a corner of the living room. Although Bedsit 1 was situated on the second floor, the tenant kept his bicycle in the hallway for convenience, to carry out maintenance work, and for safety, since he had previously had one bicycle stolen from the small stands provided for bicycles at the other end of the flats scheme. Whilst it might be unreasonable to expect storage provision in Bedsits to accommodate bicycles, essential household items such as vacuum cleaners, ironing boards and clothes horses should have been anticipated. Although a laundry was provided in the scheme, of which the majority of tenants made regular use, it was regarded by many as a place to wash clothes. Drying and ironing were activities undertaken within the bedsit, mainly because tenants did not want to spend much time in the laundry.

8.3.4 Ventilation

The design guidance states that since single person dwellings have a higher proportion of bathroom and kitchen area than do group or family dwellings, this makes it difficult to situate them in blocks so that these rooms have windows, unless a 'balcony access', or a wide frontage flat plan is adopted. The design guidance states that 'it is probably cheaper in most cases to make these rooms internal and to adopt mechanical ventilation', on the premise that 'these rooms will be used mainly in the evenings and at weekends so that the lack of

daylight is likely to be accepted'.(29) However, as previously discussed in Chapter 7, the design guidance perception of the characteristics of young single people was often inaccurate. In particular, evidence from the research has indicated that, with few exceptions, young single people spent more time during both the day and evening in the flat than the design guidance had anticipated. Indicators from the questionnaire survey previously discussed in Chapter 5 show that bedsit tenants ranked the absence of a window in the kitchen fourth amongst the aspects they disliked about the bedsits. From the detailed interviews conducted with five bedsit tenants, it emerged that the reasons they disliked the lack of a window in the kitchen, and to a lesser extent in the bathroom, were associated more with ventilation than with daylight. This section will consider ventilation; daylight is discussed in the following section.

a) Kitchens

The design guidance states that 'it may not be economic to provide a rate of ventilation suitable for cleaning a kitchen of steam'.(30) The bedsits in Case Study A were provided with an extractor fan in the kitchen, situated above the cooker, attached to the bottom of a storage cupboard. Fumes were carried through the central services duct, shown on the plans. Evidence from the interviews showed that the ventilation of the kitchen was a persistent problem for bedsit tenants, supporting the indicators obtained from the questionnaire survey. The extractor fan provided in the kitchen did not appear to be strong enough to cope with the demands placed upon it. One tenant stated that 'when I am cooking and the oven is on, the heat is much too strong for this small kitchen'. In addition to the extractor fan not removing the cooking smells and fumes from the bedsit kitchen, all bedsit tenants stated that when the kitchen extractor fan was used other people's cooking smells were often sucked into their

flat. In order to avoid this, two tenants stated that they preferred not to use the extractor fan.

Whether the extractor fan in the kitchen was used or not, the tenants in the bedsits opened doors and windows in order to either facilitate or provide ventilation. A number of tenants sacrificed privacy when they were cooking in order to ventilate the flat. They felt it necessary to open not only the kitchen door but also the bedsitting room windows, the hall door, and the entrance door to try and encourage a through draught. In addition, some tenants, as in Bedsit 3, had actually removed the kitchen door since in order to facilitate ventilation it was invariably open and was regarded as being in the way, occupying precious space in a tiny bedsit. These doors were, following design guidance recommendations, half-hour fire resisting doors. Their removal has serious implications for the fire safety of these dwellings.

The windows in all ground floor flats could only open a short distance. This was a security measure and did not restrict their being cleaned since this could be done from the outside but it did aggravate the ventilation problem for ground floor tenants.

As previously noted in Chapter 7, young single people not only spent more time in the bedsit rather than the design guidance anticipated but they also cooked for themselves more frequently than suggested. This mismatch between the design guidance perception of single people's requirements and the actual use they made of these kitchens might therefore account for the inappropriate level of ventilation. Previous research (28) supported the finding that the ventilation for the internal kitchens was a major complaint, but this had not influenced changes in the recommendations concerning ventilation or the provision of internal, windowless kitchens in the bedsits, perhaps because, as the quote for the design guidance at the

beginning of this section states 'it may not be economic'. However evidence from this research indicates that the tenant's response to inefficient levels of ventilation may be creating fire safety problems. This factor, together with the financial implications of heat lost through open windows should be included in any economic evaluation of the provision of adequate ventilation in bedsit kitchens in future schemes.

b) Bathroom

As previously noted all five tenants interviewed regularly dried washing done in the laundry in their bedsits. In addition, they all hand-washed a number of items each week, ranging from a few delicate garments to doing the whole weekly wash in the bath. Items of clothing, even sheets, were frequently hung to dry in the bathroom, either on a line suspended over the bath, on a clothes horse or on the radiator, and in the bedsitting room, again over the radiator or a clothes horse or the backs of chairs. The design guidance states that 'it may not be economic to provide a rate of ventilation suitable for drip-drying clothes over the bath'.(31) The guidance anticipates that drying washing may be a problem and recommends the provision of a tumble drier.(32) However even though tumble driers were provided in Case Study A the tenants still wanted to dry washing in their flats.

The internal bathrooms in the bedsits in Case Study A were provided with electric fans connected to the light switch. Most tenants considered that these provided adequate ventilation and stated that they did not have problems with bathroom ventilation. However there was evidence of mould on the walls in two of the bedsits, indicating possible future problems. Considering the amount of washing and drying of laundry which occurs in the bathrooms, which is much higher than the design guidance expected, it might become economical to consider a higher level of ventilation in the bathroom.

8.3.5 Daylight

The design guidance states that tenants like a good view and sunlight in their rooms. Whilst east or west light is generally satisfactory, the design guidance argues that people with only one window and one view from their dwelling could be given better orientation.(33) From the site plan of Case Study A, (Plan A) and the accompanying photographs, it can be seen that most of the flats had north or south facing windows, apart from those in Block A which were either east or west facing. The bedsits were not sited only on the south facing side of the blocks but were placed on both sides of each block in the scheme.

The bedsits had two long, narrow adjacent windows at the end of the living room, 0.2m apart. The position of the windows is marked on the plans. The windows were uniform throughout the scheme. They were 0.76m wide and 2.28m high, with a wooden partition of 15cm dividing each window at a height of 1m. A fixed pane of reinforced glass formed the bottom part of the window. The top pane of clear glass opened on side pivots. As previously noted in Chapter 5, only 6% of the bedsit tenants had indicated in the initial questionnaire survey that they considered the bedsits were too dark and lacked daylight. The main dissatisfaction with the windows was in relation to the fact that neither the bathroom nor kitchen had a window, though, as previously discussed, this was more a problem associated with ventilation than daylight.

8.3.6 Summary of the Evidence Relating to the Third Research Proposition: Bedsits

The evidence from the research showed that the design of the bedsits matched the tenants' requirements for privacy in terms of living independently. In general there was sufficient space for passive occupations, such as sitting to read or watch television, studying,

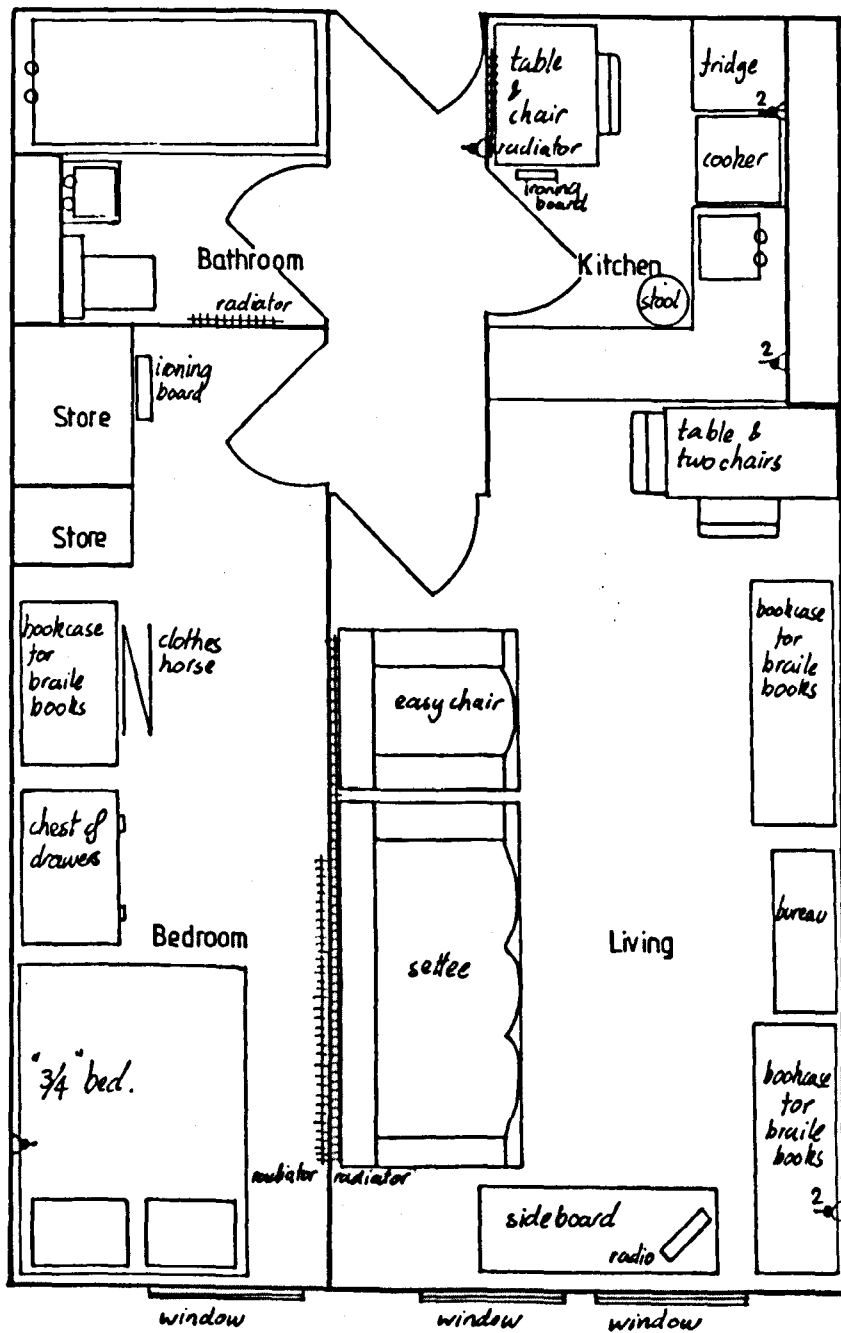
eating and entertaining on a small scale, that is, having a friend in for coffee. However the research found the design of the bedsits did not match the tenants' space requirements for other activities, namely, drying washing, hobbies and entertaining people for a meal or to stay overnight. In the kitchen there was sufficient space for cooking but not for the preparation of food or for eating. The bathroom met all the tenants' spatial requirements apart from drying washing.

Overall the storage provision did not meet the tenants' requirements. Although the kitchen storage was ample, the volumes of personal and dwelling storage were inadequate. Whilst the number of electric sockets matched requirements, the position of these caused problems. Neither the ventilation nor the daylight in any room matched requirements.

8.4 ONE-BEDROOM FLATS

8.4.1 Space

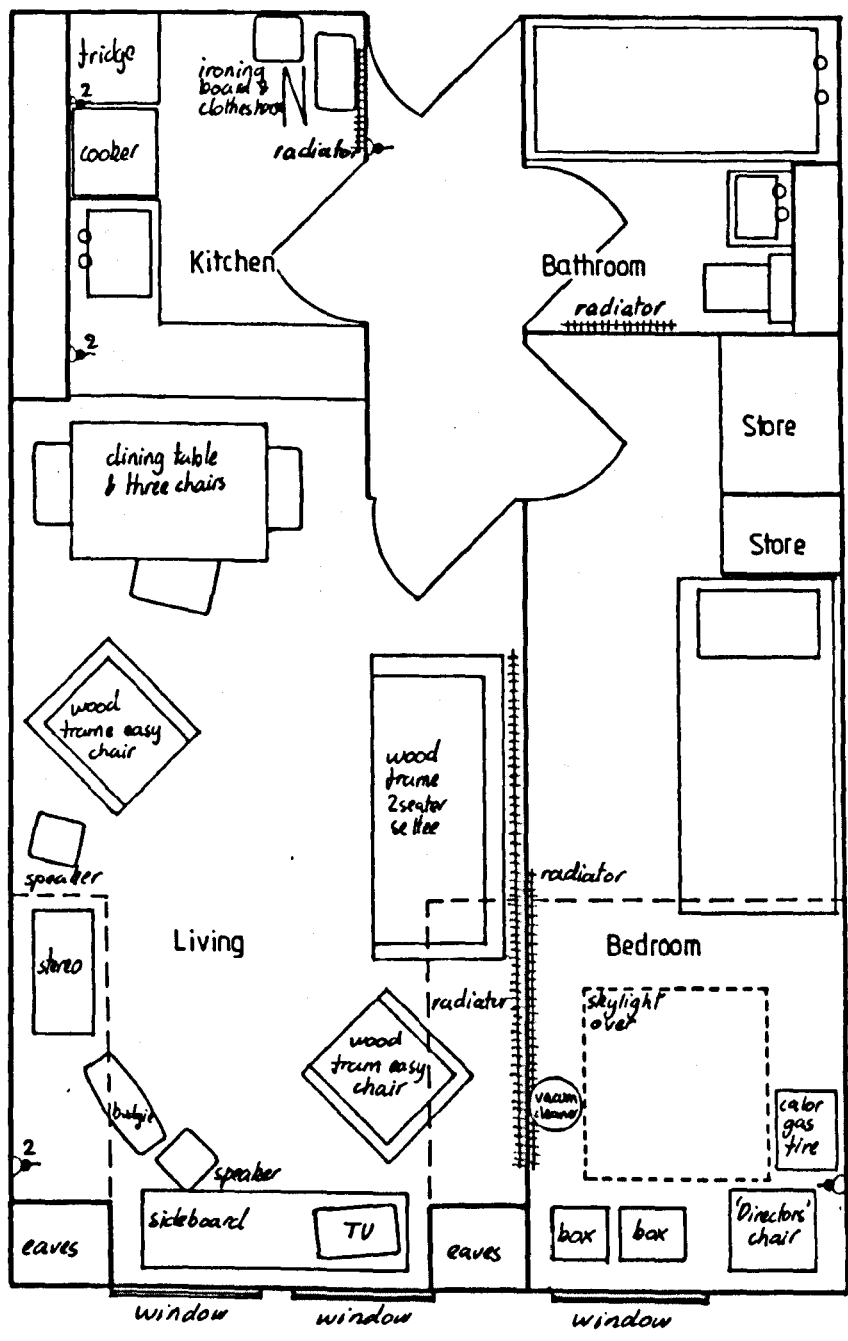
Design Bulletin 29 recommends a one-bedroom flat with 2 rooms to Parker Morris standards of 32.5m² minimum including storage, for older single people.(34) In the 4 one-bedroom flats examined in detail, shown in Plans 6,7,8 and 9, the area of the dwellings, including storage space and the service ducts, exceeded the design guidance minimum, ranging from 34.2m² to 35.5m². Figure 8.10 shows the breakdown of these areas. There were two slightly different designs for the one bedroom flats in Case Study A. The kitchen, although a separate room entered from the hall, was open to the living room over a 'breakfast bar' situated between standing storage cupboards opening into the living room, and overhead kitchen storage cupboards. The difference in the position of this 'breakfast bar' resulted in two kitchens (Flats 8 and 9) being 1.3m² larger than the other two (Flats 6 and 7). Correspondingly the living rooms in these two flats (6 and 7),



⊙ = electrical power socket

Plan 6
One Bedroom Flat 6

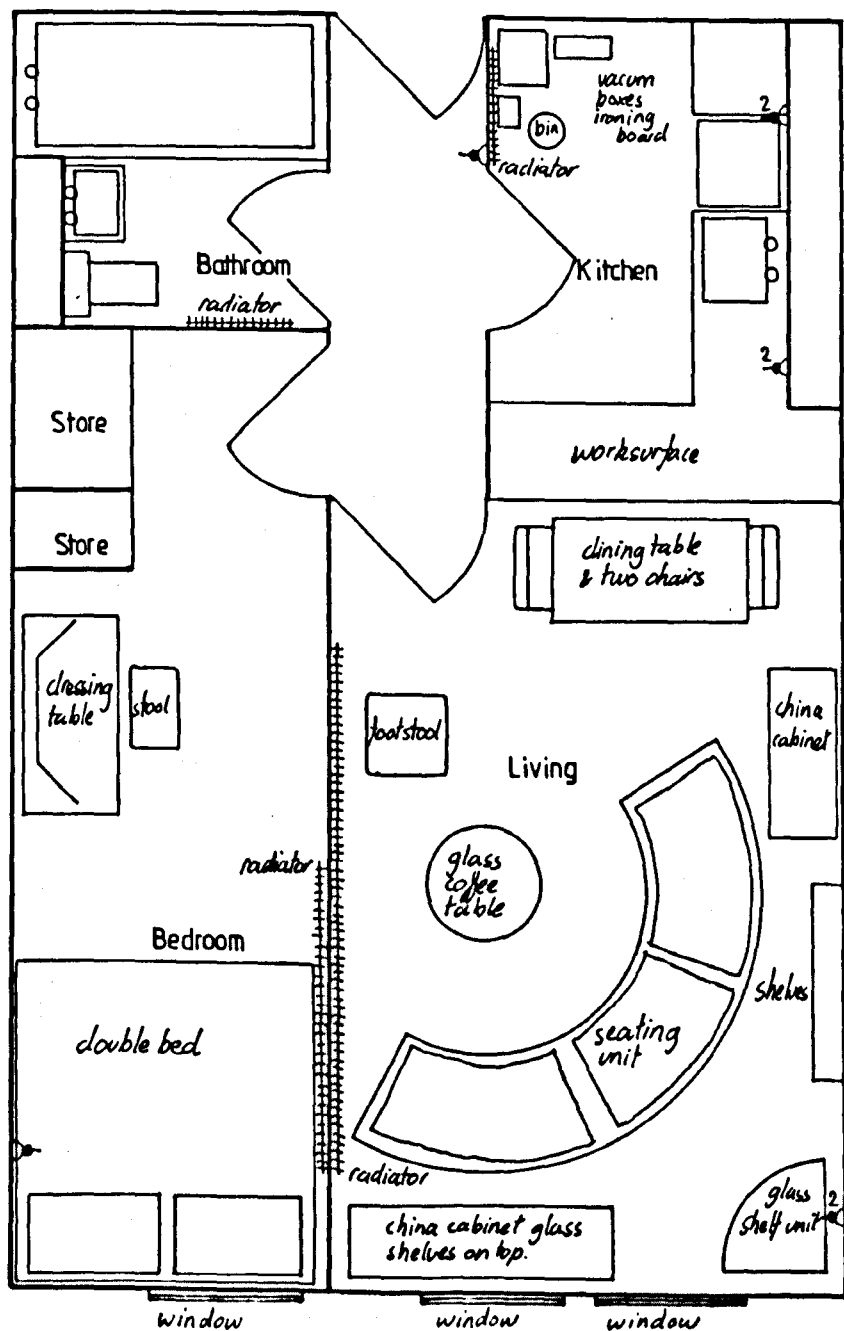
Scale 1:50



➤ = electrical power socket

Plan 7
One Bedroom Flat 7

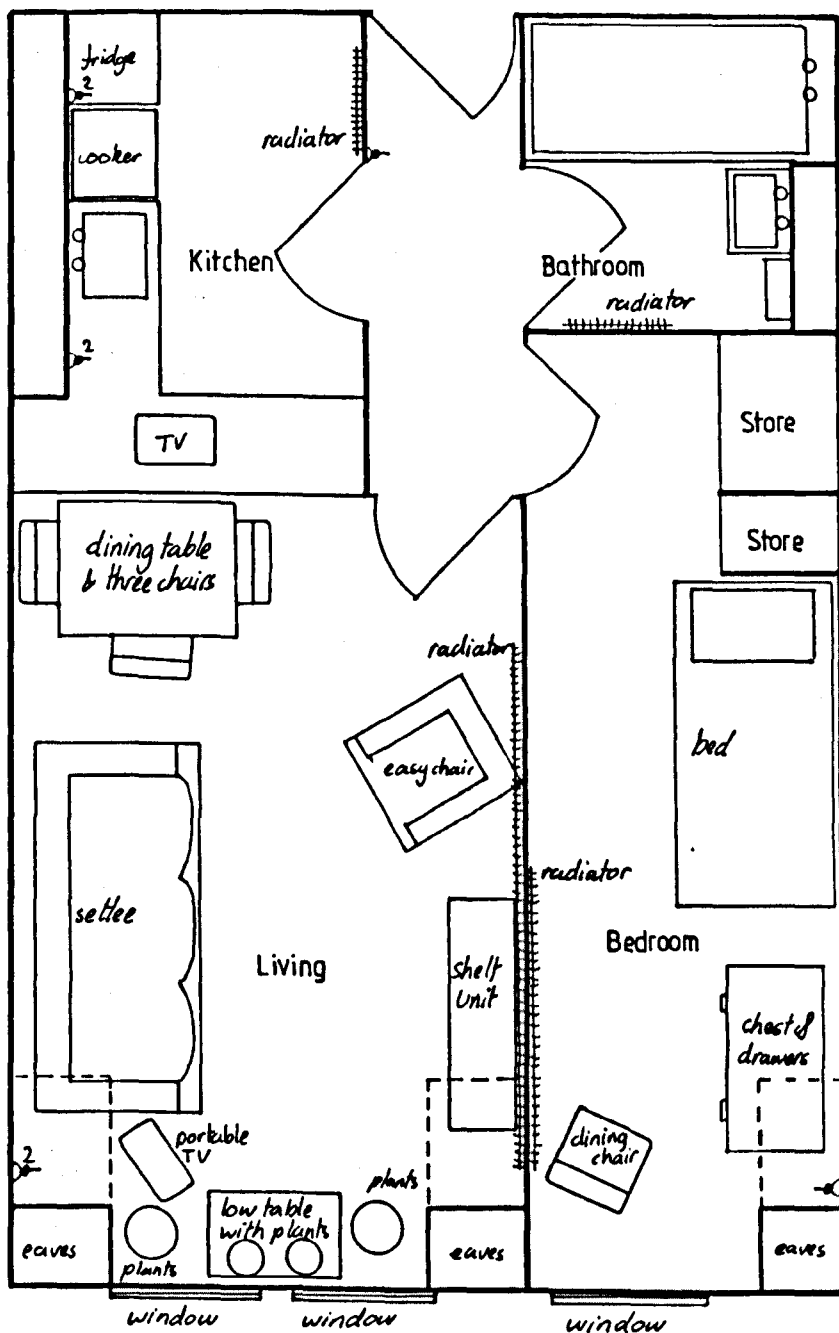
Scale 1:50



⤵ = electrical power socket

Plan 8
One Bedroom Flat 8

Scale 1:50



☛ = electrical power socket

Plan 9
One Bedroom Flat 9

Scale 1:50

Figure 8.10 Comparison of Space : One-Bedroom Flats

	<u>Flat 6</u>	<u>Flat 7</u>	<u>Flat 8</u>	<u>Flat 9</u>
Living Room	14.3	13.8	13.0	11.9
Bedroom	9.7	9.7	9.7	9.5
Kitchen	4.4	4.4	5.7	5.7
Kitchen Service Duct	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7
Hall	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8
Bathroom	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.2
Bathroom Service Duct	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4
TOTAL AREA	35.5	35.0	35.5	34.2

Figures in m²

2
were 1.3m² larger than those in the other flats (8 and 9).

This difference in the design of the one bedroom flats, i.e. either slightly more space in the kitchen or the living room, did not appear to affect the tenants' attitude towards the space in their flats. The data from the questionnaire previously discussed in Chapter 5 had indicated that 18% of tenants felt that their one-bedroom flat was too small, although 10% felt that it was a good size for one person. However none of these respondents mentioned the size of either the kitchen or the living room, but the size and shape of the bedroom was highlighted and will be considered in the following section.

