

Copyright © and Moral Rights for this thesis are retained by the author and/or other copyright owners.

A copy may be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge. No quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

You must obtain permission for any other use of this thesis. Copies of this thesis may not be sold or offered to anyone in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright owner(s).

Page 210 has been removed.

When referring to this work, the full bibliographic details must be given as follows:

Woolley, Thomas Adrian (1985). *Community architecture: an evaluation of the case for user participation in architectural design*. PhD thesis. Oxford Polytechnic.

COMMUNITY ARCHITECTURE:
AN EVALUATION OF THE CASE FOR USER
PARTICIPATION IN ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN

By

Thomas Adrian Woolley
B.Arch (Edin)

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of Doctor of Philosophy, submitted to the Council of National Academic Awards, undertaken at the Research School, Department of Architecture, Oxford Polytechnic.

Submitted May 1985

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	VI
LIST OF FIGURES	VII
DECLARATION	VIII
DEDICATION	IX
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	X
ABSTRACT	XI
GLOSSARY	XII
INTRODUCTION	<u>Community Architecture: What It Is And Why It Is Worth Studying</u> 1
CHAPTER I	<u>Community Architecture and Professionalism</u>
1.1	Introduction 12
1.2	A Crisis of Public Confidence 13
1.3	Changes in Professionalism 14
1.4	Changing Ideas About The Role of Professionals in Society As They Affect Architecture 17
1.5	Community Arts, Community Development and Social Relations 19
1.6	The Relationship Between Architectural Aesthetics and Contemporary Culture 21
1.7	Institutional Incorporation of the Early Development of Community Architecture 24
1.8	Conclusions 28
CHAPTER II	<u>The Changing Context of Housing, Social Policy and Community Action and its Effect on Community Architecture</u>
2.1	Introduction 35
2.2	The Change from Comprehensive Redevelopment to Rehabilitation 36
2.3	Tackling the Problems of the Inner City 43
2.4	The Development of User-Oriented Approaches to Housing 50
2.5	The Scope for User Participation and Self-Management in Contemporary Society 53
2.6	Conclusions 56

CHAPTER III

Participatory Design - is it the main
feature of Community Architecture?

3.1	Introduction	64
3.2	A Dearth of Literature on Participatory Design	66
3.3	Techniques and Approaches to Participatory Design	69
3.4	Social Relations and Participation .	72
3.5	Participation as Social Control and Conflict Management	75
3.6	Conventional Methods of Design as Compared with Community Architecture Approaches	78
3.7	Defining Community Architecture in Terms of Claims Made About its Alleged Benefits	82

CHAPTER IV

Theoretical Framework and Methods of
Enquiry

4.1	Introduction	90
4.2	The Propositions and the Structure of the Analysis	90
4.3	The Theoretical Approach	95
4.4	Research Procedures	98
4.5	The Selection of Case Studies	99
4.6	Case Study Profiles	
4.6.1	The Projects in Outline	100
4.6.2	The Projects as Built	103
4.6.3	The Architects	104
4.6.4	The Tenants	105
4.7	Different Categories of User Client Members	107
4.8	The Typicality of the Chosen Examples	108
4.9	Carrying Out the Field Work	
4.9.1	Measuring Satisfaction	109
4.9.2	The Application of the H.A.K. Questionnaire	112
4.9.3	Other Data Collection Methods	114

CHAPTER V

Comparing the Satisfaction of Participant
Users with Non-Participants

5.1	Introduction	119
5.2	The Housing Appraisal Kit Survey and Comparisons with the D.O.E. Survey of Tenants' Attitudes	120
5.3	Making the Comparisons with the H.A.K. Results	122
5.4	Analysis of the Results of the H.A.K. Comparison	131
5.5	Comparing the Three Case Studies with the Ten Most Similar D.O.E. Examples	133
5.6	Comparison of the Satisfaction Results for the Three Case Studies .	134
5.7	Differences Between the Participants and Non-Participants in the Three Case Studies	137
5.8	Criticism and Comments From the Survey and Interviews	139
5.9	How Tenants in the Three Case Studies See Themselves as 'Special'.	145
5.10	Conclusions	146

CHAPTER VI

The Relationship Between User Satisfaction,
Participation and the Product

6.1	Introduction	152
6.2	The Difficulties of Identifying the Influence of the Users	153
6.3	Are the Case Study Schemes Any Different From Other Contemporary Housing?	156
6.4	Tenants' Satisfaction in Context ...	158
6.5	Assessing the Quality of the Three Case Study Schemes	161
6.6	Comparing Costs and Standards	164
6.7	The Effect of the User Clients on the Designs	167
6.8	The General Effect of User Participation	174
6.9	Conclusions	177

CHAPTER VII

The Relationship Between User Clients and Architects in the Development Process

7.1 Introduction 182
7.2 The Extent of Involvement in the Design Process 185
7.3 How the Co-operatives Organised Themselves for the Design Participation Process 187
7.4 Problems of Understanding for the Wider Membership 193
7.5 Participatory Techniques Used by the Architects 197
7.6 The Relationship Between the Architects and User Clients 204
7.7 An Overview of the Design and Development Process 208
7.8 The Educational Nature of the Participation Process 211
7.9 Conclusions 213

CHAPTER VIII

The Relationship of User-Satisfaction to Non-Design Factors

8.1 Introduction 219
8.2 The Initiation of the Projects 222
8.3 Appointing the Architects 225
8.4 Dealing with External Agencies 226
8.5 Management and Post Occupancy Problems 231
8.6 Creating a Sense of 'Community' 235
8.7 The Three Case Studies in Context .. 241
8.8 Conclusions 243

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS 248

BIBLIOGRAPHY	262
APPENDICES		
Appendix I		
The Housing Appraisal Kit Questionnaire		
Used in the Study		278
Appendix II		
Schedule of Questions Used in		
Interviews		295
Appendix III		
Outline "details" of the 42 D.O.E.		
Estates		298
Appendix IV		
Further Graphical Analysis of the		
Relationship of Percentages Between		
the Three Case Studies and 42 D.O.E.		
Cases		299
Appendix V		
Chi-Square Test Results		302
Appendix VI		
Graphical Comparisons of the Three Case		
Studies with 10 D.O.E. Schemes		304
Appendix VII		
Summary of the Results of the HAK Survey		
of the Three Case Studies for all		
Questions		308
Appendix VIII		
Site Plans of the Three Case Studies		317
Appendix IX		
Costs and Other Data Used in the Rank		
Correlation Test		320
Appendix X		
Typical Floor Plans of Houses in		
Cases B and C		323

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>		<u>Page</u>
1	Size and Location of the Three Case Study Schemes	103
2	Response to H.A.K. Questionnaire	113
3	Percentage of Satisfied Tenants in Response to Four Key Questions in the Three Case Studies	125
4	Comparison of Mean Satisfaction Scores	132
5	Percentage of Highly Satisfied Respondants in Each of the Three Cases	136
6	Difference in Satisfaction Between the Participants and Non-Participants in Cases A and B (Mean Satisfaction Scores)	138
7	The Response to Question 24A	175
8	Numbers Involved in the Development Process in all Three Cases	186
9	Results of H.A.K. Survey on Satisfaction with Getting Repairs Done in the Three Case Studies	232
10	Results of H.A.K. Survey on Feelings about Cleanliness of Estates for the Three Case Studies	232

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>		<u>Page</u>
1	The Relationship Between Variables in the Building Development Process	93
2	The Response to Question 27. The Three Case Studies and 42 D.O.E. Cases Compared in 'League Table' Form	127
3	The Response to Question 16 'League Table' Comparison	128
4	The Response to Question 23 'League Table' Comparison	129
5	The Response to Question 18 'League Table' Comparison	130
6	Graphical Comparison of the Three Case Studies Over Seven Questions From the H.A.K. Results	135
7	Response to Question 25 'League Table' Comparison	144
8	Rank Correlations for the Three Case Studies and 10 D.O.E. Cases	166
9	Floor Plan Layouts for Case A	170
10	Organisational Structures for the Design Process	189
11	Comparative Timescale for the Design and Development Process of the Three Case Studies Showing the Main Stages	210
12	Co-operative Housing Development Process Diagram	210

DECLARATION

1. The candidate, Thomas Adrian Woolley, while registered for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, was not registered for another award of the C.N.A.A. or of a University during the research programme.
2. The candidate, Thomas Adrian Woolley, while registered for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, did undertake and complete advanced studies in connection with the programme of research in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree.

Thomas A. Woolley
Thomas A Woolley

DEDICATION

For my father,
Percy James Woolley

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer fully realises that the completion of a work of this order would not have been possible without the assistance, guidance and support of a large number of people.

In particular he wishes to thank his Director of Studies, Dr Roy Preece and other members of staff in the Post Graduate Research School at Oxford Polytechnic, Dr Roland Newman, Mrs Val Bacon and Dr Michael Jenks for their constant encouragement and advice. Thanks are also due to Dr Peter Dickens of Sussex University, Dr Paul Griffiths of Oxford University Computing Services and Dr Elliot Levy of the Department of the Environment, all of whom provided invaluable assistance without which this study would not have been possible. Appreciation is also due to colleagues at Strathclyde University and to Ms Teresa Sharkey and Ms Ellen Craig for typing the final version of the thesis.

It would not be possible to list here, every architect and members of community groups and housing co-operatives who gave up their time to be interviewed. However, special thanks are due to the three Housing Co-operatives which participated so actively in the study and to their three architects who allowed their work to be subjected to such critical scrutiny. Many others took a great deal of trouble to provide information and answer questions and thanks are due to all who helped. In particular, invaluable assistance was given by Ms Emily Hope of the London Borough of Haringey, Mr Alan MacDonald and the Weller Streets Publishing Group and to Mr Robert MacDonald all of whom gave permission to examine and quote from unpublished material.

Thanks are due to the Science and Engineering Research Council for their financial support which made this study possible.

Finally, and most importantly deep gratitude is due to a number of people who have given moral support and encouragement throughout the course of the work; my children Sophie and Catherine, Hetty Startup and Marion Roberts of the Architecture Research Study Group, and particularly Troy Langley, Linda Lawlor, Tricia Scott and members of the Wednesday Bio-energetics Group who have given me so much. Last but not least, thanks to Rachel Bevan who has done more than anyone in terms of practical assistance and untiring support.

ABSTRACT

COMMUNITY ARCHITECTURE : AN EVALUATION OF THE CASE FOR USER PARTICIPATION IN ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN

T.A. WOOLLEY .

Examination of the literature about Community Architecture suggested that, while there is no commonly accepted definition, the term signifies the recognition, among some sections of the architectural profession, of a demand from the public to play a larger part in shaping the environment. Central to this is a belief that user participation in architectural design will lead to buildings that will be more satisfactory for their occupants. Such a claim is widely made, despite the absence of empirical evidence to support it. Thus the study was concerned with testing the proposition that, if user clients participate in the design and development process, in building projects, there will be greater satisfaction with the completed buildings and environment than in projects where there has been no user participation. User clients, here, are taken to mean organisations of people who will occupy the buildings they have commissioned.

The levels of tenant satisfaction, in three housing co-operative projects, were measured and compared with the levels of satisfaction found in a previous study of local authority housing, in England and Wales. While, high levels of satisfaction with the three Case Study projects were found, these were not higher than the more successful non-participatory schemes and, when combined with other data, it was concluded that not enough evidence, to support the proposition had been found. Furthermore, it was not clear whether the levels of satisfaction in the Case Studies were a result of user participation in design or related to other factors.

Three further issues were examined, which give some explanation of these results. These were propositions that the levels of satisfaction were related to (i) the quality of the built product, (ii) the degree to which the participants were involved and the architect, thus able to better interpret their requirements and (iii) the influence of management and control which the user clients had over the projects in general.

This revealed that user influence on the product was very limited, that there were many unsolved problems in involving the participants in the design process and that issues of control and management were more significant than the role of design participation in affecting the satisfaction of the occupants.

Glossary of Terms and Abbreviations

- C.A.W.G. - Community Architecture Working Group of the RIBA.
- D.O.E. - Department of the Environment.
- Fully Mutual Housing Co-operative - A form of housing association in which all tenants own the co-operative by buying a one pound share.
- H.A.K. - Housing Appraisal Kit. A standard survey package developed by the D.O.E. for measuring user satisfaction.
- Housing Corporation - Government financed, but semi-autonomous agency which registers and administers grants to housing associations.
- R.I.B.A. - Royal Institute of British Architects.
- Yardstick - A set of rules for regulating public expenditure on house building, administered by the D.O.E.

INTRODUCTION

COMMUNITY ARCHITECTURE: WHAT IT IS AND WHY IT IS WORTH STUDYING

To be concerned about the way people live; about the environment they inhabit and the kind of community that is created by that environment should surely be one of the prime requirements of a really good architect. It has been most encouraging to see the development of community architecture...We are seeing the gradual expansion of housing co-ops, particularly in the inner city areas of Liverpool, where the tenants are able to work with an architect of their own who listens to their comments and their ideas and tries to design the kind of environment they want, rather than the kind which tends to be imposed upon them without any degree of choice...

Enabling the client community to be involved in the detailed process of design...is I am sure, the kind of development we should be examining more closely. (1)

In the context of a blistering and highly embarrassing attack on the architectural profession the Prince of Wales has summed up what has become known, since the mid 1970s as Community Architecture, and brought it to public attention. He presented it as a response to the way in which 'some planners and architects have consistently ignored the feelings and wishes of the masses of ordinary people in this country.' (2) He contended that architects can take the feelings of people into account by involving the future occupants of buildings in the design process. In doing so he has established, or at least confirmed, a 'man in the street' view of one of the reasons for the failures of modern architecture together with suggesting a comparatively simple remedy.

This 'man in the street' view of the problem can be summarised as follows. Architects have behaved in an irresponsible way, destroying existing 'communities', erecting ugly and alienating buildings such as tower blocks and are to blame for the unsatisfactory character of modern cities. Community Architecture appears to offer the antidote to this, whereby architects will be responsive and caring. In suggesting this, it is not the first time that the word Community has been tacked onto an unpopular professional activity (e.g. Community Policing, Community Law), but in doing so, assumptions are being made that are based on far too simplistic an analysis of the relationship between architects, society and the occupants of buildings.

Instead, one idea, underlying this work, is that the environmental evils which are so disliked by the 'man in the street' have resulted from a complex process of production of buildings and social relations of which the architect was only a small part. While architects may have complied with and supported these processes, they are not to blame for them entirely. But if this argument is accepted, it also follows that architects cannot reverse the processes by themselves. It is suggested here that the slogan Community Architecture, and much of the ideology which lies behind it, incorrectly assumes that architecture in itself can bring about social change.

The problem of how architects and designers can understand and interpret client needs and requirements is one which has generated a great deal of research, writing and discussion. For a time, it was assumed that the environment could modify or influence behaviour and thus that design could affect social conditions and attitudes. Known as 'Architectural Determinism', such ideas were roundly criticised and discredited. (3) However the utopian intentions of designers to

create the ideal environment has remained strongly embedded in the architectural psyche and the search for methods by which designers can take account of user needs and predict their reactions and behaviour, continues. (4)

Ravetz has suggested that architectural determinism is linked to the distance between designers and their anonymous user clients, the people who will eventually occupy the buildings. She suggests that if the architect and user get closer together and the client is able to directly influence the design process then,

Where they, [architects] are acting in response to the instructions of a client...the activity is not really deterministic...if the design choices really fit the needs and wishes of all those assorted user clients the design will be in effect enabling and not deterministic. (5)

Ravetz admits that a concensus between building users and the people who normally make the decisions about buildings is rarely likely to exist, however, she suggests that in Community Architecture there is a 'totally new ingredient' whereby architects work directly with the users of buildings 'in a way never seen before in the profession.' (6)

Thus Ravetz is suggesting that Community Architecture can be a solution to the difficult problem for architects, of understanding users needs and predicting the resulting behaviour in their buildings. This possibility has also been seen by Darke, who in a highly influential study of how architects design and their failure to adequately consider user needs, suggests,

Direct contact between users and architects would remove many of the problems that the present report has discussed: the limited nature of much research on housing, the stereo-typed and vague images of users held by their architects, the confidence of architects that their knowledge of users is adequate, although its basis appears, on closer scrutiny, to be quite substantial. (7)

Darke admits that there is next to no evidence to support such an idea and yet, despite this, goes on to say,

In order to meet the objective of providing housing that is closer to the requirements and wishes of those who use it, direct contact between architects and users is probably the optimum solution. (8)

Given that there is little or no empirical evidence, on which to base any firm viewpoint, it is necessary to remain sceptical of the Ravetz and Darke propositions. Thus the question remains, is the key problem in making buildings responsive to user needs, that of the distance between user and architect? Could it not instead be more of a problem of control and decision making or of communication and understanding which would not necessarily be related to distance? This is the question with which this thesis is essentially concerned, to base an analysis of this question on empirical data.

Despite the lack of research, however, the claims made about the benefits of Community Architecture are wide. Hatch, for instance, in a recently published anthology of Community Architecture, goes further than Darke in suggesting that the many experiments in user participation, world-wide, represent a new movement for 'social architecture' which can be an 'instrument for transforming both the environment and the people who live in it.' (9) In this, the most comprehensive anthology of Community Architecture so far published, Hatch appears to

be reviving the old discredited notions of determinism. Social Architecture, as Hatch terms it, can satisfy immediate needs but also 'open up new visions of life and work!' (10)

Study of much of the ephemeral literature on Community Architecture suggests that there seems to be almost no limit to the claims which are made by the protagonists of Community Architecture. The objective of this thesis, however, is to concentrate on one of them, which is the idea that if user clients are involved in the design process, then they will be more satisfied with the building or environment that results. In order to discover if there is any evidence to support this claim, the objective was also to investigate the relationship between the process and product. The question is asked; does Community Architecture (by involving user clients) produce better buildings, which then lead to greater user satisfaction, or is it in fact the process (having taken part) which is the variable which most influences satisfaction? Of course it could be a little of both or even other variables which affects the views of the users. The work is concerned to disentangle this question and to identify the issues which are thrown up by user participation in design.

The research consisted of identifying three examples of user participation in design, where architects worked with the building users. An attempt was made to measure the satisfaction of the occupants of the buildings and to compare these results with the satisfaction of occupants in similar buildings, where there had been no user participation. In doing this, it became apparent that the user clients were involved in the whole development process rather

than the design activities alone, and that a number of factors in both the product and the process could have affected their feelings of satisfaction. So the work also involved developing a means for analysis of these various factors and to derive some explanations for the results obtained.

Before presenting the empirical part of the work the first three chapters consider in more detail the nature and origins of Community Architecture. The definition is adopted that Community Architecture, differs from conventional practice in its involvement of user clients, and the reasons for the emergence of this form of Community Architecture are considered. In Chapter I, the crisis of public confidence in architecture is examined and it is argued that Community Architecture is merely one of a number of changes which are occurring in the architectural profession and professions as a whole. A number of factors are considered, including the effect on the profession of public dissatisfaction, and the way in which architects have had to adapt to changing social conditions.

In Chapter II these changing social conditions are examined in terms of the broader social, economic and political influences on housing and urban policies. It is argued that these have led, both to the emergence of user-clients, and also created a demand for new approaches and new areas of work for architects. In Chapter III the response of architects to the changes is considered in more detail. The inadequacy of conventional approaches to design and considering user needs, are reviewed, as are the limited nature of early experiments into user participation and Community Architecture. It is also argued that while real social changes have occurred, which have created the demand for a new approach to architecture and design, the

architectural profession has done little to change its approach, assuming instead that existing skills, training and professional methods are adequate to satisfy their new clients. Despite the lack of professional and educational development in this field, the term Community Architecture is widely used and the main claims about its benefits are put forward by many architects. The chapter concludes with discussion of the three main claims that have been identified in the literature.

In Chapter IV the methods and the theoretical approach to the work are discussed, in which a number of propositions are put forward and examined. The main proposition suggests that

when user clients participate in the design and development processes in building projects, there will be greater satisfaction with the completed buildings and environment than in projects where there has been no user participation.

It is then suggested that, while tests might provide some existence to support such a proposition, examination of the complex relationships involved in the development of buildings suggests a number of further explanatory propositions which might throw some light on the main one. These explanatory or sub-propositions are as follows:

- (i) that the level of user satisfaction is related to the effect that the user clients had on the product;
- (ii) that the level of satisfaction is related to the degree to which the architect could effectively interpret and incorporate users needs and ideas through the participation process and
- (iii) that the satisfaction of the users is related, not to the product but to the nature of the process and the degree of control which they had over it.

Chapter V is concerned with the results of tests of the main proposition. It includes material from surveys and collection of data and tackles the question, whether the users in the three user participation case studies were more satisfied than other people? The results for the three case studies are compared with the satisfaction of tenants in forty-two schemes surveyed by the D.O.E. The levels of satisfaction between the three case studies and between participants and non-participants were also compared. While the results from this give some indication of whether user clients are more satisfied, it is argued that this in itself does not provide a full explanation, nor does it effectively isolate the factor of participation from the many other variables which could affect users' feelings. Thus in the following three chapters, the sub-propositions, which attempt various explanations, are considered.

In Chapter VI, in discussing sub proposition (i), the possibility is considered that users are satisfied because they had an effect on the design that was produced. The three schemes are examined in more detail and compared with other housing projects, in order to consider the relationship between the product and satisfaction. In Chapter VII, which is concerned with sub proposition (ii), the relationship between the architects and the user clients is studied, in order to discover if the levels of satisfaction are related to the ability of the architect to understand and interpret the users needs and ideas. Finally in Chapter VIII, examination of sub proposition (iii) involves the possibility that satisfaction could be related to other issues and not primarily to design. The nature of the user client groups as self managing organisations are considered and the attitudes of the users, because they are part of a special group.

Finally in Chapter IX the conclusions of the previous chapters are summarised and the implications of these results for future research and practice are reviewed.

The need for the study

In identifying the problem of evaluating the claims made on behalf of Community Architecture and the need to understand the differences between the effect of product and process on user satisfaction, a number of reasons for this study can be set out.

Firstly, there has been very little academic analysis or empirical research of Community Architecture or any of the phenomena with which it is associated. There is a need to draw together the many strands of discussion in this field and to set them in context. Secondly, it is suggested that there are dangers that many of the assumptions and beliefs incorporated in Community Architecture may too easily become commonly accepted without any rigorous scrutiny. However, several of the sources, quoted above, call for more research and enquiry into what they admit, remain tentative and unproved ideas. Thirdly, it is hoped that study of this subject will give some insights into the social role of design, the architectural profession and coping with the needs of clients. Finally, it is argued that much of the existing literature (as it is not based on detailed or critical research) tends to emphasise the claims and opinions of professionals and other 'experts'. There is a need for research which reveals the viewpoint of the so-called ordinary people, their experience and contribution to projects of this kind. Analysis of the literature will show that the term Community Architecture, as it is commonly understood, may be a misnomer.

The initiative and demand for user participation comes, not so much from architects, but from the people themselves. It is the users of buildings who appear to be pulling architects into the process, rather than the other way round. In view of this, it would be unfortunate if the professionals got all the attention and all the credit. Thus, most importantly, it was felt that this study was needed, to see what the users of buildings get out of participation in design. This might lead architects and other professionals to consider changes that they can make, to respond to this new demand on their expertise.

Thus the title of the thesis, an evaluation of the case for user-participation in design, is not simply considering whether it is worthwhile for professionals to involve user clients in design, but whether people, in expending their energy by getting involved, receive adequate benefits or recompense in return.

INTRODUCTION REFERENCES

1. HRH PRINCE OF WALES (1984): Speech to Royal Institute of British Architects 30.5.84. Text issued by Buckingham Palace.
2. HRH PRINCE OF WALES (1984): op.cit.
3. BROADY, M., (1968): Planning for People: Essays on the Social Context of Planning, London: National Council of Social Service, Bedford Square Press.
4. HILLIER, W., et al. (1983): 'Space Syntax', Architects' Journal, November 30, 1983, pp.47-63.
5. RAVETZ, A., (1980): Remaking Cities, London: Croom Helm.
6. RAVETZ, A., (1980): op.cit., p.231.
7. DARKE, J., (1984): Architects and User Requirements in Public Sector Housing. Towards an Adequate Understanding of User Requirements in Housing. Unpublished Papers.
8. DARKE, J., (1984): op.cit.
9. HATCH, C.R., Ed. (1984): The Scope of Social Architecture, New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold, pp.3-10.
10. HATCH, C.R., Ed. (1984): op.cit.

CHAPTER I

COMMUNITY ARCHITECTURE AND PROFESSIONALISM

1.1 Introduction

In this Chapter, the emergence of Community Architecture is considered in the following terms.

- (1.2) That it is one element in the need to retain an image of social responsibility. Research and the literature shows that an ideology of social responsibility is an essential part of the architects' belief system. However, public dissatisfaction with architects which has damaged this image.
- (1.3) It is also suggested that a number of factors, social and economic, have forced the architectural profession to adapt and change. These commercial responses have removed many traditional restrictions and also created opportunities for alternative architectural work, which have been more idealistically motivated.
- (1.4) While the above factors are largely internal to the profession, there have also been wider ideas about the need to change the role of experts in society. While many of these ideas have been subject to strong criticism, they have created a climate of opinion, in which some architects have seen a role as experts, who could enable people to be more self reliant.

(1.5) It is argued, in the rest of the Chapter, that there is evidence to suggest that radical professionalism, far from enabling people, actually serves to maintain and extend professional influence and control. The experience in related fields such as 'Community Arts' and 'Community Education' is mentioned, as is an account of advocacy planning in the U.S.A.

(1.6) The current debate about aesthetics in architecture is also discussed. Critical appraisals of 'Post Modernism' suggest that something along the lines of Community Architecture can keep alive the ideals of the Modern Movement and develop aesthetic ideas more closely related to ordinary people. However, it is suggested that there are few signs that Community Architecture is doing this.

(1.7) Finally, the development of Community Architecture in the 1970s is related in terms of the attempts that were made to retain institutional control of its activities and the debates which this provoked.

1.2 A Crisis of Public Confidence

The Prince of Wales is not the first commentator to knock architects. Over the past two decades architects have been described as 'developer's lap dogs', ⁽¹⁾ and incidents such as the Poulson affair, ⁽²⁾, the Ronan Point disaster ⁽³⁾ and the Summerland Fire ⁽⁴⁾ have destroyed the credibility of the architectural belief system that it is a socially concerned, caring profession. ⁽⁵⁾

While architects claim that they were not entirely to blame for the architectural disasters of the 60s and 70s, it can be argued that they enthusiastically supported many of the policies which led to them. For instance, it has been suggested that they were, in the main, middle class and totally out of touch with the people that use buildings ⁽⁶⁾ and there is evidence that some deliberately set out to break up well established social relationships, uprooting existing communities, in the name of progress. ⁽⁷⁾ Dunleavy has contended that, despite many denials, the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) actively supported industrialised building, even though this led to a reduction of work for architects. ⁽⁸⁾

However, it is hard to discover any fundamental concern in professional circles in response to such criticisms. For the RIBA, it seemed sufficient for its Presidents merely to repeat that they were concerned about people. ⁽⁹⁾ Instead the profession was much more concerned with internal problems and the need to compete with others in the construction industry, to retain its role as 'leader of the team' and its share of work. As a result MacEwan, in his report, *Crisis in Architecture*, attacked the RIBA for failing to live up to its social responsibilities, suggesting that they should regain moral respectability by dissociating themselves from property speculation. ⁽¹⁰⁾ However, as Saint has shown, the image of the architect was already badly dented. ⁽¹¹⁾

1.3 Changes in Professionalism

For society to accept the status and privilege of professionalism there has to be some broad acceptance that the profession is safeguarding the public interest. However, the architectural profession has had a long and continuing struggle to retain occupa-

tional control as its functions are taken over by contractors, surveyors, non-qualified people and as market and Governmental pressures have stripped away its protective powers. Architecture is held up as an outstanding example of this loss of professional power in work on the sociology of professions by Johnson. (12)

During the 1960s the RIBA was much more concerned with economic survival, bringing the profession up to date, introducing new management practices, restructuring offices to make them more efficient and encouraging greater division of labour through the introduction of architectural technicians. (13) Subsequently architects have been forced to work in a more commercial and competitive way with the abandonment of a mandatory code of conduct and fee scale. (14)

Architects are allowed to advertise and many have become entrepreneurs and developers, some even claiming this to be a form of Community Architecture. (15) Apart from occasional bland denials of social irresponsibility (16), the profession has done little to build a reputation for social responsibility and has instead become more involved with business and commercialism.

It is against this background that Community Architecture must be viewed as one of a number of experiments with new roles and attitudes which emerged from this period of criticism and internal debate. Such a debate within the profession led to new organisations representing salaried architects or espousing radical ideas like the New Architecture Movement and a new union for architectural employees. (17) These developments have also been associated with the emergence of 'alternative practice' both in work for community groups and the forming of co-operative practices. (18)

This was facilitated by the ending of professional restrictions referred to above. (p.15) For instance, the RIBA turned a blind eye to new developments in Community Architecture where architects were, it is claimed, cutting fees and carrying out speculative work. (19)

There is little doubt that many younger architects were dissatisfied with the roles and opportunities that were available to them in the profession in the early 70s. Many realised that even if they were concerned about the people they were designing for, they had little, if any, opportunity to come into contact with them. (20) Many young architects, in the public sector, identified more closely with their trade union than their professional body. (21) In general the status of architects had been degraded and they now felt they had a less influential position in society in a way that has happened to many professional workers who are also employees. (22)

It has been suggested that the role of design, within the process of production of buildings, has less significance than many architects believe and that this contradiction between social and economic reality and architects' own beliefs has been the reason for many unsatisfactory buildings. (23) While, according to Dunleavy, the architectural profession still remains influential in determining policies, this is not experienced by those lower down the scale. (24) The direction for some socially motivated younger employee architects therefore, was to move out into the new areas of work that have become known as 'Community Architecture'. Thus Community Architecture can be seen as having received impetus from the top and bottom of the profession. Changes, necessitated by commercial pressures, permitted radical experiments, whilst younger architects saw Community Architecture as an outlet for their idealism.

1.4 Changing Ideas About The Role Of Professionals In Society As They Affect Architecture.

While the public may remain largely in ignorance of these internal architectural debates, there has been an upsurge in anti-professional ideas and attitudes, which have also influenced the emergence of Community Architecture. These ideas have suggested that an alternative approach to the role of experts in society is required.

The most significant critic of the power and prestige of professions, Ivan Illich, has, for instance, had wide influence with his views that teaching prevents learning and that medicine has a vested interest in sickness. (25, 26) While Illich's analysis has not so far extended specifically to architects his concept of 'Disabling Professions' has led to the term 'enabling' being applied in the context of Community Architecture. (27) For instance, the RIBA held a conference in 1982 entitled, 'Community Architecture - the Architect as Enabler.' (28)

Ward has suggested that Community Architects are 'accidental heroes', in that they are providing a form of expertise which supports the self reliance and initiative of ordinary people rather than making them dependent on experts. (29) Others present professionals as essential catalysts in encouraging "People Power". (30) Illich argues that a cultural revolution is required to free people from the industrial mode of production and he has drawn attention to what he terms "Shadow Work", that is not recognised as part of the wage economy. (31) This idea has been taken up by others, such as Turner in the field of architecture, housing and building, where he draws attention to the alleged success of squatter and shanty housing at meeting the needs of homeless people, in a way that experts and

bureaucracies have failed to do. (32) The popularity of these ideas has created a climate in which Community Architects see themselves as encouraging self-help and contributing to a form of de-professionalisation.

Due to the link with such ideas of de-professionalisation and self-help, Community Architecture has become associated with the idea that people can do without architects altogether. Coupled with this there was a revival of interest in vernacular images of architecture and Rudofsky's popular book, 'Architecture Without Architects' led to the belief among some architects that beautiful buildings could emerge in a de-professionalised society. (33)

While such ideas undoubtedly had some influence on the development of Community Architecture, there is a body of literature highly critical of the Turner/Illich perspective which has, as yet, had little impact on the proponents of Community Architecture. These critics argue that self-help is not a revival of some pre-capitalist mode of production (as Illich seems to imply) but that there is a danger of self-help becoming a conservative panacea, isolated from its social economic and political context. (34)

Indeed some studies into self-help housing in Britain have shown that self builders are locked into the existing system of building production and are invariably dependent on professional help. Self-help is largely a way for low income people to get into the private housing market. (35) The relevance of this debate to Community Architecture is that claims of self-help, 'enabling' and de-professionalisation need to be examined critically.

Indeed there are strong arguments to suggest that Community Architecture is much more likely to be part of a tendency to extend or

at least maintain professional influence, control, and dependence on professional expertise. Arguments suggesting this possibility can be found in at least three areas.

(i) Community Arts and the effect of various forms of community development on social relations.

(ii) The relationship between architectural aesthetics and contemporary culture.

(iii) The nature of early attempts to institutionalise and ensure professional control of Community Architecture.

1.5 Community Arts, Community Development and Social Relations.

Many local authorities employ community artists. The Arts Council, and other Government agencies, finance a wide range of Community Arts projects, which range over a wide variety of cultural forms. Some claim these offer the possibility of 'liberating artistic expression from its formal restraints.' (36) However there has been growing concern at the domination of Community Arts activities by professionals and Community Arts administrators. (37) Also as activities are dependent on Government funding it is only the most professionally sophisticated groups which tend to obtain the grants. (38)

In other spheres too, such as 'Community Planning', (39) and 'Community Education', the tendency has been for responsibility to be more firmly located with professionals than with 'the community' despite rhetoric which emphasises community control. (40)

This should not be surprising, given the literature in urban sociology, which has charted the way in which professionals and other occupational groups, adapt to retain control or dependence on their

services. Furthermore, professionals play an important and influential role in maintaining existing social relations and social order. (41,42) They can have powerful influence over who gets resources and, increasingly, central and local government has recognised the value of locally based professionals controlling resources, (43) managing social conflict, (44) and feeding information to social control policy makers. (45)

Thus, rather than enabling ordinary people to become more powerful and to help themselves, the role of radical professionals working in the community can be full of contradictions. (46)

While these contradictions have been keenly debated in other fields, such an analysis has yet to be applied to Community Architecture.

Architects are relative latecomers to the field of the 'community business.' However, this is not to say that the debates and contradictions, that have already been experienced in other

fields, will not also apply to Community Architecture. Indeed the literature and experience of 'Advocacy Planning' and 'Community Design' in the United States, which was at its height in the late 60s and early 70s, has shown that professional concern for the urban poor has often been of more benefit to professionals. Goodman, in an attack on advocacy planning in the USA, suggests that it, together with 'citizen participation' would allow the poor 'to administer their own dependency.' He presents the concerned professionals as pacifiers, administering meagre welfare handouts, and claims that

It was not lack of expertise that was at the root
of these community's problems.' (47)

Thus there are arguments to suggest that not only are professionals essentially concerned with their own problems and their own survival, but that under the guise of radical initiatives and even de-professionalisation, they contrive to retain, or even extend, their influence and control.

1.6 The Relationship Between Architectural Aesthetics and Contemporary Culture

While one response to public dissatisfaction with modern architecture has been a move into social and community activities, this has been a marginal development compared with various attempts to respond to such criticisms in purely aesthetic terms.

According to one RIBA Vice-Presidential candidate, 'many architects...have accepted public criticisms about tall buildings...and for the last ten years have moved towards more traditional forms and materials as well as new styles.' (48) However the two main directions, post modernism which, it can be argued, 'is in retreat

from painful realities', (49) and vernacular/humanist styles, seen as some as 'cosmetic hair ruffling', (50) do not, it is suggested here, come to terms with social issues. This is because post modernism discards the social and political ideals of the Modern Movement, (51) and tries to substitute a commodity approach to aesthetics lacking in any social meaning. (52) Vernacular architecture on the other hand, while it is claimed to be based on a 'deep concern for the enrichment of life', (53), and a 'nearness to need', (54), can mean an anti-modern 'nostalgia and reverence for the banal'. (55)

Both stylistic approaches are the result of architectural and aesthetic pre-occupations which are not related to broader social forces or the interests of ordinary people. Both are reactions against the idealism of the Modern Movement which had tried and possibly failed, to meet the needs of ordinary people. Habermas, in a discussion of this subject, argues that the only way out of such a cultural impasse, and as a way of 'keeping alive the impulses of the Modern Movement', is opening up a dialogue with clients and through 'communication with participants', (which he calls Alternative Architecture). In many respects Habermas is suggesting that Community Architecture is a possible solution to aesthetic problems and an answer to the failure of modern architecture to reflect progressive social ideas. He suggests that:

Above all it is worth noting the initiatives which aim at a communal 'participatory architecture', which designs urban areas in a dialogue with the clients. When the guiding mechanisms of the market and the town planning administration function in such a way as to have disfunctional consequences on the lives of those concerned, failing the 'functionalism' as it was understood; then it only follows that the formative communication of the participants be allowed to compete with the media of money and power. (56)

Thus it is being suggested that Community Architecture, based on involving user clients, appears to offer the possibility of changing the process of production of designs and raises the possibility of producing forms, which will reflect the cultural ideas of the people who will use buildings. This gives design a potentially radical function in which it could be relatively autonomous of the underlying relations of production. (57) However, such a theoretical model for the understanding of design, developed from a Marxian base-superstructure metaphor and work by Raymond Williams on Culture, (58) is largely speculative at present. Work towards fully understanding how the cultural meaning, form and appearance of architecture (the superstructure) is linked with the social and economic relations of architecture (the base) has only just begun. (59, 60)

There is little, if any, evidence to suggest that such radical ideas about form and culture are part of the Community Architecture Movement. Instead it seems more likely that aesthetic and design ideas continue to reflect that which is current within professional circles. Thus despite rhetoric about concern for people, it could be argued that Community Architecture represents attempts to apply existing architectural ideas and methods to the needs of community groups, rather than liberating self reliance or enabling ordinary people to express their own ideas. Furthermore it can be argued that the dominant aesthetic in architecture, at present, has no progressive social ideas (61) and architects continue to be educated in a manner which encourages 'esoteric ideas and values antagonistic to their clients.' (62) There is very little informed challenge to this from the general public and attempts to develop greater environmental awareness among society at large are, as yet, in their infancy. (63)

1.7 Institutional Incorporation Of The Early Development Of Community Architecture.

The ideas which led to the emergence of Community Architecture became current at the end of the 1960s. Despite radical beginnings, it was largely shaped in response to the attitude of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), which, it is argued here, have retained substantial institutional control over the development of Community Architecture.

Two Cambridge Architecture students, Oliver and Cripps, at the 1968 RIBA conference made 'an eloquent plea for architects and planners to remove the barriers which exist between the professional and public.' (64) Despite claims, at a later conference, by MacMillan that 'socially concerned architects wanted to serve meals in soup kitchens', (65) MacEwan in the RIBA Journal welcomed the appearance of 'grass roots pressure within the Schools of Architecture and among younger architects who can see through the sickness of society.' (66) The RIBA continued to respond in a contradictory way, generally disapproving and unenthusiastic, but also anxious to keep the new developments under professional control.

By 1975 proposals were being made by some architects to set up free architectural advisory services, provoking an investigation by the RIBA's Professional Purposes Committee. This led to the establishment of the RIBA Community Architecture Working Group (CAWG) at the beginning of 1977.