8.4.2. The Use of Space

Figure 8.11 shows the response obtained from the questionnaire survey of the tenants in the one-bedroom flats in Case Study A about restrictions placed by various design features on their use of the space in their flats. This shows that approximately one third of these tenants considered that the small size of these rooms restricted their use of these rooms. In addition 25% of tenants stated that the position of the windows in the living room caused problems.

Figure 8.11 Restrictions on Tenants Use of Space : One-Bedroom Flats

	Living Room No. %	Bedroom No. %	Kitchen No. %	Bathroom No. %
Room Size	11 30	4 12	12 35	3 10
Room Shape	7 20	5 13	3 10	2 5
Position of Window	9 25	1 3	- -	2 5
Position of Doors	2 5	- -	3 10	- -
Position of Electric Sockets	2 5	- -	- -	- -
Position of Radiators	7 20	- -	- -	- -

It is interesting to note that the position of radiators inconvenienced 20% of these respondents, but none of the bedsit tenants mentioned this.

The living rooms in both designs of one-bedroom flats followed design guidance recommendations and were of a 'squarish shape'. There did not appear to be any wasted or dead space in the living room, apart from the eaves as in the bedsits. The long narrow layout of the bedroom did restrict the arrangement of furniture; in particular it was impossible to have a bedside table and reading lamp. However the necessity for a squarish shape to allow for varied activities was as important here as in the bedsitting room.

Two main problems with the use of space were identified from the interviews. First, as previously discussed in relation to the bedsit, the eaves in the rooms restricted the positioning of furniture. Second, the tenants in both designs of one-bedroom flats had placed their dining table and chairs next to the breakfast bar which enabled meals to be easily passed across. Whilst the larger living living room option allowed for a more readily defined dining area, the tenants of both designs of one-bedroom flats had problems of access with the

living room storage in this area, which will be considered in the later section on storage provision.

As in the bedsits, the eaves slightly reduced the size of the living room and bedroom in the Flats 7 and 9. One of these (Flat 7) was situated on the second floor and had a skylight in the sloping roof instead of a vertical window as in the other one-bedroom flats. The slope of the roof severely restricted this tenants' use of the room; the tenant stated that he frequently banged his head on it. In addition, he said that water frequently dripped from the skylight. This was due mainly to heavy condensation enhanced by the tenant's calor gas fire and not due simply to a leak as the tenant believed. He could not place his bed below it. In Flat 9, the tenant had to stoop to use the chest of drawers which, if positioned by the window, would have severely restricted daylight. The tenants in both these flats with eaves chose to position their single bed behind the storage units. One tenant stated 'I was always knocking my head (on the eaves) with the bed down there: now I only occasionally hit my head when I use my drawers'.

Both tenants in the full size one-bedroom flats (6 and 8) without eaves had chosen to have a larger bed. The 3/4 bed in Flat 6 posed no difficulties although the double bed which had been squeezed into Flat 8 made it difficult to open the window, although it did enable the tenant to conceal a large amount of storage. A larger bed could only have been placed in the bedrooms of the two flats with eaves if the tenants were prepared to bang their heads and/or suffer drips. The restriction on the size of the bed, both through the design of the bedrooms and by managerial decision to provide only single beds in the furnished flats, aroused considerable comment. According to the architect the bedrooms had been designed deliberately to prevent double beds being used. He stated that 'this is single person accommodation

after all'. However, as the research has previously noted in Chapter 7, despite this attempt to control through design there were still instances of co-habitation in these flats. The general feeling among the tenants was that it was very patronising and paternalistic to attempt to limit the use of double beds in this way. The apparent connection both the management and designers made between single people, sleeping preferences and social activity outraged and upset many tenants who said that this imputation of licentious behaviour had nothing to do with their preference for double beds. One tenant stated that 'a lot of people think single beds are only for children' while another stated that 'even if this (licentiousness) was the case what we do in our own flats is up to us'.

8.4.2.1 Furniture

Of the four one bedroom flats surveyed in detail, two were unfurnished (6 and 8). Like the tenants of the furnished bedsits, the tenants of the furnished flats had bought additional furniture; comfortable seating for the living room and extra storage in the form of shelving or chests of drawers. Figure 8.12 shows the living space in the one bedroom flats. This was calculated by measuring the furniture and stored items and deducting this area from the total room area. The living space in the four one-bedroom flats ranged from 7.8m² to 22.2m². This difference is attributable mainly to the amount and size of the furniture tenants possessed. Flats 7 and 9 which were let furnished and had eaves had a higher amount of living space than Flats 6 and 8 which were let unfurnished and did not have eaves. Although one-bedroom flats were intended, according to the design guidance, for older single people who would probably have their own furniture, the space standards to which they were built (and these flats exceeded the minimum) could not easily accommodate the tenants' furniture. The

Figure 8.12 Living Space in One Bedroom Flats

	Flat 6	Flat 7	Flat 8	Flat 9
Living Room	14.3	13.8	13.0	11.9
Furniture	6.7	4.5	6.5	5.6
Living Space	7.6	9.3	6.5	6.3
Bedroom	9.7	9.7	9.7	9.5
Furniture	4.5	3.3	5.4	3.1
Living Space	5.2	6.4	4.3	6.4
Kitchen	4.4	4.4	5.7	5.7
Furniture (including fixtures)	3.0	2.4	3.2	2.6
Living Space	1.4	2.0	2.5	3.1
Bathroom	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.2
Furniture (including fixtures)	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
Living Space	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7
Hall	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8
Furniture	-	-	-	-
Living Space	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8
TOTAL LIVING SPACE IN ONE BEDROOM FLATS	18.7	22.2	17.8	20.3

Figures in m2

furniture provided in Flats 6 and 8 was of a smaller scale than the tenants furniture in Flats 7 and 9.

The tenant of Flat 8, which had the largest amount of living space, was an older, single, divorced woman, who had moved here with her furniture on the breakdown of her marriage. This was in theory just the sort of tenant the design guidance had envisaged.(35) However the accommodation provided did not match her needs. The furniture she possessed was rather large and bulky, obviously intended for a more spacious home, and had been squeezed into her flat with difficulty.

The large curved sofa unit completely blocked access to the end of the living room. In order to open the window or get to her storage units the tenant had to reorganise the living room furniture. She stated that she had had to part with a lot of things when she moved in here.

8.4.2.2 Activities

Figure 8.13 shows the tenants' response to a question included in the questionnaire as to whether they had sufficient space to perform various activities within their one-bedroom flats. Washing and drying of laundry, eating in the kitchen, participating in hobbies and inviting friends and relatives for a meal or to stay were the activities for which a high proportion of tenants considered they had insufficient space.

A comparison between Figure 8.13 and Figure 8.9, which lists the responses obtained from the bedsit tenants, shows that although the tenants of one-bedroom flats had more space and two rooms, a higher proportion still, 70%, as opposed to 57%, felt that they could not invite people to stay due to the lack of space, whilst 45%, a similar proportion as in the response from bedsit tenants, felt the flats were too small to invite people for a meal. A higher proportion of one-bedroom tenants, 60% as opposed to 46% of bedsit tenants, stated that they did not have sufficient room to dry washing. The larger kitchen and breakfast bar layout enabled 18% of one-bedroom flat tenants to eat in the kitchen; a further 67% expressed a desire to do so but considered the space too small.

However, 32% of one-bedroom flat tenants, a far higher proportion than in the bedsits (23%), stated that there was insufficient space in the kitchen to prepare meals. The kitchens in Flats 6 and 7 had a work-surface of 0.86m² whilst those in Flats 8 and 9 had 1.10m². In all four, the position of the sink unit restricted access in the

Figure 8.13 Activities and Space in One Bedroom Flats

<u>Activities</u>	<u>Adequate Space</u>							
	Yes		No		Not Applicable		No Response	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Laundry	17	42	12	30	9	23	2	5
Drying Washing	11	28	24	60	4	10	1	2
Preparing Meals	27	67	9	23	-	-	4	10
Eating in the Kitchen	7	18	27	67	2	5	3	10
Sitting Down to Eat	27	67	12	31	-	-	1	2
Just Sitting to Read or Watch T.V.	37	93	1	2	-	-	2	5
Studying	27	67	4	10	7	18	2	5
Hobbies	26	65	9	23	4	10	1	2
Entertaining friends and relatives to:								
Coffee/Drinks	29	72	7	18	-	-	4	10
a meal	17	42	18	45	-	-	5	12
to stay	7	18	28	70	1	2	4	10

kitchen to the end of the work-surface. Despite this restriction the accessible portion of the work-surface still exceeded the work-surface area of 0.47m² provided in the bedsits, which was itself partially obstructed by the position of the cooker. However the work-surface in the one-bedroom flat kitchens doubles as a breakfast bar and access counter to the living room. Tenants felt restricted in their use of this work-surface since any activity here blocked access to the living room and 'looked unsightly' from the living room.

In addition, 31% of one-bedroom flat tenants stated that they did not have sufficient space to sit down to eat at the dining table. All the 4 one-bedroom flats studied had a table and chairs positioned

in the living room adjacent to the breakfast bar, but only the tenant of Flat 6 had ready access to her table. The other three tenants used their tables as either additional storage space for books or personal papers or as a work surface for ironing or writing but not for eating. The tenant of Flat 8 stated that she would have liked to sit down to eat but pulling the table out and rearranging the furniture 'just wasn't worth it' for one person.

8.4.2.3 Provision of Electric Sockets

All one-bedroom flats had eight 13amp sockets, one less than the design guidance recommended minimum.(36) As shown in Plans 7,8,9,10 one socket is in the hall, one in the bedroom, two in the living room on the wall by the window, two in the kitchen by the cooker and refrigerator, and two at the side of the breakfast bar between the kitchen and the living room.

The evidence from the questionnaire in Figure 8.11 shows that 5% of the one-bedroom flat tenants considered that the position of these sockets restricted the arrangement of furniture and their use of the flat. All four tenants interviewed stated that the position of sockets affected their arrangement of furniture, although this was mainly governed by the size, height and shape of the room. One tenant stated that the position of the socket in the bedroom meant it was 'good for an electric blanket but not much else'. In Flats 7 and 9, the only two with televisions, the tenants stated that their arrangement of furniture was governed by the television which 'went in first and the furniture around it'.

The problem of a trailing flex encountered in bedsits also occurred in the living room of Flat 7, but not in Flat 8 where the tenant had neither a stereo nor a television, or in Flat 6. However in the latter flat, a different problem arose. The sockets in the living

room were rendered virtually inaccessible by the position of the bookcase, for which there was no alternative space. All four tenants cited difficulties with ironing in the kitchen. An additional electric socket in the side wall of the kitchen would have made it possible to iron without the flex being restricted by the refrigerator, cooker or breakfast bar. All the tenants, including those who stored the ironing board in the kitchen, had to move furniture in the living room in order to iron freely.

The fact that the size and shape of the bedroom prevented tenants from having a bedside table and reading lamp has already been noted. The tenants of Flats 7 and 9 stated that a lamp would be very useful but they did not want the flex trailing or the lamp on the floor. The tenant of Flat 8 had a reading light attached to the headboard of her bed. As the beds in the furnished flats did not have head-boards this was not possible there, but it would be feasible to attach a small reading light to the side of the wardrobe; the tenants had not done this themselves due to a general reluctance to tamper with fixtures and fittings for fear of subsequent damage charges. Whilst including a fixed reading light might limit the tenants' arrangement of furniture, as the research has shown in the bedroom of the furnished one-bedroom flats, only one arrangement was viable anyway.

8.4.3 Storage

The design guidance recommends the same minimum amount of storage and shelving provision for the one bedroom flats as for the bedsits; 3m³ personal storage (including 2m² of shelves and drawers), 0.5m³ of dwelling storage (including 0.8m² of shelves and drawers) and 1.4m³ of kitchen storage (including 5m² of shelves and drawers).(37) Both layouts of one-bedroom flats had a tall, built-in storage cupboard in the bedrooms, with three drawer access. A shelf ran the length of

this cupboard at a height of 2m whilst one third of the cupboard contained shelving. This provided $1.7m^3$ of storage with $2m^2$ of shelving, considerably less cubic capacity than the design guidance recommended minimum for personal storage.

As previously discussed in Chapter 5 (Figure 5.5), the questionnaire survey showed that 23% of one-bedroom flat tenants identified problems with storage provision. When interviewed all 4 tenants in the one-bedroom flats stated that there was sufficient storage provision for clothing, but other storage was inadequate. In order to alleviate this, 3 tenants including those in the furnished flats, had increased the storage by providing additional furniture, and the tenant of Flat 7 used boxes.

All these 4 tenants referred to the storage provided in their bedroom as their wardrobe. However this was the only space in the flat suitable for storing larger household items such as a vacuum cleaner or ironing board. Without exception the tenants felt it unacceptable to store these items in 'their wardrobes'. The architect had stated that by positioning this storage in the entrance of the bedroom he hoped to emphasise the fact that it was not intended only for bedroom type personal storage. This did not appear to have worked. It was not only the physical impracticalities of having cleaning items (such as a vacuum cleaner or floor mop) next to clothing which annoyed the tenants, but also the fact that this reduced their clothing storage space.

The space under the breakfast counter was also used for storage. Access was via three doors opening into the living space. This provided $0.8m^3$ of storage space. There was no shelving. If this provision is considered to be dwelling storage then it exceeds the design guidance recommended minimum. However it can be seen that to define the storage provision in the flat as personal or dwelling is

inaccurate since the bedroom cupboard, though perceived by the tenants as personal storage, was intended to serve both functions. If the living room and bathroom storage provision are viewed together then they provide 2.5m³ of personal and dwelling storage, nearly 30% less than the combined recommended minimum. When the total storage provision in the flat is calculated then personal, dwelling and kitchen storage of 4.2m³ is provided, 0.7m³ less than the recommended minimum total of 4.9m³. Distinctions are made in the design guidance between different types of storage provision and the evidence from the research supports this approach and suggests that emphasis should be placed on providing adequate dwelling storage, separate from personal storage, to accommodate larger household items.

The research identified a particular problem in the access to the living room cupboards. All the tenants had positioned their tables and chairs next to the breakfast bar counter. This appeared to be the obvious and indeed only place for a dining area. However, in order to get to the storage cupboards, these had to be moved. All the tenants stated that this restricted access and limited the usefulness of these cupboards, which were used for the storage of rarely used articles such as spare linen or hobby-associated items.

The kitchen in the one-bedroom flats was provided with large, wall-hung storage cupboards. Three were situated over the breakfast bar and two on the service duct wall behind the sink and cooker. Each unit had two shelves. In addition, storage and one drawer was provided under the kitchen sink. In total this gave 1.7m³ of kitchen storage and 5.1m² of shelving and drawer space, exceeding the recommended minimum.

The kitchen work surface, including the top of the refrigerator, was 1.1m², 0.4m² more than in the bedsits. The questionnaire survey found that two thirds of the one-bedroom flat

tenants used this work surface for storing regularly used items. 60% of these tenants stated that they had to move these stored items before they could use the work surface.

8.4.4 Ventilation

Response from the questionnaire survey had shown that 18% of the one-bedroom flat tenants considered that the ventilation in their flats was a problem, both in the bathroom and in the kitchen. The kitchens of the 4 one-bedroom flats studied had a cooker hood with outside vent above the cooker but no extractor fan. The tenants all stated that the cooker hood was 'no good'; one tenant added that it was 'too high to be effective'. The cooker hood was approximately 0.7m above the cooker. However if it had been placed in a lower position it might well have restricted the use of the cooker. Although the kitchens were larger than those in the bedsits and were open to the living room through the breakfast bar, the tenants here, as in the bedsits, considered that, when cooking, the kitchens became unbearably hot, especially in winter when the heating was on.

The bathroom in the one-bedroom flats had the same fan arrangement as those in the bedsits. However, unlike the bedsit, two of the one-bedroom flat tenants interviewed stated that there was insufficient ventilation in the bathroom, where condensation was a problem.

8.4.5 Daylight

The windows in the one-bedroom flats were of the same dimensions as those in the bedsits. There were two long narrow windows in the centre of the far wall of the living room, 0.2m apart, and one long, narrow window in the far wall of the bedroom next to the internal flat wall. These windows were 0.76m wide and 2.28m high, with a wooden

partition of 15cm dividing each window at a height of 1m. A fixed pane of reinforced glass formed the bottom part of the window whilst the top clear pane opened on side pivots.

The questionnaire had found, inter alia, that the windows were the aspect of the one-bedroom flats most frequently cited as inadequate by tenants, 50% of tenants disliked the windows for a variety of reasons, (Figure 5.5). Access was a problem for most tenants; in Flats 6 and 8 the bedroom window was blocked by the position of the bed, whilst in Flats 6,7 and 8 the living room window was blocked by the position of either a sideboard or shelves, and in Flat 9 access to the window was restricted by the television flex and pot plants. The latter had to be placed in the window as the flat was so dark that they did not receive sufficient light elsewhere and died. The position of the tenants' furniture and plants not only restricted access to the windows but also reduced the amount of light entering the flat.

The architect stated that he had designed the breakfast bar arrangement of the kitchen in order to allow daylight in, rather than having a separate internal kitchen. However the daylight which entered the kitchen from the far living room window was, according to the tenants, never adequate and the electric light was always used as if it was an internal room. As in the bedsits, the tenants did not like the fact that there were no windows in the bathroom but this was for reasons of ventilation rather than daylight.

All 4 one-bedroom flats had only a skylight in the sloping ceiling of the bedroom. The tenant of Flat 7 stated that the skylight was 'impossible' to clean, despite the central side pivots. The skylight and the eaves appeared to reduce the daylight in already dingy rooms. The small size of the windows restricted daylight, but this was compounded by the fact that all four tenants had hung net curtains in their windows. Flat 6 was on the ground floor and the tenant had net

curtains because she felt that her privacy was invaded by people walking past on the path to get to the main block entrance. Although Flat 9 was on the second floor the tenant felt exposed to the workers in the office block opposite, especially since she worked night shifts and was in her flat during the day and so kept not only her net curtains drawn but often her main curtains as well. In Flat 8 the tenant had brought her net curtains from her previous home and used them because she felt they have a 'more homely' appearance. She stated that 'I would have had to use the light anyway as the flats are dark even without my nets up'. The tenant of Flat 7 stated that he 'hadn't even considered not having net curtains'. Although his flat was on the second floor facing the railway line and so was not overlooked, net curtains were to him still a necessary requisite.

8.4.6 Summary of the Evidence Relating to the Third Research Proposition: One-Bedroom Flats.

The evidence from the research showed that the design of the one-bedroom flats matched the tenants' requirements for privacy in terms of living independently. Although the one-bedroom flats were intended for older single people bringing their own furniture the design did not allow for this. The design of these flats allowed sufficient space for passive activities, such as sitting to read or watch television, to study, eat or entertain friends for a drink. However the research found that the design recommendations did not match the tenants' space requirements for other activities; namely drying washing, hobbies and entertaining people for a meal or to stay overnight. In the kitchen there was sufficient space for cooking but not for preparing or eating food. The bathroom met all the tenants' spatial requirements apart from the drying of washing. The bedrooms did not meet the tenants' requirements since it was impossible to fit a double bed in some of them.

Overall the storage provision in these flats did not match the tenants' requirements. The ample kitchen storage did not compensate for the inadequate volume of personal and dwelling storage, nor for the fact that these two types of storage provision were not provided separately.

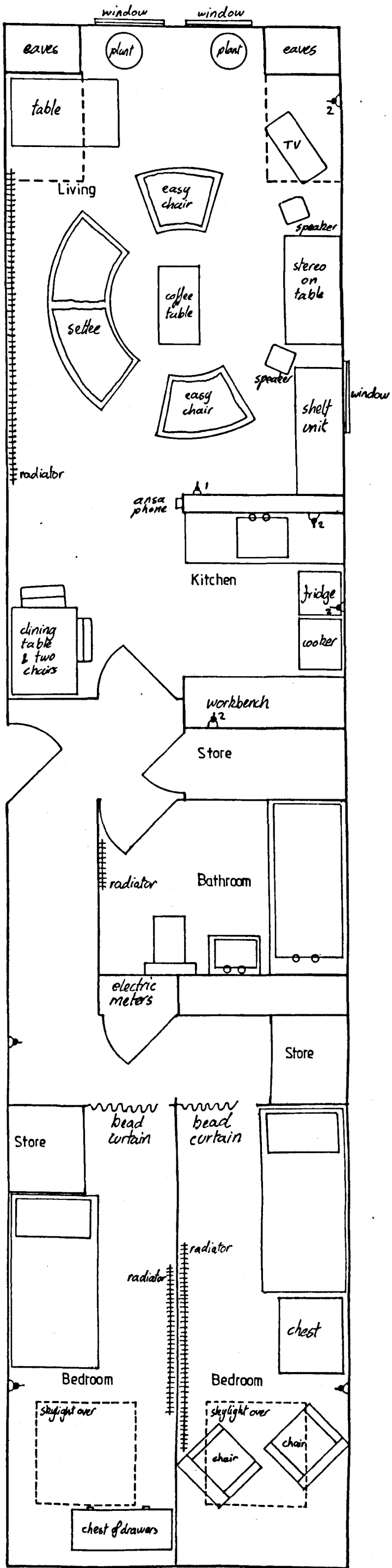
The number of electric sockets matched requirements but the position of these restricted the use of space. Neither the ventilation in the kitchen and the bathroom, nor the daylight in any of the rooms matched the tenants' requirements.

8.5 TWO BEDROOM FLATS

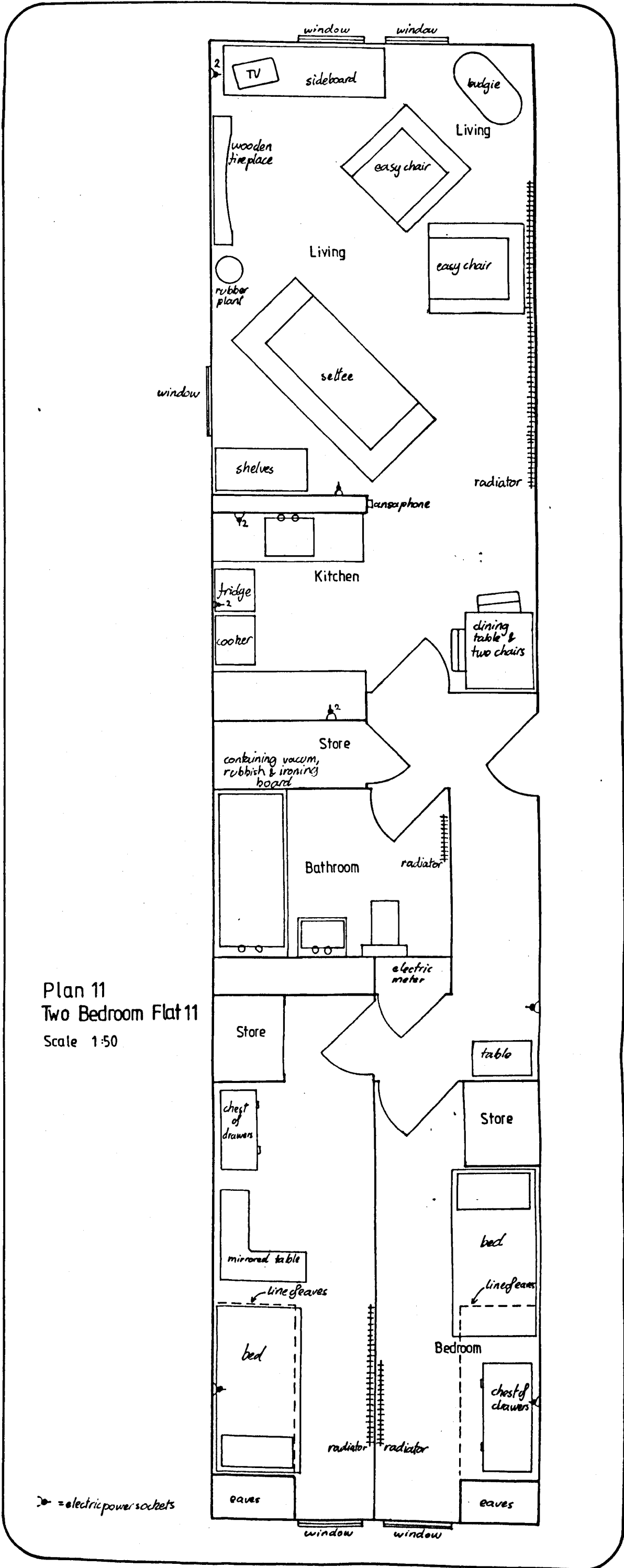
8.5.1 Space

Design Bulletin 29 recommends minimum areas including storage of 47.5m² for a two-bedroom flat, for older single people sharing and 45m² for a two-bedroom flat, for younger single people sharing.(38) It is interesting to note that the design guidance contains recommendations for shared accommodation for older single people, when elsewhere it stated that they will not wish to share but require a permanent home of their own,(39) and uses this argument, inter alia, to support the recommendation for larger, one-bedroom flats for older single people and, conversely, smaller bedsits for younger single people. In the 3 two-bedroom flats examined in detail, (Plans 10,11 and 12), the area of the dwellings, including storage space and service ducts exceeded the design guidance minimum, ranging from 57.4m² to 58.6m². Figure 8.14 compares the space within the flats room by room. The difference in size is accounted for by the presence of eaves in the living room of Flat 12 and the bedroom of Flat 10.