Initial papers and reports of the CAWG make it clear that the intention was less to promote the ideas of Community Architecture than to put out feelers and to find out what was going on and how it

might generate extra work for architects. Its chairman was reported as not being ashamed of fighting for wider areas of work because of a fall in architects' workload. (67) However, at early meetings on environmental education and architectural education, which involved a wider range of people, the RIBA were roundly attacked for failing to provide a clear framework for meetings and for being self interested. (68) As a result of this inauspicious start, the RIBA closed ranks, and Rod Hackney, a rising star whose Black Road, Macclesfield project had become well known as an example of Community Architecture, took over the chair. (69) Together with the CAWG Secretary, Charles McKean, Hackney produced a paper which went to the RIBA Council and remains to date the only official document which attempts to define Community Architecture or set forward professional policy. The report itself makes muddled and contradictory reading. It ranges from a sweeping attack on local authority housing policies to calling for central government backing for a Community Aid fund. (70) The paper was quietly shelved by the RIBA which has done little to support or promote Community Architecture since that time, (71) though it has established a Community Projects Panel, which disburses small grants to architects working on community projects. (72)

The present Community Projects Panel is only a pale shadow of the Community Aid Scheme envisaged by Hackney which he intended to be the equivalent of lawyers Legal Aid Scheme. (73) The case for this Scheme was set out in a further report, which was never published, because it contained 33 'confidential case studies.' It was implied that these showed how some architects had to break professional codes to operate as community architects. All the emphasis in the report, was on the financial problems of architects

working for a 'new client' rather than those of the clients, with the argument put forward that Government subsidy was necessary to support such initiatives. (74)

Thus, from the beginning, the term Community Architecture can be seen as an attempt by the professional body to control, manage and reconcile with its present rules and practices, an apparently radical development. While it was not accepted enthusiastically by the profession as a whole, the term itself and thus the ideas behind it, had been, in a sense, captured by the RIBA. As a result, many of the architects, interviewed in the early stages of this research, denied that they were community architects. They did not wish to be identified with something that was so closely associated with the professional institute. Others also denied the label because they perceived Community Architecture as a specialised form of practice, with which they did not wish to become too strongly identified, as they hoped to attract other areas of work.

The dangers, of what might be characterised as an institutional "wet blanket" being thrown over Community Architecture, were recognised at an early stage and there was a flood of reports and articles criticising the RIBA position. At one particular meeting, in 1977 over 30 practitioners and educators agreed that the term Community Architecture 'increasingly signifies the institutionalisation of radical activity in architectural practice.' (75)

Others criticised the failure of the RIBA to place Community Architecture within its social and economic framework and of ignoring its political implications. This, it was argued, was because the RIBA was ignoring 'the failure of conventional practice to satisfy the

user.' (76) It was also suggested that the RIBA were guilty of a cynical interest in channelling public money to private architects, through the community aid fund, without showing how this would benefit needy sections of society. (77) There was also an emphasis on private architectural practices in the CAWG reports. This led to criticisms from a radical group, within public architects offices, who criticised the RIBA for trying to undermine public architects offices, which they claimed were already carrying out Community Architecture of sorts. They called instead for new integrated and decentralised architects services which they called a Public Design Service (PDS). (78) While at least one local authority, Haringey in North London, is attempting to put these ideas into practice, such ideas have not become widespread. (79) However at the time the RIBA was lobbying the then Minister for the Environment, Reg Freeson, the PDS criticisms, coming from a Labour supporting source could well have undermined any likelihood of the RIBA obtaining Government backing. (80)

The RIBA has continued to show some interest in Community Architecture, publishing in 1983, a glossy booklet about Highfield Hall, a project to rehabilitate an old house into a community centre in Blackburn. (81) In an unsigned article, the aims of the 1978 CAWG report are re-iterated but the description of the project itself, reveals the enormous problems experienced by a young and inexperienced architect thrown into the deep end with little support and few resources. It is difficult to come to the conclusion other than that for the RIBA, the local people mentioned in the report fulfill the role termed by Markus of 'court jesters.' (82) Markus feared that the official espousal of Community Architecture by the RIBA 'will result in the de-fusing of the power of this movement by

channelling it into bureaucratic institutions.' However the RIBA's Community Projects Group set up in 1981, led by Architect Ian Finlay, an ex-employee of Rod Hackney, has recognised that in the voluntary sector a 'new MAJOR client group has emerged', and seemed determined to exploit this. (83)

Possibly because of the RIBA's heavy handed approach to Community Architecture, many of the most interesting and significant developments have occurred without such official professional approval. Indeed most significant has been the emergency of a semi-professional grouping, the Association of Community Technical Aid Centre, (ACTAC), which is independent and fairly hostile to the RIBA.

(84) This latter group has emerged largely as a result of initiatives in the voluntary sector with voluntary groups and community professionals trying to find their own expert advice, rather than going to the RIBA.

1.8 Conclusions

It can be concluded from the above discussion of the literature that Community Architecture has emerged as one of a number of developments during a period of great changes in the architectural profession. It has been in response to growing public criticism of architects and a need to keep alive the rather fragile claims to social responsibility. While many ideas have become current of the need for new roles for experts and the need for cultural and political changes which 'enable' poor people and weaken the dominance of professionals, there is some evidence to suggest that such espousal of radical ideas about changing professional roles may have the contradictory effect of maintaining or even extending the influence and control of professionals.

It would be a difficult task to attempt to define Community Architecture precisely. It is a label which has emerged to cover a wide variety of radical and innovative activities, but these do not have common goals or ideas. Instead there is a ferment of social and economic change which is affecting architecture. There are many ideas within Community Architecture that appear to represent a radical departure from conventional professionalism. This discussion of the literature, while not necessarily providing convincing arguments at least suggests that it is necessary to be sceptical of these ideas.

Before being able to question or critically examine the ideas advanced in Community Architecture, it is necessary to discuss in more detail the context of social and economic policies which have created a demand or a market for Community Architecture. This is the subject of the next Chapter.

CHAPTER I REFERENCES

1. HILL, R. (1980): 'Architecture - the past fights back.' Marxism Today, 24.11.80.
2. FITZWALTER, R. (1981): Web of Corruption. London: Granada Publishing.
3. WEBB, S. (1969): 'In Need of Support.' Architectural Design, August 1969.
4. FRENCH, P. (1978): 'Architects in dispute over Summerland fire verdict.' Sunday Times, 5.11.78, p.3.
5. LIPMAN, A. (1969): The Architectural Belief System and Social Behaviour. British Journal of Sociology, Vol.20, 1969, pp.190-204.
6. GINSBURG, L. (1983): 'Architects and the Corporate Estate.' Architects' Journal, 5.1.83, pp.22-26.
7. BURNS, W. (1963): New Towns for Old. London: Leonard Hill.
8. DUNLEAVY, P. (1981): The Politics of Mass Housing, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
9. WOOLLEY, T. (1971): 'The Social Conscience of Architecture.' New Edinburgh Review 11.
10. McEWEN, M. (1974): Crisis in Architecture, RIBA Publications: London.
11. SAINT, A. (1983): The Image of the Architect, Yale: New Haven.
12. JOHNSON, T. (1972): Professions and Power, London: Macmillan.
13. ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS (1962): The Architect and his Office, RIBA, London.
14. BANHAM, R. (1981): 'The Architect as Gentleman and the Architect as Hustler.' RIBA Transactions, London.
15. ROCK, D. (1979): The Grass Roots Developers: A Handbook for Town Development Trusts. RIBA: London.
16. CUNNINGHAM, J. (1984): 'Architects of their own despair?' Guardian, 25.6.84.
17. SAINT, A. (1983): Op.cit.
18. WOOLLEY, T. (1977): 'Alternative Practice.' Architects' Journal, 19.10.77, pp.735-737.
19. ARCHITECTS' JOURNAL (1978): 'Graham Overlooks Community Architecture Code Breakers.' Architects' Journal, 23.8.78.

20. MALPASS, P. (1975): 'Professionalism and the role of architects in local authority housing.' RIBA Journal, June 1975, pp.6-29.
21. MALPASS, P. (1975): Op.cit.
22. BRAVERMAN, H. (1974): Labour and Monopoly Capital: The Degredation of Work in the 20th Century.
23. CRIPPS, C. (1984): Towards a Political Economy of Building Design. PhD Thesis in Architecture, University of Liverpool.
24. DUNLEAVY, P. (1980): Urban Political Analysis, London: Macmillan.
25. ILLICH, I. (1971): Deschooling Society. Marion Boyars, London.
26. ILLICH, I. (1976): Medical Nemesis. Marion Boyars, London.
27. ILLICH, I. (ed) (1979): Disabling Professions. Marion Boyars, London.
28. ARCHITECTS' JOURNAL (1982): 'Enablers at the RIBA.' Architects' Journal, 14.7.82, p.38.
29. WARD, C. (1978): 'Accidental Heroes.' New Society, 18.5.78.
30. GIBSON, T. (1979): People Power. London: Penguin.
31. ILLICH, I. (1980): Shadow Work. Marion Boyars: London.
32. TURNER, J.F.C. and FICHTER, R. (eds) (1972): Freedom to Build.
33. RUDOFISKY, B. (1964): Architecture without Architects. London: Academy Editions.
34. BURGESS, R. (1982): Self-Help Housing Advocacy: A Curious Form of Radicalism. A Critique of the Work of John F.C. Turner in WARD, P.M. (ed), Self Help Housing: A Critique. Mansell Publishing.
35. ARSCOTT, M. et al (1976): Alternatives in Housing? A Report on Self Build in Britain. London: Architectural Association.
36. BRADEN, S. (1978): Artists and People. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
37. GREATER LONDON ASSOCIATION OF COMMUNITY ARTISTS (1983): 'Friends and Allies,' Report of Salisbury Conference, April 22-24, 1983.
38. WORPOLE, K. (1982): 'Who's in the Community.' City Limits, 12-18 March 1982, p.51.
39. HAGUE, C. (1982): Reflections of Community Planning in PARIS, C. (ed), Critical Readings in Planning Theory. London: Pergamon Press.

40. SHAKESPEARE, P. (1982): Indicators of Professionalism in Community Education. Dissertation, University of Oxford, Department of Education Studies, Mimeo.
41. NORMAN, P. (1975): Managerialism: A Review of Recent Work. Centre for Environmental Studies, London.
42. DICKENS, P. and GRAY, F. (1982): Professionals and the Management of Social Relations. British Sociological Association, Sociology and Environment Study Group, Nov. 6, 1982.
43. LAMBERT, P., PARIS, C. and BLACKABY, B. (1978): Housing Policy and the State. London: Macmillan.
44. COCKBURN, C. (1977): The Local State: Management of Cities and People. London: Pluto Press.
45. ROSE, H. and HANMER, J. (1975): Community Participation and Social Change in E. JONES and M. MAYO (Eds), Community Work 2. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
46. LONDON EDINBURGH WEEKEND RETURN GROUP (1979): In and Against the State. London: CSE Books.
47. GOODMAN, R. (1972): After the Planners. London: Pelican Books, p.212.
48. CUNNINGHAM, J. (1984): Op.cit.
49. HATCH, C.R. (1984): The Scope of Social Architecture. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
50. MARKUS, T.A. (1984): Celebration of a Conspiracy. Strathclyde University, unpublished.
51. NEWMAN, O. (1981): Community of Interest. New York: Anchor Books.
52. HARRIES, P., LIPMAN, A. and PURDEN, S. (1983): The Marketing of Meaning: Aesthetics Incorporated. Unpublished Mimeo, University of Wales Institute of Science and Technology.
53. MARTIN, B. (1983): 'David Lea: Architecture as the Art of Construction.' Architects' Journal, 16.3.83.
54. MAGUIRE, R. (1971): 'Architects' Approach to Architecture: Nearness to Need.' RIBA Journal, Vol.78, 1971, Pp.140-8.
55. HABERMAS, J. (1981): 'Modern and Post Modern Architecture.' '9H', No.4, translated from SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, 5.12.81.
56. HABERMAS, J. (1981): Op.cit.
57. DICKENS, P. (1981): 'Mental Labour, Manual Labour and Building Production: A Materialist Approach to Design. Political Economy of Housing Working, Mimeo.
58. WILLIAMS, R. (1981): Culture. London: Fontana.

59. DICKENS, P. (1981): Op.cit.
60. KLAUSENER, D. (1982): Urban Symbolism and the Production of Culture. Working Paper 31. urban and Regional Studies, University of Sussex.
61. HARRIES, P., LIPMAN, A. and PURDEN, S. (1983): Op.cit.
62. NEWMAN, O. (1981): Op.cit.
63. ARMSTRONG, A. (1979): Planning and Environmental Education. Centre for Environmental Studies, Occasional Paper 7, London.
64. HUNTER, J. (1969): 'Self Help Planning', The Architect and Building News. 20.11.69.
65. MACMILLAN, A. (1971): 'Architects are also People.' RIBA Journal, Vol.78, pp.450-1.
66. MACEWEN, M. (1971): 'The Professional Dilemma.' RIBA Journal, May 1971.
67. TAPNER, V. (1977): 'RIBA looks to the community for some inspriation.' Building Design, 18.2.77, p.2.
68. KNIGHT, B. and McKEAN, J. (1977): 'Confusion over the RIBA Community Group'. Letter to Building Design, 11.3.77, p.8.
69. KNEVITT, C. (1977): 'Hackney makes a bid for seat on Council.' Building Design, 4.3.77.
70. ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS (1978): The Practice of Community Architecture. Membership and Public Affairs Executive Committee Report to RIBA Council, 17.3.78.
71. WATES, N. (1984) (1): 'Princely Boost for Peoples' Architects.' The Guardian, 2.7.84.
72. WATES, N. (1984) (2): 'Expanding Plans for Community Architecture Role.' Building Design, 5.10.84, p.4.
73. HACKNEY, R. (1982): 'Policy and Practice.' Architects' Journal, 13.1.82, p.32.
74. RIBA (1978): Op.cit.
75. HURLEY, J. and METCALF, G. (1978): Community Design and Schools of Architecture. Unpublished Draft, Cheltenham College of Art.
76. BREAKELL, D. (1978): Paper to New Architecture Movement Education Group Meeting. Cardiff, 1978, Unpublished Mimeo.
77. PEBODY, G. (1978): 'Private Practice on the Public Purse?' SLATE, Nov. 1978, Issue 10/11, pp.23-25.
78. PUBLIC DESIGN SERVICE GROUP (1978): A Public Design Service? New Architecture Movement, London, 29.9.78.

79. WEITZEL, A. (1980): 'A Harringey Experiment in the Structure and Management of the Architects' Service.' S.C.A.L.A.
80. BUILDING DESIGN (1978): 'Architecture for Needy Communities.' Building Design, 28.7.78.
81. ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS (1983): Highfield Hall, RIBA, London.
82. MARKUS, T.A. (1984): Op.cit.
83. FINLAY, I. (1983): in RIBA, Highfield Hall, op.cit.
84. WATES, N. (1983): 'ACTAC in Action.' Architects' Journal, 12.10.83, pp.57-63.

CHAPTER II

THE CHANGING CONTEXT OF HOUSING, SOCIAL POLICY AND COMMUNITY ACTION AND ITS EFFECT ON COMMUNITY ARCHITECTURE

2.1 Introduction

In the previous Chapter it was suggested that Community Architecture appears to be a product of changes within the architectural profession. These changes suggest that through such professional initiatives, architects will have something new to offer to 'the community'. In this Chapter these developments are looked at from another perspective which suggests that while Community Architecture is, in part, a professional initiative, it is also a response to changing social, economic and political conditions. These have led to architects adopting new roles and, in particular, to the emergence of user client groups who demand a new approach from professionals.

Changes in Government policies towards urban renewal, the problems of inner city housing policy, the growth of housing consumer groups in housing, are discussed together with ideas of user management and participation. The wide range of responses from architects, to these changes, is discussed and it is suggested that there has been an uneven approach to Community Architecture which reflects ideological confusion about its aims and purposes. Assumptions are made by architects and others about the benefits of user participation, even though its function is not clearly defined.

Furthermore, despite extensive literature on participation in planning and social policy, much of which has suggested that the effects of participation can be limited, the idea has been revived

within Community Architecture. The claims which are made have not been subject to rigorous scrutiny, creating the suspicion that they are being used to justify the role of architects rather than positive social benefits. Indeed, various developments are discussed in this Chapter which suggest that it is the changing social policy context which has created the demand for new professional roles, rather than initiatives within the profession. Initial investigation of the topic suggested that there was more demand for architects from community groups and the like, that was not being met. On the other hand, the literature tended to emphasise the initiative of a handful of architects.

In this Chapter, a number of specific policy changes are discussed in relation to several architectural responses which serve as examples of different approaches to Community Architecture.

2.2 The Change from Comprehensive Redevelopment to Rehabilitation

The development of Community Architecture can, in the main, be traced from major changes in housing policy in the UK in the late 1960s. Programmes, which involved wholesale demolition of older housing areas, were abandoned and new measures introduced to encourage local authorities and private house owners to renovate the housing stock. They brought to an end some of the approaches to mass housing that had made architects so unpopular.⁽¹⁾ This also meant that Community organisations which had been campaigning to prevent the demolition of their areas, developed in some cases, into user client organisations which were able to carry out building or renovation projects and employ architects. This community action movement had had a significant influence on policy changes as it grew in strength

and confidence. (2) Furthermore the nature of housing provision changed with housing associations coming to the fore, making new kinds of demands on the services of architects, indeed some architects were actively involved in setting up new housing associations. (3) These various developments led to architects being put in the position that they had to take into account the views of users because, very often the users were already in residence. This changed the architects' role and their relationship with their clients. (4)

While most of the arguments for rehabilitation were economic, (5) the Government in the late 60s had recognised that the older housing stock was falling into decay far more quickly than it could be replaced. (6) However, there was also a recognition that the destruction of existing social relationships which redevelopment had entailed, were unacceptable. Many of these ideas, contained in the 1968 Deplish study, (7) were influenced by the work of sociologists like Wilmott and Young who had pointed out the social costs of destroying existing 'communities'. (8)

Despite this new thinking, many local authorities continued with their comprehensive demolition plans. This led to widespread resistance on the part of residents and neighbourhood groups. Many such groups enlisted the help of sympathetic professionals, such as architects, who were prepared to draw up proposals and reports which countered those of local authorities. Even Government employed National Building Agency architects were involved in countering local authority proposals. (9) Reference to this by Beard is the first example that could be found in the literature to use the term 'Community Architecture.'

According to Cullingworth, 'by the turn of the seventies, there was an increasing clamour for "Stop Slum Clearance Now".' (10) However struggles over the issue continued well into the late 70s, both in London, (11) and in the provinces, in cities like Manchester and Leeds. In Manchester local groups were strongly supported by architecture students and succeeded in halting Manchester's bulldozers (12, 13) It was through links with the members of Manchester and Salford Housing Action Group (MASHA), that the campaign at Black Road Macclesfield, which brought architect Rod Hackney to fame, got its initial expertise and help. (14, 15)

The experience of local group victories at public enquiries laid the foundations of the housing co-operatives movement in a number of cities. Organisations, trying to keep their neighbourhoods intact, saw the possibility of buying and renovating housing themselves. In London, many of these campaigns were led by squatters who wanted to develop alternative forms of housing provision for single people. (16) This led to the emergence of many 'self-help' housing groups which had the objective of creating user-controlled and user-managed housing. Co-operative architectural practices such as 'SOLO' and 'SUPPORT' became associated with such developments. (17,18,19)

Most of these user-orientated approaches to housing did not emerge till the latter part of the 70s. However two earlier initiatives sowed the seeds of professional intervention in inner city areas and ideas of working with user clients were largely responding to the intentions of the 1969 Housing Act. (20) One of these, the Shelter Neighbourhood Action Project (SNAP) in Liverpool 8, was an attempt to

stimulate housing improvement in an impoverished inner city area. Sponsored by a voluntary charity, 'Shelter' and central Government, it encountered local authority inertia, though it claimed to be sponsoring 'total participation' of local people and 'planning and welfare self help'. (21) Operating from an office in the area, its professional team, which included three architects, attempted to 'squash the notion that experts and specialists are best equipped to make decisions about other peoples' needs.' (22) However it is not surprising that SNAP's architects became disillusioned with their attempt to 'squash' reliance on experts, by sending in a team of experts! In the face of limited effect and an unsympathetic local authority one of the team (who went on to work with user clients groups in Liverpool) described their attempts at public participation as a 'colossal confidence trick.' (23)

'SNAP' generated a great deal of controversy at the time, about the different approaches to professional intervention in socially deprived areas. Critics said that the problems they were attempting to solve were political and economic, for which SNAP was looking for technical and administrative answers. (24) The architects responded that they were trying to 'help the deprived now.' (25) Such ideological battle lines were more clearly defined in the early days of community architecture than they are 10-15 years later and reassessment of the early initiatives are instructive in questioning the claims of Community Architecture.