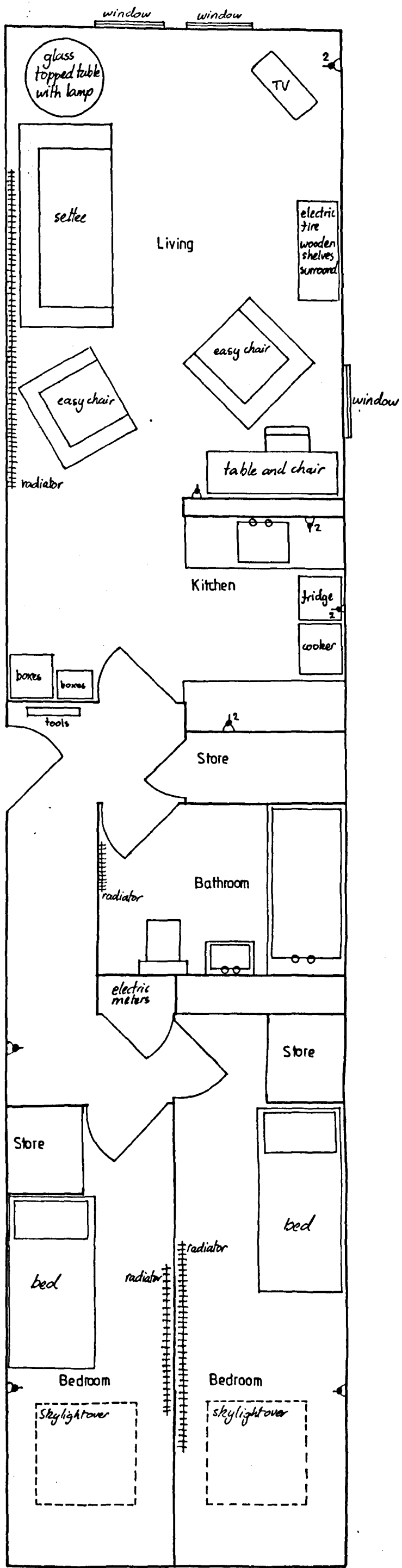
Plan 10
Two Bedroom Flat 10
Scale 1:50



➤ = electric power sockets



Plan 11
Two Bedroom Flat 11
Scale 1:50



Plan 12
Two Bedroom Flat 12
Scale 1:50

☛ = electric power sockets

8.5.2 The Use Of Space

The following discussion of the use of space in the two-bedroom flats refers to Figure 8.15 which shows the calculated living space in these flats and Figure 8.16 which indicates the activities tenants performed in the home.

The intrusion of eaves into the living room of Flat '12 did not appear to restrict the tenants' use of this room, which was larger than the main rooms in both the bedsits and one bedroom flats, allowing greater flexibility for furniture management and living patterns. The responses from the questionnaire survey, presented in Chapter 5, showed that 50% of the tenants of two-bedroom flats particularly liked the size of the living room; however 25% stated that they did not like the fact that the kitchen was not a separate room. The kitchen area was situated within the main living room, to the side of the entrance, screened from the main part of the living room by the service duct, as shown in Plans 10,11 and 12.

The tenants of two of the shared flats surveyed had placed dining tables and chairs opposite the kitchen, theoretically creating a dining area, although the tenants of Flat 10 stated that they never used this table. It appeared that this part of the living room was mainly used as a passage for access to the main part of the living room or to the kitchen area. The tenants of Flat 11 used this area for additional storage. These findings correspond with those about the use of the bedsitting room. In both cases an 'L' shaped room was provided, of which the tenants only fully utilised the main 'square'.

The living rooms in the two-bedroom flats were large, ranging between $21.5m^2$ to $22.7m^2$, with living space of $12.8m^2$ to $17.2m^2$, which is comparable with the total living space in the bedsits which ranged from $10.0m^2$ to $16.5m^2$. However, the larger living room did not compensate for the smaller bedrooms. When asked, none of the tenants

Figure 8.14 Comparison of Space: Shared Two-Bedroom Flats

	FLAT 10	FLAT 11	FLAT 12
Living Room	22.7	22.7	21.5
Kitchen Area	4.0	4.0	4.0
Kitchen Duct	0.5	0.5	0.5
Hall	5.4	5.4	5.4
Store Room	2.2	2.2	2.2
Bathroom	4.4	4.4	4.4
Bathroom duct	1.0	1.0	1.0
Bedroom 1	9.5	10.0	10.0
Bedroom 2	7.9	8.4	8.4
TOTAL AREA	57.6	58.6	57.4

Figures in m2

who wanted increased privacy from their flat mate were prepared to sacrifice the spacious living room to achieve it.

The design guidance states that 'whatever the arrangement for sharing, each person should be able to have a private bedroom or bedsitter with a locking door'.(40) In addition it states that the bedroom/sitter in shared flats needs to be reasonably sound proof so that it really is a private space.(41) The bedrooms in the shared flats in Case Study A did not have locking doors and their small size restricted their use as bedsitting rooms.

In the questionnaire survey, tenants were asked about possible restrictions on their use of space caused by various design details. 50% of the two-bedroom flat tenants considered the small size of the bedroom restricted their use of this room, whilst 25% stated that it was the shape of the bedroom which restricted their use of it.

The bedrooms were the only rooms in the two-bedroom flats on which tenants chose to comment. The bedrooms were narrow, 1.8m wide. The architect stated that, as in the one-bedroom flats, these bedrooms had been deliberately designed to prevent double beds being installed. The tenants of the two-bedroomed flats were as annoyed about this as the

Figure 8.15 Living Space in Two-Bedroom Flats

Room Area	FLAT 10	FLAT 11	FLAT 12
Living Room	22.7	22.7	21.5
Furniture	6.3	5.5	8.7
Living Space	16.4	17.2	12.8
Hall	5.4	5.4	5.4
Furniture	0.1	-	-
Living Space	5.3	5.4	5.4
Kitchen	4.0	4.0	4.0
Fixtures	2.2	2.2	2.2
Living Space	1.8	1.8	1.8
Bathroom	4.4	4.4	4.4
Furniture including fixtures	1.4	1.4	1.4
Living Space	3.0	3.0	3.0
Bedroom 1	9.5	10.0	10.0
Furniture including storage	3.2	*2.4	3.6
Living Space	6.3	*7.6	6.4
Bedroom 2	7.9	8.4	8.4
Furniture including storage	2.9	*2.4	2.9
Living Space	5.0	*6.0	5.5
TOTAL LIVING SPACE IN TWO BEDROOM FLAT	37.8	41.0	34.9

Figures in m²

* figures based on standard furniture provided by management.

Figure 8.16 Activities and Space in Two Bedroom Flats

<u>ACTIVITIES</u>	<u>ADEQUATE SPACE</u>							
	Yes		No		Not Applicable		No Response	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Laundry	7	87	-	-	1	13	-	-
Drying Washing	5	62	3	38	-	-	-	-
Preparing Meals	5	62	3	38	-	-	-	-
Eating in the Kitchen	-	-	8	100	-	-	-	-
Sitting Down to Eat	7	87	1	13	-	-	-	-
Just sitting to read or watch TV	8	100	-	-	-	-	-	-
Studying	5	62	1	13	2	25	-	-
Hobbies	7	87	1	13	-	-	-	-
Entertaining:-								
coffee/drinks	7	87	1	13	-	-	-	-
a meal	4	50	4	50	-	-	-	-
to stay	2	25	6	75	-	-	-	-

tenants of the one-bedroom flats.

In Flat 10 the tenants had devised a complex rota system to ensure that they both had the whole flat to themselves on at least two evenings a week. This appeared to suit them both when it was working, but unfortunately it frequently broke down. In Flat 12 one of the tenants worked night shifts whilst the other worked during the day. This lifestyle enabled both tenants to have the privacy they desired, although problems did arise through the obvious restrictions placed on activities by the presence of a sleeping flat mate.

The plans of the two-bedroom flats show that one bedroom is larger than the other, due to the way access was arranged to the hall.

The larger room varied between 9.5m² to 10.0m², the second bedroom varied between 7.9m² to 8.4m². This variation is attributable to the intrusion of eaves. Figure 8.15 shows the living space in 2 two-bedroom flats; due to the tenants' lifestyle it was not possible to get access to the bedrooms of Flat 11. As these flats were let furnished, the circulation space for these bedrooms is based on subtracting the measurements of the standard furniture provided from the total floor area, which gives a range from 5.0m² to 7.6m². The tenants would have liked the privacy which could be afforded by using their bedrooms as a bedsitting room but they were too small to do this.

The small size of the bedrooms in the shared flats, in particular the size of the second bedroom, was compounded by the intrusion of eaves. In Flat 12, one tenant had positioned her bed under the eaves, despite the risk of continually banging her head, because this was the only arrangement of furniture which allowed enough height for her dressing table.

The rooms in the two-bedroom flats opened off from a long narrow 'C' shaped hall. Table 8.12 shows that the hall, 5.4m², was larger in area than the kitchen or bathroom. The tenants considered the hall to be so much 'wasted space', a 'dark, unattractive institutional space'. In Flat 11 the tenants had tried to use this space by placing a small occasional table and plant in a corner of the hall to make it 'more homely'.

The kitchen area of 4.0m² in the two-bedroom flats was slightly less than that provided in the one bedroom flats, 4.4m² and 5.7m². Despite the smaller kitchen, the worksurface was comparable, 1.1m² in the one bedroom flats and 1.2m² in the two-bedroom flats. Unlike that in the one-bedroom flats the work-surface in the kitchens of the two bedroom flats did not double as a breakfast bar to provide access to the living room. The tenants of the two-bedroom flats stated

that the kitchens were 'great for one person' but very cramped when both tenants wanted to eat at the same time. This accounts for the high proportion, 38% of tenants (Figure 8.16), who stated that there was insufficient room in the kitchen for the preparation of meals.

The design guidance noted that sometimes in shared kitchens several people like to cook at the same time. To facilitate this, the design guidance recommends that the cooker should not be in a corner but placed so that it is approachable from more than one side.(38) The architect of Case Study A stated that with only two people sharing he had not envisaged this being a problem. However the tenants experienced it as such. One tenant stated that 'having the refrigerator and the cooker next to each other is stupid as two people get in each others' way all of the time'. In addition placing the refrigerator next to a hot surface increases fuel consumption.

All the tenants stated that they would have preferred a completely separate kitchen, mainly to avoid the inconvenience of cooking smells. One tenant stated that, 'if I owned the flat I would erect a simple partition' (from the service duct to the wall cupboards).

The design guidance also states that, 'with more than two people using the kitchen it is desirable to provide room for a small table for snacks in the kitchen, even if there is a dining area nearby.(42) The evidence from the research indicated that even two people sharing would appreciate this.

8.5.2.1 Provision of Electric Sockets

Following design guidance recommendations, the two bedroom flats had 12 sockets.(43) The distribution of the sockets is as follows: one in the hall, one in each of the bedrooms, three in the living room, two by the TV aerial point and one on the kitchen wall and

six in the kitchen as shown on Plans 10,11 and 12. The research found that, as in the bedsits and one-bedroom flats, the position of the sockets affected the tenants' use of the space by acting as a determining factor in the arrangement of furniture. This was seen as a particular problem in the living room, but of little importance elsewhere, since the position of furniture in the bedroom was governed more by the size, shape and height of the room. The tenant of Flat 11 stated that furniture was arranged 'to fit the plugs'. These tenants had a coal-fire effect electric fire which acted as the focal point of the room. There was only one possible position for this and the furniture was arranged around it (Plan 12) though the tenants here, like the tenants in Flat 11, stated that their 'furniture was spread around' the TV aerial point.

It is interesting to note that whilst the tenants of the two-bedroom flats considered that their use of the living room was restricted by insufficient power points to allow for alternative arrangements of furniture, they all stated that there were too many sockets in the kitchen which were 'in all the wrong places'. This indicates that removing, for example, two power points from the kitchen area and including two on the opposite wall in the living room might enable the flats to be more fully utilised.

None of the two-bedroom flats showed problems associated with trailing flexes from the one site in the living room since the larger space allowing greater flexibility in arranging furniture around this point. As in the one bedroom flats the tenants were unable to have bedside lights, causing some inconvenience.

8.5.3 Storage

The design guidance for the two-bedroom flats recommends the following minimum amounts of storage provision; 6m³ personal storage

(including $4m^2$ shelving and/or drawers), $0.5m^3$ dwelling storage
(including $0.8m^2$ shelving and/or drawers) and $2.1m^3$ kitchen storage
(including $7m^2$ of shelving and/or drawers).(44) It can be seen that
the recommended personal storage is the same, whilst the recommended
kitchen storage is half as much again as for the one person dwelling.

In the two-bedroom shared flats surveyed, most of the
storage, $5.3m^3$, was provided by a separate walk-in cupboard situated
off the hall. Each of the bedrooms had a large fitted floor to ceiling
storage unit, providing $1.7m^3$ of storage provision, with one shelf
giving $0.7m^2$ shelving in each bedroom. As in the one-bedroom flats,
the tenants regarded the storage cupboard in the bedroom as a wardrobe.
They were able to use this solely for clothing and use the large hall
cupboard for bulky household items which the tenants of the one bedroom
flats had to keep in their bedroom storage.

Taking the bedroom space as personal storage and the hall
cupboard as dwelling storage, then the personal storage provision in
the two-bedroom flat was just over half the recommended minimum whilst
the dwelling storage far exceeded the recommended minimum. However if
these two types of storage provision are combined this gives a total of
 $8.4m^3$, exceeding the recommended minimum of $6.5m^3$. Although the
tenants in the two-bedroom flats had far less 'personal' storage space
than the tenants in the one-bedroom flats, the presence of the large
hall cupboard meant that their personal storage space could be used as
such. Nevertheless the questionnaire survey found that 38% of the two-
bedroom flat tenants considered that there was not enough personal
storage space in the bedrooms. All the tenants of the two-bedroom
flats surveyed had bought items of furniture for the bedroom which
provided additional personal storage space. These dressing tables and
chests of drawers were considered essential since they found the
personal storage space in the bedroom was insufficient.

All the tenants of the two-bedroom flats considered that the large hall cupboard was an excellent and essential requirement. In two of the flats surveyed the hall cupboard was packed with furniture and other belongings. The tenants of Flat 10 stated that the hall cupboard provided 'enough room to store away all the councils' furniture so that we could install our own'. In addition the tenants of Flat 10 had removed their bedroom doors and had placed these in the hall cupboard. In Flat 12 the tenants were two older single men. One had moved here after his marriage broke up and he stored furniture from his previous home in the hall cupboard. The cupboard was packed full, and additional boxes were kept in the living room since they could not be squeezed in any of the storage space provided. The questionnaire survey had found that 24% of the two-bedroom flat tenants considered that the flat provided insufficient storage for, inter alia, books, boxes and furniture such as washing machines. The tenants of Flat 11 used the hall cupboard to store their larger household items, including a twin tub washing machine (which they used in preference to the laundry), vacuum cleaner and ironing board, general bits and pieces, and bags of rubbish prior to making a weekly trip to the rubbish chute on the floor above. These tenants stated that it would have been useful to have shelving and/or clothes hooks in this cupboard. However such provision might have restricted space for the storage of furniture, which was valued by the tenants of the other two-bedroomed flats surveyed. In addition the tenants of Flat 11 would have appreciated a light in this cupboard, especially since the hall light, even with a 100 watt bulb, was insufficient to illuminate every corner of the hall and could not penetrate the depths of the cupboard. The tenants of Flat 10 and 12 did not comment about this but they did not use the hall storage on an everyday basis as did the tenants of Flat 11.

The kitchen areas in the two bedroom flats had wall-hung storage cupboards, three above the work-surface and two above the sink unit. In addition, cupboards were situated under the worksurface, and two smaller cupboards with a drawer, under the kitchen sink. These provided a total of 2.4m³ storage, 8.4m² shelving and drawer space, exceeding the design guidance recommended minimum. All the tenants interviewed were satisfied with the kitchen storage. One stated 'if anything there is too much'. The work-surface area in the kitchen, including the top of the refrigerator, was 1.5m², slightly more than in the one-bedroom flats and over twice that provided in the bedsits. Over 60% of the tenants in the two-bedroom flats used the work-surface for storing various items, but only one tenant considered that this caused problems when preparing food.

8.5.4 Ventilation

The questionnaire survey, previously discussed in Chapter 5, showed that the tenants of two-bedroom flats ranked poor ventilation third amongst the aspects they disliked in their flats. Although windows were ranked first, this was not in relation to ventilation. 75% of the tenants of two-bedroom flats disliked the size and position of the windows, whilst 50% disliked the fact that there were no windows in the bathroom, hall or kitchen. This aspect will be considered in the following section on daylight.

Ventilation posed a problem for the tenants of the two-bedroom flats for the same reasons as in the other two types of accommodation. The kitchen area was provided with a cooker hood over the cooker with outside vent. This was considered, by all tenants surveyed, to be totally ineffective and some tenants did not bother to use it. The kitchen was open to the living room so that steam and cooking heat did not accumulate in the kitchen area. The tenants

disliked the fact that the living room became full of cooking vapours and would have preferred a separate kitchen to contain this or adequate ventilation to cope with it.

Evidence from the research described in Chapter 7 showed that in general tenants cooked more than the design guidance had anticipated. Two tenants may cook twice as often as one. The tenants of Flat 12, the older single men, were the only ones who stated that they shared housekeeping. The other tenants cooked for themselves and generally led quite separate lives. This obviously exacerbated the inadequacies of the mechanical ventilation provided, which had proved inadequate in the one-bedroom flats and was here being utilised nearly twice as much. One tenant stated that 'I found the ventilation very poor; you feel you are trapped in a box'.

Unlike the provision in the other two flat types, there was no radiator in the kitchen area of the two-bedroom flats. Excessive heat, which occasionally caused discomfort to the tenants in the kitchens of the bedsits and one-bedroom flats, was not a problem here.

The bathrooms in the two-bedroom flats were, as in the other flats, internal rooms and had mechanical ventilation attached to the light switch. Although regularly used by two people instead of one, a problem with ventilation was not mentioned by the tenants. This could be because the bathroom was not used to dry washing as much as in the other flats. The larger size of the living room enabled tenants to use the room comfortably and dry washing in there at the same time.

8.5.5 Daylight

As previously noted, the kitchen, bathrooms and hallways in the two-bedroom flats did not have windows. The tenants disliked this fact. In particular the lack of light in the hall was noted. The windows in the two-bedroom flats were the same design as throughout the

scheme. Flats 11 and 12 had one window in each bedroom whilst in Flat 10 the bedrooms had skylights in the sloping ceilings. In the living room two windows were situated in the far wall. In addition the living rooms of the two-bedroom flats had a small window 0.5m wide and 0.7m high on the wall behind the kitchen partition. The base of the window was at a height of approximately 1.4m from the floor. The position of the window is marked on Plans 10,11 and 12.

The tenants of the two-bedroom flats had the same problems with the windows and daylight as the tenants of the other two types of accommodation, namely access. This was due to the position of furniture which served to restrict the light allowed into the room. However, in Flat 12 this was not a problem, since the tenants had less furniture in the living room. Although the tenants were glad of the extra small window in the living room for the additional light and ventilation it allowed, they all considered its position 'rather odd', especially as it was impossible to look out of it and difficult to reach the catch. These windows were not curtained, unlike all the other windows in the scheme which were fitted with rails and curtaining as part of the fixtures and fittings. The lack of curtaining occasionally led to draughts and was mentioned by the tenants.

8.5.6 Summary of the Evidence Relating to the Third Research Proposition: Two-Bedroom Flats

The evidence from the research showed that the two-bedroom flats did not match the tenants' requirements for privacy in that the two people sharing could not live as independently of each other as they required. Whilst living rooms in these flats did provide sufficient space to meet two tenants' requirements, apart from privacy and inviting friends to stay, the tenants did not have sufficient space in the kitchen for either cooking, preparing food or eating. The bathroom met all the tenants' spatial requirements. These tenants could dry

washing in the living room and did not want to do this in the bathroom. The bedrooms did not meet either the tenants requirements for space or privacy in that they could not use them as bedsitting rooms.

Overall the storage provision matched the tenants requirements apart from insufficient personal storage in the bedrooms. Whilst the number of electric sockets matched requirements, the position of these was inappropriate. In general whilst ventilation in the flat met requirements, apart from in the kitchen area, day light did not.

8.6 Conclusions

The research found that in all three types of flat, that is in the bedsits, one-bedroom flats and two-bedroom shared flats, there were some aspects of design which matched the tenants' housing requirements and some which did not. In general there appeared to be a higher degree of mismatch in the bedsits than in the one-bedroom flats, which in turn had a higher degree of mismatch than the two-bedroom flats. This does not indicate that the two-bedroom flats are a more appropriate form of accommodation per se, but rather that these closer match the requirements of the small proportion of single people who wish to share than the design of units offering independent accommodation matches the requirements of single people who wish to live alone.

Whilst all three flat types slightly exceeded the design guidance minimum space recommendations, the research found that the bedsits in particular, the one-bedroom flats, and the bedrooms in the two-bedroom flats, were still not large enough to match tenants' spatial requirements. This problem was aggravated by the housing managers' use of internal transfers to allocate the more popular one-bedroom flats.

Both the bedsits and one-bedroom flats matched the tenants' requirements for privacy in respect of living independently. However the design of the two-bedroom flats did not match this. Although the design guidance recommended that each tenant in a shared flat should have a private room with locking door this was not provided in Case Study A. The small size of the bedrooms, deliberately designed in both one and two-bedroom flats to prevent the use of a double bed, prevented them from being used as a private bedsitting room in the shared flats. However the research found that the tenants were not prepared to trade the spacious living room, or pay increased rents, to obtain this privacy.

The research found that tenants spent more time in the home than the design guidance had anticipated. In addition they undertook a wider range of activities and carried these out on a larger scale than the guidance had anticipated. This emphasised and, in part created, a mismatch between the design guidance recommendations and tenants' requirements, not only for space but also for ventilation. In the bedsits the tenants attempts to cope with the poor ventilation, through removing doors and opening doors and windows has serious implications for the fire safety of the dwellings.

The bathrooms in all flats matched tenants' requirements for both general use and washing laundry, apart from the ventilation. However there was a high degree of mismatch in all flats between the kitchen and tenants' requirements. Whilst cooking posed no problems, apart from ventilation, the preparation and consumption of food was restricted here.