Whatever the arguments about 'SNAP', their initiative led to the setting up one of the first housing co-operatives in the country, albeit in a rather paternalistic way. This led to other locally managed housing groups and their own professional office, Neighbour-

hood Housing Services, which laid the foundations of many of the subsequent user controlled housing co-operatives, one of which will be the subject of this study. (26)

Similarly, in Glasgow, a relatively paternalistic initiative by an architecture student and a local conservation organisation (the New Govan Society) carried out an innovative housing rehabilitation scheme, in a run down area of Govan. (27) It was the catalyst for the development of 'ASSIST', a co-operative architectural practice which encouraged the formation of a large number of 'community based' housing associations. (28) Not only were these groups managed by local people but their example succeeded in transforming housing policies in the city as a whole. (29) They established the value of user and resident participation in housing and planning policies and a credibility for what became known as Community Architecture. (30)

A third project, worthy of consideration as influential in the early days of Community Architecture, was a small self help rehabilitation scheme in Macclesfield, Cheshire. The considerable publicity and acclaim which has been given to this small project may seem rather out of proportion to its size and significance as there has not been a fully objective and critical evaluation of it. Such an account is long overdue given that it has been put forward as a model of housing practice and Community Architecture. The architect, Rod Hackney, has himself claimed on a number of occasions, that the problems of housing need and the inner city could be solved if only architects worked as he did at Black Road by getting involved with inner city areas:

What price a community and service financed by the city and Government to tempt more community architects into the decaying urban areas to help provide a stabilising influence, and to encourage local people to take up the challenge of halting decay by self help...etc., etc. (31)

At the RIBA Conference in 1977 he is reported as saying that his approach could lead to 'the solution of Britain's housing problems in five years.' (32) In view of such far reaching claims, it is no wonder that the project has been described as a 'Fairy Tale of Our Times.' (33)

The success of Black Road project, owed as much to ingenious financial and improvement grant arrangements that were worked out by a public health inspector from the Manchester and Salford Housing Action Group, (see p.38) as it did to the presence of Hackney, living on site. Also the exceedingly low property prices, which enabled a number of tenants on low incomes to become owner-occupiers, meant that it would be hard to reproduce these solutions elsewhere. (34) However the publicity given to Hackney and Black Road (including journals in Russia and Japan) has fostered the idea that Community Architecture and rehabilitation is a 'Fairy Tale' combination which can solve social and economic problems.

There is evidence, however, that housing rehabilitation did not meet the needs of those most disadvantaged in the housing market. For instance, one effect of the declaration of General Improvement Areas (GIAS) following the 1969 Housing Act, was to channel greater subsidies to private property owners. In some areas, property prices rose and low income tenants of private landlords were forced out of their houses by speculators, and upwardly mobile people with higher incomes then moved in. (35) This process, known as 'gentrification', led to further legislation in an effort to overcome such problems (36) however, the subsequent 1974 Housing Act, with its introduction of Housing Action Areas has also been strongly criticised for failing to channel resources to those in greatest need. (37,38, 39)

Possibly because of these factors Hackney, himself, has not been able to reproduce the Black Road formula. Whilst Black Road continues to win Hackney numerous awards ⁽⁴⁰⁾, the work of his employees and several branch offices is almost unknown. This may be because subsequent work had 'differed significantly'. ⁽⁴¹⁾ The only clue in the literature being at George Arthur Road in Saltley, Birmingham, where a strong multi-racial community group was campaigning against the demolition of their street. With the help of Hackney, the local Community Development project and an "Open Door" television programme, they succeeded in getting the area made a Housing Action Area. However the local group collapsed leaving Hackney working for a large Midlands Housing Association which was not subject to local control. After three years (by August 1977) only 22 out of the 104 houses in the street had been improved and 9 of these were owned by the housing association. ⁽⁴²⁾

Because of this it is necessary to view Hackney's claims about Community Architecture with some suspicion. For instance, in a comment on the Black Road project, Kay argues that Hackney's ideas were very much in line with Conservative Party thinking on privatisation and reducing expenditure on the public sector. Kay suggests that

'to put this [Black Road] up as a prototype solution to Britain's housing problems is naive, or at least shortsighted.' ⁽⁴³⁾

It has also been suggested that some Community Architects used residents' campaigns to establish themselves in an area only to 'desert their ideals once they are successful,' ⁽⁴⁴⁾ an accusation that has been levelled at Hackney because he has become a Vice-President of the Royal Institute of British Architects and has

received royal approval. ⁽⁴⁵⁾ Thus in the field of housing rehabilitation Community Architecture has led its practitioners in many different directions. It cannot be taken for granted that these are all to the benefit of the local communities.

2.3 Tackling the Problems of the Inner City

In addition to housing policy changes throughout the 1970s, a number of approaches were tried by successive Governments to tackle problems of social deprivation, poverty, unemployment and industrial decline. Such problems remain widespread in British society, nor are they restricted to clearly defined spatial areas such as the inner city, but are spread throughout cities and rural areas. ⁽⁴⁶⁾ Despite this there has been an increasing Government emphasis on the need to tackle the decline of inner city areas in particular and this has been an important contextual factor in bringing about the emergence of Community Architecture.

The inner city has been an important focus for this activity because the decline of the physical environment and the lack of investment in buildings has been seen by many as a critical factor. ⁽⁴⁷⁾ Action to renovate existing buildings that have fallen into disuse, as patterns of industry and commerce have changed, and attempts to remove the worst of decay and delapidation has been encouraged by Governments. ⁽⁴⁸⁾ This has provided some opportunities for architects, though the scale of the work is small in comparison with the previous conventional workload of most practices. Indeed architects remain associated in the public mind with the kind of redevelopment and destruction of inner city areas which has contributed to many of the problems that exist in the inner city. For instance, the recent battle over the Coin Street site in central

London, involved the local groups in an attack on the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) for its support for the proposed large scale redevelopment of offices and prestige projects. (49)

The number of architects concerned with community initiatives to renovate inner city buildings and areas for commercial, industrial and other job creating purposes may be small and it is suggested here that these initiatives, while providing new roles for architects, (50) or alternative practice, (51) are less likely to involve user clients and are increasingly concerned with business initiatives. Such work neither involves the architects in working directly with user groups necessarily, nor brings them into contact with local neighbourhood groups. Furthermore some architectural practices, based on work with user client groups, have moved into these more commercial fields. (52) In some case there is a fine line between commercial and entrepreneurial small scale workshops and some inner city community and voluntary sector projects. (53) However, whether this field of work can be defined as Community Architecture or not is less relevant than recognising the changing attitudes to the architects' role that some of these projects have created.

There has been a growing number of people who have argued that inner city problems could be solved through the intervention of private business, commercial and professional interests. (54,55, 56) The contribution of the architectural profession appears to remain limited, however. For instance, in an account of the European Campaign for Urban Renaissance, the only major contribution from the architectural profession reported, was an attempt by architects and planners to improve their working relationship. (57) Architect, Hackney, however continues to call for Government aid to 'tempt more

community architects into the decaying urban areas...to take up the challenge of halting decay by self help, both in replemishing and managing the environment.' (58) He has even threatened to set up an Institute of Community Architects unless the RIBA supports such ideas, though apparently with little response. (59)

One explanation of this professional reticence may be found in the highly political and difficult nature of work in inner city areas in which architects are unwilling to engage. Also, Government investment in buildings, and thus the need for architectural services, is a comparatively recent development. During the late 60s and 70s, large sums of central Government money went, through Urban Aid programmes to local authorities to tackle inner city problems. Much of this money was spent by local authorities on their own programmes, including a great deal of building, which provided work for local authority architects' departments and conventional consultants, though following the 1981 riots, the Scarman report suggested that the vast majority of this money had not gone to where it was really needed. (60) In addition, during the 70s, a great deal of money went into various experimental programmes such as 'SNAP', Community Development Projects, Comprehensive Community Programmes and the like. (61) Many of these projects were based on a 'social pathology' view of poverty problems and their 'solutions' have been extensively criticised for failing to acknowledge that poverty has structural and economic causes, and also for sheer incompetence. (62) However, whatever the merits or failures of these approaches, there were only few opportunities for architects to become involved unless they gave up practice and became political activists according to Anson. (63)

The position changed, however, in the late 1970s and early '80s and Government finance was switched increasingly to capital expenditure in inner city areas and with greater emphasis on building projects that might create jobs. (64) This created a situation in which the numerous community action projects and locally based voluntary organisations found it possible to apply for finance to erect or convert buildings. Many of these organisations were run by, or at least involved the people who would use the buildings and represent in effect a new wave of user-clients. (65)

At first, Community Action groups were largely political and campaigning organisations, critical of local and central Government policies and making demands for extra resources to be provided so that bureaucratic organisations like local authorities, the health service and so on, would provide more and better services, facilities and housing. (66) However, while the voluntary sector had traditionally consisted of long established paternalistic charitable institutions, (67) a new wave of voluntary groups, often with radical objectives, was also willing to take on responsibility for providing and managing services, buildings and facilities. (68) Nearly all are financed by central or local Government.

It is groups like these which provided the new client, that the RIBA Community Architecture Working Group, referred to in the previous Chapter, was so keen to court. However, it is possible that private practice architects have not adequately met the demands from groups in this sector, because it became necessary for the voluntary sector itself to generate a range of new and unusual agencies with the generic name Community Technical Aid Centres, to meet their needs. It is these agencies which, based on a closer understanding of the nature

of voluntary sector work in the inner city, which have flourished and developed the ideas of architects working with user groups. (69)

The Royal Institute of British Architects, while recognising the growth of this new voluntary sector had encouraged architects to work through Citizen's Advice Bureaux in the hope that this would enable them to pick up extra work. (70) It was felt that through this, architects could encourage 'self help' and individual initiatives in deprived areas. (71) Whether this is possible is open to question because research has tended to show that very few community groups in the inner city are able to help themselves or take on work on a voluntary basis. Most are, instead, made up of people with limited time, money or knowledge, or are dependent on professional community work support, or have developed into organisations which employ their own workers. (72) Knight and Hayes suggest that these new organisations have replaced informal neighbourly help with more institutionalised organisations. (73)

Most inner city areas are now criss-crossed with a network of such semi-community, semi-professional organisations which have used the help of 'radical' architectural groups such as 'Support' in London, ARCAID in Leeds and similar organisations in other cities, while remaining suspicious of the RIBA and conventional architectural practices, according to Rogers. (74)

This new voluntary sector has received greater support from the Government in terms of financial and other aid as public spending has been decreased. It has become 'increasingly politically attractive and is seen to offer the scope for new initiative and flexibility.' (75) Co-operation between local authorities and

voluntary agencies has grown, through what has become known as 'welfare pluralism', (76) and this approach has become an increasingly important part of Conservative Government thinking, according to Lawrence. (77)

This new voluntary sector has been responsible for many projects including nurseries, creches, play groups, old-age pensioners day centres, youth clubs, community centres, advice centres, urban farms, projects for reclaiming derelict sites and for many other similar small schemes. They have enlisted the professional help of Technical Aid Centres and similar organisations, because of dissatisfaction with local authority services, and officials who find it hard to work with community groups. (78) Even though a handful of local authorities are attempting to decentralise their services, (79) the demand for 'alternative' professional and technical advice appears to be growing.

One apparent advantage of Technical Aid Centres over private practices is that, in being funded by urban aid or partnership finance, like their voluntary sector clients, they are able to carry out a certain amount of non-fee earning advice work. Many such agencies specialise in work at the feasibility stage, helping groups of inexperienced user clients to find buildings and sites and apply for finance. (80) The rapid growth in numbers of Technical Aid Centres has also led to the formation of a national association ACTAC, the Association of Community Technical Aid Centres, which has, among its objectives, to provide an alternative to the RIBA approach to Community Architecture. (81,82)

To date, very little has been written about the work of Technical Aid Centres and there have been few attempts to appraise their success or viability. One study, of the Newcastle Architecture

Workshop, suggested that the Technical Aid side of the Workshop had many difficulties and failed to meet the needs of its users and some of its aims. On the other hand, this particular Workshop suffered from management difficulties, being set up under the auspices of the RIBA, rather than the voluntary sector projects it was servicing.

(83) Other similar projects have run into difficulties because they are based on finance from the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) which is largely concerned with generating work experience for unemployed young people. MSC funded projects rarely allow for professional fees and costs even though a high standard of technical expertise is required for such projects. (84)

There is a pressing need for a critical evaluation to be made of Technical Aid Centres to discover how effective they are as an alternative form of professional service. It is not clear whether many of the projects which they assist are genuinely user controlled, nor is it certain that the community managed centres are really successful in involving their client groups in management. However, with respect to the argument being made here Technical Aid Centres do confirm the suggestion that this form of Community Architecture, at least, is a response to demands from user clients rather than an entirely professional initiative.

Thus the growth of community technical aid as an 'alternative' form of professional service, which has developed in response to the growing importance of the voluntary sector, confirms the suggestion made at the beginning of this Chapter that Community Architecture is the result of a changing social and economic context.

2.4 The Development of User-Oriented Approaches to Housing

A further factor in the development of Community Architecture has been the increasing attention paid to the interests of the consumers of housing and, in particular, tenants of council housing. This change of attitude on the part of local authorities, housing managers and other professionals and agencies concerned with housing has been fought for through many campaigns and struggles by tenants. There has been a long history of tenants' action to improve housing conditions and to resist rent increases, from Red Clydeside, (85) through to widespread rent strikes in East London from 1968-70, (86) in which tenants were prepared to take direct, often illegal action 'as a direct physical challenge to the upholders of existing social arrangements.' (87) Gradually the 'upholders of existing social arrangements' began to concede, in the face of tenants' campaigns, that existing authoritarian and paternalistic approaches to housing management were counter productive. Gradually, in the early '70s, token representatives of tenants began to be co-opted onto housing committees and tenants participation, if not widespread, began to be accepted. (88,89)

It also became apparent that many older and even some recently built local authority estates, required complete refurbishment. In some circumstances this provided an opportunity to consult tenants about what they would like to be done. (90) Despite such growing consumer pressures in housing, there are few indications in the literature in the 1970s, that the Architectural profession was in any way sympathetic to such ideas and architects continued to remain distant from building users. (91) Only Louis Hellman, in 1973, was calling for tenant participation in housing design. (92)

However, pressure for better tenancy agreements, which defined the rights of tenants as well as landlords, (93) also led to campaigns for tenants to be involved in future housing design, (94) and by 1978 Government advisors were admitting that future tenants, as well as Housing Managers, should be regarded as clients. (95) Even though most new housing continued to be built without any reference to future users, improvements and modernisation almost invariably involved some form of user participation. (96) It was also conceded that tenants could have a role in tackling rundown estates, (97) and architectural consultants appointed to draw up schemes were expected to discuss them with tenants. (98) Such was the scale of the problem of run down estates that in the early 1980s the Government introduced the Priority Estates programme where, together with local management experiments, tenants were given the opportunity to be involved in decision making. (99) Despite this, attempts to genuinely involve tenants in design are still few and far between. This is yet another example of the demand for architects to work with users and involve them in design, moving ahead of the willingness of the architectural profession to work in this way.

Instead of campaigning for better treatment on council estates, however, the idea has also been put forward that tenants could manage their own affairs and be involved from the start in shaping and designing their own environment. Ward suggested, in 1968, that the solution to many housing problems was to let 'tenants take over', (100) and he continued to promote the idea until it won official acceptance in the mid 1970s. (101) A Government working party on housing co-operatives led to changes in policy which enabled tenant managed housing associations to come into existence, (102) and this

was so successful that, by 1980, the Housing Corporation was listing some 175 co-operatives, housing 10,000 members in all. (103)

Housing co-operatives were natural user-client organisations, because to be a fully mutual co-operative and to receive Government funding, it was necessary for all tenants to be members and all members to be tenants. Thus all future users had a democratic right, in theory, to decide policy. (104) Most early housing co-operatives began by buying existing property and found management problems quite enough to deal with without worrying too much about design issues, (105) Even so, in renovating older property they had to employ architects and as Michael Hook pointed out:

...the relationship between the architect and his client takes on an entirely new dimension when working for a co-operative. The architect finds himself directly accountable to his client, the consumer... Though not surprising it is of particular interest to note that many of the architects already operating on behalf of the co-operative housing movement are young. What they may lack in experience...they make up for in dedication. ...it is to be hoped that the architectural profession will be...able to respond effectively. (106)

While tiny in number and fairly marginal, when compared with the housing stock as a whole, housing co-operatives continued to receive a great deal of interest and attention and in 1982 a group of a dozen or so new build co-operatives in Liverpool were hailed in the Architects' Journal as ending 'an era spanning 60 years of paternalist public housing provision.' It was claimed that what was different about such housing was that 'users are firmly in the driving seat.' (107)

In parallel with the development of housing co-operatives was the albeit smaller growth of self-build housing in Britain. There had been a steady trickle of owner occupiers who had built their own

houses since the Second World War, but increasingly, local authorities had begun to sponsor self-build housing associations by providing them with sites and loans. (108) While some research into self build groups suggested that for many self builders the idea of user involvement in design was of no particular interest and that they were merely a stepping stone to owner occupancy, (109) such projects provided further opportunities for the development of user control in housing. Many self-build schemes are indistinguishable from houses built by private developers, but this was in part the result of official attempts to discourage individual expression and experimentation. (110)

However, at least one experiment, involving architect Walter Segal, provided working class residents in Lewisham (S.E. London) from the council house waiting list, the opportunity to be involved in the design of their future housing, and also to build it themselves. (111)

Growing interest in both tenant managed and self-build housing and official support for such experiments, is evidence of the changing climate of policy and demand for users to be involved in shaping their environment. It is these, and other developments in housing rehabilitation and inner city policies, that have created the ideas and climate for user participation and created the opportunities for user client organisations to emerge.

2.5 The Scope for User Participation and Self Management in Contemporary Society

The purpose of this section is to draw a note of caution about the ideas which underly the preceding section. Community Architecture has been linked to the growth of demand for user participation in the production of the built environment. For many of its

protagonists, participation is assumed to be a good thing and a number of claims are made about its benefits which are discussed in the next Chapter. However, it is important to point out that there has been a substantial body of literature critical of many of the assumptions behind 'participation'. It would be safe to say that the protagonists of Community architecture seem largely unaware of this literature.

For instance, Arnstein has pointed out that participation can take place at a variety of levels, depending what concessions, those in power, have been willing to make. (112) Dennis has shown how the word has been used to mean different, often contradictory things, (113) and more often than not 'participation' is used in a prescriptive way, suggesting idealised models of social inter-action. (114, 115) Others have suggested that participation can be used to 'instruct people in how to make their contribution without rocking the boat.' (116)

So extensive has been the debate about participation, following the Skeffington report in 1969, (117) that one study has identified over 1,350 references on the subject. (118) For the purposes of this study participation has been taken to loosely mean, the involvement of people in the design and development of buildings. It will be necessary, therefore, to examine the degree of this involvement and its nature very carefully.

Community Architecture can be seen as part of a broad pluralistic view of society in which participation at various levels is being encouraged or allowed. Such ideas can also be found in

relation to local government and industrial production. (119,120, 121,122) However, criticism of these ideas suggest that they ignore political conflicts and fundamental economic issues. (123,124)

Words such as 'COMMUNITY' and 'PARTICIPATION' are ideologically loaded, which according to some, are distorted to mask 'cleavages of interest and inequalities.' (125) Examination of 'Community Planning' has revealed that professionals are often unaware of the wider political complexities. (126) Furthermore, terms like Community Action imply theories of social movements, (127) or social relations, (128) which have not been fully articulated. Indeed the politics of everyday life have only recently been considered worthy of study by academics in general. (129)

Such consideration is likely to reveal conclusions unpalatable to those who make far reaching claims about community participation, user control and self-help. For instance, in examining tenants' co-operatives, Cullingworth argues that 'those who have opted for an alternative form of tenure [in housing] have done so for the simple reason it was the only alternative available to them at the time.' (130) While Turner and Ward, for instance, have asserted that without 'dweller control...dwelling environments may instead become a barrier to personal fulfilment and a burden on the economy,' (131,132) Burgess has argued that such ideas were flawed, in that they pay undue attention to administrative and managerial issues, whilst ignoring wider questions of political economy. (133)

It is therefore hoped that this study can be located within the terms of such debates, providing empirical evidence rather than bland assumptions which have been the basis of much of what has been said about Community Architecture thus far.

2.6 Conclusions

It is argued here that attempting to devise a precise definition of Community Architecture is not a worthwhile activity. What can be seen is that architects of many different kinds, for many different reasons and with varying ideological motives, have become involved with innovative projects of many different kinds. These projects, in themselves are part of a complex pattern of social relationships whereby experiments in social change are being conducted. These are linked together loosely by the idea that ordinary people should somehow be involved in, or more in control of, factors which affect their lives and particularly in the provision of essential services such as housing and social facilities.

Certain political and economic changes have created opportunities for these experiments to take place and receive financial support from the State. Professional services which could provide expertise have been adapted to meet these demands and there has been a conjunction of interest between radical forces within society and in the professions which have come together in a number of different ways. Unfortunately due to the lack of real debate and discussion, publication or research in the field, the picture is still rather confused. It is also suggested here that Community Architecture contains ideas which are based on assumptions which are drawn from prescriptive ideas of how society could somehow be improved rather than clear political analysis. These prescriptive ideas involve the notion of users taking part in architectural design and the relevant decision making processes. In the next Chapter, a number of examples of how this affects architectural practice, are examined in more detail.

CHAPTER II REFERENCES

1. WOOLLEY, T., (1975): 'After the Bulldozers - What Next?'. Architectural Design 7/75, pp.441-2.
2. COMMUNITY ACTION (1973): CPOS Action Report, Community Action No.9, July/Aug. pp.13-19.
3. EDGAR, A., LEVITT, D. and PICKERING, C. (1973): 'New Prospects for Housing Associations'. Built Environment, June 1973, pp.335-338.
4. JOHNSON, J. (1979): Housing Rehabilitation - A Challenge to the Profession in Markus, T.A. (Ed), Chapter 4.
5. For Example: NEEDLEMAN, L. (1969): 'The Comparative Economics of Improvement and New Building.' Urban Studies, Vol.6, No.2 and SIGSWORTH, E.M. and WILKINSON, R. (1967): 'Rebuilding or Renovation?'. Urban Studies, Vol.4, No.2.
6. MINISTRY OF HOUSING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT (1968): 'Old Houses into New Homes'. April 1968, H.M.S.O.
7. MINISTRY OF HOUSING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT (1968): The Deeplish Study - Improvement Possibilities in a District of Rochdale. H.M.S.O.
8. WILLMOTT, P. and YOUNG, M. (1960): Family and Kinship in East London. Harmondsworth: Pelican.
9. BEARD, A. (1971): 'Walkley: Architects Serving People' in The Catonsville Roadrunner, No.30.
10. CULLINGWORTH, J.B. (1979): Essays on Housing Policy, The British Scene. London: George Allen and Unwin.
11. HOLGATE, W. (1976): Community Action in Kensal Green, London: Architectural Association.
12. COMMUNITY ACTION (1974): 'Manchester's Bulldozers Stopped - How community action forced major changes in a city's housing policy.' CA No.16, Oct/Nov., pp.33-37.
13. MASON, T. (1977): Community Action and the Local Authority, Urban Change and Conflict Conference. York Centre for Environmental Studies.
14. MANCHESTER AND SALFORD HOUSING ASSOCIATION (1975): MASHA Newsletter No.2, February.
15. COMMUNITY ACTION (1974): 'Black Road Success', CA No.14, June/July, pp.31-35.
16. WATES, N. (1976): The Battle for Tolmers Square, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
17. BAILEY, R. (1973): The Squatters, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

18. PLATT, S. (1980): 'A Decade of Squatting' in WATES, N. and WOLMAR, C. (Eds), Squatting, The Real Story. London: Bayleaf Books.
19. KARPF, A. (1977): 'The Pressure Groups'. Architects' Journal, 19.10.77, pp.728-734.
20. H.M.S.O. (1969): Housing Act 1969.
21. HUNTER, J. (1969): 'Self Help Planning.' Architect and Building News, 20.11.69, pp.34-39.
22. BARNARD, R. (1970): 'Community Action in a Twilight Zone.' RIBA Journal, October, pp.445-453.
23. WILKINSON, D.J. (1972): 'SNAP' Lecture to People and Housing Conference. Sheffield, March 10 1972.
24. ROSE, H. and PUCKET, T. (1973): 'Blueprint for Bureaucrats.' RIBA Journal, July, p.335, pp.277-281.
25. EDWARDS, J. and WILKINSON, D. (1973): 'Lets have no more cant.' RIBA Journal, July, p.335.
26. NEIGHBOURHOOD HOUSING SERVICES (1974): Unpublished application for grant.
27. YOUNG, R. (1971): Tenement Improvement Project, University of Strathclyde and New Govan Society. Unpublished mimeo, February 8, 1971.
28. THORNLEY, M. (1976/7): 'ASSIST' Parts 1,2 and 3 in Architects' Journal, 10.11.76, pp.901-908, 8.12.76, pp.1089-1100, 9.2.77, pp.269-277.
29. MCKEAN, J.M. (1976): 'From Redevelopment to Rehab.' AD, 3/76, pp.138-141.
30. JOHNSON, J. (1979) op.cit.
31. HACKNEY, R. (1984): letter to The Guardian, 19.6.84.
32. Building Design (1977): 'Slum Housing Solution in Five Years Claim by Hackney', 21.10.77, p.6.
33. MENZIES, W. (1978): 'A Fairy Tale of Our Times.' Urban Design Forum, No.1, pp.53-56.
34. HACKNEY, R. (1975): The Black Road Improvement Area, Royal Society of Health. Newcastle Conference Proceedings.
35. SHREEVE, J. (1969): 'Islington Break-up' in Solidarity South London, No.6, 21.9.69, pp.8-10.
36. MERRET, S. (1976): 'Gentrification' in Political Economy of Housing Workshop - Housing and Class in Britain. London: Conference of Socialist Economists.
37. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT (1977): The Poverty of the Improvement Programme CDP, Political Economy Collective.

38. BLACKABY, B. and PARIS, C. (1979): Not Much Improvement. London: Heineman.
39. BODENSCHATZ, H., HEISE, V., KORFMACHER, J. (1983): Schluss Mit der Zerstörung. Berlin: Anabas.
40. ARCHITECTS' JOURNAL (1983): 'Hackney receives International Young Architects' Medal', 6.7.83.
41. KNEVITT, C., (1977): 'Down Your Way: Current Projects by Rod Hackney.' Architects' Journal, 5.10.77, pp.630-636.
42. BIRMINGHAM COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT (1979): From Failure to Facelift. Final Report No. 6, Birmingham CDP.
43. KAY, T. (1984): Commentary on Black Road in Hatch, C.R., The Scope of Social Architecture. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
44. COOPER, D. (1982): 'Paying for Idealism.' Architects' Journal, 15.9.82, p.65.
45. H.R.H. PRINCE OF WALES (1984): op.cit.
46. HALL, P. (Ed) (1981): The Inner City in Context. London: SSRC/Heinemann.
47. HOME, R.K. (1982): Inner City Regeneration. London: Spons.
48. LAWLESS, P. (1979): Urban Deprivation and Government Initiative. London: Faber and Faber.
49. ABRAMS, J. (1981): 'Coin Street - Shoddy Profession has Throttled Life Blood of Communities...' Building Design, 11.9.81, p.1.
50. ROCK, D. and MITCHELL, S. (1980): Alternative 2, New Potential in UK. Architects' Journal, 20.2.80, pp.401-405.
51. CAIRD, D.J. (1982): Alternative Practice, Major Project Report. Department of Architecture , Oxford Polytechnic.
52. BUILDING DESIGN (1983): From Fish Market to Up Market. 21.1.83.
53. FRANKS, M. (1975): An Experiment in Inner City Conservation. Architectural Association Quarterly, Vol.7, No.4, pp.43-47.
54. BUSINESS IN THE COMMUNITY (undated) leaflet.
55. STEEN, A. (1981): New Life for Old Cities. London: Aims of Industry.
56. BLAIR, T. (1971): 'Technocrats, dreamers or rebels: What should professionals be in the inner city?' RIBA Journal, April, pp.149-150.
57. COLLINS (1982): Whose Town is it Anyway? Proceedings of Durham Conference on the European Campaign for Urban Renaissance. H.M.S.O., 1982.

58. HACKNEY, R. (1984): op.cit.
59. BLACKWELL, L. (1984): 'Community Architecture Ultimatum - Hackney spells out demands.' Building Design, 13.7.84.
60. HOME OFFICE (1981): The Brixton Disorders. Report of an Inquiry by the Rt. Hon the Lord Scarman OBE. HMSO, Nov.
61. WOOLLEY, T. (1982): 'Where will the money come from?' Architects' Journal, 7.7.82, pp.74-76.
62. LONEY, M. (1984): Community Against Government, The British Community Development Project, 1965-78. London: Heinemann.
63. ANSON, B. (1983): 'Railton Road and Beyond.' Architects' Journal, 20.4.83, pp.54-67.
64. HMSO (1977): Policy for the Inner Cities, June 1977 Cmnd 6845.
65. HOME, R.K. (1982): op.cit. p.38.
66. COWLEY, J. et al (1977): Community or Class Struggle. London: Stage 1.
67. GLADSTONE, F.J. (1979): Voluntary Action in a Changing World. London: Bedford Square Press.
68. KNIGHT, B. and HAYES, R. (1982): The Self Help Economy. London: London Council of Voluntary Service.
69. FIELD, D. et al (1980): The Provision of Technical Services to the Community, Dept. of Civic Design. University of Liverpool, unpublished.
70. ARCHITECTS' JOURNAL (1978): 'Aid Scheme Stalled.' Architects' Journal, 1.3.78.
71. HACKNEY, R. (1984): op.cit.
72. KNIGHT, B. and HAYES, R. (1981): Self Help in the Inner City. London: London Voluntary Service Council.
73. KNIGHT, B. and HAYES, R. (1981): op.cit., p.80.
74. ROGERS, M. (1981): 'A Radical Architecture - Supports Politics.' Slate, No.17, p.7.
75. WILLIAMS, G. (1983): Inner City Policy - A Partnership with the Voluntary Sector. NCVO Occasional Paper Three. London: Bedford Square Press.
76. GLADSTONE, F.J. (1979): op.cit.
77. LAWRENCE, R. (1983): 'Voluntary Action: A Stalking Horse for the Right?' Critical Social Policy, Vol.2, No.3, pp.14-30.
78. BISHOP, J. (1983): Voluntary Sector/Local Authority Collaboration on Environmental Improvements. Bristol: S.A.U.S.

79. SEABROOK, J. (1984): The Idea of Neighbourhood. London: Pluto Press.
80. VOLUNTARY ACTION (1980): 'Liverpool's Community Architects.' No.2, Spring, pp.22-23.
81. WATES, N. (1983): 'ACTAC in Action.' Architects' Journal, 12.10.82, pp.57-63.
82. KNIGHTS, J. (1984): Foreword to Community Technical Aid: A Directory of Technical Aid Centres Serving Community Groups in London, YOUNG, T. (Ed.). London: Voluntary Service Council.
83. ISRAEL, T. (1983): Newcastle Architecture Workshop: A Preliminary Evaluation of an Environmental Education and Community Technical Services Programme. City University of New York, Mimeo.
84. WOOLLEY, T. (1982): 'Prefab Pioneers.' Architects' Journal, 20.10.82, pp.54-48.
85. MELLING, J. (1984): Rent Stikes, Peoples Struggle for Housing in West Scotland 1890-1916. Edinburgh: Polygon Books.
86. MOORHOUSE, B., WILSON, M. and CHAMBERLAIN, C. (1972): Rent Strikes - Direct Action and the Working Class in Miliband, R. and Saville, J. (eds), The Socialist Register. London: Merlin Press.
87. MOORHOUSE et al (1972): op.cit.
88. RICHARDSON, A. (1973): The Participation of Council Tenants in Housing Management - Some recent developments in London Boroughs. Housing Review, Jne/Feb., pp.16-18.
89. CRADDOCK (1975), Council Tenants Participation in Housing Management. London: Association of London Housing Estates.
90. HEFFERNAN, D. (1975): Action Study of Milton Court and Evelyn Estates. Lewisham Architecture Research Unit, Edinburgh University.
91. ARMSTRONG, G. and WILSON, M. (1973): Delinquency and some aspects of housing, in Ward, C. (Ed), Vandalism. London: Architectural Press.
92. HELLMAN, L. (1973): 'Housing and Participation.' Built Environment, June 1973.
93. NATIONAL CONSUMER COUNCIL (1976): Tenancy Agreements. Discussion Paper, September 1976.
94. BRENT FEDERATION OF TENANTS AND RESIDENTS (1978): How to Gain a Better Tenancy Agreement. London: BFTRA, April 1978.
95. HOUSING SERVICES ADVISORY GROUP (1978): The Client Role in Public Sector Housebuilding. London: Department of the Environment, January 1978.

96. S.L.A.S.H. (1979): Public Involvement in Modernisation. Advisory Note 3. Scottish Local Authorities Special Housing Group, Edinburgh.
97. BURBIDGE, M. (1981): 'Tenants Role in Tackling Run Down Estates.' Housing Review, May/June, 1981, pp.81-85.
98. ARCHITECTS' JOURNAL (1983): 'Estate Improvement Through Community Participation.' Architects' Journal, 20.7.83.
99. POWER, A. (1982): Priority Estates Project - Improving Problem Housing Estates. London: Department of the Environment.
100. WARD, C. (1968): 'Tenants Take Over - A New Strategy for Council Tenants.' Anarchy, No.83, Vol.8, No.1, Jan., pp.1-19.
101. WARD, C. (1974): Tenants Take Over. London: Architectural Press.
102. DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT (1975): Final Report of the Working Party on Housing Co-operatives. H.M.S.O.
103. HOUSING CORPORATION (1981): Directory of Housing Co-operatives.
104. HANDS, J. (1976): Housing Co-operatives. London: Society for Co-operative Dwellings.
105. POWER, A. (1977): 5 Years On. A Study of Holloway Tenant Co-operative. London, June, 1977.
106. HOOK, M. (1977): 'Housing Co-operative.' Architects' Journal, 29.6.77, pp.1215-12228.
107. WATES, N. (1982): The Liverpool Breakthrough. Architects' Journal, 8.9.82, pp.51-58.
108. STEAD, P. (1979): Self Build Housing Groups and Co-operatives - Ideas in Practice. London: Anglo-German Foundation.
109. ARSCOTT, M. et al (1976): Alternatives in Housing : A Report on Self Build Housing in Britain.
110. NATIONAL BUILDING AGENCY (1975): Self Build: A Manual for Self Build Housing Associations. London: NBA, H.M.S.O.
111. ELLIS, C. (1980): 'Do-it-yourself vernacular.' Architects' Journal, 17.12.80, pp.1185-1205.
112. ARNSTEIN, S. (1969): 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation.' Journal of the American Institute of Planners, July 1969, pp.216-224.
113. DENNIS, N. (1972): Public Participation and Planners Blight. London: Faber and Faber.
114. HAIN, P. (ed) (1976): Community Politics. London: John Calder.

115. GIBSON, T. and BEAN, J. (1980): Planning for Real and Neighbourhood Change. Bulletin of Environmental Education, May 1980, pp.5-31.
116. WATLING, J. (1984): Review of Mayo and Lees 1984. London Community Work Service Newsletter, No.61, July.
117. DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT (1969): People in Planning - The Skeffington Report. H.M.S.O.
118. BARKER, A. (1979): Public Participation in Britain. London: Bedford Square Press.
119. SEABROOK, J. (1984): op.cit.
120. ALLWRIGHT, C. et al (1981): Lambeth and Neighbourhood Councils in Jones, D. and Smith, L. (eds), Community Work 6. London: RKP/ACW.
121. SCHUMACHER, E.F. (1974), Small is Beautiful. London: Abacus.
122. McROBIE, G. (1981): Small is Possible. London: Harper and Row.
123. BERESFORD, S. & P. (1978): Participation for Whom? New Society, 17.8.78, pp.351-352.
124. SHEILD, R. (1982): "'Power to the People?', Decentralisation and Socialism." The Chartist, No.91, June/Aug., pp.10-14.
125. HAGUE, C. (1982): Reflections on Community Planning in Paris, C., p.229.
126. READE, E. (1976): 'Some doubts about the notion of Community Planning' in Zoo, No.11, Department of Planning, Heriot Watt University.
127. CASTELLS, M. (1977): The Urban Question. London: Edward Arnold.
128. POULANTZAS, N. (1973): Political Power and Social Classes. London: Sheed and Ward.
129. CASTELLS, M. (1984): The City and the Grass Roots. London: Edward Arnold.
130. CULLINGWORTH, J.B. (1979): Essays on Housing Policy. op.cit., p.130.
131. WARD, C. (1983): Housing: An Anarchist Approach. London: Freedom Press.
132. TURNER, J.F.C. (1972): 'Housing as a Verb' in Turner, J.F.C. and Fichter, R., Freedom to Build. New York: Macmillan.
133. BURGESS, R. (1982): Self Help Housing Avocacy: A Curious Form of Radicalism. A Critique of the Work of John F.C. Turner in P.M. Ward (Ed), Self-Help Housing - A Critique. London: Mansell Publishing.

PARTICIPATORY DESIGN - IS IT THE MAIN FEATURE
OF COMMUNITY ARCHITECTURE

3.1 Introduction

Having argued in the previous Chapter that there is a growing demand for Community Architecture, due to changing social conditions, it is necessary to examine in more detail how user clients and lay people can get involved in the architectural processes of design and development. It was also argued in the previous Chapter that the profession has been slow to respond and change in order to meet this need. It is suggested here that this is, in part, due to the under development of techniques which can be used in Participatory Design, the means by which lay people, unfamiliar with the building development process can become involved in briefing, policy and design decisions.

It can be argued that knowledge and expertise in participatory design is still very limited and that interest in remedying this, particularly in the architectural profession, appears to be extremely limited.