The kitchen storage matched tenants' requirements in all three flat types. However there was a mismatch with the personal storage provision in all of them, and with the dwelling storage in the bedsits and one-bedroom flats. Despite the architects' intentions the

tenants balked at keeping their bulky household items in what they considered to be their wardrobe. The evidence from the research supported the distinctions made in the design guidance concerning the provision of different types of storage provision and indicated that greater emphasis needs to be placed on providing adequate dwelling storage, separate from personal storage, to accommodate bulky household items. The incidence of mismatch between the design of the flats and the tenants' housing requirements influenced the tenants' lifestyle in a number of ways. The majority of tenants, both younger and older single people, stated that their activities were restricted by one or more aspects of the design of the flat, both on a personal level, such as eating in the kitchen to avoid cooking smells in the sleeping areas, or practising their chosen hobby, and on a social level, such as inviting friends around for a meal. Some tenants stated that these flats were 'not a home' since the design, in particular the size, prevented them from living their lives as they wanted to. If tenants do not feel that their flat provides a home in which they can live normally then they will either adapt their lifestyle or find accommodation which matches their requirements, if anything more suitable is available. The latter option will raise the turnover statistics and serve to reinforce the idea that all young single people are mobile and therefore only require small, short-term accommodation.

CHAPTER 8 REFERENCES

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CHAPTER 9

This chapter continues the evaluation of the third research proposition, which states that:

There is a mismatch between the specifically designed public sector housing provided for young single people and their accommodation requirements.

The previous chapter discussed this proposition in relation to the provision of different types of accommodation, namely bedsits and two-bedroom shared flats, for younger single people and one-bedroom flats for older single people, considering the design of each type of accommodation and whether this matched tenant housing requirements. This chapter broadens the perspective from the previous chapter to consider aspects of the design of each scheme as a whole, drawing on data from both the questionnaire presented to the tenants of all three case study schemes and from detailed semi-structured interviews conducted with a sample of tenants in Case Study A.

This chapter is divided into four main sections: Communal Facilities; Site Related Factors including location, landscaping and security; Services and Management Issues. Each aspect of provision in the three case study schemes is considered and compared with the tenants' actual requirements.

9.1 COMMUNAL FACILITIES

Figure 9.1 outlines the provision of communal facilities in the case study schemes. A more detailed outline has previously been shown in Chapter 6, Figure 6.1. From Figure 9.1 it can be seen that the provision of communal facilities varied between schemes. Case Study A provided all the facilities recommended in the design guidance and a guest room, Case Study B provided a bar in addition to the residents' lounge whilst Case Study C had only a small lounge. Each facility will now be considered, beginning with the entrance hall

Figure 9.1 Communal Facilities Provided in Each Scheme

<u>FACILITY</u>	<u>CASE STUDY</u>		
	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>
Residents' Lounge and Bar	✓ -	✓ ✓	✓ -
Laundry	✓	✓	-
Guest Room	✓	-	-
Public Telephone	✓	✓	-
Entrance Hall	✓	✓	✓

which, although not generally viewed as a communal facility has been included in this discussion because of the way in which the design guidance recommends that it should perform a social function.

It is interesting to note that the guidance stresses the importance of designing to minimise isolation and encourage friendships.(1) For this reason a residents' lounge is included in the scheme. The design guidance also emphasises the social function of the entrance hall. However evidence from the research found that in both Case Studies A and B the laundry, in addition to its intended use, performed a social function. In Case Study A the tenants considered the laundry to be a 'friendlier' place than either the residents' lounge or entrance hall.

9.1.1 Residents' Lounge

As previously noted, the design guidance states that single people will want to make friends within the scheme, which should be designed to encourage this. In order to do this the design guidance recommends, inter alia, that 'schemes for young single people living in small flats should be provided with a common lounge'.(2) The design guidance notes that it is unreasonable to exclude older tenants from

the lounges and suggests that provision should be provided according to the total number of tenants. The evidence from the research previously discussed in Chapter 7 found that a higher proportion of young single people, 59% as opposed to 36% of older single people, stated that social contacts within the scheme were important to them. This supports the design guidance expectations and the recommendations that design should facilitate friendships formation for all ages.

The design guidance makes a number of recommendations concerning the residents' lounge. These are that:

- 'The sitting areas should be arranged so that some seats are barely out of the traffic route and can be used without the conscious effort of entering a social room'.(3)

- 'The lounge should be comfortably furnished with easy chairs and heated to living room standards'.

- 'The furniture arrangement should be as uninstitutional as possible'.

- 'No television should be installed as it may restrict the use of the room as well as inviting dissension over noise and change of programme'.

- 'In some schemes a bar or coffee room could be operated by the tenants or warden/caretaker; but this can be an expensive embarrassment as well as a waste of space if it is not really wanted'.(4)

In addition the design guidance notes that in buildings with a number of entrances there is a 'danger that lounges will be rarely used because only a fraction of the tenants are aware of them'.(5) Accordingly the guidance recommends that 'grouping the lounges near to the laundry and other communal facilities may get them used.'(32) In addition it notes that there may well be a problem of access because if the room is locked for security reasons and recommends that ways should be sought of making the room generally easy of access and readily used

by tenants.(6)

The lounges provided in the three case study schemes were quite different from each other and this is reflected in the use tenants made of these rooms. Figure 9.2 shows this. Only one of the respondents in Case Study A stated that she regularly used the lounge and this was to read a book whilst she waited for her laundry. 72% of the respondents in Case Study A never used the lounge. It was described as dark and dingy; tenants stated that they had 'no reason' to use it. A few considered that it needed a bar, and some commented on the rules governing its use. The warden in Case Study A actively discouraged people from using this room, mainly because he did not consider it part of his job to clear up afterwards. He did not allow parties or any activity he considered might be noisy, as the common room was situated in the same block as his flat and he did not want to be disturbed. The tenants who occasionally used it had booked it for a specific purpose, such as a Tupperware party or a play reading. None of them just dropped in to meet people.

The lounge in Case Study B was more popular with the tenants and was used far more frequently than the lounge in Case Study A. This can be attributed to both its central location and, in particular, to the fact that a bar was provided. The bar was organised by a tenants' committee, largely self-selected. It opened each weekday evening between 8.30 and 10.30pm and on other occasions when the committee was able to organise a complete rota to run it. The lounge had four entrances, shown in Plan B in Chapter 6. One opened from the courtyard to the rear where the laundry was situated, one was near the warden's office, another near the public telephone. These three were on the same level as the bar and pool table. The fourth was on a lower level where the seating, television and dartboard were located and opened out onto the front landscaping.

Figure 9.2 Tenants Use of the Residents' Lounge

CASE STUDY

<u>Frequency of Use</u>	A		B		C	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Weekly	1	1	10	55	6	12
Occasionally	14	17	5	28	1	2
Never	60	72	3	17	2	4
No response	8	10	-	-	39	82
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>83</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>100</u>

The lounge and bar were well utilised and generated a lot of social activity. The tenants' committee who ran the bar organised pool and darts tournaments, bar-be-ques and parties. The lounge and bar not only acted as a social point but also as a focus for tenant organisation; for example the tenants had organised a meeting there with the housing managers to consider their grievances about the scheme heating system. However, tenants' associations were not necessarily dependent on a well-used lounge. In Case Study A the tenants had formed an association in order to find out what was happening about the proposed sale of the scheme, which had been widely reported in the local papers and caused a great deal of concern. The group disbanded when the issue was resolved.

Although the tenants in Case Study B appeared to appreciate the lounge, reflected in the higher proportion of tenants who used it and the favourable comments from the questionnaire, the warden was not so enthusiastic. This was because her flat was situated above the lounge and the noise, particularly from the pool table, was most disturbing. She stated that the previous warden had teenage children and the noise did not bother them, but she had young children and it

was annoying. As the design guidance predicted, the television caused problems but not so much from noise as that it attracted vandals and a previous set had been stolen.

A room was provided for social activities in Case Study C although this was more of a games room than a lounge. The room was entered from the office and was only open during office hours or on particular evenings. A table tennis board, pool table and dart board were provided; these were well used by a small minority of tenants. In addition the warden ran a club which was open to non-residents as well as tenants, and catered for various sporting activities.

The use of the residents' lounge was dependent not only on their design but also on management policies. In Case Study A there was a warden/caretaker on site who considered that his job was primarily concerned with keeping the place clean and tidy. In Case Study B the warden on site was concerned with the daily running of the scheme which involved managing people as much as managing the scheme. The housing association who managed Case Study C was affiliated to a registered charity, which aimed to encourage the social development of young people in need. This aspect will be considered in greater detail in the section concerned with management issues.

9.1.2 Entrance Hall

The design guidance states that single people are likely to make friends within the block as well as in the district and recommends that schemes should be planned to minimise any sense of isolation, by providing a housing layout to enable friendships to be struck up accidentally.(7) It states that 'one way to encourage this is to funnel everyone in through an entrance hall and extend it to form sitting areas, with soft furnishings, telephone kiosks and notice boards. If this area is pleasant and well looked after it will be a

place where people will linger to chat and pass the time of day'.(8)

None of the three schemes surveyed had such an arrangement. In Case Study A each of the blocks had its own entrance, but in Block A there was a separate main entrance leading to communal facilities, the warden's office, laundry, residents' lounge and guest room. However this did not provide the only access to the flats in this block. The public telephone and notice board were situated here though there was no seating or decoration. The majority of respondents stated that the entrance hall was neither attractive nor unattractive. They did not really think about it, and only 10% said that they ever met people here and then it was not necessarily a good place in which to have a conversation.

Although the tenants of Case Study A would have liked to make friends within the scheme, the design of the main entrance did little to encourage this. From the in-depth survey it emerged that a number of tenants thought the scheme had been designed with privacy in mind. One stated that 'you never meet people as entrances and exits are in different directions, it's (designed) for privacy rather than encouraging conversation'. Another stated that 'it would have been better if they could have made it friendlier'.

The architect of Case Study B stated that he had tried to create a focus in the scheme where tenants could meet by centering all the communal facilities around the main entrance in the centre of the scheme. This was not the only entrance but, as previously discussed, this layout, shown on Site Plan B, did appear to encourage a higher use of the residents' lounge than in the other two schemes. However other factors including the presence of a bar and the attitude of the management towards the use of this room must also be taken into account. In Case Study C each block had its own entrance. Only 3 respondents in this scheme stated that they ever met people here.

9.1.3 Laundry

9.1.3.1 Provision of an On-Site Laundry

The design guidance states that the 'big problem' with laundry is 'getting things dry in a small space with no private garden or balcony'. It suggests that a common solution is to have a drip dry rack over the bath but states that this is very slow and can be inconvenient. 'In humid weather and with internal bathrooms the clothes may stay damp for days and start to smell'.(9) As previously noted in Chapter 8 when the ventilation provided in the three dwelling types was considered, drying washing in the flats did cause the tenants considerable problems. The design guidance recommends that a tumble drier should be provided in each scheme, 'even if there happens to be a launderette in the vicinity'.(10) It also states that 'in larger schemes the drier should be supplemented by washing machines, spin driers and large sinks in a special laundry room'.(11)

Both Case Studies A and B had a laundry room included in the design. In Case Study A the laundry contained three washing machines, three tumble dryers, a spin drier and a double sink. A set charge for the use of these machines was included in the service charges. The machines were rented from a company who repaired and maintained them. The Warden informed the company of any breakdowns.

In Case Study B two washing machines and two tumble dryers were provided, together with a soap dispensing machine. All these were coin operated and rented and maintained on a similar basis to those in Case Study A. There was no laundry provision in Case Study C; tenants used a public launderette situated on the ground floor of Block A, shown on Site Plan C.

According to the warden in Case Study A the machines in the laundry regularly broke down 'at least once a month'. This was due both to misuse and to the volume of use. At the time of the survey the

housing managers had sent a circular letter to all tenants asking them to use the spin drier before using the tumble drier since 'if not observed the clothes are too wet for the Tumble Drier to absorb the water and this puts too much pressure on it causing it to break down'. In addition the use of ordinary washing powders instead of automatic powders was causing problems. The volume of use was aggravated by friends of tenants using the 'free' laundry facilities.

Although there were frequently long delays, the majority of tenants used the laundry on a regular basis in addition to doing an often considerable amount of hand washing in their flats. As Figure 9.3 shows the majority of tenants in Case Studies A and B, over 70%, used the laundry on a regular basis. Of those interviewed in depth, at least half used it twice a week. Of those who never used it, a few had their own machines but the majority preferred to wash by hand. The managers of Case Study A did not allow tenants to plumb in a fixed washing machine in their own flats. According to the housing manager this was primarily done to prevent flooding from faulty connections. However a number of tenants said that they would quite willingly have paid for a plumber to provide this service to save them from the inconvenience of frequent, and often abortive, trips to the laundry.

In Case Study C only 26% of respondents ever used the public laundry, although 32% of tenants stated that they would use a scheme laundry if it existed. The manager here stated that laundry facilities had not been considered necessary since a commercial launderette and dry cleaning facility was situated in the row of shops on the ground floor of Block A. However the evidence from the research contradicted the idea of satisfaction with this situation, supporting the design guidance recommendation for tumble drier and/or laundry provision in single person housing schemes.

Figure 9.3 Tenants' Use of the Laundry Facilities

<u>FREQUENCY OF USE</u>	<u>CASE STUDY</u>					
	A Laundry in Scheme		B Laundry in Scheme		C Public Laundry	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Weekly	56	68	13	72	5	10
Occasionally	10	12	2	11	8	16
Never	10	12	2	11	8	16
No Response	7	8	1	6	27	58
TOTAL	83	100	18	100	48	100

9.1.3.2 Location of the Laundry

As previously discussed in Chapter 7, the design guidance perceives young single people as being work orientated, and expects them to spend little time in the home. Following from this perceived characteristic the design guidance states that 'single people often have to do their laundry at night' and recommends that, 'the machine(s) should be available at all hours'.(12) Since this can cause noise problems the guidance recommends that 'care should be taken over location and sound insulation to prevent disturbance to neighbouring flats and feasible mountings for the machinery'.(13) In both schemes the laundry was located next to the common room. The position is marked on the site plans in Chapter 6. The laundry rooms were locked at 10 o'clock in both schemes to prevent noise disturbance in the evenings.

The evidence from the research showed that tenants used the laundry whenever they could. Their use of it was governed by both the times they were in the flats and the times when the machines were

likely to be available. Both the laundries were well used not only by the tenants but also by their friends who were visiting and also, in Case Study A, by people from the neighbouring estate, although this was not officially allowed. This often meant that some tenants could not use the laundries until about 9 o'clock in the evening. This was not from choice, and caused considerable grievance.

The design guidance states that the site for the laundry should be chosen to minimise noise disturbance and also to encourage the use of the lounge for social activities. It is interesting to note that in Case Study A one respondent stated that she used the lounge since it was situated next to the laundry, but she did not do this to meet people - rather to read a book whilst waiting for a machine. In addition when asked their opinion about the facilities provided, 69% of tenants in Case Study A stated that the laundry was the most important facility. This was for obvious reasons, for example, 'because there is no room in my bedsit to wash and dry clothes properly' and also, unexpectedly, 50% of the respondents stated that it was the friendliest place in the scheme. One tenant stated that 'I meet more people there than anywhere else' whilst an older single woman reluctantly admitted that when she was feeling low she went down to the laundry to wash something in order to meet people for a chat.

9.1.4 Guest Room

No mention was made of a guest room in the guidance. No guest room was provided in Schemes B or C. In Case Study A one had been provided, but was rarely used except at peak holiday periods when it was over subscribed. Situated next to the residents' lounge it was a small room containing two single beds, a wardrobe, chest of drawers, a hand basin and two chairs. Tenants were able to hire it for friends and relatives to stay in by booking it through the caretaker. As previously

noted in Chapter 8 the majority of tenants preferred their friends and relatives to stay with them in their flats. If the small space prevented this then they preferred not to invite people rather than put them in 'that box' over the other side of the scheme. None of the tenants would even consider using it for their particular boyfriend or girlfriend to stay in, despite the fact that having them to stay in their flat contravened the rules, which were bitterly resented and ignored.

9.1.5 Public Telephone

The design guidance does not comment on the provision of public telephones except in relation to making the entrance hall a pleasant place to encourage friendships.(14) In Case Study A a public telephone was provided in the main entrance hall. In addition all the flats had sockets to allow for the installation of private telephones. In Case Study B a public telephone was provided off the residents lounge and all the flats had telephone sockets. No such provision, public or private had been made in Case Study C, but the tenants here ranked the provision of a telephone first, on equal par with a laundry, as a desirable facility. The managers of Case Study C had considered it unnecessary to provide a laundry or a public telephone here since the scheme was located next to the town centre where such provision already existed. However the evidence from the research contradicted this. Tenants stated that it was very difficult to 'find a phone that hasn't been vandalised'. Those that were working were over-subscribed - 'there's a long queue and then its full of coins and won't accept my call'.

9.2 SITE RELATED FACTORS

The aspects of design considered in this section relate to the actual site of the scheme. They include location, the security of both the flats and the scheme as a whole, and the affects of both noise and outlook on the tenants' privacy.

9.2.1 Location

The design guidance perception of single people influences the recommendations about location in a number of ways. The design guidance perceives single people as being work, rather than home, orientated and expects them to spend little time in the home, stating that they will be 'out at work all day and very often out in the evenings as well'. In addition single people are perceived as relying more upon social contacts outside their flats than other tenants.(15) On the basis of these perceived characteristics the design guidance recommends that single person housing should be located near town centres, transport centres, and social and recreational facilities.(16) In addition the design guidance states that shopping will be a problem for single people- 'they are out at work all day and although some shopping is possible in lunch hours they need to be able to buy emergency supplies in the evenings'.(17) The design guidance recommends that schemes be situated near shops,(18) and states that 'if there is no shop near the scheme open in the evenings it may be desirable to provide one'.(19)

As previously noted in Chapter 6 (Figure 6.1), Case Studies A and C were both situated near their respective town centres; Case Study C was just across the road from it whilst Case Study A was approximately half a mile from the town centre. Case Study B was in the suburbs approximately two miles from the city centre. The tenants of Case Study A generally agreed that this was within 'reasonable walking'

distance of the town centre although some tenants noted that it was a long distance when carrying heavy bags.

Despite the differences in the locations of the Case Study schemes, approximately 90% of the tenants in each scheme who responded to the questionnaire stated that their scheme was generally a convenient place to live. There were exceptions to this. For example in Case Study A 10% of the respondents considered that the scheme was not conveniently located for a doctor's surgery, whilst 22% of respondents in Case Study B found that getting to a chemist shop caused difficulties. As the design guidance had anticipated, the majority of tenants expected to be able to shop in the evenings. Case Study A was the only scheme surveyed which had been designed with a shop. This was situated next to the caretakers' office. However the shop had never been opened. The architect stated that this was because of objections raised by an existing trader on the adjacent estate who feared his business would suffer. In addition the housing manager of Case Study A stated that there had been a number of problems involved in appointing a caretaker for this scheme, one of which was finding someone who could undertake running a shop in addition to normal caretaking duties. However, she had not been able to let the shop to an independent trader as no one considered it to be a viable business. The shop was actually used by the caretaker to store various items, including stacking chairs for use in the common room. The tenants frequently used the nearby shop, despite describing it as 'rude and expensive', as it was convenient. Case Study B had a nearby local shopping centre with a chip shop, newsagent, post office and general store, all of which the tenants frequently utilised. However, although Case Study C was situated next to the town centre, this had no evening shopping facilities nearby as at night the centre was closed and 'dead'. Thus whilst in theory the location of Case Study C might appear to be the

most convenient, it did not necessarily have the facilities which the less centrally located schemes had.

The fact that such a high proportion of tenants in all three schemes considered the scheme to be conveniently situated despite the differences in location between schemes is a reflection not only of their position in relation to amenities but also in relation to the transport, both public and private, available. Figure 9.4 shows the proportion of tenants in each scheme who had regular use of their own personal transport. It can be seen that a far higher proportion of tenants in Case Study B, 61% had the regular use of a car compared with those in the other two schemes. This higher proportion of car users offset the inconvenience caused by the location of the scheme 2 miles away from the city centre. However from the evidence from the survey it would appear that a number of tenants purchased cars because they were living here and would be isolated without one. One tenant in Case Study B stated that 'I had to get a car. I can't really afford it. It's a wreck but I have to have something to get out of this place'. Another stated that 'these New Towns are car orientated and you can't survive without one'. It appeared that both the location of the scheme and the layout of the town combined to influence the tenants' need for personal transport.

The quality of public transport provision in the area also influenced the tenants' opinion of the convenience of the location. Figure 9.5 shows the proportion of respondents in each scheme who regularly used public transport. In Case Study A only a few tenants (12%) regularly used public transport. This low proportion reflects the less frequent service provided in this town and the fact that Case Study A was only half a mile from the main shopping and town centre. Most tenants stated that this was 'reasonable walking distance'; however a number noted that it was a long struggle with heavy shopping

Figure 9.4 Tenants Personal Transport

Tenants had Regular use of a:-	CASE STUDY					
	A		B		C	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
CAR/VAN	28	34	11	61	14	29
MOTOR BIKE	5	6	3	17	2	4
BICYCLE	11	13	3	17	9	19

Figure 9.5 Tenants' Opinion of Public Transport Provision

	CASE STUDY					
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Proportion of Tenants who Regularly Use Public Transport	20	24	10	58	32	60
Tenants Opinion of this Service		%		%		%
Good		36		14		27
Reasonable		50		57		40
Poor		14		29		33

bags. A higher proportion of tenants in Case Studies B and C used the public transport service-58% and 60% respectively. The town where these schemes were situated was laid out on a grid system and had been planned for traffic. Greater emphasis was placed on the provision of an effective public transport service linking different areas of the town. Although Case Study C was next to the town centre, tenants regularly caught the bus to get to other areas within the town, for example the railway station or to neighbouring towns where some of them

worked. Case Study B was situated in an outlying area of the town. The higher incidence of public transport users here reflects the greater isolation of this scheme.

As previously noted in the analysis of the second research proposition in Chapter 7, young single people did, as the design guidance expected, rely on social contacts outside the scheme. In fact the research found that this characteristic was accentuated by the design of the scheme since the small size of the bedsits and one-bedroom flats and the difficulties associated with privacy in the two-bedroomed shared flats prevented tenants from entertaining friends and relatives in their home, emphasising the importance of socialising outside the scheme and in the communal lounges. However the research found that a high proportion of tenants in Case Studies B and C considered that the schemes were not well situated for social and recreational facilities. Whilst this appeared to be mainly attributable to the fact that such facilities did not exist at the time of the survey in the town where Case Studies B and C were situated, rather than to a difference in the location of the schemes in relation to the town centres, this places greater emphasis on the importance of providing appropriately designed facilities within the scheme.

Thus the evidence from the research found that the tenants' perception of a scheme's location was influenced both by the proximity to various facilities, including late night shopping and social amenities, and the public transport links between the scheme and these facilities, rather than by its proximity to the town centre per se.

9.2.2 Outlook

As previously noted in Chapter 8 when considering the daylight in the flats, the design guidance states that tenants like a good view and recommends that flats with only one window should be

given better orientation.(20) Figure 9.6 outlines the tenants opinion of the view from the flats in all three schemes, which can be seen on the site plans and accompanying photographs in Chapter 6. The majority of respondents considered the outlook from their flats was reasonably good. In Case Study A one tenant's opinion appeared representative of the general response; he stated 'I think the view is as good as you can expect for this sort of dwelling'. However in Case Study C the blocks of flats were sited directly opposite each other. 42% of respondents stated that they were overlooked and that this caused problems.