Models of this kind of work are few and far between and there has been very little empirical research carried out. In addition, many of the examples, renowned in the architectural profession as models of participatory design, prove, on closer examination to be somewhat suspect, at least in terms of the degree of alleged participation. In this Chapter some of the different approaches are reviewed and the argument advanced that the current approach has been to look for technically oriented approaches to participation

which tend to reinforce the position of the professional rather than the user client. It is also suggested that, even with these techniques, the architects' approach to design follows well trodden paths. Research into conventional design methods is discussed which shows that there are many deficiencies when it comes to understanding, or taking account of users needs.

This creates the danger that Community Architecture methods, far from empowering or enabling, may merely condition new user client groups to accept existing architectural approaches. These 'conventional' architectural approaches are then simply adapted, but not fundamentally altered, thus failing to achieve a genuine sharing of expertise and decision making. This is in part because there is a well established belief among many architects that their design skills have a universal applicability and will work as well for powerful corporate clients as for an inexperienced low income community group.

Rather than experiment with participatory design approaches, most of the protagonists of Community Architecture have been content simply to repeat claims about the benefits of user participation, even though there is very little evidence to support such claims. For instance, the Byker housing project, discussed below, is well known amongst architects and some lay people as a successful example of tenant participation even though most accounts of the project have shown that very little participation took place. (p.68) In this Chapter, the literature on projects like Byker is reviewed, as is the literature on various theories and approaches to participatory design. These ideas are then examined in the light of literature which argues that participation techniques cannot be divorced from the social and

political context in which they are applied. This raises doubts about the ability of participatory design techniques (as practised at present) to ensure genuine user control of building design processes. In view of this it is necessary to consider more conventional approaches, which take account of user needs in building design, to answer the question as to why this problem remains so difficult. Finally, the Chapter concludes with a consideration of the way in which Community Architecture and participatory design are, never the less, claimed to be an answer to the problems of user satisfaction and to hold other benefits.

3.2 A Dearth of Literature on Participatory Design

The normal way for professionals to develop and promote particular ideas is to discuss them at conferences, to sponsor research and to publish the ideas or examples of them in practice. To date this has hardly begun to happen in the field of Community Architecture. A small conference organised by Support Architects Co-operative in 1979, (1) and another on Community Architecture and Architectural Education in Gloucester in 1977, (2) were two early attempts to develop an alternative approach to that of the RIBA. The RIBA also held a conference entitled 'The Architect as Enabler' in 1982. (3) No proceedings from any of these conferences have been published. On an international scale, the subject has been developed to some extent in the USA, but even here the available literature is quite limited. The most important debate on the subject was held in Louvain, Belgium in 1978. However the proceedings of this meeting show that talks were largely by architects, many of which are rambling and discursive, with little attempt to achieve clear definitions or critical appraisal of different approaches. (4) One explanation of this could be that

the architectural profession are pre-occupied with product rather than process. Those architects who have established a reputation for participation, have done so because their peers have applauded their buildings and their design, not whether they have been successful in involving user participants. Indeed it is hard to tell from the Louvain accounts, who the participants were, how they participated and whether they were more satisfied with their buildings as a result. The pre-occupation in architectural circles has instead been whether this new approach will produce a new style or new imagery, which is exciting in architectural terms, rather than being acceptable to ordinary people.

Thus many of the early examples of user participation turn out, on examination, to have involved the architect designing buildings that merely tend to suggest involvement with users. Herman Hertzberger's Delft-Buitenhof scheme in the Netherlands, dating from 1971, for instance, has a 'contrived untidiness.' (5) While Hertzberger himself argues that the architectural form and the user interact until 'they mutually take possession of each other,' (6) and research has shown that the users in this particular scheme are highly satisfied, there is more than a suspicion that the contribution of the users to the form of the buildings was carefully contrived and managed in order to conform to the architects' formal imagery. (7)

It was assumed by some architects, possibly inspired by the imagery of 'Architecture without Architects', (8) that participatory architecture required an imagery of 'disorder' and there has been more than one example of architects designing disordered looking buildings, or models of them, to show what they would look like if users had participated in design. (9) This is not intended to

detract from the quality of the buildings and designs that have resulted but as Cross has argued, in many different approaches to participatory design, no matter what the user does, 'it is still identified as essentially the work of the designer not the user.'

(10)

Cross cites the example of Lucien Kroll, whose work on the Medical Faculty Building in Louvain and subsequent work on housing estates in France, have given him an international reputation among architects in general. ⁽¹¹⁾ Cross argues that Kroll retains a paternalistic position and in Kroll's own accounts of his work he says little about the role of the inhabitants, how they were organised or what influence they had on the scheme. ⁽¹²⁾ This is perhaps not surprising when one discovers that residents at Alencon, for instance, were opposed to his proposals because of the effect it would have on their rents. ⁽¹³⁾ This approach to participation in design can be characterised as legitimising the architects own ideas by claiming user support from allegedly spurious participation exercises, while the architect remains firmly in charge.

Another celebrated example of participation, the work of Architect Ralph Erskine in Byker, Newcastle is also claimed by Cross to be an example of 'the architects own ideas, masquerading as the outcome of a participatory process.' ⁽¹⁴⁾ However Byker has acquired a reputation for success in participation when in reality it is only claimed as a successful example of humanitarian management of comprehensive redevelopment. Erskine himself, while referring to community participation as a 'good thing', is careful to use the term 'collaborative design', when referring to the architects' approach at Byker. ⁽¹⁵⁾ As Erskine admits 'in doing our normal architects' job', they

only succeeded in helping the community to become more active. Or as Malpass explains, the approach was 'merely an aspect of urban management rather than a means of giving people a decisive voice in their area.' (16)

At Byker, the architects worked on site and this provided them with direct contact with the users, but it was left to the architects to distill the resulting information into designs. In accepting Malpass' criticisms, Vernon Gracie, the on-site architect only claims 'a modest advance in humanising the process of redevelopment.' (17)

Thus ironically 'participation' has acquired approval from the profession via projects which have had little to do with genuine user client involvement. According to Cross, participation has only worked well in 'very modest' schemes and in rehabilitation and improvement projects.' (18) Unfortunately not a great deal is known about the techniques and methods used in such projects.

3.3 Techniques and Approaches to Design Participation

Certain influential ideas in this field have assumed that it would be necessary to develop forms of building technology or technical aids before participation could be put into practice. The assumption is made that lay people can only participate if the architect has first devised some technical framework which will permit the users to express their ideas. This has appeared in two forms. First, the idea of providing buildings which create structures, within which users can alter or manipulate spaces and appearances. Second, the idea of highly developed participatory techniques which will solve the problems of communication and understanding which, it is assumed exist between lay-people and experts.

It is suggested that these approaches can make the mistake of ignoring the social, political and human relations aspects of participation assuming that technical methods can overcome such problems. The work of Habraken and the S.A.R. has certainly not ignored social and political issues, but has sown the seeds of the idea that technical frameworks come first. The ideas of 'Supports' structures were an attempt to reconcile modern system building techniques with social objectives, but they have been criticised as restricting the freedom of the building users in order to provide the comparatively 'trivial advantage' of being able to rearrange rooms. (19)

The idea of providing a highly structured framework which can then be easily understood by users, who can manipulate models and sketches more easily, is attractive to architects. However, this creates the danger that decisions are already taken which pre-empt real choice for the participants. A scheme in which architects Hamdi and Wilkinson have tried to apply the 'Supports' principle in the UK, at Adelaide Road in Camden, has, it is claimed, highly satisfied tenants, (20) but closer examination has shown that the scheme's flexibility is very limited. (21) Its success is said to have had more to do with the location of the scheme, the special selection of tenants and their control over management, than the limited amount of participation which was permitted. (22)

More recently attempts have been made to develop technological aids to participatory design which would provide tools for architects to work with groups of lay people. These range from highly sophisticated and expensive full scale laboratories to computer aids.

A number of architecture schools in the Netherlands, Switzerland and in Sweden have laboratories which allow full scale mock ups of rooms or even buildings to be constructed quite quickly, providing architects, students and sometimes user groups with the opportunity to play around with possible designs, and to perceive them as near to reality as possible. Lawrence, in published research on the use of such a laboratory in Lausanne has claimed that such full scale simulation can be (a) the most important stage in a design process, (b) that its use can provide a much more profound understanding of designs than sketches or other methods and (c) that not only do the clients gain much from the process, but the architects made many modifications to their designs as a result of seeing the model. (23) A study of the design of five houses for a co-operative involved the monitoring of the users' participation and Lawrence found that the response of the users was very much related to their previous housing experiences. As a result they depended on the architect to propose ideas and changes, rarely initiating ideas themselves. Despite this, Lawrence claims that participants can express their own ideas and modify design through the use of this technique. However, his report tells us nothing of the context of the project and the financial and other limitations placed on the users. The impression given is that the users were guided through the scheme by the architects, the model providing a much better understanding, so that the users could question and challenge the architects proposals more effectively.

While no such full scale modelling facilities are available in Britain, there has been some experimentation with computer aids which suggest the possibility of drawing out numerous options, in three dimensions, in a way that an architect with a sketch pad could

take months to do. In one experiment at Strathclyde University, local housing groups were involved in the design of urban aid funded community centres using Computer Aided Design. (24) The study revealed a great deal about the way that the participants were more concerned with organisational and functional issues than 'aesthetic, technical or cost related aspects.' The researchers suggested that the aids would only function sensibly when the design problem was structured in such a way as to enable decision making at the relevant stages.

The conclusions that may be drawn from these experiments are that tools and techniques are only useful if they are part of a properly worked out process of decision making, in which the relationship between the architects, users and others involved, is clear. The techniques in themselves do not avoid the need to sort out the social relations aspects.

3.4 Social Relations and Participation

Given the above conclusions it seems necessary for the organisation, structures and dynamics of groups and their relationships with design professionals to be well understood if participation is to be effective and satisfactory for all concerned. This has to involve considerations of power and control issues which may have a more significant effect on decisions than the way in which design ideas have been communicated. Unfortunately, research into and discussion of, such issues is largely unknown in the field of architecture. The following three examples, which illustrate the limited experience in this area, show that while there is some awareness of the need to ground participation techniques in the appropriate organisational frameworks, these are often based on a particular

political ideology or view of society. Such ideological bias may not be openly expressed but may profoundly influence methods used which, in turn, favour the views of the professionals rather than that of the user participants.

A handful of architects have developed procedures and techniques which are intended to provide essentially simple, easy-to-understand methods by which lay people can understand design problems. Olivegren, in Sweden, for instance, has used drawings and models organised into a series of seven steps through which the participants are led. (25) Olivegren has used these methods in a number of housing projects in which participants have been offered a wide range of choice of plan layout and elevational treatment, but it is clear that the choices are within a framework, pre-determined by the architect. (26) Olivegren not only claims that he facilitates participation but that through meetings and activities that he creates small 'communities'. (27) Thus the implication is that through design participation people are brought together to relate more closely to each other as neighbours and to work more collectively. However, the claimed success of this may have more to do with the social cohesiveness of the participants (Olivegren's work is with owner-occupiers) than the organisation of the design process.

Perhaps the most advanced work in this field has been developed by Henry Sanoff and colleagues in the USA. Sanoff's approach, which he terms 'social technology' is claimed to 'transfer power from the designer to the user.' (28) However, the publication giving details of this approach consists almost entirely of analyses of community action and political struggles. While, what are termed 'Design assistance techniques', can be identified in the text, it is not clear whether these techniques can be seen or used independently of the

context in which they were developed, despite an introduction by Sanoff implying that they can.

It is possible that, rather than 'transferring power from designer to user' the design assistance techniques can lead to 'a greater reliance on professional acumen.' (29) Participation for Sanoff and others is intended to maintain 'participatory democracy' through a 'volunteer society whereby citizens can work in partnership with public and private efforts to accommodate human and environmental needs.' (30) However, in a critique of this perspective it has been argued that community participation is something that has to be managed in order to reduce social conflict and maintain the status quo, rather than to liberate or transfer power to people. (31)

A similar critique can be made of the work of Tony Gibson, who has had some influence in design and planning participation in the UK, and who makes far-reaching claims for the effectiveness of his 'Planning for Real' techniques. (32,33) Gibson claims that 'professional dominance can be neutralised' by using his techniques but there is evidence that people who have used his techniques have found them too simplistic. One group interviewed in the early stages of this study explained that Gibsons' games raised expectations and excitement for a day or two only to leave a vacuum afterwards when it was realised that they were not related to the decision making process through which they still had to go. Furthermore it is fairly easy to discern a political ideology underlying Gibson's ideas in which participation is seen as a form of social control. Gibson is concerned to contain the demands of participatory groups so that they are more 'realistic'. (34) A colleague of his argues that techniques of participation can be used to create 'non-conflict generating situations', (35) and Gibson is interested in participation being an

anti-dote to 'urban guerillas [and] groups which want to destroy the system.' He sees neighbourhood action groups as pulling society back from the brink of revolution and 'regenerating society in the nick of time.' (36)

Following arguments in the previous Chapter about the way in which professional groups have used community work to maintain or extend professional control and influence, parallels can be drawn with the way in which participatory techniques, thus far, do not provide any guarantee for the empowering or enabling claimed in the rhetoric. This also suggests that approaches used to promote participation in design by Community Architects might be similarly handicapped.

3.5 Participation as Social Control and Conflict Management

There is further evidence from the literature that there are close links between community architecture, design participation and social control. Participation is recognised as being of benefit to professionals in implementing programmes of improvement on deprived housing estates for instance. The value of tenants' participation has been recognised in housing improvement because work could be carried out more easily and money saved if the tenants co-operated. (37)

Also it is believed, by some, that social improvements will occur if tenants participate in physical changes and that their 'morale and pride' will rise, thus reducing anti-social behaviour, rent arrears and other management problems. (38) Thus architects may find that they are being asked to involve tenants in design as part of experiments in social engineering. The cost of violence

and vandalism is serious for both tenants and Government, but involving tenants in the design of environmental improvements is not necessarily getting to the root of the problem.

Justification from this approach has been attributed to Newman's work on defensible space, ⁽³⁹⁾ ideas which have been gratefully seized by housing managers and criminologists ⁽⁴⁰⁾ even though there is little empirical evidence to support them and Newman's ideas have been widely attacked. ⁽⁴¹⁾

The widespread publicity given to projects such as Lea View in Hackney, where Hunt, Thompson Architects, have received acclaim for involving tenants in the replanning of their estate, shows how much enthusiasm there is for this approach as a panacea. But invariably the publicity gives credit to the professionals, failing to mention the long campaign by tenants to get the estate improved before the architects were even appointed. ⁽⁴²⁾ Interviews with tenants on the estate confirmed the suspicion that, despite the use of participation methods, a situation arose, in which, according to one account, 'few tenants could appreciate the drawings!' ⁽⁴³⁾

Such examples of participation are in stark contrast to a project described by Harms. ⁽⁴⁴⁾ Harms argued that, where there is a strong and profound commitment to participation, then quite different results will occur. He claims that in a project on a municipal housing estate in Worcester, Mass, USA, he and his colleagues employed design tools and environmental awareness techniques to raise the political consciousness of the inhabitants. Harms links the participatory methods with the power relations of the context in which they were working. Because of the way they worked the tenants felt that for the first time 'somebody treated us as human beings.' However,

the strength of feelings and the degree of organisation which this unleashed, frightened the local housing authority, and the project was shut down, resulting in militant protests at the City Hall. Harms does not suggest that all participation projects will lead to violence and rebellion but he does suggest that other leading architects at the Louvain conference on participatory design were primarily concerned with 'creating architecture' whereas their priority should have been 'the changing social relations in a physical environment.' (45)

This review of the literature on participatory design suggests that it is important when examining any project, where user participation is claimed, to be sceptical about the degree of involvement that has taken place. Even where apparently sophisticated participatory techniques have been used there remains the possibility that, unless these are firmly rooted in a process of decision making which genuinely transfers power to the participants, participation can be both sham and manipulative in intent, or can reflect merely the ideas of the professionals. For instance, a short study by Mamalis of participatory design methods, used with housing co-operatives in Liverpool, came to the conclusion that:

While Co-op members are able to become involved in every aspect of the design process, the extent of their influence is limited by two factors. The first of these is the tight framework of cost yardsticks and space standards...Another, more subtle form of restriction could be said to be that of the architects influence...

A consequence of this has been the tendency of resultant schemes to bear the stamp of their respective architect... (46)

Participatory design, thus does not necessarily transfer power to participants or ensure that they can control decision making processes. Instead it could be that it is the position of the professionals which is being reinforced rather than that of the users. In this sense, participatory design may not be such a big step away from conventional approaches to architectural design, particularly in the way that designers take account of users needs.

3.6 Conventional Methods of Design as Compared with Community Architecture Approaches

Not only is it possible that participatory approaches can reinforce the position of professionals but as yet, there is little evidence that architects acknowledge the need to develop special approaches that counter this. In the early stages of this study a number of unstructured interviews were carried out with architects working in the Community Architecture field. Many seemed to feel that their normal approach to design, coupled with a few meetings with the user client, would be quite adequate for most purposes. Some said that they had, from time to time used models, but by and large it was taken for granted that lay people could read drawings and that the architect could explain things if there was any lack of understanding. Some had tried to use Gibson's methods but were generally dismissive of them, and others were familiar with other techniques but had insufficient knowledge of how they operated.

Many seemed to think that working with user clients was much the same as designing for an individual client and this had been the line taken by the early RIBA Community Architecture Working Group reports. The attitude was that architects, by their training were well equipped to be sympathetic to users' needs and would have no difficulty incorporating users ideas in designs. Experience in the field confirms

this outlook. Very little has been done by architects working in the Community Architecture field to develop their ideas and working methods, to discuss these with others or to publish their experiences. It would also be reasonable to suggest that many would be unaware of much of the literature referred to above and the arguments and debates about the way in which participation methods can act against the interests of participants. Few confessed to having any radical political intentions, insisting either that their work was entirely non-political or subscribing to views somewhat similar to Tony Gibson. (see p.74) The general attitude was that local participation was a 'good thing' and that as liberal concerned architects, they would be able to work easily with users adapting normal design practice.

However, research in the field of how architects design, tends to suggest that conventional practice is quite inadequate in understanding and interpreting users needs. Worthington has suggested that architects have either gone too far in analysing users needs in a way that resulted in buildings that were much too rigid, or they regard users as nuisances who 'desecrate' buildings once they move in. (47) Others have suggested that architects either ignore, or are unaware of the information on user preferences, and never read post occupancy evaluations of buildings. (48) Thus the social success of buildings would appear to be a largely ad hoc process rather than a result of lessons from past mistakes. Design remains firmly based in the sphere of 'Art' and individual creativity and, as a result, architects have tended to be defensive and possessive about their design solutions. (49) Similarly, research on design methods have shown that design processes are full of subjective value judgements. (50)

Darke has contended that architects tend to fix on what they see as a good idea at an early stage, what she calls 'primary generators', and that subsequently user requirements and problems were manipulated to support the original ideas. Darke's intention had been to show that by admitting more openly to this subjective approach architects might develop a more responsive attitude to users, (51) Earlier, more mechanistic and functionalist design methods, produced buildings hated by users, she claims. Darke also suggests that most architects tend to make assumptions about users and their needs which are based on stereo-types.

Designers place an overwhelming reliance on their own experience as a basis for assessing the needs of others, with a relatively minor contribution being made from other sources such as information from clients or direct from users, research reports and systematic observation of use patterns in existing environments.

...To follow their own intuition and to use their own experience as a guide seemed to them, an entirely normal and accepted procedure. (52)

Research by Marvin and MacInder seems to confirm Darke's view. They found that architects relied heavily on their own judgement and detailed decisions were normally left to less experienced staff 'who may never meet the client.' (53)

The attitude of architects, that their own judgement is adequate in assessing user needs, is compounded by many problems at the briefing stage. Often clients are bad at setting out their requirements and research has shown that there can be considerable problems which arise from this. (54) Large corporate organisations are beginning to develop briefing expertise to ensure that their objectives are met, but inexperienced clients need a lot of guidance from architects about the brief. (55)

Darke, (see page 4) sees user participation as the solution to many of these problems and Lawson also suggests that this is the way forward, while admitting that it is fraught with difficulties.