Case Studies A and B appeared well designed in that most tenants did not feel overlooked by each other. However some tenants in Block B of Case Study A were disturbed by the council offices opposite. As previously discussed in Chapter 7 the design guidance had anticipated that young single people would be out of their flats during the weekdays, yet the research found that this was not the case. A sizeable proportion of young single people, whether for reasons of unemployment or shift work, were in their flats during the day and found the office workers opposite rather intrusive. One tenant, a nurse who was on night duty, stated that she always kept her curtains drawn during the day when she got up in order to maintain some privacy. Had the design guidance not encouraged the architect to believe that the

Figure 9.6 Tenants Opinion of the Outlook from their Flats

	CASE STUDY					
	A		B		C	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Positive Response	24	29	13	72	5	10
OK	34	41	4	22	22	46
Negative Response	21	25	1	6	20	42
No Response	4	5	-	-	1	2
	83	100	18	100	48	100

flats and the office block would never be occupied at the same time then some thought might have been spent in staggering building heights to prevent a direct view from the offices into the flats.

9.2.3 Security

9.2.3.1 Internal Security

The design guidance states that 'single person flats are likely to be empty during the daytime and there may be a high risk of break-ins'.(21) The guidance recommends that whilst the flats themselves should be reasonably secure, 'additional security can be provided by locking off the internal circulation from public access. This means a locked main front door with a key for every tenant'.(22)

The evidence from the research previously discussed in Chapter 7 found that both young and older single people spent more time in the home than in the design guidance had anticipated. This was due to different patterns both of employment and of social activity. However this did not reduce the need for security in these schemes. The size of the schemes meant that none of the tenants could identify a stranger. Only 5% of respondents stated that they knew most people in the scheme and although 42% stated that they knew quite a few people, 44% stated that they only knew one or two other tenants.

The design guidance states that, 'if for security reasons the block has a locked front door, an 'Entryphone' system will be required for visitors who would otherwise be unable to enter unless a caretaker or the tenant came to let them in'.(23) Both Case Studies A and C had an Entryphone system on the entrance to each block.

In Case Study A the caretaker stated that each door entry system broke down 'at least once a year'. This he attributed to children from the neighbouring estate playing with it. At the time the survey was conducted the catch in three of the blocks was broken,

allowing free access, whilst in a fourth block the mechanism which allowed the door to be opened from the tenants' flats had broken and the tenants had to walk down to let visitors in. In Case Study C only one of the six door entry systems was working.

The research showed that both managers and tenants considered the door entry systems to be an essential part of the security of the scheme. The high incidence of breakdown in these systems caused considerable concern and inconvenience. As previously noted in Chapter 8, Section 8.2.1, 8 respondents in Case Study A stated that they considered an additional personal security alarm was necessary. One tenant was not satisfied with the present security provision and she had fixed additional locks and a chain to her front door. Such arrangements can cause management problems of access, particularly when the tenancy changes hands, and could be avoided by adequate security provision and maintenance.

9.2.3.2 Car Park Security

In addition to the internal security of the flats and blocks, the security of the car park and entrances was raised by the tenants who responded to the questionnaire. In Case Study C the scheme car park was overlooked by Blocks B and C and security did not seem to be a problem. However in Case Studies A and B cars had been broken into in the car parks. In Case Study A the tenants' car park was situated to the rear of the scheme; the car park near the Oxford Road was reserved for disabled drivers and general access. Although Blocks A, E and part of Block D backed on to this car park, the large trees obstructed the view. One tenant in Block B stated that, 'I can't possibly keep an eye on the car when its so far away'. The car park at Case Study B was not so distant but was only visible from the perimeter flats. As previously noted 17% of respondents had motorbikes. None of the

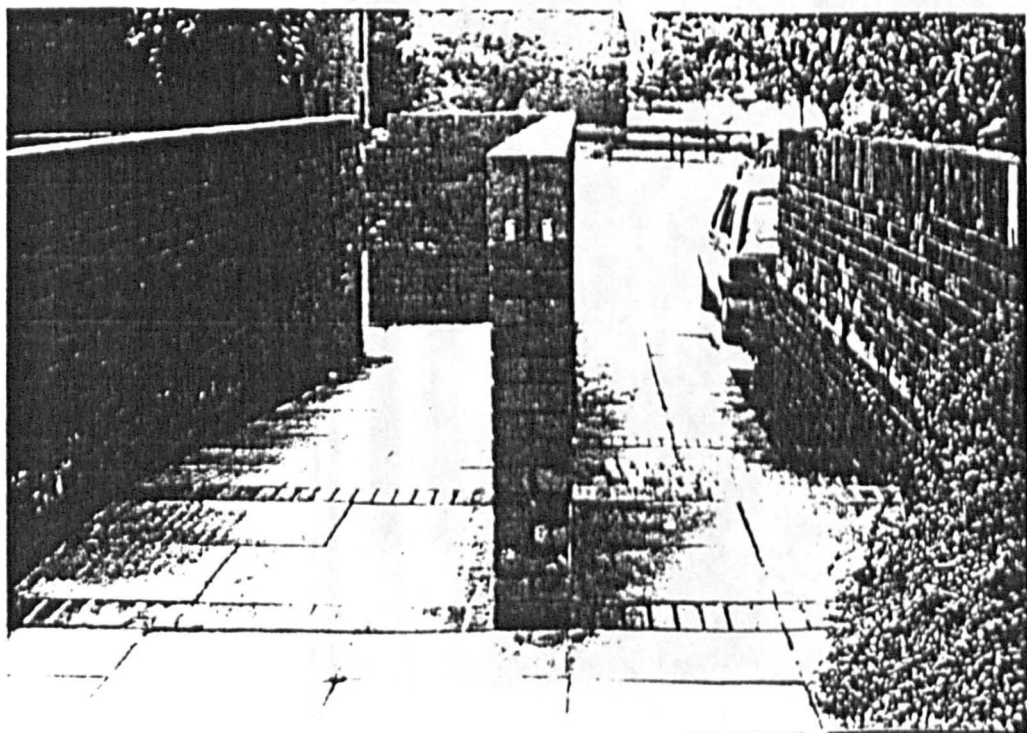
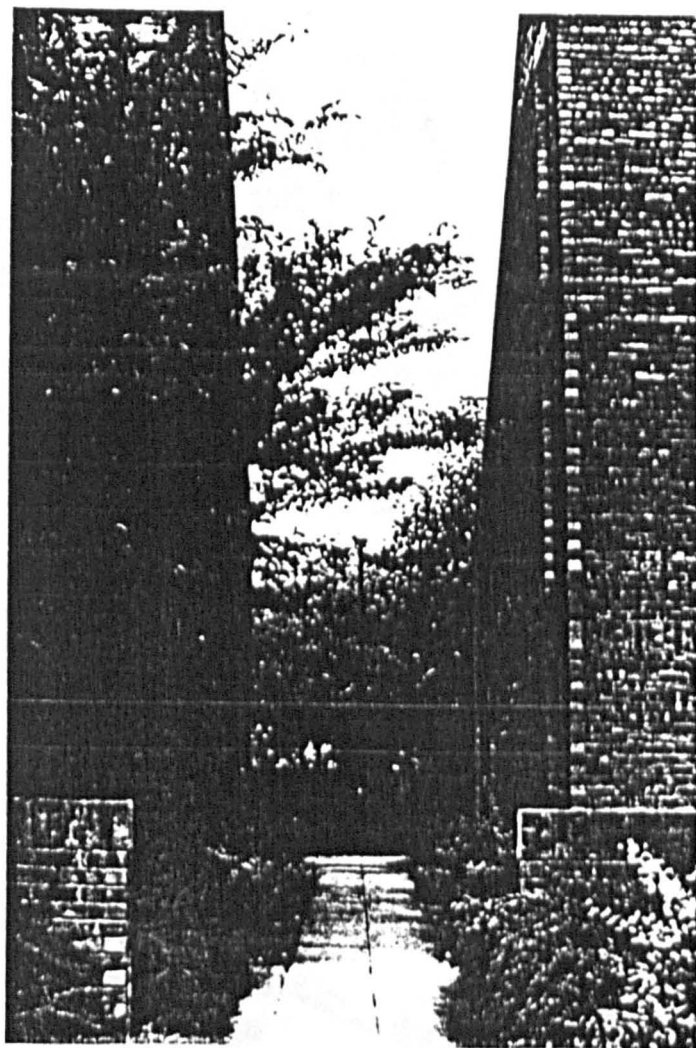
tenants in Case Study B kept these in the car park. For security reasons they wheeled them through the scheme to stand outside their flats, much to the annoyance of the warden who did not like the resulting pools of oil which appeared in the landscaping, although she stated that she 'didn't blame them'.

Figure 9.4 shows, inter alia, the number of tenants who had bicycles. Although racks were provided in both Case Study A and B, these were not covered and tenants preferred to leave their bicycles, both for reasons of security and protection from the elements, elsewhere. In Case Study A the survey found that one tenant carried his bicycle up to the second floor in order to keep it in his flat. This severely restricted the small space available here. Other tenants kept both bicycles and motor-bikes under the stairs in the large stairwell inside the entrance hall in each block. This was not convenient for the tenant and caused the caretaker and cleaners considerable annoyance. In Case Study B, the warden stated that tenants were free, at their own risk, to keep their bicycles in the bin rooms. However these were not secure and there was always the possibility that the refuse collectors might remove them. The research indicated that the provision of a secure, covered, bike shed should be included in the design of single person housing schemes.

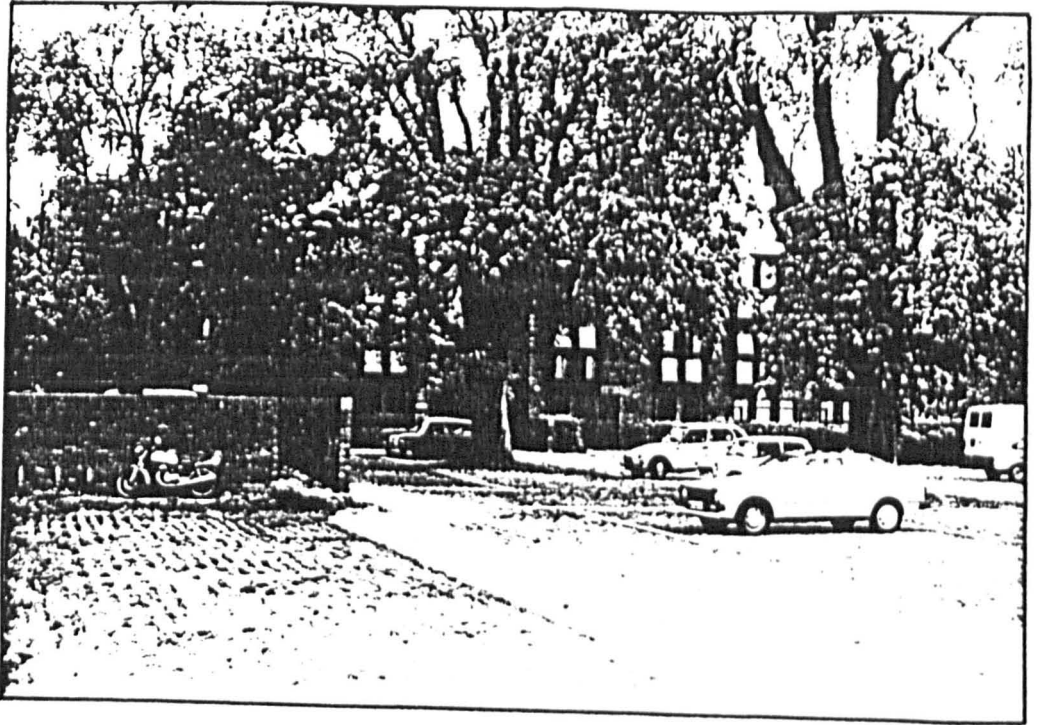
9.2.3.3 Security in the Grounds

A number of tenants in Case Study A, both male and female, questioned the security of the landscaping. Although a high proportion of tenants stated that they liked the green areas and trees, the large shrubs, and even more the high walls which surrounded the car parks and separated the blocks, provided numerous blind corners. The photographs on the following pages illustrate the problem. This was compounded by the fact that the entrances to Blocks C, D and E faced out of the

Passage leading to the
Entrances of Blocks D and E



Car Park Wall



Car Park Showing Surrounding Wall



Entrance Porch,
Block E

scheme rather than towards the centre, shown in Site Plan A. This meant that tenants had to walk down a narrow passage between these blocks to turn into the entrance lobby which they considered to be poorly lit. All of the tenants interviewed during the survey stated that the site lighting was inadequate. Although the car park for disabled drivers was well lit, the tall trees in the car park to the east of the scheme reduced the effectiveness of the lighting provided. In particular the poor quality of the lighting on the footpaths leading from the Oxford Road was mentioned. This was important since the scheme was on a direct route from the bus stop to the neighbouring estate, and although the architect stated that landscaping was designed to discourage short cuts it did not appear to have succeeded.

Similar problem occurred in Case Study B. This scheme was also on a direct route from the bus stop to the neighbouring estate. Although the architect had intended the courtyard design of this scheme to, *inter alia*, create private space, this was not a sufficient deterrent. The warden of this scheme stated that they had had trouble with a 'Peeping Tom'. She stated that 'once it gets about that this is a single person scheme it attracts all sorts'. If this is in fact the case then it would appear that security should be given greater priority in the design recommendations.

The caretaker identified a fourth security issue associated with safety. Originally there were no distinguishing features between the blocks, making it difficult for emergency services to identify one quickly. Whilst the survey was being carried out large metal letters were attached to panels by the entrance doors. However since Blocks C, D and E faced to the rear of the scheme the letters had been fixed to the wrong side of these blocks. They would have been more easily visible if they had been facing towards the car park.

9.2.4 Noise

The design guidance considers that 'perhaps the most important single requirement of the self contained single persons' private room is that it should be reasonably private acoustically'.(24) The guidance states that it is necessary to provide Grade 1 and party wall standards of insulation for 'impact' and 'air borne' sound between flats. However, the guidance notes that this may be difficult to achieve around doors, and states that 'the end result should be close to Grade 1 standard'.(25) The architects of all three case study scheme stated that they had included this standard of sound insulation. Evidence from the questionnaire showed that the bedsit tenants in Case Study A ranked noise disturbance second amongst the aspects they disliked about their flats, the one-bedroom tenants ranked it sixth, whilst the two-bedroom tenants did not choose to mention this aspect. Figure 9.7 shows the number of respondents in each case study who stated that their privacy was intruded upon by noise and Figure 9.8 shows what the tenants identified as the source of the noise disturbance. This information is shown for all three schemes though the discussion concentrates on the response in Case Study A with reference to the other two schemes were appropriate.

Although Figure 9.8 indicates that 24% of respondents in Case Study A were disturbed by the railway line running to the north of the scheme, this underestimates the problem since all the respondents whose flats had windows on that side of Blocks C, D and E were disturbed by this. Although the line was only used a few times a day for shunting goods trains, this tended to be at night when the noise carried. Double glazing the windows on this side of the scheme would lower this disturbance.

Figure 9.7 Tenants Whose Privacy Was Intruded Upon By Noise

SOURCE OF NOISE INTRUSION	CASE STUDY					
	A		B		C	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
'I can be heard by my neighbours'	27	32	4	22	12	25
'I can hear my neighbours'	28	34	4	22	29	60
'I can hear people in the corridor'	28	34	1	6	23	48
'I can hear people outside the block'	28	34	3	17	15	31

Figure 9.8 Particular Sources of Noise Disturbance Tenants Identified

EXTERNAL	CASE STUDY					
	A		B		C	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Trains	20	24	-	-	3	6
Road	8	10	3	17	3	6
Car Park	23	28	5	28	33	69
Children Playing	15	18	3	17	-	-
Passers By	21	25	3	17	19	40
INTERNAL						
Televisions, Music etc.	30	36	11	62	32	67
Doors Banging	46	55	2	11	17	35
Occasional Disturbance	11	13	5	28	32	67
Services	6	7	2	11	2	4

Figure 9.7 shows that nearly one third of respondents in Case Study A, 32%, stated that they felt restricted in their flats by the fact that they knew their neighbours could hear them whilst 34% complained about the noise from their neighbours. Considering the importance the design guidance places on acoustic privacy these seem very high proportions. Unfortunately these were not sufficiently strong

deterrents for all tenants. Figure 9.8 which shows the sources of noise tenants identified as particularly disturbing indicates that noise from adjacent flats caused considerable inconvenience. In particular the noise from other tenants' televisions and stereos and from doors banging, both those in other flats and those between the stairwell and corridor. In addition, tenants in the flats next to the stairwell were often disturbed by people using the stairs, whilst those next to the boiler room were disturbed by this. Great care should be taken with the sound insulation between communal areas and services and individual dwelling units.

Over half the tenants who responded to the questionnaire in Case Study A, 55%, were disturbed by doors banging, in particular the internal doors of adjacent flats. A possible solution to this problem might be to provide self-closing mechanisms on these doors, similar to those already provide on all the front doors of the flats, the stairwell doors and the blockentrance doors. However, during the survey it was noted that some tenants had disengaged the self closing mechanism on their front door to prevent themselves being locked out when they went to the rubbish chute and/or because they did not want to wait for the door to close when they left the flat. This indicates that the provision of additional self closing mechanism might not succeed in lowering noise disturbance due to possible interference by tenants. An alternative solution which could not be tampered with might be to increase the standard of sound insulation between flats. This would also lower the disturbance caused by televisions and stereos, although even this would probably not remove the occasional disturbance caused by domestic rows and parties.

The major sources of noise disturbances in the three case studies came from other tenants and their guests. This included playing music and televisions loudly, revving cars in the car park at

night and banging doors. Before recommending that considerable additional expense be incurred by raising the standards of sound insulation in the design, research into persuasion and co-operation should be carried out. That is, whether it would be possible to lower the noise disturbance by raising tenants' awareness and/or coercing them into being more considerate. This merely optimistic idea could be tested in existing schemes before future recommendations are decided.

9.3 SERVICES

9.3.1 Heating and Hot Water

The design guidance states that there should be a 'full domestic standard of heating in bedsitting areas of flats and common lounges. Tenants are usually out at work during the day, so that the maximum economy would be obtained from a system, which rapidly warmed the flat in the evening'.(26) Although the design guidance does not actually recommend that a communal system of heating should be provided, this is implied not only for reasons of protecting the property against condensation and the other problems of unheated dwellings, but also for reasons relating to cost allocation. The design guidance states that 'hot water and heating can be metered, but it is simpler to charge an all-in rate'.(27)

As previously noted in Chapter 5, the data from the questionnaire showed that tenants in the three types of flat in Case Study A ranked the central heating and hot water provision second amongst aspects of the scheme they most liked. Figure 9.9 compares tenants' opinions of the heating and hot water provision between schemes. This shows that the majority of tenants in all three schemes considered that overall the provision met their requirements, although the system in Case Study B was very different from that in Case Studies A and C. It should be noted that the tenants who gave 'No Opinion' had

only recently moved into the scheme and had not yet experienced the heating system.

However, the tenants' general approval was qualified by various other comments identifying aspects of the heating provision which were less satisfactory. Figure 9.10 lists these, and shows that length of time and the actual times, both seasonally and daily, for which heating was provided, caused most comment.

Each block in Case Study A had a gas-fired boiler on the ground floor. Radiators were situated in all rooms within the flats except for the internal halls. The stairways were heated but the communal corridors and entrance lobby were not. Constant hot water was provided all year round but the space heating system was only on from the 1st October until 31st March between the hours of 6am to 10pm. A weekly amount was included in the service charges to cover heating and hot water costs.

The dates for turning the heating on and off were arranged by the housing management and approved by the council committee and were not easily altered to take account of cold spells outside these months. 18% of respondents complained about this. One stated that 'there are cold days in the summer and a radiator is useful to dry towels etc'. However another tenant said, 'it is turned off at certain times of the year, 9 times out of 10 during a cold spell. Last time it was turned back on after complaints'.

The hours the heating was on did not meet all the tenants' requirements. The questionnaire found that 10% of respondents considered that the heating came on at inappropriate times and stated that they would have liked more control over it. Each flat had a thermostat control. Tenants could alter the temperature of the heating in their flats when the system was on, but they could not turn the heating on, or off, as they required. one tenant stated 'I do not have

Figure 9.9 Tenants' Opinion of the Heating Provided in Each Scheme

HEATING:-	CASE STUDY					
	A		B		C	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Met Requirements	60	72	17	94	35	73
Inadequate	17	21	1	6	12	25
No Opinion	2	2	-	-	1	2
	83	100	18	100	48	100

Figure 9.10 Tenants' Comments on the Heating System

TENANTS' COMMENTS	CASE STUDY					
	A		B		C	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Efficient System	5	7	-	-	-	-
Good Value	3	4	2	11	5	10
Inefficient System	2	1	-	-	5	10
Only on for a Few Months	15	18	2	11	11	23
No Control over Heating	12	14	12	67	10	21
No Comment	46	56	2	11	17	36
	83	100	18	100	48	100

any control over the time it is available. It would be more convenient if I could have it as I need it'. Conversely a number of tenants stated that at times the heating was too hot making their flat 'like a Turkish Bath'. The heating was 'hard to regulate' and the thermostat control did not respond effectively so tenants opened doors and windows to help lower the temperature. This is a very wasteful practice. A

more responsive heating system might lower the running costs by reducing this sort of wastage.

During cold spells outside the heating season most tenants used some form of electric heater as electricity costs were already included in their weekly charges. Fuel bills were estimated in advance in order to allocate the appropriate amount in each tenants' weekly charges which were filed a year in advance. The housing manager of this scheme tried to discourage the use of electric fires since excessive use in cold spells created a deficit between the actual and the estimated electricity bills. This deficit was included in the following year's charges, since estimated costs were based on the previous years' bills. The tenants were dissatisfied with this system because they considered they were paying for other people's electricity, in addition to their own consumption.

Considering that young single people were only expected to stay in the accommodation for a short period, 'maybe only a few months', (28) this system of allocating heating costs, recommended by the design guidance, seems inappropriate. The guidance expected young single people to be highly mobile, so, in theory, they could move in in the spring and move out before actually enjoying the heating for which they paid. However the research found that young single people were not as mobile as the design guidance expected, and this situation rarely arose in practice.

A quarter of the tenants in Case Study A used either Calor gas or paraffin heaters. These were used because the tenants already owned these heaters and preferred to purchase fuel rather than heat by an electric fire, even though the running costs of the latter were already paid for. Calor gas and paraffin heaters can create problems with condensation and safety which do not arise with electric fires. Seven tenants stated that they would have liked an electric fire to

have been included in the furnishing of their flats. If this was implemented it might reduce the problems of condensation and safety, while increasing the charge for electricity.

In Case Study C a gas fired boiler on each block provided warm air heating in the flats during the winter months. The tenants' comments have been reflected in those from Case Study A, which was considered in detail.

In Case Study B, an underfoot electric heating system provided background heating at night from 12.30am to 7.30am during the winter months. The system ensured that the internal temperature was 55F when it was freezing outside. The tenants paid for this system through a service charge levied on each flat. In addition, tenants had their own electric heating which they paid for individually. The warden stated that paraffin or gas cylinder fires were not allowed as these invalidated the insurance for the scheme.

The high level of satisfaction with the heating system in this scheme shown in Figure 9.9 refers to the tenants' own heating arrangements. Although some would have preferred to use gas, the tenants liked the fact that they could use their system when they needed it and were responsible only for the electricity they used. This might appear to contradict the evidence shown in Figure 9.10 where 67% of respondents stated that they were dissatisfied with the heating system because they had no control over it. However this figure refers to the background heating system. The tenants were so dissatisfied with this that they had formed a committee to organise their complaints with the housing managers. Their main grievance was that they required heating during the day or evening, not during the night, and saw no reason why they should 'pay for the housing association to preserve their building'. Due to the strength of feeling on this subject the housing managers had put forward three

alternative options. These were, first, not to use the underfloor heating system, second, to provide an additional 2 hour boost during the afternoon at an addition cost of £2.26, per month, per flat, and third to continue the present system. The housing managers favoured the second or third option since the former might lead to condensation problems.