(56) These difficulties exist because well ingrained attitudes to user requirements and design methods will not disappear overnight when architects find themselves face to face with the people who will use their buildings.

Architectural education, might seem the obvious place in which to begin changing such attitudes and developing new expertise, so that new architects would be better able to respond to user needs through participation. However, there is no evidence to suggest that any more than token attention is being paid to this issue. (57)

Rapoport has argued that current studio based approaches to architectural education ensure that while graduates emerge, believing they have the ability to design good buildings, they are poor at problem solving and considering user needs. Lack of attention to scholarship, research and publication and learning from past experience, means that the emphasis is on style and fashion and other esoteric issues. (58) Concern for social issues is not so highly rewarded as aesthetic prowess. Also Simmonds has found that those architecture students who put the most emphasis on user requirements and social issues were the weakest at 'the basic design skills most highly praised by their teachers and peers.' (59)

Thus it can be argued that the present nature of architectural education and the currently predominant attitudes in the profession are unlikely to foster a healthy development of participatory design skills. Instead, architects will tend to come to such work with a number of limitations in their attitudes, some indication of which

has been given above. Given that user client groups are likely to be inexperienced as clients and that architects have been shown to be inadequate in helping such clients through the briefing process, there may well be many problems in the practice of Community Architecture. Architects, it has been suggested, are often possessive about their intuitive and creative methods of design and this may lead them into conflict with lay people who may well be, antagonistic towards, and mistrustful of professionals. There is no fund of knowledge, experience and published methodology and thus the success of projects may well hinge on the personality of the architect and particular ad hoc and pragmatic solutions. There is a pressing need to document and analyse such experience.

3.7 Defining Community Architecture in terms of claims made about its alleged benefits

Above it has been argued that while participatory design may be central to Community Architecture, it can reflect a wide range of ways of working and ideological positions. Thus the idea that a much broader group of people, than those currently involved as clients in building projects, should participate in the decision making process of building design and production, is gradually gaining wider support. Community Architecture can be seen as the response from a fraction of the profession who want to make the architectural experience more widely available.

In order to promote this, the protagonists of Community Architecture and User Participation make a number of claims about advantages to society from such activities. Such claims can be found in a number of forms in the preceding text but it is worth summarising them at this point under three main headings as follows:

(i) 'People Need Professionals'

That society will benefit from the intervention of architects into areas of social deprivation and that the provision of professional help in this way will enable people to solve their own problems.

(ii) 'Participation Leads to Greater Satisfaction'

That if the future occupants of buildings are involved in the design process, this will solve the problems of architects finding out what users require, and thus the eventual built product will be more satisfactory and the users more satisfied.

(iii) 'Participation Saves Money'

That if the people, who occupy the environment, are involved in its design and production, they will look after it better, thus both making them happier and reducing overall management and maintenance costs.

These three claims are central to the ideology of Community Architecture and were subscribed to in one way or another by most of the architects interviewed in the early stages of this study, as well as appearing in much of the literature. However, in view of the limited research that has been carried out in this field these claims remain, as yet, largely unsubstantiated.

This study concentrates on the second of these claims, in part because it presented a more researchable problem and also because it seemed the most general and profound of the ideas. The other two will also need to be the subject of academic study in the future, particularly when there will be a larger number of examples to investigate.

It is argued, however, by this writer that there is already sufficient evidence, from experience and literature, to seriously question the first claim. For instance, the arguments advanced by Rod Hackney, Community Architecture's best known protagonist, simply do not stand up to logical analysis. Hackney has suggested that Community Architects have three particular skills. First, a 'wide vision', secondly, expertise to unravel bureaucratic paperwork and thirdly, expertise in Social Engineering. (60) These, he claims are 'three skills that people in our blighted cities and towns are calling for.' He also suggests that there are 'untapped resources in human effort' which architects can release by 'enabling' people to organise themselves.

The picture of architects descending like missionaries upon impoverished inner city areas is an absurd one and yet it underlies the thinking behind much of Community Architecture. There may well be a case for greater access to particular kinds of professional resources, but the conditions for this do not yet exist either in today's economic circumstances nor in the thinking of many architects. Thus the first claim can be rejected at present. However, given that cities are in crisis in many countries of the world, leaders are searching for any panacea which might reduce social conflict and public expenditure. It is into this category that the third claim falls. The Prince of Wales, for instance, in his speech extolling the virtues of Community Architecture summed this up by saying,

Apart from anything else, there is an assumption that if people have played a part in creating something, they might conceivably treat it as their own possession and look after it, thus making an attempt at reducing the problem of vandalism. (61)

We must ask whether there is any justification for policy makers in making such assumptions, or is it more a case of paternalistic wishful thinking? It will be important to test this claim in a critical way but for the purposes of this study it was seen as impractical. It would be necessary to review schemes built with user participation over a period of years to see if there is a different pattern of maintenance and upkeep, vandalism and so on, compared with schemes built without user participation. This was not possible within the scope of this research.

Thus it was decided to concentrate on the second of the claims where it is claimed that there is a link between participation and satisfaction. The central problem for this study is to see if there is any evidence to suggest that user participation is a 'magic formula' for creating satisfactory buildings. The way in which this problem was approached is set out in the next Chapter.

CHAPTER III REFERENCES

1. SUPPORT (1979): The Politics of Community Architecture. Conference held at Kilburn Skills Training workshops. London: (Unpublished Proceedings).
2. COMMUNITY ARCHITECTURE IN SCHOOLS OF ARCHITECTURE (1977): Various papers and notes from Conference held in Gloucester, December 10, 1977 (Unpublished).
3. ARCHITECTS' JOURNAL (1982): Report of RIBA Conference - The Architect as Enabler. Architects' Journal, 14.7.82, p.38.
4. SCHREURS, J., SMETS, M., JANNSEN, L. (Eds) (1980): Leuven Seminar on Participatory Design. Leuven: Acco.
5. HARTMANN, M., KOBLIN, W., NABAUER, R. (1978): Selber und Gemeinsam - Planen, Bauen, Wohnen. Munich.
6. HERTZBERGER, H. (1984): 'The Interaction of Form and Users' in HATCH, C.R. (Ed), The Scope of Social Architecture. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
7. STICHTING EXPERIMENTALE WONINGBOUW (1978): 'This is not a home for lazy people' in HATCH, C.R. (1984). Op.cit.
8. RUDOLFSKY, B. (1964): Architecture without Architects. London: Academy Editions.
9. SCHNETZER, V. and POHL, W. (1982): Architektur des Unfertigen: Die Arbeiten Von Susanne Ussing und Carsten Hoff. Dusseldorf: Archipol Verlag.
10. CROSS, N. (1982): 'Participation.' Architects' Journal, 20.1.82, pp.76-78.
11. ARCHITECTS' JOURNAL (1978): 'Kroll's Krunch.' Architects' Journal, 7.6.78, p.1092.
12. KROLL, L. (1982): 'Alencon: The Impossible Rehabilitation of Perseigne.' Architectural Association Quarterly, Vol.13, No.4.
13. BARKER, A. (1983): 'Battle in Normandy.' Building Design, 4.11.83.
14. CROSS, N. (1982): Op.cit.
15. ERSKINE, R. (1984): 'Designing between Client and Users' in HATCH, C.R. (Ed), Op.cit.
16. MALPASS, P. (1979): 'A reappraisal of Byker - Magic Myth and the Architect', Parts 1 and 2. Architects' Journal, 9.5.79, pp.961-969 and 16.5.79, pp.1011-1021.
17. GRACIE, V. (1984): in HATCH, C.R. Op.cit.

18. CROSS, N. (1982): Op.cit.
19. TURNER, J.F.C. (1984): commentary on S.A.R. in HATCH, C.R. (Ed), Op.cit.
20. RABANEK, A. (1975): 'The New PSSHAK.' Architectural Design, October 1975, pp.629-633.
21. RAVETZ, A. and LOW, J. (1980): 'PSSHAK, 18 Months On.' Architects' Journal, 27.2.80, pp.425-439.
22. LOW, J. (1980): 'PSSHAK.' Architects' Journal, 27.2.80.
23. LAWRENCE, R. (1980): 'The Simulation of Domestic Space: users and architects participating in the architectural design process.' Simulation and Games, Vol. 11, No.3, pp.279-300.
24. WATTS, J. and HIRST, M. (1982): 'User Participation in the early stages of building design.' Design, Vol.3, No.1, pp.11-18.
25. OLIVEGREN, J. (undated approx. 1980): Klostermuren - Participatory Design Method Hisingen - Goteborg, Sweden. Arkitektkontor.
26. HARTMAN, M. (1978): Op.cit.
27. OLIVEGREN, J. (1984): 'How a Little Community is Born' in HATCH, C.R., Op.cit..
28. SANOFF, H. (Ed) (1978): Design with Community Participation. Stroudsberg P A Dowden, Hutchinson and Ross.
29. SANOFF, H. (1979): Design Games. Los Angeles: William Kaufmann.
30. PYATOK, M. and WEBER, H (1978): Participation in Residential Design: A Method for Generating Choice and its Ideological Implications, in SANOFF, H. (ed), 1978 Op.cit.
31. TURNER, C. (1984): Commentary on SWCP in HATCH, C.R. (Ed), Op.cit.
32. GIBSON, T. and DORFMAN, M. (1981): The Planning For Real Report: Education for Neighbourhood Change. HMSO.
33. TURNER, B. (1983): A Methodology for working with User Reference Groups. London A.H.A.S., unpublished Mimeo.
34. GIBSON, T. and DORFMAN, M. (1981): Op.cit.
35. MOUGHTIN, C. and BONE, D. (1981): The Building of a Community. Second Experience at Millgate Newark, Notts. A Report (unpublished) presented to the Building and Social Housing Foundation etc.
36. GIBSON, T. (1979): People Power - Community and Work Groups in Action. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

37. SHANKLAND COX ARCHITECTS (1982): Phased Improvement with Tenants in Residence. A Study of the Repair and Improvement of Older Houses, H.M.S.O.
38. SPENCE, J. and HEDGES, A. (1976): Community Planning Project - Cunningham Road Improvement Scheme. London: Social and Community Planning Research.
39. NEWMAN, O. (1972): Defensible Space People and Design in the Violent City. London: Architectural Press.
40. N.A.C.R.O. (National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders) (1974): Architecture Planning and Urban Crime and (1975) Housing Management and the Prevention of Crime. London: NACRO.
41. There have been numerous criticisms of Newman. Examples are: HILLIER, B. (1973): 'In Defense of Space.' Royal Institute of British Architects' Journal, Nov. 1973.
ELLIS, P. (1982) : 'The Phenomenology of Defensible Space in STRINGER, P. (Ed), Confronting Social Issues. Academic Press: London.
42. MANSER, J. (1983): 'Raising the Roof, Lea View Flats, Hackney.' The Guardian, 30.11.83.
43. ARCHITECTS' JOURNAL (1983): 'Lea View House, Clapton, Estate Improvement Through Community Participation.' Architects' Journal, 20.7.83.
44. HARMS, H. (1979): 'Great Brook Valley: Tenant Participation Project in Worcester, Mass. U.S.A.' in SCHREURS et al Op.cit.
45. HARMS, H. (1979): Op.cit.
46. MAMALIS, M. (1983): 'Housing the Co-op Way.' Architectural Psychology Newsletter, Vol. XIII, Nos. 2 and 3, pp.22-26.
47. WORTHINGTON, J. (1984): 'Architecture Enhanced by Process.' Architects' Journal, 4 and 11.1.84, pp.49-51.
48. MARMOT, A.F. (1983): 'Flats fit for families: an evaluation of post-occupancy housing.' Design Studies, Vol.4, No.2.
49. LAWSON, B. (1980): How Designers Think. London Architectural Press.
50. LAWSON, B. (1980): Op.cit.
51. DARKE, J. (1979): 'The Primary Generator and the Design Process.' Design Studies, Vol.1, No.1.
52. DARKE, J. (1984?): Architects and User Requirements in Public Sector Housing No.2. The Sources for Architects' Assumptions. Unpublished Mimeo.
53. MACKINDER, M. and MARVIN, H. (1982): Design Decision Making in Architectural Practice. BRE Information Paper IP 11/82, Garston: Building Research Establishment.

54. JENKS, M. (1981): The Briefing Context - Some Recent Findings. Oxford Architectural Research Papers No.3, Oxford Polytechnic.
55. BUILDINGS RESEARCH TEAM (1981): Brief Formulation and the Design of Buildings. Buildings Research Team, Oxford Polytechnic.
56. LAWSON, B. (1980): Op.cit., pp.21 and 90.
57. HURLEY, J. and METCALFE, G. (1977): 'Appropriate Education - Schools of Architecture and Community Design.' Architects' Journal, 19.10.77, pp.761-767.
58. RAPOPORT, A. (1983): 'Studios Questions.' Architects' Journal, 26.10.83, pp.55-57.
59. SIMMONDS, R. (1980): 'Limitations in the Decision Strategies of Design Students.' Design Studies, Vol.1., No.6, 1980, pp.358-364.
60. HACKNEY, R. (1982): Paper to R.I.B.A. Seminar 'Promoting Your Practice.' June 1982, Unpublished.
61. H.R.H. PRINCE OF WALES (1984): op.cit.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODS OF ENQUIRY

4.1 Introduction

As was explained at the end of Chapter III, the objective of this study, having broadly considered the literature about Community Architecture, was to focus on its second tenet or claim which suggests that there is a link between user participation and user satisfaction. This proposition, while being central to the ideology of Community Architecture, has not previously been subjected to rigorous critical appraisal.

In this Chapter, the theoretical basis of the investigation is described, together with the empirical methods adopted to collect data, and the form of analysis that was employed. Problems associated with collecting and processing the data are discussed as are the selection and typicality of the three case studies.

4.2 The Propositions and the Structure of the Analysis

- (i) The user satisfaction proposition is tested by measuring the satisfaction of the occupants of three cases which were selected as examples of user participation. These are then compared with information about the levels of tenant satisfaction in other recently built housing.
- (ii) A number of further propositions are then formulated which could help to provide explanations of the levels of satisfaction obtained in the three case studies, the differences between these and other housing and the differences between the three cases studies.

The intention was to use the data, obtained from the comparative measurement of user satisfaction outlined in (i) above, to test the following proposition that

when user clients participate in the design and development processes, in building projects, there will be greater satisfaction with the completed buildings and environment than in projects where there has been no user participation.

However it was recognised that the production and design of buildings is a very complex process in which a large number of variables interact and that it would be extremely hard to find a methodology by which the variable of user participation could be isolated from the other factors. Even where similar building types and projects are compared, every building is, to some extent, unique. Thus it is not a simple task to disentangle the many variables to say with any certainty if user participation had any effect on satisfaction. Thus in the following section is a discussion of a number of factors which will need to be taken into account in any consideration of these issues.

For instance, it is necessary to investigate whether user satisfaction is related to the quality of the product and whether the participants had any effect on it. Also, it is necessary to consider the possibility that the levels of satisfaction were affected by the nature of the process in which the user-clients had participated. Did this process enable the users to get their ideas incorporated in designs and did it ensure that the architect was able to produce designs that were more closely related to the users needs and ideas? There are a number of factors relating to both process and product which interact with each other in the design and development of buildings.

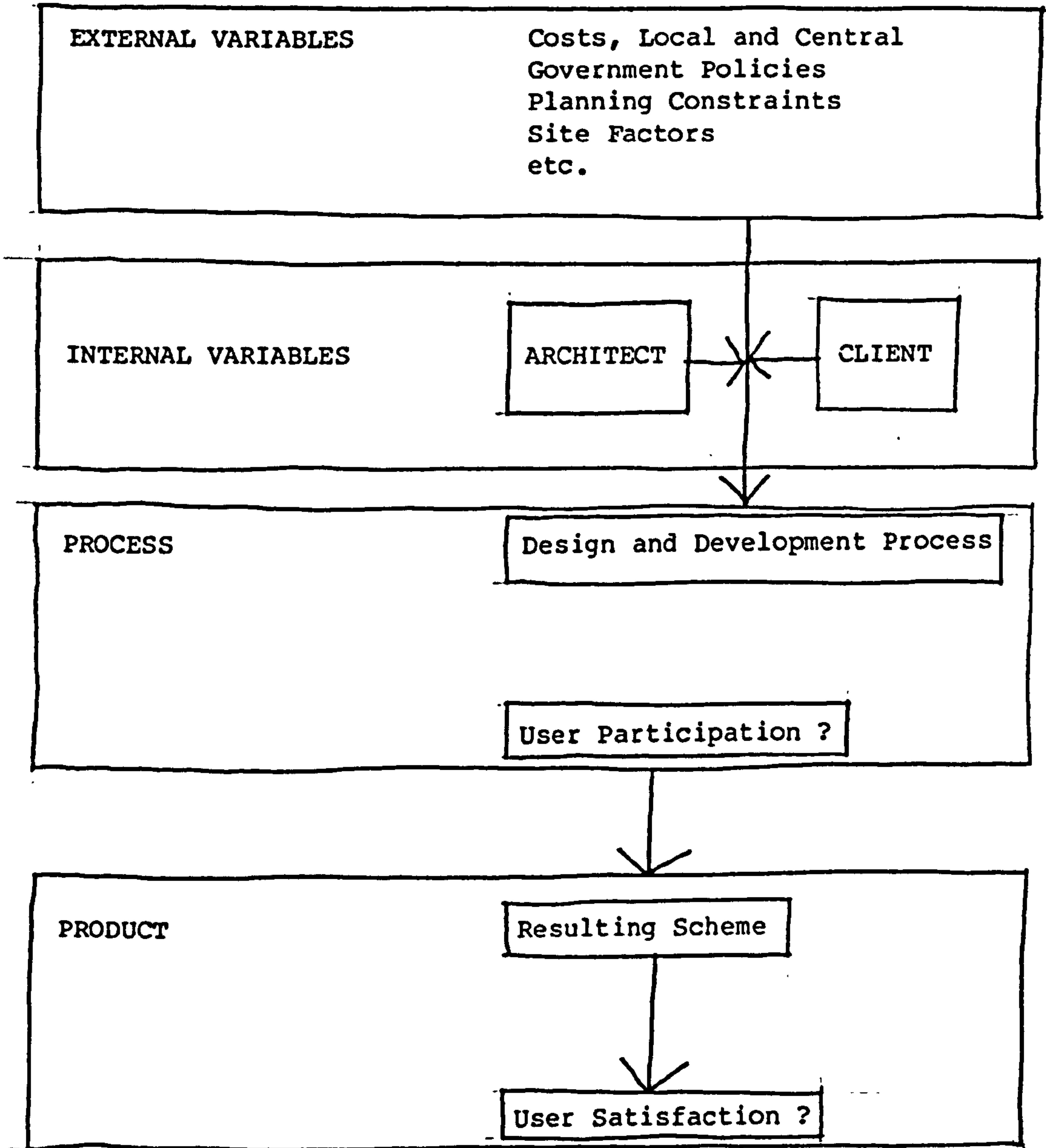
First of all there are a number of conditions or constraints within which any project operates which for the purpose of this exercise are grouped together as Exogenous (or external) variables. These are the factors which are, in general, outside the control of the architect and the user, once the decision is taken to go ahead with a particular project. They include the nature of the site, cost limitations imposed by the way the project is financed and Central and Local Government policies and controls. It is normally the job of the architect to resolve the problems imposed by these external variables and through the design process, to discover solutions to them. Experience has shown that such exogenous variables can have a strong determining influence on such design solutions.