9.3.2 Refuse Disposal

The design guidance considers this matter but does not make any specific recommendations. It states that 'refuse is conveniently dealt with by paper or polythene bags which can be carried to a nearby refuse chute or bin. The bags are best held in a container as they sometimes burst and spill...It is good if a space can be designed to accommodate whatever system is provided. A refuse room could cope with awkward items such as bottles, broken furniture and boxes'.(29)

In Case Study A, rubbish chutes were located in cupboards on the landing next to the stairway on the first and second floors of each block. These fed into large bins contained in a locked room with external access on the ground floor. Larger items could be placed here by arrangement with the warden. Case Study C had a similar arrangement, whilst in Case Study B four refuse sheds at the perimeter of the scheme housed the individual dustbins provided for each flat.

Figure 9.11 shows that this provision met the majority of tenants' requirements. However during the interviews tenants who lived on the ground floor in Case Study A complained about having to carry rubbish upstairs to the chute. In addition, it appeared that the rubbish chutes in both Case Studies A and C occasionally became blocked. This was due to tenants using bags which were too large. None of the flats had been provided with a bin for inside the flat and so no standard size collection bag was used. The provision of a fixed

Figure 9.11 Tenants' Opinion of Refuse Disposal

REFUSE DISPOSAL	CASE STUDY					
	A		B		C	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Meets Requirements	71	86	17	94	38	79
Inadequate	8	10	1	6	9	19
No Response	4	4	-	-	1	2
	79	100%	18	100%	48	100%

rubbish bin inside the flat would encourage the tenants to use a standard size of bag and hopefully avoid this problem.

9.3.3 Storage

The design guidance states that 'storage should be provided for trunks, preferably within the flat', though also 'it is acceptable to have trunk stores elsewhere with the caretaker holding the only key so that pilfering is avoided'. The design guidance recommends that between 0.2 to 0.6m³ per person of additional communal storage should be provided, 'not subdivided because some people need more space than others'. (30)

The architect of Case Study A stated that the storage provision in the bedsits and one-bedroom flats was 'simply a row of built-in wardrobes'. As he expected 'middle aged' people to be moving from larger houses and they 'tended to bring a lot of things with them', he had included communal storage space in the form of a walk-in cupboard in the roof space in each block in the scheme. Following design guidance recommendations, the only keys to this were held by the caretaker so access was restricted, and the store had not been subdivided.

However, whilst conducting a tour of the scheme the architect was surprised to learn that the communal storage space was not used, due to active discouragement by the caretaker on the grounds of insurance problems. As the communal storage had been designed as an integral part of the scheme but was not being used, this obviously placed additional pressures on the restricted storage space elsewhere, particularly in the bedsits. Even if this communal storage space was partitioned and access made easier it would not be suitable for the storage of the bulky, essential household items which the tenants of both the bedsits and one-bedroom flats found most difficult to store but which were needed daily.

The questionnaire survey indicated that the majority of tenants in Case Study A, 74% of respondents, were unaware that this communal storage space existed, whilst only one respondent actually knew where it was. Of the 20% who knew it existed, a number stated that they were reluctant to use it since they preferred to keep an eye on their possessions. However, as the in-depth surveys of the flats indicated, a number of tenants, for example the tenant of Bedsit 3, would have liked to utilise the communal storage space since it could greatly reduce the pressure on space in his home.

9.3.4 Mail Delivery

The design guidance states that 'single people expect to have deliveries of mail to their front doors'.(31) Following the design guidance recommendation each flat in the three case study schemes had its own letter box. However in each scheme different problems arose with mail delivery and security.

In Case Study A, operation of the entry-phone system was not only automatically suspended between 6 and 8am each morning to allow for mail deliveries, but also as in Scheme C regularly broke down

allowing free access into the block. Three tenants in Scheme A cited instances of children from outside the scheme being able to reach in through the letter-box, which was too close to the door lock, and unlock the door to the flat.

In Case Study B the warden stated that the Post Office 'couldn't fathom' the flat numbering system in the scheme. The managers had therefore installed a pigeon hole system by the office, but this did not work as things were stolen from there. At the time the survey was conducted a third system was being operated. All mail was delivered to the warden's office and the cleaner delivered it to the appropriate flats during the day. However this system did not satisfy anyone and a meeting was being arranged by the housing manager with the Post Office to try and organise deliveries of mail to the tenants' front doors.

In Case Study C numbered mail boxes had been installed by the entrance to each block, so deliveries could be made without entering the building. Each tenant had a key for the appropriate box. However this system had not worked at all. Mail was easily pulled out through the front of these boxes. In addition, the frequent loss of keys had meant that the boxes had to be forced open. The manager stated that they had 'given up' on this system after a few months. Mail was now delivered to the office and the tenants collected it from there. The warden said that this was 'no bad thing' as it enabled him to have more regular contact with the tenants and 'keep an eye on things'. However the tenants found this very inconvenient because the office was only open during working hours, so some of them only collected their mail once a fortnight when the office was open late for rent collection.

9.4 MANAGEMENT ISSUES

Although outside the specific remit of this research, the management of young single person housing schemes can not be excluded from any overall appraisal since, as the research has previously shown, the different approaches adopted by the on-site wardens affected the use of these schemes. Accordingly these issues are briefly considered here.

9.4.1 On-Site Warden/Caretaker

The design guidance comments on a number of aspects of the management of young single person schemes. It states that 'in all such housing schemes...someone is needed to organise the cleaning of common rooms and access space, to supervise the heating system and the disposal of refuse, to carry out minor repairs, and to take in deliveries'.(32) The guidance notes that a 'caretaker who can cope with these problems during the day' would be a 'desirable asset' and recommends that an office should be provided for him.(33,34) The guidance stresses that 'it must be made clear from the outset that he is there to assist the tenants and not to supervise or superintend them in any way. The separate dwellings should be treated as private homes as in family estates and not as rooms in a supervised hostel'.(35) 'If the caretaker collects the rent he must be extra careful not to involve himself with the affairs of the tenants'.(36)

The level of on-site management varied considerably between schemes. In Case Study A the caretaker had little involvement with the tenants. There was a higher level of involvement and input in Case Study B, higher still in Case Study C. The management of each scheme will now be briefly considered.

In Case Study A a resident warden acted as on-site caretaker, dealing with minor repairs, reporting major repairs and supervising the

cleaners who weekly cleaned the entrance halls, stairs, corridors and communal facilities. In theory he controlled access to the lounge and guest room, the bin rooms and to the communal storage. However as previously noted, he actively discouraged tenants from using both the residents' lounge and the communal storage. The latter was an essential part of the storage provision for the individual dwelling units and this restriction had a detrimental effect on the space within the flats. The warden did not carry out any management functions. All rent collection, allocations and tenancy issues were dealt with by the Housing Department in the town centre.

Originally the scheme had a caretaker. The housing manager stated that the range of duties he was expected to carry out had resulted in recruiting difficulties so the status and job description had been changed to that of warden. The warden had a flat and an office on the ground floor of Block A. He could be contacted during certain hours and in emergencies.

Case Study B had a resident site-warden/residential manager who had an office adjacent to the lounge and bar where she could be contacted during the day. The warden dealt with all housing management functions, including the organisation of repairs, rent collection and flat allocation. Although the nationwide housing association which owned Case Study B had an allocation policy, the resident manager stated that she was allowed a degree of discretion in order to ensure the smooth running of the scheme. In conjunction with local organisations she was at the time of the survey about to commence a policy of positive discrimination in allocating to 'less socially able' individuals, mainly ex-psychiatric patients.

The Warden had a three-bedroom flat situated above the residents' lounge which, due to the success of the lounge, meant that it was very noisy. The Warden considered that this was a 'ridiculous'

site for the managers' flat. The housing association had a policy of on-site management to provide weekend cover for single person schemes. However the warden stated that 'all on-site managers want to live off-site' primarily because 'they can never get away from the job'. It is interesting to note that since the survey a new warden has been appointed. He is a single man and has been allocated the sole use of a two-bedroom flat which ordinary tenants from the waiting list would be expected to share. The three-bedroom flat above the residents' lounge is now used as a three person shared flat.

Case Study C was run on an agency basis by a housing association who provided a full-time warden and an assistant caretaker, both of whom lived on-site and together provided a 24 hour emergency service. The warden carried out all housing management duties including allocations and rent collection, whilst the caretaker organised the repairs.

The warden stressed that one of his main functions was the care and support of the tenants. This included advice on managing a budget and help with finding alternative accommodation, usually shared ownership, once the tenant had attained the age of 24, since the upper age limit to tenancy was 25 in this scheme. The housing association who managed Case Study C was closely affiliated with a youth work organisation. This accounted for the 'care and support' aspect of the warden's duties, which were contrary to design guidance recommendations. In addition, the warden organised adventure weekends and outdoor activities open to all young people in the town.

Figure 9.12 shows that, although the style of management differed, the majority of tenants in all three schemes stated that they found the warden provided a useful and helpful service. Figure 9.13 shows the amount of contact tenants had with the warden. This shows that tenants generally had more contact with the warden in Case Study C

Figure 9.12 Tenants' Opinion of the Warden Service

	CASE STUDY					
	A		B		C	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Is the Warden Helpful?						
YES	60	72	9	50	27	56
NO	8	10	4	22	3	6
How is the Warden Helpful?						
Generally	23	28	4	22	2	4
Repairs	5	6	-	-	1	2
Deliveries	4	5	3	17	-	-
Emergencies	3	4	-	-	7	15
Caring and Support	-	-	-	-	5	10
How is the Warden Unhelpful?						
Generally	-	-	-	-	3	6
Caring and Support	-	-	-	-	1	2

Figure 9.13 Tenants' Contact with the Warden

	CASE STUDY					
	A		B		C	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
CONTACT						
Daily	1	1	2	11	2	4
Weekly	2	2	4	22	19	40
Monthly	10	12	4	22	6	12
Not Regularly	62	75	6	34	7	15
No Response	8	10	2	11	14	29
	83	100	18	100	48	100

than in B, and more in B than in A, reflecting the differing roles and attitudes of the wardens towards the tenants, which ranged from a caring and supportive role in Case Study C to a restrictive and caretaking role in Case Study A.

9.4.2 Rules

Although the rules do not relate directly to design, consideration of them serves to highlight the different approaches to management between the three schemes. Tenants were asked to comment on the rules in their scheme. Figure 9.14 shows that few tenants chose to comment but it does illustrate the particular topics of concern.

In Case Study A the rules did not allow four-legged pets, lodgers or friends of the opposite sex staying overnight. One tenant accurately noted that these rules were not applied to other local authority housing and doubted whether they were legally enforceable. Whilst these rules annoyed most tenants, the majority appreciated the reasons for the first two and ignored the last one. Case Study B paid more attention to the tenants' rights and did not have these sorts of rules. These flats were built on two storeys and did not have enclosed corridors and stairwells. Four-legged pets did not pose the same problem here as they did in Schemes A and C with their enclosed blocks of flats. Though four-legged pets were not forbidden, cats in Scheme B were encouraged in preference to dogs. In Case Study C the Warden kept a keen eye out for anyone contravening the rules, particularly in respect of overnight guests. Although one tenant stated that 'you can get away with it if you don't flaunt it', he resented being forced to creep around furtively in his own home.

Figure 9.14 Tenants' Comments on the Scheme Rules

RESPONSE	CASE STUDY					
	A		B		C	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Generally Positive	12	14	1	6	13	27
Generally Negative	8	10	1	6	4	8
Rules Not Enforced	3	4	-	-	4	8
RULES PARTICULARLY DISLIKED:-						
Overnight Guest Rule	5	6	-	-	8	17
Pets Rule	4	5	-	-	1	2
Lodgers Rule	1	1	-	-	-	-

9.4.3 Waiting List

Case Study A houses people between the ages of 18 to 50. the local authority maintains a separate waiting list of single applicants for this scheme. At the time the survey was conducted, there were 185 people on the waiting list. The housing manager stated that two years was an average waiting time for a place in the scheme, although housing was not allocated according to the waiting period. The research found that 30% of respondents had been on the waiting list for over two years, one woman for four years. Workers coming to the town received priority on the waiting list. Applicants living with parents were not accepted onto the waiting list unless there were particular problems in the family home. This practice supports the findings in Chapter 1 which notes, inter alia, the difficulties of estimating young single person housing needs due to their exclusion from traditional data

sources such as waiting lists. In addition separated couples were not counted as single people and thus were not eligible for the scheme until their divorce came through. Single people over the age of 50 are eligible for one-bedroom council flats other than within the scheme and are encouraged by housing management to apply for alternative accommodation.

In Case Study B any single person between the ages 18 to 50 with no dependent children living with him/her and earning less than £8,000 p.a. were accepted on the waiting list. This included those who were separated but not yet divorced. The housing association which ran this scheme had two other schemes in the area. One waiting list served them all. The manager stated that people could be housed after waiting anywhere between 6 - 18 months. Priority was given to incoming workers and then other factors were taken into consideration including length of time on waiting list and current circumstances. In Case Study C the warden stated that anyone who satisfies the age requirements (between 17 - 25) is accepted on the waiting list and would normally be housed after of period of 6 - 9 months. In practice, due to this time lag, 24 is the upper age limit for entry on the waiting list.

It is interesting to note that in response to questions concerning the size of these schemes, 62% of tenants stated that they were 'about the right size' but a number qualified this. One tenant stated 'I would rather the council increased the size of the scheme rather than neglected to build any more of them at all'. Twenty percent of respondents stated that there were too few people in the scheme. The comments accompanying this response showed that it reflected their own difficulties in finding suitable accommodation. One tenant stated that 'a lot more people would benefit from this type of accommodation'. Another said that 'having to wait four years for a place here was bad enough but I know people who are single and having

trouble with somewhere to live, many are homeless. There should be more of these schemes available'.

9.4.4 Allocations

In all three schemes a system of internal transfers was operated to rationalise a scarce resource: the one-bedroom flat. The housing manager of Case Study A stated that 'everyone wants one-bedroom flats; we would never let the bedsits if we did not do this'. In Case Study A, the bedsits were allocated to people on the waiting list whilst the one-bedroom flats were only allocated to tenants wanting to transfer. The internal transfers were mainly from furnished to unfurnished accommodation, from bedsits to one-bedroom flats, supporting the housing manager's statement that the one-bedroom flats were more sought after. The two-bedroom flats were let only to people who particular requested them. Two people applied to the waiting list but only one tenant had the tenancy. The housing manager stated that she considered this the most appropriate arrangement, since it reduced her work on internal transfers which occurred when sharing tenants did not get on, and it made rent collection easier, with one tenant having sole responsibility.

In Case Study B the bedsits and one-bedroom flats were allocated in a manner similar to those in Case Study A. However, any vacant rooms in the two-bedroom shared flats were allocated to tenants from the waiting list, not to someone the existing tenant knew. The warden stated that 'we cannot consult the tenant because then there will be a danger that tenants do the choosing and not the housing association. People would pick and choose until they got someone they liked'. She implied that this would be unreasonable, mainly because it could created problems with voids. However, not surprisingly, most of the wardens' work was concerned with internal transfers. The system in

operation in Case Study A appeared more effective. Having sole responsibility for twice his/her usual weekly rent encouraged the tenant to find a new flat-mate as soon as possible.

9.5 Summary of the Evidence Relating to the Third Research Proposition

The evidence from the research found some mismatch between the general design recommendations for young single person housing schemes and young single people's actual housing requirements. In particular the recommendations for sound insulation did not match the tenants' requirements for acoustic privacy. The tenants spend considerably more time in the flats than guidance had anticipated, creating a mismatch between the recommendations concerning outlook. In addition, the recommendations for the security of the scheme site did not match requirements. However, the majority of design aspects considered in this chapter matched the tenants' requirements. Albeit with a number of provisos.

The research found that in a number of cases design guidance recommendations matched young single people's housing requirements but the actual interpretation of these in the case study design sometimes adversely affected the way in which the tenants' housing requirements were met. From this the research identified instances where the design guidance recommendations could be expanded and made more specific.

The design guidance recommendations for communal facilities generally matched tenants' requirements. However, the research indicated that greater emphasis should be placed on the position of these facilities in the scheme, otherwise the costs incurred are wasted since they are not used. In addition the research found that the way in which on-site wardens controlled and restricted the use of the residents' lounge and in particular, the communal storage provision, created mismatch despite the fact that the design matched requirements.

The addition of a guest room appeared unnecessary as was the provision of an internal scheme shop, especially if the recommendations for locating the scheme emphasise the proximity to local shopping facilities rather than the town centre per.se.

Whilst the recommendation for a communal heating and hot water service generally matched requirements, the research indicated that emphasis should be placed on the control tenants have over the times these services are provided and the way in which costs are apportioned. The methods of refuse disposal in the schemes generally matched requirements, but they could be improved by the provision of a fixed rubbish bin in each flat to avoid the problem of rubbish chutes blocking through the use of larger bags.

Some aspects of design created particular management problems, for example, the high number of internal transfers requested out of inappropriate accommodation (bedsits and shared accommodation). This was aggravated by the manager's use of internal transfers to allocate the more popular one-bedroom flats. This mismatch between provision and requirements supports the findings from Chapter 6 which indicated, inter alia, that greater emphasis should be placed on the relationship between management and design in the design process in order to avoid such problems.

The recommendations arising from this analysis are considered in the following chapter.

9.6 CONCLUSIONS

The research found that mismatch existed between the design guidance recommendations and young single people's housing requirements. This supports the third research proposition.

Chapter 8 considered the design details of the individual dwelling units whilst Chapter 9 considered the general aspects of

scheme design which relate to the different types of dwelling units provided. The research found a higher degree of mismatch between the design guidance perception of young single people's housing requirements and their actual housing requirements in the bedsits and one-bedroom flats than in the two-bedroom flats. In addition mismatch was greater to the individual dwelling units than in the requirements relating in the general aspects of scheme design considered in Chapter 9, albeit, with provisos.

The recommendations arising from the analysis of this research proposition are considered, together with the recommendations arising from the first and second propositions, in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 9 REFERENCES

- 1 Department of the Environment, Housing Single People 2: A Design Guide with a description of a scheme at Leicester, Design Bulletin 29, HMSO, 1974, paras. 25,26.
- 2 Ibid., para. 27.
- 3 Ibid., para. 27
- 4 Ibid., para. 28
- 5 Ibid., para. 32.
- 6 Ibid., para. 32
- 7 Ibid., para. 25.
- 8 Ibid., para. 26
- 9 Ibid., para. 39.
- 10 Ibid., para. 40.
- 11 Ibid., para. 40.
- 12 Ibid., para. 39.
- 13 Ibid., para. 40.
- 14 Ibid., para. 26.
- 15 Ibid., para. 24.
- 16 Ibid., para. 24.
- 17 Ibid., para. 36.
- 18 Ibid., para. 26.
- 19 Ibid., para. 37.
- 20 Ibid., para. 91.
- 21 Ibid., para. 117.
- 22 Ibid., para. 117.
- 23 Ibid., para. 34.
- 24 Ibid., para. 82.
- 25 Ibid., para. 83.
- 26 Ibid., para. 118.
- 27 Ibid., para. 118.
- 28 Ibid., para. 101.

- 29 Ibid., para. 121.
- 30 Ibid., para. 55.
- 31 Ibid., para. 49.
- 32 Ibid., para. 41.
- 33 Ibid., para. 44.
- 34 Ibid., para. 48.
- 35 Ibid., para. 46.
- 36 Ibid., para. 47.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSIONS, DESIGN CONSIDERATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In general the evidence from the research supported the three research propositions which together posed the research problem, identified in Chapters 1 - 4, and investigated using the methodology described in Chapter 5. The research established three main points. First, the design guidance is used both directly and indirectly to design purpose-built, public sector housing for young single people to rent. Second, the recommendations and standards contained in the design guidance are based on its perception of the characteristics of young single people, which do not exactly correspond with their actual characteristics. Third, this leads to a degree of mismatch between young single people's housing requirements and the built environment. Although these mismatches exist, there is clearly a need for this type of housing provision and the research plainly shows that there is a need to improve its design. The recommendations which follow from the conclusions suggest ways in which more appropriate dwellings could be designed in the future.

Each research proposition will now be considered in the light of the evidence gathered in the research. Conclusions are drawn and recommendations made; these are presented in the order in which they are considered in the thesis; they are not ranked in any order of priority.

10.1 THE FIRST RESEARCH PROPOSITION.

Specifically designed public sector housing provision available for young single people to rent has been and continues to be designed according to the recommendations and standards in the design guidance.[Chapter 6]

The evidence from the research supported this proposition. It showed that a cross-section of housing organisations, which provide specifically designed housing for young single people to rent, base their designs on the recommendations and standards contained in the design guidance, in particular on the series of Government Design Bulletins concerned with this type of housing provision. Of these numbers 23, 29 and 33 are most frequently referred to, both directly and indirectly through the incorporation of the main details into in-house briefing documents. However, the extent to which the design guidance is referred to and the standards and recommendations incorporated into young single person housing design varies. Three main factors appear to affect the use of design guidance. First, the experience of the designing team, second, the influence of finance, and third, the design process, particularly brief formulation and tenant feedback.[6.2, 6.5]

10.1.1 Architects' Experience

Architects were found to a great extent to base the design of housing provision for young single people on their past, personal experience of being students; the research has shown that this is inappropriate. If the recommendations arising from the third research proposition are incorporated in any future design guidance then this should not be a problem as a clear distinction will be made between students who are temporary residents with a high mobility, and other

young single people who should not, in future, be considered to have such mobility.[6.3.1]

10.1.2 Finance

Finance for any type of young single person housing provision is meagre. The number of channels through which different forms of finance are made available are complex. The influence of finance on design was found to be of paramount importance and worthy of more detailed research. There were indications that the present structure of housing finance encourages inappropriate accommodation, for example hostels to be built. In addition the way in which finance is linked to the recommendations and standards in the design guidance can have a limiting effect on the designs produced.[6.3.2]

10.1.3 The Design Process

The research found no evidence of any form of, or channels by which, young single people could influence the design of their housing. Housing managers were always the formal tenant and took responsibility for briefing. There was no systematic tenant feedback. This research provides recent tenant feedback, which is unique and should be utilised. The last relevant study, carried out by the DOE, was fifteen years ago and a number of factors influencing housing, including the political climate and unemployment levels have changed since then.[6.3.3, 7.5]

10.2 THE SECOND RESEARCH PROPOSITION

The relevant design guidance is not based on accurate perceptions of the characteristics of young single people.
[Chapter 7]

The evidence from the research identified some matches and a number of mismatches between the perception of young single people, both stated and implicit, in the design guidance and the actual characteristics of the tenants of the three young single person housing schemes surveyed, who were taken as representative of young single people requiring rented accommodation. Mismatches between perceived and actual personal characteristics and lifestyle characteristics, particularly the distinction made by age and the mobility and domestic routine of single people were identified. These are relevant to the investigation of the third research proposition.[7.2, 7.6, 7.8]

10.2.1 Personal Characteristics

Age

Age is the main criterion used in the Design Bulletins to divide single people into two categories for whom different design standards are recommended. This distinction affects all other characteristics which, it was predicted, would vary with age. The research showed that the precise boundary between the two groups was difficult to define in practice and there was a higher proportion of older single people than anticipated in the guidance. The research found no evidence to support the provision of different types of accommodation according to age.[7.2]

Marital Status

In line with design guidance expectations, the research found that the majority of young single people had never been married.

However a substantial proportion (16%) have been married and are now separated or divorced. Evidence from the literature suggests that this may increase. This can affect the volume of possessions they have, and thus their housing requirements for storage, and also their space requirements to allow regular visits from children.[1.5, 7.3, 8.3.2.2, 8.3.3, 8.4.2.2, 8.4.3, 8.5.2, 8.5.3]

Income

Contrary to design guidance expectations, the research found that generally young single people had lower incomes than older single people. In addition, a greater proportion of younger single people considered that the rent they paid was too high for the accommodation and services provided. Tenants' opinions about this were not only related to their level of income but also to other variables including their knowledge of the service charges included in the rent and their entitlement to Housing Benefit.[7.4]

Employment

As indicated in the design guidance, the majority of single people of both age groups were employed in non-managerial office or shop work, although approximately equal numbers of both younger and older single people were represented in the professional grades. However the research found that a sizeable proportion, (22%) of single people were unemployed. In addition a number were engaged in part-time employment or shift work.[7.5]

10.2.2 Lifestyle Characteristics

Mobility

The research found that, as predicted in the design guidance, older single people were generally not mobile and were seeking

permanent accommodation. Contrary to design guidance expectations the research found that the majority of young single people were no more mobile than older single people, although some young single people, as in any group of people, will move for reasons associated with employment. The evidence shows that they require a home which could be permanent if so desired. The fact that some move to improve their accommodation suggests the importance of a decent home to them.[7.6]

The implications of this finding are crucial because the assumption of a high level of mobility forms the basis for the design guidance recommendations for two types of accommodation, smaller bedsits or shared flats for younger mobile single people and larger one-bedroom flats for older single people.[7.6]

Possessions

The young single people surveyed were found to be not at all adverse to acquiring possessions, either because they wished to personalise their homes or in anticipation of future home-ownership. This was recognised in the design guidance but the amount was underestimated.[7.7]

Domestic Routine

The design guidance expected single people of all ages to be work rather than home orientated and to be out all day at work. In addition, young single people were expected to be out in the evenings as well. The research found that these patterns were more complex than anticipated. Although most single people were out during the day as expected, over one third of respondents did not match the design guidance perception of daily routine. 15% were employed on shift work and spent their days in the home whilst 22% were unemployed and spent most of their time, both day and night, in the home.[7.8]

In addition the research found that most of those who work during the day go out in the evenings occasionally but less than the design guidance anticipated. Only a small minority go out frequently.[7.9]

These findings not only affect their requirements for space but also for the provision of services; for example the times when the heating and hot water are supplied.[7.8, 7.9, 9.3.1]

Social Activity

The evidence from the research supported the design guidance expectations that both younger and older single people would want to make friends within the scheme. Socialising is important to most people and single people are no exception to this. The research found that all single people, both young and old, wish to entertain at home as well as socialising outside the home, some in preference to going outside.[7.9]

10.3 THE THIRD RESEARCH PROPOSITION

This follows from the previous two. It states that:

There is a mismatch between the specifically designed public sector housing provided for young single people to rent and their accommodation requirements.

[Chapters 8 and 9]

The research found that in all three types of flat surveyed, that is in the bedsits, one-bedroom flats and two-bedroom shared flats, there were some aspects of design which matched the tenants' housing requirements and some that did not. In general there appeared to be a higher degree of mismatch in the bedsits than in the one-bedroom flats, which in turn had a higher degree of mismatch than the two-bedroom flats. This does not indicate that two-bedroom shared flats are a more appropriate form of accommodation per se, but rather that these more

closely match the requirements of the small proportion of single people who wish to share than the design of units offering independent accommodation matches the requirements of single people who wish to live alone.[8.6]

In addition the research found a higher degree of mismatch between aspects of the design of the individual dwelling units and tenants' housing requirements, than with the general aspects of the design of the scheme.[9.6] Each of these is now considered in turn.

10.3.1 Individual Dwelling Units

10.3.1.1 Bedsits

The evidence from the research showed that the design of the bedsits matched the tenants' requirements for privacy in terms of living independently. In general there was sufficient space for passive occupations, such as sitting to read or watch television, studying, eating and entertaining on a small scale, that is, having a friend in for coffee. However the research found the design of the bedsits did not match the tenants' space requirements for other activities, namely, drying washing, hobbies and entertaining people for a meal or to stay overnight. In the kitchen there was sufficient space for cooking but not for the preparation of food, due to insufficient work-surface, or for eating. The bathroom met all the tenants' spatial requirements apart from drying washing.[8.3.1, 8.3.2]

The design guidance gave a total area for each dwelling type but no breakdown in terms of separate rooms. This was left to the architects who designed the schemes. The division of space within the dwelling did not match all tenants' requirements in the bedsits. Some tenants stated that they would have preferred to eat in a separate kitchen to avoid cooking

smells in their sleeping area, but were unable to do this because the kitchen was too small.[8.3.2.1, 8.3.2.2]

The design guidance identified three types of storage provision within the dwelling:- kitchen, personal and dwelling storage - and gave recommended minimum volumes for each category. Overall the storage provision in the bedsits did not meet the tenants' requirements. Although the kitchen storage was ample the volumes of personal and dwelling storage were inadequate.[8.3.3]

The number of electric sockets matched requirements but their position caused difficulties with the use of the limited space available.[8.3.2.3] Neither the ventilation or daylight in any room matched requirements.[8.3.4, 8.3.5]

10.3.1.2 One-Bedroom Flats

The research found that the design of the one-bedroom flats matched the tenants' requirements for privacy in terms of living independently. Although these were intended for older single people bringing their own furniture the design of the one-bedroom flats did not allow for this. The design of these flats allowed sufficient space for passive activities such as sitting to read or watch television, to study, eat, or entertain people for a drink. However the research found that the design recommendations did not match the tenants' space requirements for other activities; namely drying washing, hobbies and entertaining people for a meal or to stay overnight. The kitchens allowed sufficient space for cooking but not for preparing or eating food. The bathrooms met all the tenants' spatial requirements apart from the drying of washing.[8.4.1, 8.4.2]

The design guidance does not recommend specific space standards for the bedrooms in the one-bedroom flats. The bedrooms did not meet all the tenants' requirements since it was impossible to fit a double bed in some of them. In Case Study A the bedrooms in these flats had been deliberately designed to prevent the use of double beds, and thus co-habiting. However the research found that some single people may want a double bed for reasons other than co-habiting. [8.4.2]

Overall the storage provision in the one-bedroom flats did not match the tenants' requirements. The ample kitchen storage did not compensate for the inadequate volume of personal and dwelling storage, nor for the fact that these two types of storage provision were not provided separately. [8.4.3]

As in the bedsits, the number of electric sockets matched requirements but the position of these restricted the use of space. [8.4.2.2]

10.3.2.3 Two-Bedroom Flats

The design guidance allows for different arrangements of rooms within the recommended space standards for the two-bedroom flats. Although the design guidance recommended that each tenant in a shared flat should have a private room with a locking door this was not provided in Case Study A. The research found that these two-bedroom flats did not match the tenants' requirements for privacy in that the two people sharing could not live as independently of each other as they would have liked. The small size of the bedrooms, deliberately designed to prevent the use of a double bed (and thus to prevent the tenants from co-habiting), prevented them from being used as a private bed-sitting room. [8.5.2]

Generally the spaciousness of the living room in the two-bedroom flats enabled their tenants to undertake far more activities, for example drying washing and entertaining friends for a meal, than the tenants of the bedsits and one-bedroom flats. The tenants did not have sufficient space in the kitchen either for cooking, preparing or eating food. The bathroom met all the tenants' spatial requirements since they could dry washing in the living room and did not want to do this in the bathroom.[8.5.2]

In the two-bedroom flats surveyed the kitchen storage matched the tenants' requirements. However the personal storage provision was below the recommended minimum and did not meet the tenants requirements despite the additional dwelling storage provided in these flats.[8.5.3]

The number of electric sockets matched the tenants' requirements but their position was inappropriate.[8.5.2] Although the ventilation in these flats met requirements, apart from in the kitchen area, daylight did not.[8.5.4, 8.5.5]

10.3.2 General Aspects of the Scheme

10.3.2.1 Communal Facilities

Residents' Lounge

The research found that the majority of tenants welcomed opportunities for social contact.[7.9] This supported the design guidance recommendation that single person housing schemes should be designed to enable tenants to meet and allow friendships to occur naturally. The provision of a communal lounge is one recommended way of achieving this. All three schemes surveyed had a communal lounge. Of these the lounge which was most frequently used was the one closest to the design guidance recommendations, in terms of its central location

and for creating a focus of interest, for example by placing the main entrance here and providing a bar. Management policies regarding access to the lounge were also found to affect their level of use.[9.1.1]

Entrance Hall

The design guidance advises that locating communal facilities around one main entrance hall will create a focal point which will enable friendships to occur accidentally and encourage the use of these facilities. The research noted that not all sites will readily accommodate such a design, mainly due to the residual nature of the land made available for young single person housing schemes. None of the three schemes surveyed had an entrance hall which matched the advice. Only one which also had the communal lounge, laundry, wardens' office and bar located around it was a place which facilitated tenants meeting each other. [9.1.2, 9.2.1]

Laundry

The research supported the design guidance recommendations for the provision of a tumble drier and laundry facilities. In the two schemes where laundries were provided they were well used and considered a vital facility by both managers and tenants who emphasised the importance of management in maintaining this facility and restricting access to tenants only.[9.1.3.1]

In addition the research found that the laundry acts as a focal point in its own right and as such encourages natural friendships.[9.1.3.2]

Guest Room

The design guidance did not recommend the provision of a guest room but one had been provided in Case Study A. A few tenants did use it but most preferred to have their guests in their own flat, if

the space would allow it.[9.1.4]

Public Telephone

The design guidance did not comment on the provision of public telephones except in relation to making the entrance hall a pleasant place to encourage friendships to occur naturally. The research found that in the two schemes where a public telephone was provided the tenants made frequent use of this facility, even when their own flats had a telephone connection point. In the scheme without a public telephone, tenants would have liked one as public telephones were often busy or vandalised.[9.1.5]

Shop

Although single people of all ages require local, late night, shopping facilities, the research indicated that the provision of a shop within the scheme was not necessarily appropriate, due mainly to difficulties incurred with its management.[9.2.1]

10.3.2.2 Site Related Factors

Location

The design guidance recommends that young single person housing schemes should be located near town centres, transport centres and social and recreational facilities. In addition the design guidance recommends that schemes should be sited near shops for evening shopping. Two of the schemes surveyed were located near town/city centres and the third was in the suburbs. Approximately 90% of tenants found the schemes were conveniently placed. The research found that it is more important to locate the scheme near a local shop or neighbourhood shopping centre open in the evenings than near the town centre per se, providing there are adequate transport connections with

the social facilities in the town/city centre.[9.2.1]

Outlook

The design guidance recognised that tenants like a good view. The majority of tenants considered the outlook from their flats reasonably good. The fact that they spent more time in the home than the design guidance had anticipated suggests that outlook is more important than previously thought. This also affects another factor which was not discussed in the guidance, that is the importance of not being overlooked.[8.4.5, 9.2.2]

Security - Internal

The research supported the design guidance recommendations for the provision of door-entry systems but found that in practice these often broke down. The importance both tenants and managers place on these systems indicates that greater emphasis should be put on the type provided, their repair and maintenance.[9.2.3.1]

Security - External

The research found that more attention needs to be given to the external security of young single person housing schemes than indicated in the design guidance. In particular the lighting and design of both the external entrances to the flats and the landscaping, and the lighting and position of the car park need careful consideration. In addition, the research identified a need for secure storage for both motorbikes and bicycles. This would alleviate the staining and damage sustained in the internal corridors, stairwells and, in some cases, in the tenants' flats, where these items are currently kept.[8.3.2.1, 9.2.3.2, 9.2.3.3,]

Noise

The design guidance recognises the importance of minimising noise. The schemes were designed to the standards of sound insulation given. External noise was a nuisance in one scheme but internal noise was more disturbing in all schemes. In particular noise from other tenants' loud music, banging doors in both the stairwell and in other flats, and from services such as refuse chutes or boilers caused problems.[9.2.4]

10.3.2.3 Services

Heating and Hot Water

The systems of heating and hot water provided in all three schemes met the design guidance recommendations for a full domestic standard of heating in bedsitting areas and communal lounges. The tenants generally appreciated the constant heat and hot water supplied by the communal systems, ranking these second amongst aspects of the scheme they most liked. However there were problems with the timing and control of the heating provision. Some tenants wanted more control over both the temperature and the times of operation. During cold spells outside the heating season tenants used electric fires and in some cases calor gas or paraffin heaters. The use of these caused problems with condensation, fire risk and insurance and with the apportioning of fuel bills in one scheme.[9.3.1]

Ventilation

The research found that the majority of younger single people cooked on a larger scale than the design guidance had anticipated. This placed an additional burden on the ventilation in the kitchen in all three types of accommodation. In the bedsits the tenants' response to

this was both to remove the kitchen doors and to open doors creating a through draught, and also a potential fire hazard. Improved ventilation would remove this problem.[8.3.4a, 8.4.4]

In addition, despite the provision of communal laundry facilities, tenants in all three flat types did a considerable amount of laundry in the bathroom. They also expected to dry clothing in the flat which they had previously washed in the laundry. Improved ventilation would facilitate this housing requirement.[8.3.4b]

Refuse Disposal

The design guidance does not contain specific recommendations for refuse disposal. Two of the schemes surveyed had communal refuse chute systems whilst the third had provided individual dustbins for each flat. The provision for refuse disposal met most tenants' requirements; but problems with blocked chutes frequently arose and the chutes were not conveniently placed for all tenants.[9.3.2]

The Provision of Electric Sockets

The number of electric sockets the design guidance recommends appeared to match requirements. However the distribution of sockets between and within rooms was not always appropriate and their position sometimes constrained the tenants flexible use of the small living space.[8.3.2.3, 8.4.2.3, 8.5.2.1]

Mail Delivery

The design guidance stated that as with general purposes housing each flat should have its own front door letter box. These were provided in two schemes and were regarded as essential by most tenants but in general their requirements were not met. Problems arose where the position of the letter box allowed un-invited entry to the flats.

In addition a complex flat numbering system confused the GPO who preferred to deliver all mail to the warden's office. Alternative arrangements made by the management for the distribution of mail were unsatisfactory. In the third scheme mail boxes were grouped by the entrance door and were a primary target for vandalism.[9.3.4]

10.3.2.4 Management Issues

The majority of tenants found that the warden provided a friendly and helpful service but the research found that some mismatch existed between the design of the scheme and the way in which the scheme was managed. Some management practices counteracted the design intentions, for example, the restrictions imposed on the use of the communal storage provision in Case Study A, [9.3.3, 9.4.1], whilst other aspects of design created particular management problems, for example, the high number of internal transfers requested out of inappropriate accommodation. This was aggravated by the manager's use of internal transfers to allocate the more popular one-bedroom flats.[9.4.4]

10.4 DESIGN CONSIDERATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As the design guidance is used both directly and indirectly to influence the design and quality of housing provided for young single people, it is important to ensure that it is based on accurate perceptions of young single people and that their housing requirements are correctly translated into the built environment. The following recommendations suggest how this might be achieved.

10.4.1 The First Research Proposition

10.4.1.1 Architects' Experience

Professionals involved with providing housing for young single people should not base their design for this type of accommodation only on their own past experience of student halls of residence.[6.3.1]

10.4.1.2 Finance

The way in which meagre housing finance is directed at housing provision for young single people through a number of channels by different organisations needs to be reviewed and co-ordinated to avoid directing the small amounts available at inappropriate provision such as hostels.[6.3.2]

10.4.1.3 The Design Process

A process for formal communication between architects and housing managers who represent the users should be established for each scheme in order to maximise the use of scarce resources and all the available knowledge including, if possible, tenant participation and/or feedback from existing tenants.[6.3.3, 9.4.1, 9.4.4.]

10.4.2 The Second Research Proposition

The degree of mismatch which the research identified between the perceived and actual personal characteristics of young single people, and thus their housing requirements, indicates that a new assessment of both the characteristics and housing requirements of young single people is required, based on the research findings

The research indicates that any new assessment should not be based on the current distinction between younger and older single people because their requirements are similar in terms of space, duration of tenure, rent levels, time spent in the home and opportunities for social contact.[7.10]

10.4.3 The Third Research Proposition

Individual Dwelling Units

a) Bedsits

The research indicates that small bedsits built to the design guidance space standards and recommendations are not an appropriate form of accommodation for either young or older single people and if possible their provision should be avoided. If bedsits continue to be provided the space standards must be reviewed and increased to enable tenants to under take a wide range of activities.[8.2,8.3]

Alternative arrangements of dividing the space within the dwelling could be explored, in particular enlarging the kitchen to enable tenants to eat here and thus contain cooking smells. [8.3.2.1, 8.3.2.2, 8.3.4a]

b) One-Bedroom Flats

The research indicated that these provide a more appropriate form of accommodation for both young and older single people. However, the design guidance space standards and recommendations should be reviewed and raised here.[8.2, 8.4]

Although the flats are designed for single people the practice of designing a small bedroom to exclude the use of a double bed should be carefully considered and balanced against the possibility of encouraging multi-occupation and thus reducing the flats available for single people.[8.4.2, 8.5.2]

c) Two-Bedroom Flats

Although a one-bedroom flat is the most appropriate form of provision, a small number of single people, both young and old, may prefer to share accommodation providing that they are able to obtain sufficient privacy from their flate-mates when they want to. If shared flats are to be included in a scheme, care should be taken to ensure that the bedrooms can be used as bed-sitting rooms in addition to a shared lounge where tenants can meet and socialise. The design of a small bedroom to prevent co-habiting is not appropriate.[8.5.2]

Storage Space (Individual Units)

The design guidance recommendations are for the minimum level of storage provision and should be strictly adhered to rather than aimed for. Additional personal storage space would be well received.

Greater emphasis should be placed in the guidance and thence in design on the distinction between dwelling and personal storage. Single people do not want to keep dirty mops and brooms next to their

clothing. A tall cupboard is required for dwelling storage to accommodate such bulky household items. An additional standard kitchen unit will not suffice. [8.3.3, 8.4.3, 8.5.3]

10.4.3.1 Communal Facilities

Residents' Lounge

The design recommendations for the residents' lounge to be in a central location and for the creation of a focal point here to encourage its use should be followed. Not all sites will readily accommodate such a design; where this can not be implemented the provision of this communal facility should be carefully reviewed.[9.1.1]

Entrance Hall

If the design guidance recommendations are followed and the entrance hall is centrally located and designed to act as a focal point then it can provide a meeting place to encourage 'friendliness' in the scheme.[9.1.2]

Laundry

The research indicated that the laundry is an essential part of a single person housing scheme. The laundry acts as a focal meeting point and as such encourages natural friendships. In order to facilitate this function a slightly larger space could be provided enabling chairs and possibly even a coffee vending machine to be installed. This would not replace the residents' lounge since it could not serve all the same functions, but it would enhance the 'friendliness' of the scheme design.[9.1.3]

Guest Room

The provision of a guest room in the scheme is not recommended and will be unnecessary if the recommendations to increase the space standards within the individual dwelling units are followed.[9.1.4]

Public Telephone

The provision of a public telephone is essential. It creates a focal point and will encourage the use of the room in which it is situated. [9.1.5]

Shop

The provision of a shop within the scheme is not recommended.[9.2.1]

10.4.3.2 Site-Related Factors

Location

Young single person housing schemes should be located near late night shopping facilities. These may be in a local neighbourhood centre providing that there are adequate public transport links with the town\city centre.[9.2.1]

Outlook

More attention should be given to the view from and the daylight levels of rooms in which some young single people spend most of their time. In addition care should be taken to ensure that these flats are not overlooked during the day as well as at night.[8.3.5, 8.4.5, 8.5.5, 9.2.2]

Security - Internal

Resources should be spent on installing a more efficient and durable door entry system to avoid the repair and maintenance of these systems.[9..2.3.1]

Security - External

In order to ensure tenants' security and safety, greater emphasis should be placed on the provision of good external lighting and positioning of the car-park, landscaping and entrances. A secure shed for the storage of bicycles and motorbikes should be provided.[9.2.3.2, 9.2.3.3]

10.4.3.3 Services

Heating and Hot Water

The design of these systems should enable tenants to have greater physical and financial control over them.[9.3.1]

Ventilation

The standard of ventilation in the kitchens and bathrooms of these flats needs to be reviewed. If bedsits continue to be provided then the standard of ventilation in the kitchen must be raised.

[8.3.4.a,b, 8.4.4, 8.5.4]

Sound Insulation

Either the sound insulation in these schemes needs to be upgraded or the noise levels must be reduced. The former option is expensive but the latter may not be possible. Double glazing would reduce noise disturbance from external sources, though this might create additional problems with the ventilation in these schemes. The

addition of self-closing mechanisms to all internal doors might be one way of reducing noise although the research found that existing self-closing mechanisms were often disconnected by tenants.[9.2.4] However before embarking on costly programmes for raising the sound insulation of these dwellings, further research might be undertaken into the possibility of lowering noise disturbance through management policies of persuasion and coercion acting on the source, rather than by design.

Refuse Disposal

With a rubbish chute system of waste collection the provision of a small bin in each flat would deliniate the size of rubbish bag the chute could accommodate and thus facilitate maintenance.[9.3.2]

The Provision of Electric Sockets

In small flats the flexible use of space is particularly important. The siting of electric sockets and television aerials should facilitate this.[8.3.2.3, 8.4.2.3, 8.5.2.1]

Mail Delivery

The design guidance recommendation for each flat to have its own letter box should be followed but care should be taken over the security of its position. In addition, consultation with the GPO prior to the numbering of the flats is advisable.[9.3.4]

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APPENDIX I

PUBLICATIONS CONCERNED WITH THE DESIGN AND MANAGEMENT OF YOUNG SINGLE PERSON HOUSING

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APPENDIX II

Semi-Structured Interview Schedule Used in Informal Interviews with Housing Professionals

1 Structure of Association

Aims of the association
Size, number of staff and area covered
Hierarchy of decision making
Offices, area based or centralised
Number and type of dwellings
Preparation for young single people

2 Finance

Sources of finance
Types of finance and timescale
Financial constraints
Allocation of finance and particular projects
Influence of finance on design

3 Development Procedure

a) General

Estimation of demand
Timescale of development
Management of development process
Stages in the development process
Personnel involved - inhouse or external

b) Location

Factors influencing choice of location
Feasibility studies; general and/or specific factors covered
Attitudes of community to young single person housing

c) Design and Technical

Standard brief
Specific brief - who prepares it
Appraisal of other schemes
Where do ideas come from
Is reference made to policy guidelines
Which documents are used
Use of standard specifications
Overall design policy (eg; high initial cost low maintenance)
Design trade offs - who decides
Life span of building

d) Details of Construction

Standards aimed for and achieved:-

- Personal space
- Bathroom
- Kitchen
- Heating
- Ventilation
- Insulation
- Security

4 Operating Factors

Management approach
Allocation procedure
Turnover rate
Waiting list
Rents
Tenants' responsibilities
Units for rent or for sale

5 Records

Are records kept on, (access to):-
Briefing
Finance
Tenants - categories
 feedback from

APPENDIX III

THE QUESTIONNAIRE DISTRIBUTED TO ALL TENANTS OF THE THREE YOUNG SINGLE
PERSON HOUSING SCHEMES USED AS CASE STUDIES.

SCHEME
NUMBER
SHARED

your home

I would like to find out about the things you like or dislike about your home and its surroundings in order to improve the design of future single person housing.

Please answer the questions on the following pages. I will call to collect the questionnaire in a few days and will be able to assist you then with any questions that may be unclear.

Your help will be greatly appreciated.

FRANCES WARREN, POSTGRADUATE RESEARCH SCHOOL.
THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE, OXFORD POLYTECHNIC.

PLEASE USE TICKS



BEFORE YOU START,

THROUGHOUT THE QUESTIONNAIRE:

FLAT refers to a self-contained dwelling with its own front door. This includes bedsits and flats with one or more bedrooms either individually occupied or shared.

BLOCK refers to a group of self-contained dwellings, communal facilities and access areas in the same building using the same main entrance. There may be several blocks in one scheme.

SCHEME refers to all the single person accommodation (both self-contained dwellings and communal facilities) provided here. This may be in one or several blocks.

FIRST, SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR FLAT

1. Could you begin by writing down in this space the main things you dislike about your flat

write NONE if there is nothing you dislike

Now write down in this space the main things you like about your flat

write NONE if there is nothing you like

NOW SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE SPACIOUSNESS OF YOUR FLAT.

2. Do you have enough room indoors generally?

TICK A BOX

YES NO

If NO: Is this because;

I share with too many people

Certain rooms are too small

Other, please

specify

TICK APPROPRIATE BOX(ES)

3. Do you have enough room in the following places

In the -	YES	NO	DOESN'T APPLY TO ME
Living room	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kitchen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bedroom	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bedsitting-room	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bathroom	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Separate w.c.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hall	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

TICK ONE BOX FOR EACH PLACE

4. If you want to, do you have enough room for these activities

	YES	NO	DOESN'T APPLY TO ME
1. Doing washing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Drying washing at home	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Getting meals ready	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Eating in the kitchen when you want to	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Sitting down to eat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Just sitting to read or watch T.V.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Studying	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Doing hobbies	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Entertaining : coffee/drinks	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Friends & : meal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Relatives to : stay	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

TICK ONE BOX FOR EACH ACTIVITY

Is there anything else you don't have enough room to do?

If nothing else, write NO

5. Do you have problems arranging furniture or equipment?
 TICK A BOX: YES NO

IF YES: WRITE IN THE LARGER BOXES the names of the main places arranging furniture or equipment is a problem

Now TICK THE SMALL BOXES to show the reasons why

Name of Room	Name of Room	Name of Room

The room is just too small	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The room is the wrong shape	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There is a window in the wrong place	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There is a door in the wrong place	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There are too many doors	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Other reasons

	WRITE DOWN	WRITE DOWN	WRITE DOWN

TICK MORE THAN ONE BOX IF YOU WANT TO

NOW SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE FURNITURE IN YOUR FLAT

6. Is furniture provided with your flat?:

YES - fully furnished

YES - partially furnished

NO -

TICK ONE BOX

IF NO: Would you prefer furniture to be provided?

TICK ONE BOX YES

NO

If furniture is provided, what do you think of it?

GOOD

ADEQUATE

POOR

TICK ONE BOX

Is there any furniture not provided that you would find useful?

TICK ONE BOX YES

NO

IF YES: Please list -----

7. Have you used screens, free-standing shelving or arranged the furniture in such a way as to subdivide the rooms in your home?

TICK ONE BOX YES

NO

IF YES: Why did you do this?

WRITE YOUR ANSWER IN THE SPACE BELOW

NOW SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE STORAGE SPACE IN YOUR FLAT

8. Do you have enough storage space?

TICK A BOX

YES

NO

IF NO: What sort of things don't you have enough room to store?
WRITE DOWN WHAT THEY ARE

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.

9. Do you store things on the work-tops in the kitchen?

TICK A BOX

YES

NO

IF YES: Do you have to remove these stored articles before you can use the work-top?

TICK A BOX

YES

NO

10. Do you have the use of storage space in addition to that in your flat?

TICK A BOX

YES

NO

IF YES: Where is this additional storage located?

WRITE YOUR ANSWER HERE: -----

Can you use this additional storage space whenever you need to?

TICK A BOX

YES

NO

NOW THREE GENERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR FLAT

11. Are you satisfied with the heating provided with your home?

TICK ONE BOX YES NO

IF NO: please write down your reasons in this space

12. Are you satisfied with the system of rubbish disposal provided for your home?

TICK A BOX YES NO

IF NO: please write down your reasons in this space

13. What do you think of the outlook from your living room?

TICK A BOX TO SHOW WHAT YOU THINK:

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Like it very much |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Like it |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Neither like it nor dislike it |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Dislike it |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Dislike it very much |

Why do you feel this way?

THIS QUESTION IS FOR PEOPLE WHO SHARE A FLAT

14. When you are indoors do you have enough privacy from the other people in the flat?

TICK A BOX YES NO

Do you have enough privacy for the following activities:

TICK ONE BOX FOR EACH ACTIVITY

	YES	NO	DOESN'T APPLY TO ME
Sitting to read or watch T.V.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Studying	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hobbies	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Entertaining a drink/coffee	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
friends & a meal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
relatives to: stay	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If you DON'T have enough privacy, what is the problem?

PLEASE WRITE YOUR ANSWER BELOW

THIS QUESTION IS FOR PEOPLE WHO DO NOT SHARE A FLAT

15. When you are indoors, do you feel too cut off from other people?

TICK A BOX YES NO

THESE QUESTIONS ARE FOR EVERYBODY , BOTH THOSE WHO SHARE AND THOSE WHO DO NOT SHARE.

16. When you are indoors do you have enough privacy from people outside or in other homes?

TICK A BOX YES NO

If you DON'T HAVE ENOUGH PRIVACY, what is the problem?

TICK ONE OR MORE BOXES TO SHOW WHAT IT IS:

WHICH ROOMS LACK PRIVACY?
WRITE IN BELOW:

- People passing by can look in
 - People in other homes can see in
 - People can come too close to my home
 - Children playing outside
 - Can be heard by neighbours
 - Can hear people outside
 - Can hear people in the corridor
 - Can hear people in other homes
- Any other reason: WRITE IN BELOW

.....
.....
.....

17. At present, do you share:-

	YES	NO	
Bathroom	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TICK ONE BOX FOR EACH ROOM
Kitchen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Livingroom	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

If you had a choice, how many people would you be prepared to share the following rooms with?

	BATHROOM	KITCHEN	LIVINGROOM	BEDROOM
No one	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
With 1 other	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
With 2/3 others	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
With 4/5 others	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
With 6+ others	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Don't mind	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

TICK ONE BOX FOR EACH ROOM

18. When you are indoors, are you often bothered by any of these different kinds of noise?

TICK ONE BOX TO SHOW HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT EACH KIND OF NOISE

NOT BOTHERED BOTHERED
JUST A VERY
LITTLE MUCH

People outside the building

WHAT SORT OF NOISE, AND WHERE FROM?

.....
.....
.....

People in adjacent flats?

WHAT SORT OF NOISE, AND WHERE FROM?

.....
.....
.....

People in the corridors and shared areas

WHAT SORT OF NOISE, AND WHERE FROM?

.....
.....
.....

Traffic

WHAT SORT OF NOISE, AND WHERE FROM?

.....
.....
.....

Are you bothered by any other kind of noise?

WHAT SORT OF NOISE, AND WHERE FROM?

.....
.....
.....

REMEMBER TO TICK ONE BOX FOR EACH KIND OF NOISE

THIS QUESTION IS FOR PEOPLE WHO HAVE A BALCONY WITH THEIR FLAT

19. TICK A BOX TO SHOW HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT IT

	YES	NO
Is it important to have a balcony?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Are you satisfied with your balcony?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Do you wish you had a garden instead?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is your balcony big enough	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Do you have enough privacy in your balcony from people passing by?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Do you have enough privacy in your balcony from people in other homes?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Do you have any other comments about your balcony?

PLEASE WRITE DOWN IN THIS SPACE:

Write NONE if you do not have any comments

20. THIS QUESTION IS FOR PEOPLE WHO DO NOT HAVE THEIR OWN BALCONY

	YES	NO
Do you wish you had one?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

21. THIS QUESTION IS FOR PEOPLE WHO HAVE THE USE OF A SHARED GARDEN/GRASSED AREA

TICK THE BOXES TO SHOW HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT IT

	YES	NO
Is it important to you to have this shared area?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Are you satisfied with this shared area?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is this shared area big enough?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Do you have enough privacy in this shared area from people passing by?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Do you have enough privacy in this shared area from people in other homes?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Do you have any other comments about this shared area?
PLEASE WRITE DOWN IN THIS SPACE:

Write NONE if you do not have any comments

22. THIS QUESTION IS FOR PEOPLE WHO DO NOT HAVE THE USE OF A SHARED GARDEN OR GRASSED AREA

	YES	NO
Do you wish you did have?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

23. When you have visitors, how do you feel about the appearance of the approach to your flat?

TICK A BOX TO SHOW HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT IT:

TICK ONE BOX

Proud

Fairly happy

Neither happy nor unhappy

Slightly unhappy

Ashamed

Why do you feel this way?

ONE LAST QUESTION ABOUT YOUR FLAT

24. How would you sum up your feelings about your flat?

TICK ONE BOX TO SHOW HOW YOU FEEL:

TICK ONE
BOX

Very satisfied

Satisfied

Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied

Dissatisfied

Very dissatisfied

Why do you feel this way?

NOW I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE SHARED AREAS OUTSIDE YOUR FLAT

IE: ENTRANCE HALL
STAIRWELL

LANDINGS
CORRIDORS

25. THIS IS A QUESTION TO FIND OUT HOW YOU USE THE SHARED AREAS.

Please tick the appropriate box(es) and/or write in the space provided.

	ENTRANCE HALL	STAIRWELL	LANDINGS	CORRIDORS
Pass through only	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Meet people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
*Store various articles	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other: please specify			
			
			

* IF THIS IS NOT ALLOWED TICK THIS BOX

26. Who else uses these shared areas?

- People who live in the adjacent flats
- Friends visiting
- People from other blocks of flats in the scheme
- People from outside the scheme
- Other people, please specify:

TICK THE APPROPRIATE BOX(ES)

Do you feel at all concerned about the way that other people treat these shared areas?

TICK A BOX

YES

NO

27. How do you feel about these shared areas?

- TICK ONE BOX
- Very attractive
 - Attractive
 - Neither attractive nor unattractive
 - Unattractive
 - Very unattractive

Why do you feel this way?

**NOW SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT
THE COMMUNAL FACILITIES**

28. Have any of these facilities been provided as part of your housing scheme?

TICK ONE BOX FOR EACH FACILITY

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
Common Room	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Laundry	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Guest Room	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Public Telephone	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other, please SPECIFY:		
		
		

IF NONE OF THESE FACILITIES HAVE BEEN PROVIDED GO TO QUESTION 30.

IF COMMUNAL FACILITIES ARE PROVIDED:-

29. How often do you use the following facilities?

TICK ONE BOX FOR EACH FACILITY

	WEEKLY	OCCASIONALLY	NEVER	WOULD IF IT EXISTED
Common Room	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Laundry	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Guest Room	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Public Telephone	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other,				

Which of these facilities is the MOST IMPORTANT to you?

.....

Why is this?

.....
.....

Which of these facilities is the LEAST IMPORTANT to you?

.....

Why is this?

.....
.....

If you do not use any of these facilities, please say why.

THESE TWO QUESTIONS ARE ONLY FOR PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN
AYLESBURY OR THE YMCA MILTON KEYNES.

EVERYONE ELSE PLEASE GO TO QUESTION 32.

30. Do you think the number of people using the same main entrance to the block as you do is:

- | | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| Too many | <input type="checkbox"/> | TICK ONE
BOX |
| Too few | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| Just about right | <input type="checkbox"/> | |

Why do you think this?

WRITE YOUR ANSWER IN THE SPACE BELOW

31. How many of the residents using the same main entrance as you do you know well enough to do the following with:-

TICK ONE BOX FOR EACH ACTIVITY:

	<u>NUMBER OF PEOPLE</u>			
	NONE	1 OR 2	QUITE A FEW	MOST OF THEM
Have a chat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Loan/borrow milk/sugar etc. from	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Invite to your flat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Visit their flat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Socialise in the evening	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Share shopping/house keeping etc.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

NOW SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE WHOLE SCHEME OF SINGLE PERSON FLATS

32. Do you think the number of flats in the whole scheme is:-

- Too many
- Too few
- Just about right

TICK ONE BOX

Why do you think this?

WRITE YOUR ANSWER IN THE SPACE BELOW

33. Of all the people living in the scheme, approximately how many do you know well enough to:

TICK ONE BOX FOR EACH ACTIVITY:

	<u>NUMBER OF PEOPLE</u>			
	NONE	1 OR 2	QUITE A FEW	MOST OF THEM
Have a chat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Loan/borrow milk/sugar etc. from	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Invite to your flat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Visit their flat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Socialise in the evening	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Share shopping/house keeping etc.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

34. Are such social contacts in this scheme important to you?

TICK ONE BOX

- Not at all
- Not really
- Yes fairly
- Yes definitely

35. Do most of the people you socialise with live in this scheme?

TICK ONE BOX YES NO

IF NO: Where do most of the people you socialise with live?

TICK ONE BOX:

Nearby

In another part of town

Outside the town
.....

36. How would you describe this scheme:

TICK ONE BOX:

Very friendly

Friendly

Neither

Unfriendly

Very unfriendly

Why do you think this is? WRITE IN THE SPACE BELOW

Write NONE if you don't have any comments

37. What do other people call these flats?

PLEASE WRITE THE NAMES BELOW

Official Name

Nick Name(s)

Do other people who do not live here think these flats are a desirable place to live?

TICK A BOX YES NO

Do you know why they think this? WRITE IN THE SPACE BELOW

**NOW SOME QUESTIONS
ABOUT THE SCHEME AND
IT'S SURROUNDINGS**

38. How would you describe the area where your home is?

WRITE IN THE SPACE BELOW:

Now, WRITE DOWN IN THIS SPACE the main things you DISLIKE about the area your home is in:

Write NONE if there is nothing you dislike

Now WRITE DOWN IN THIS SPACE the main things you LIKE about the area your home is in:

Write NONE if there is nothing you like

39. How do you feel about the appearance of this area?

TICK A BOX TO SHOW WHAT YOU FEEL ABOUT IT

TICK ONE BOX

- Very attractive
- Attractive
- Neither attractive nor unattractive
- Unattractive
- Very unattractive

Why do you feel this way?

40. Thinking about some services and facilities in this area:-

TICK TO SHOW WHAT YOU FEEL ABOUT THEM

	SATISFIED	DISSATISFIED	
The cleanliness of the area	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	If dissatisfied, why?		.....
	WRITE DOWN		.....
Getting repairs done	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	If dissatisfied, why?		.....
	WRITE DOWN		.....
Getting complaints attended to	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	If dissatisfied, why?		.....
	WRITE DOWN		.....
Getting rid of everyday rubbish	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	If dissatisfied, why?		.....
	WRITE DOWN		.....
The provisions for washing and drying clothes (if any)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	If dissatisfied, why?		.....
	WRITE DOWN		.....

WHERE YOU LIVE GENERALLY

41. Would you say that this is a **convenient** place to live generally?

TICK A BOX

YES

NO

Whether you answered YES or NO.

TICK THE BOXES TO SHOW THE PARTICULAR WAYS YOU FIND IT INCONVENIENT, IF ANY

TICK IF
INCONVENIENT

WRITE IN THE
REASONS BELOW

For getting to-

local shops

.....

nearest main shopping centre

.....

chemist shop

.....

post office

.....

clinics

.....

a doctor

.....

launderette

.....

public house

.....

job centre

.....

D.H.S.S. office

.....

parks

.....

public telephones

.....

public transport

.....

work/college

.....

friends and relatives

.....

sports facilities:

swimming pool

.....

football pitch

.....

entertainment:

disco

.....

cinema

.....

youth club

.....

Forgetting to other places

What places are these?

WRITE DOWN

.....

NOW A QUESTION ABOUT PERSONAL TRANSPORT

42. Do you regularly have the use of or own a:-

	YES	NO
Car or Van	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Motorbike or moped	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bicycle	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

TICK THE APPROPRIATE BOX(ES)

IF YES:- Where do you park it or leave it overnight?

	CAR/ VAN	M.BIKE/ MOPED	BICYCLE
In a lock up garage:			
attached to my home	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
in the area around	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
outside the immediate area	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In a parking space:			
attached to my home	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
in the area around	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
outside the immediate area	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other, place. WRITE DOWN		
		
		

Would you say that this parking place is generally satisfactory?

TICK A BOX: YES NO

Whether you answered YES or NO
TICK to show if you have any of the
following problems with this parking place:

	A PROBLEM	NOT A PROBLEM
Security from theft or vandalism	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Cost	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Distance from your house or flat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Convenience for washing, repairs and maintenance	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Getting in and out of the parking space or garage	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Another reason WRITE DOWN

.....

.....

PUBLIC TRANSPORT; BUS SERVICE.

Do you regularly travel by bus?

TICK ONE BOX

YES

NO

IF YES: What do you think of the service provided?

TICK ONE BOX

Good

Reasonable

Poor

Why do you feel this way?

WRITE YOUR REASONS IN THE SPACE BELOW.

43. EVERYONE SHOULD ANSWER THIS QUESTION - whether or not they own a car

Does traffic or parking cause any problems?

Write NONE if there are no problems

-
44. Is there anything else important you want to say about your flat, the block or scheme that you haven't had a chance to say so far?

WRITE DOWN WHATEVER YOU FEEL

NOW SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT
YOUR PREVIOUS ACCOMMODATION
AND YOUR MOVE TO YOUR
PRESENT FLAT

45. Where did you live before you moved into this scheme?

ADDRESS

.....
.....
.....

(i) What sort of accommodation was it?

- a relations home
- a friend's home
- a shared house/flat
- a house/flat to myself
- an institution (state type)
- Other

(ii) Was it a:

- Private property - mortgaged
- rented
- council property
- housing association property
- New Town Development Corp. property
- Other (Please State)
-

(iii) How long did you live there?

- a few days
- a few weeks
- 3-6 months
- 6 months - 1 year
- 1 year or more

TICK ONE BOX

46. Why did you leave your previous accommodation?

PLEASE WRITE YOUR ANSWER IN THE SPACE BELOW:

47. How many times have you moved house since you left your parents house/home you grew up in.

WRITE THE NUMBER OF TIMES YOU HAVE MOVED HERE:

If more than once:-

Why have you moved this number of times?

PLEASE TRY TO STATE AS MANY REASONS FOR YOUR MOVES AS YOU CAN REMEMBER IN THE SPACE BELOW.

48. When did you move into this scheme?
When did you move into this flat?

IF THE TWO DATES ABOVE ARE DIFFERENT:-

Why did you change flats?

WRITE YOUR ANSWER IN THE SPACE BELOW

49. Had you been searching for accommodation for a long time before you moved into this scheme?

TICK A BOX

YES NO

IF YES: How Long?

a few weeks

a couple of months

4-6 months

6 months - 1 year

1 year+

50. Why did you decide to live in this scheme?

PLEASE WRITE IN THE SPACE BELOW

51. Compared with people you know, who also live in this scheme of flats do you think that your experience of looking for accommodation was:-

About average

Better than average

Worse than average

TICK ONE BOX

Why do you think this?

WRITE IN THE SPACE BELOW:

52. How long did it take you to settle here?

A few days

A few weeks

2-3 months

6 months

I don't feel settled yet

TICK ONE BOX

53. Do you think that people here seem to be always moving?

TICK A BOX YES NO HAVEN'T REALLY NOTICED

Why do you think this is?

WRITE YOUR ANSWER IN THE SPACE BELOW:

54. Has living here turned out to be as you expected
it would be before you moved in?

TICK A BOX YES NO

In what way in particular

WRITE YOUR ANSWER IN THE SPACE BELOW

55. How long do you expect to stay in this flat?

If you are thinking of moving out in the future;

Why will you move out?

Where will you move to?

NOW SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE WAY THE FLATS ARE MANAGED.

PLEASE TICK THE APPROPRIATE BOX(ES)

56. Is there a residential warden?

YES NO

If YES: how often do you consult the warden?

Daily
Once a week
Once a month
No regular contact

If NO: were you given a name+/address to contact if necessary?

YES NO

Have you found the warden helpful?

YES NO

In what way in particular?

WRITE YOUR ANSWER IN THE SPACE BELOW.

57. Are there formal rules for the running of the flats.

YES NO

Is there anything you would like to say about these rules?

58. If something goes wrong in your home, who do you contact to get it repaired?

On average how long does it take for repairs to be successfully completed?

- A few days
- 1 - 2 weeks
- 3 - 4 weeks
- Longer

Do you think the repair service is:

- Good
- Acceptable
- Poor

59. Does your rent include charges for:

	YES	NO
Heating	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lighting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Warden/Caretaker	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Communal facilities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Do you qualify for Housing Benefit?

- YES
- NO
- Don't know

Do you think the rent is:

- Too high
- About right
- Very reasonable

FINALLY, I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOURSELF.

PLEASE TICK THE APPROPRIATE BOX(ES).

ARE YOU:

60. Male

Female

61. Single
Engaged
Living as married
Divorced/separated
Widowed

16 - 19
20 - 24
25 - 29
30 - 34
35 - 40
40 +

62. If you are working what do you do?

If you are not in paid employment, what is your main occupation?

Unemployed

Student

Other, please state.....

63. Have you passed any exams?

CSE's

O levels/OND

A levels/HND

Degree

Professional Qualification

64. What is your average weekly income after tax and other deductions?

Less than £20

£20 - £39

£40 - £59

£60 - £79

£80 - £99

£100 +

65. How are you feeling at the moment?

Happy

Not particularly happy

Depressed

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

I WILL CALL TO COLLECT IT
IN A FEW DAYS TIME

APPENDIX IV

Prompt Questions for Semi-Structured Interviews With Selected Tenants

The questionnaire you filled in was call 'Your Home'
Do you regard this flat/bedsit as 'home'?
What do you mean by 'home'?

Why did you decide to live in Vale House?
Did you have a choice of accommodation?
Was this the only place available?

SOCIAL FACTORS

There are about 180 people living in Vale House; do you think that the number of people living in this scheme is: about right
too many
too few

** Answer in respect to what it's like to actually live here rather than how you fell about the overall provision of housing for single people.

How often do you meet people in the: corridor
entrance hall
common room
laundry

Do you think this scheme was designed:-

- 1 So that you could meet other people who live here?
- 2 to ensure that everyone could have privacy?
- 3 Both (to what extent?)

This flat/bedsit is on the ground/first/second floor
Would you be prepared to live on a higher floor if it existed?
Do you like living on this level?
Why?

SPACE

Have you tried arranging the furniture in other ways?
Why did you decide on this arrangement?
Has the shape of the room and the position of any of the following caused you problems when trying to arrange furniture?

Doors Windows Radiators TV Ariel Sockets

Are the windows easily accessable with your present furniture arrangement?
Do they open easily for cleaning?

How much storage space was provided in your flat?
Please list:

Where is this?

What do you store/how do you use this space?

Is this convenient?

Is there any communal storage space in Vale House that you could use if you wanted to?

Where is this?

Access?

SERVICES

How do you control the heating in your flat?

Is this satisfactory?

Does the heating system maintain a comfortable temperature for you?

How do you store rubbish in the flat?

Are these/is this your own bin(s) or supplied with the flat?

Rubbish chute; How often do you empty rubbish into the chute?

Is this an effective system?

Can you put rubbish directly into the large bins if you want to?

Is the ventilation in your flat adequate?

Do you have any problems with condensation +\or cooking smells?

What form of ventilation does the kitchen have?

Do you use the mechanical ventilation?

Is it effective when working?

Where are the power points?

Are they conveniently positioned?

Are you disturbed by noise from other flats? Upstairs
 Downstairs
 Left (as face window)
 Right(" " ")
 Opposite

Where in particular does the noise bother you? by doors
 windows
 radiators
 ducts
 everywhere

Do you feel secure when you are in your flat?

Why? PROBE!!

Do you think that the lighting is adequate? in the car park
 by the front entrance

LIFESTYLE

Could you describe on average how much time you spend in the flat?

Are you in weekdays: in the daytime

 in the evening

 at night

 weekends: in the daytime

 in the evening

 at night

eg: How many evenings did you stay in your flat/bedsit last week?

Was this typical?

What does the caretaker do?

Does he: carry out repairs

order repairs

let the repair service into your flat

take in parcels

carry out flat inspections

clean the common areas

supervise the cleaning of the common areas

maintain the landscape

supervise who goes in and out of flats

reprimand people for: loud music

bad parking

other misdemeanours

evict

Who would you contact if:

a radiator in your flat leaks

the heating breaks down

the door entry phone is not working

your neighbour becomes unbearable

you could not pay the rent

How do the rules and regulations at Vale House compare with other council tenancies? much the same

more restrictive

In what way in particular?

Why do you think this is?

On the initial questionnaire you said that Vale House is sometimes referred to as:

Why do you think this is?