On the other hand there are also factors and conditions which are Endogenous (internal) to the project. Such Endogenous variables could include the skills and abilities of the professionals, the experience and knowledge of the client, the brief and the requirements and financial resources of future users. These variables may also determine the nature of both process and product.

Furthermore the exogenous and endogenous variables will interact, also influencing both process and product. For example planning controls may be more onerous in one project than another, but also a more experienced architect might deal with such controls more successfully than one who is inexperienced. These principal factors can be presented in relatively simple terms in the following diagram (Figure 1), though the possible range of linkages between all these factors can be quite complex.

Figure 1

The Relationship Between Variables in the Building Development Process



Attempts have been made by others to break down the relationships between these broad factors to provide, for instance, a detailed plan of work for architects or explanations of design methodology.

(1) However for the purpose of this study the intention is merely to demonstrate that user participation is an additional variable which, when inserted into the design and development process, can interact with exogenous, endogenous, process or product variables.

In order to provide a more detailed explanation of the results obtained when testing the main proposition, and to take into account the above mentioned factors, three further sub-propositions have been formulated. These three propositions identify three possible relationships between key variables which could provide a fuller explanation of the relationship, if any, between user satisfaction and participation. The sub-propositions are as follows:

- (i) that the level of user satisfaction is related to the effect that the clients had on the product;
- (ii) that the level of satisfaction is related to the degree to which the architect could effectively interpret and incorporate users needs and ideas through the participation process;
- (iii) that the satisfaction of the users is related, not to the product, but to the nature of the process and the degree of control which they had over it.

In examining these sub-propositions the effect of further variables are also considered. The means by which these propositions are examined and the data collected in order to do this, are set out later in this chapter. Firstly it is necessary to briefly consider the theoretical issues which underly such an approach.

4.3 The Theoretical Approach

Research in the field of architecture is faced with a number of problems. Not least of these is the dearth of existing models and approaches which have been used by other researchers which could either be adopted or criticised. Architectural research does not have a well established literature and thus it is necessary to borrow from other related disciplines, especially as the work is often interdisciplinary. This study, itself, crosses a number of disciplinary boundaries and therefore does not easily fall into any theoretical or methodological category. For instance it is considering both the role of architects and design in society and the production of buildings. It is possible here to draw on the sociology of professionalism and the construction industry and design methodology literature.

There is a need to study the people who were involved in the projects, their behaviour and inter-relations. There is the political science problem of the context, within which the projects are operating and social policy questions about housing and planning. The work combines both contemporary empirical investigation with a historical study of recent phenomenon. Phenomenological and ethnographic studies might provide appropriate models for this. Furthermore, interview, statistical and survey techniques raise theoretical issues about how data can be interpreted. In particular there are great problems involved in measuring and defining satisfaction.

The writer does not claim that this study has resolved such problems nor can it do more than make a small contribution to ongoing debates, particularly in the fields of sociology and philosophy.

Instead the approach has been to explore issues which are located firmly within the social science orbit but to combine this with technical and practical questions central to architecture. This has involved the eclectic use of theory and method from the social sciences combined with insight based on experience as a practising architect. While difficult theoretical and methodological issues may not have been fully resolved the writer has tried to keep them in mind when carrying out analysis of data and in reaching tentative conclusions.

As explained in 4.2 above, there has been a two stage approach. In the first, the intention was to test the main proposition using what might appear to follow a hypothetico-deductive model, not so much to falsify it in Popperian terms, ⁽²⁾ but to see if, given the limited number of cases examined, whether there is any firm evidence to confirm or question the proposition. In the second stage a fairly descriptive approach was adopted to analyse the phenomena in greater breadth.

The main and sub-propositions have therefore been used as a structure by which to analyse the empirical data. The propositions provide a means of questioning certain assumptions that are implicit in Community Architecture, but they are not tightly drawn hypotheses which can be scientifically tested and refuted.

The first proposition is treated as an axiomatic statement which is rapidly gaining wide acceptance, without any rigorous or critical testing. The objective is to call this into question but not to attempt to prove or disprove a causal relationship between user participation and satisfaction. The three sub-propositions are seen,

as Leedy suggests, as "tentative propositions", set forth as a possible explanation for an occurrence or provisional conjecture to assist in guiding the investigation of a problem.' (3) In drawing conclusions from this analysis, the intention is not to be predictive or to claim logical deductions, but simply to provide a framework for analysis and insights into the phenomenon.

It is not possible within this work to enter into a theoretical debate about positivist and normative approaches. Some research into architectural theory and design methods has adopted a Popperian view (4,5) but this writer shares many of the criticisms of this position. (6) Instead it will be necessary to develop analyses of architecture and building design which can be related to a wider theory of society so that the mechanisms which produce 'empirical patterns' can be identified but also the 'social relations upon which those mechanisms are based', can be located. (7)

In this work it has only been possible to identify and provide some explanation of empirical patterns. However these patterns have been examined from the point of view that user participation, for instance, must be seen in relation to wider social forces. This is to avoid the mistake which has been made by other researchers in this field who have seen participation as an isolated problem of group dynamics, techniques and methods which can be evaluated independently. In adopting this position, the writer has been informed by recent writing on political economy and social and urban theory, some of which is referenced in the preceding chapters and the rest in the bibliography.

4.4 Research Procedures

In considering the best way to investigate the propositions set out above, a number of possibilities were considered to operationalise the research. Three main possibilities were considered:-

- (i) to set up a special experiment
- (ii) to undertake participant observation of an ongoing project
- (iii) to study projects which had been completed.

Given that the intention was to test the user satisfaction claim and to derive certain explanations, it was essential to find examples of user participation which had been completed and where it might be possible to measure the satisfaction of the present occupants. This would inevitably mean obtaining a historical account of the design and development process.

This ruled out setting up a special experiment which could have involved some form of simulation, which would have offered the opportunity to compare the views of a group of user participants, with a control group of non-participants. The only existing models of research into user participation have involved monitoring special experiments, but while they offer useful insights into communication and cognitive issues, their limited nature makes it impossible to study the connections between a design participation process and the eventual results. Lawrence's study of three dimensional simulation facilities, from which he has suggested that it is possible for lay people to 'actively participate' in design processes and to express their own values, ideas and suggest modifications, tells us nothing about whether the users were satisfied with the buildings that resulted. (8) Similarly Watts and Hirst were only able to assess

computer simulation methods in use and not against the final product. (9)

Another research project is underway involving observation of a user participation project in Liverpool from inception to completion. (10) However the time scale involved is well outside the time available for this study. Thus the approach adopted was governed by both theoretical and practical considerations.

4.5 The Selection of Case Studies

The choice of three new build housing co-operatives was limited by practical considerations as there are not, as yet, many examples of completed projects which have involved user participation. However, they did fit certain pre-determined criteria.

- (i) They involved a user client group typical of those identified in Chapter II.
- (ii) The projects had included participation in design and development processes as described in Chapter III.
- (iii) Projects had been built with sufficient time having elapsed for the occupants to form opinions on the buildings in use.
- (iv) The architects were representative of Community Architects, in that they shared some of the ideas discussed in earlier chapters, and were willing to work directly with user clients.
- (v) It was also important that the participation process was not too distant for it still to be fresh in the minds of the user clients.

Furthermore, in selecting case studies of similar building types this presented an opportunity to control some of the many variables outlined above. The design and building problems for each would be fairly similar, thus providing the possibility of identifying the effects of participation.

A further practical advantage of new build co-operative projects was that the user participants would be relatively easy to identify, as they would be accessible in their homes, and permission for the research would be obtainable through the co-operative organisation. Also the financial and administrative basis for approving such schemes are basically the same as for all public housing projects, thus providing the opportunity for comparison with non-participant housing. Finally and most importantly such projects have been referred to in the literature as 'ideal' models of Community Architecture. (11)

Given that it was impossible to select a random or otherwise representative sample, it is argued that these three projects, in that they are regarded as models of the claims made by community architects, provide valid subjects for study within the terms of this research.

4.6 Case Study Profiles

4.6.1 The projects in outline

When agreement from each of the co-operatives was obtained to interview tenants and examine documents, it was agreed to respect the confidentiality of much of the information that would be obtained. In order to do this the three co-operatives are identified as cases A, B and C, rather than by their names. They are all projects where new housing has been built on inner

city sites for client groups which involved some degree of user management or control.

Case A is in north London. The formal client was a local authority housing department which had pre-selected a group of occupants and it was they, who agreed the brief and design with the architects, and have eventually taken over the management of the scheme.

It is, strictly speaking, a management co-operative where ownership and control remains in the hands of the local authority, though it had originally been intended to give the co-operative a lease. The co-operative is fully mutual, which means that all tenants of the scheme are members and all members of the co-operative are tenants. It is a fully incorporated body run by the tenants.

Case B is in a southern district of Leeds. It was the first new build co-operative project in Britain under new legislation. It is a par value, fully mutual co-operative which means that the land and the buildings are collectively owned. The co-operative was initially sponsored by a large Leeds housing association.

Case C is in Liverpool 8. It was one of the first of a large number of new build co-operative schemes in Liverpool. It too, is a fully mutual, par-value, scheme. A large housing association was also involved in its development.

All three projects were financed by central Government funds subject to the normal standards and constraints. At the time that they were planned, the 'Yardstick' and Parker Morris

standards were still in force. All three projects were initiated at roughly the same time, in 1976/77. Case A was the first to be occupied from the beginning of 1981. Case B towards the end of 1981 and Case C through a phased handover from October 1981 until well into 1982.

When interviews and surveys of the members of the three co-operatives were carried out, most had been in occupation of their houses for approximately eighteen months to two years. In the case of projects B and C the final account had not been settled with the builders and at Case A there were still outstanding problems so that the co-operatives had still not fully taken over the schemes.

One scheme (Case B) is quite small, but the other two are relatively large housing projects in terms of the 1980s (see Table 1).

TABLE 1

The Size and Location of the Three Case Study Schemes

	No. of Dwellings	No. of Bed Spaces	No. of Car Spaces	Density Bed Spaces Per Hectare	
Case A	54	265	54	265	North London
Case B	18	80	12	N/A*	South Leeds
Case C	61	271	53	229	Liverpool 8

(* Not available)

4.6.2 The projects as built

All three projects, as built, are similar in being relatively modest, low rise terraced schemes at moderate to high density. All have been constructed on very tight inner city sites which have imposed severe constraints on the design solutions. Fairly different solutions have emerged for each of the three layouts and these will be discussed in more detail in Chapter IV but the dwellings themselves are relatively similar, with conventional two-storey solutions employed. In each scheme there are a small number of flats, incorporated into two-storey blocks. Only in Case B are buildings over two-storey employed with a row of four three-storey houses to incorporate larger families.

There is a wide mix of dwelling sizes in each scheme, ranging from single person flats to seven-person houses. In all three schemes, some flexibility and optional arrangements of room layout were used and variations of choice can be seen. Traditional construction has been used with brick, timber and tiles. Colour schemes are modest with the use of stained timber for external joinery. A great deal of care has been taken over the hard landscaping in Case A and to the soft landscaping in Cases B and C. It can be contended that the three projects are very typical of housing built at that time (without tenants participation). This point will be returned to later.

4.6.3 The architects

In Case A, as the project was initiated by the local authority, the architect was a member of the Borough Architects' Service. He was an architect with considerable experience of housing work but with no practical experience of user participation. The particular Borough Architects Department has, for a number of years, been discussing plans to decentralise the Architects office and there was considerable discussion of issues related to Community Architecture at this time. For Case B, young, comparatively inexperienced private practice architects, were appointed. They were setting up a new partnership and office in Leeds and this was one of their first jobs. The practice has grown subsequently and is now well established from the initial two partners to a staff of six. Both the partners had been associated with various community and housing co-operative projects. For Case C, the architects were a reasonably well established Liverpool based firm. They had considerable exper-

ience of rehabilitation, housing association and some co-operative schemes. The work was almost entirely handled by a job architect who was young but with a fair amount of experience of housing work. This particular architect had been involved with community action but the practice as a whole can be seen as an example of a conventional firm extending itself to include Community Architecture work. One of the partners, however, had been involved in one of the earliest initiatives of this kind, the SNAP Project in Liverpool, referred to in Chapter II (pages 38-39).

4.6.4 The tenants

In all three cases the social composition of the co-operative memberships is fairly similar. In Case A the membership was made up of people in existing local authority houses or on the waiting list, with sufficient points to be rehoused. In Case B nearly all the members had lived in a nearby local authority housing estate which is now being demolished. In Case C all the members were from a nearby inner city clearance area and would have been entitled to rehousing by the local authority. They were all people who can be generally referred to as working class, though there are some differences between the three cases in terms of employment and ethnic origins.

Each of the co-operatives were unwilling to allow full details of their members to be collected in the survey, but individuals who were interviewed were willing to describe their work and background. Only one member (in Case C) was found who had received any higher education, however some members of each co-operative had responsible or white collar jobs.

The secretary of Case B Co-operative compiled a list of occupations of the members, both men and women. They included a tailor, decorator, driver's mate, printer, assistant shop manageress, fork lift truckdriver, fitter, machinist, radiographic aid, a works' supervisor, caretaker, handyman, cleaner, labourer, warehouse assistant, two retired people and nine 'housewives'.

The members of the two other co-operatives had a similar occupational profile though Case A had a higher proportion of white collar workers. A very small number in Cases A and B were unemployed, but in Case C the co-operative claimed that 50% were unemployed. Of the other 50%, over half were part-time workers. This is not surprising given that the co-operative is located in one of the most depressed areas of Merseyside.

A further difference is that in Case A there was a reasonably high proportion of people from ethnic minority backgrounds, approximately 30% from observation when carrying out the survey. Despite these differences it can be contended that the membership of all three groups was very similar in terms of housing expectations. Very few of the tenants in all three schemes were people who had incomes which would have made owner occupation a likely possibility, nor were they in a position to expect any improvement in their housing through the public sector. The co-operative provided an opportunity to get something better.

4.7 Different Categories of User Client Members

It is necessary at this stage to set out clearly the different categories of people who will be referred to in the text. In the initial stages of the study it became quite clear that many of the people occupying the buildings, in each of the cases, had not been involved in the design and development process. Distinguishing between the different views and roles of each group, it was assumed, would be an important factor affecting the results, though some of the categories overlap, as should be clear from the list below:-

- Tenant or co-operative member - applies to all residents of the case study schemes.
- User participants - any tenant/member who took part in the design participation process.
- Initial user-client member - member of the initial group which was set up to participate in the project.
- Committee member - the particular committee, whether concerned with design or administration will normally be referred to in the text.
- Leader/leadership - a number of key people can be seen as having taken a leading role in the project.
- Non-participant member/tenant - present occupant who was not involved in the design or development process.

These distinctions are important in understanding the process and the views of the users. It is not sufficient to simply refer to the co-operative members as an homogenous group of 'the tenants' or 'the users'.

4.8 The Typicality of the Chosen Examples

It is necessary to consider whether these three case studies provide any sort of basis from which to generalise about Community Architecture and user participation. As projects of this kind are not sufficiently numerous to take a statistically valid sample it is necessary to rely on the isolated examples that are available. It is suggested here that these three case studies give a picture of the kind of issues and problems that are experienced in all forms of Community Architecture. The case studies involve architects taking on a new kind of role and project; low income working class people, with no previous experience of being building clients, and public sector finance. Thus, they contained three features common to most of the work which appears to be encapsulated by the term Community Architecture.

The question also arises that housing projects are relatively simple and that conclusions cannot be drawn from these projects that would be in any way applicable to other building types or larger more complex building forms. There may well be some truth in this, but from the writer's own experience as a practising architect working with a wide range of user client groups on non-housing projects, the problems and issues in the three case study projects were very similar to the experience of other building types.

4.9 Carrying Out the Fieldwork

Having chosen three case studies from an initial scanning of the literature and the community architecture field, agreement and co-operation was then obtained from the architects and Tenant Co-operatives responsible for each of the projects. The fieldwork procedures then consisted of gathering as much relevant information as possible about the three projects and the context in which they had been set up. This involved examining documentary sources, committee minutes, published reports and unpublished accounts of the project, interviewing both professionals and tenants about their role, views and experience of the project and conducting a survey of the occupants of the buildings. In the next section of this chapter the methods used and problems associated with this field work are explained.

4.9.1 Measuring satisfaction

In order to test the main proposition (set out on Page 7) it was necessary to find a way of measuring the satisfaction of the present tenant members. The intention was to compare the results obtained for the satisfaction of user participation with that of tenants who had not been involved in the design of their houses.

Two non-participant groups were available, firstly those tenants in the three case study projects who had not been involved in the earlier design and development stages and secondly, tenants in other housing projects which had been designed and built without any user participation. Data about the views of both groups was obtained.

In order to do this it was decided to use the Housing Appraisal Kit (H.A.K.) which had been developed by the Department of the Environment to measure tenants' satisfaction with housing schemes. The H.A.K. had a number of attractions. Firstly, it was a tried and tested method designed to be administered by researchers, inexperienced in social survey methods. Secondly, it provided a predetermined framework for presenting the results. Thirdly, it was possible to draw on the results of other surveys using the same methods which might provide the basis for a comparison.

Accordingly, the standard H.A.K. questionnaire was used with only one amendment, the addition of a question asking respondents whether knowledge of the user participation factor had influenced their opinions, and why. In all other respects the survey questions were the same as in countless other surveys carried out on public housing schemes where there had been no tenant participation. Some of the results of these surveys had been collated and published by the Department of the Environment.

(13) Access was possible to the full results of these surveys and other data on the projects that had been surveyed by the D.O.E. It was concluded that it would be possible to use the results from forty-two of these surveys and compare them with the results obtained from the three case studies. Of the forty-two D.O.E. cases, ten were identified which appeared in many ways to be very similar to the three co-operative case studies. They were built in similar inner city locations; some of them geographically near to the case studies, they were financed in a similar way, and were providing for low income working class tenants.

Thus the H.A.K. provided an opportunity for a comparative study and it seemed reasonable to draw on the existing body of research work in this field rather than to attempt to develop a new approach.

This researcher was also aware that there might be drawbacks to using the H.A.K.' survey. There might be limitations in the types of question and the weighting of results. Also it was understood that such a questionnaire would not give any absolute measure of satisfaction. Tenants' views expressed through the questions would be relative to their experience and expectations. In view of this it was clear that the results of such a survey would only give an indication of tenants' views and should only be considered in relation to other data obtained from interviews and other sources.

Furthermore, the results obtained from user satisfaction surveys cannot provide a complete measure of whether a building is successful or better than others. There are a wide range of building appraisal methodologies and none have demonstrated clear links between user satisfaction and behaviour, and the form and nature of buildings. ⁽¹⁴⁾ Indeed some building appraisals have discounted the effect of the buildings or environment on occupants' views, claiming that these have been more strongly influenced by other factors such as management or social problems. ⁽¹⁵⁾ This is further complicated in these case studies by the fact that some tenants were being asked to assess the effect of their own involvement and efforts.

Despite these difficulties it was felt that the H.A.K. survey, when used in conjunction with other methods of data collection, would provide a useful indication of opinions and provide a basis for a comparative assessment of the success of the projects. The text of the H.A.K. Questionnaire is given in full in Appendix I.

4.9.2 The application of the H.A.K. questionnaire

Each of the co-operatives was asked formally if they would agree to the questionnaire being distributed to their members. All had some reservations and suspicions but these were allayed when the committee, in each case, was given an opportunity to examine the questionnaire and ask questions about it. The questionnaire was then distributed to all households in each project together with a covering letter from the co-operative committee explaining the purpose of the survey. The purpose was explained simply in terms of wanting to find out the things they liked or disliked about their dwellings and their surroundings.

Rather than use a random sample and given the fact that only one hundred and thirty-three households were involved in total, it was decided to survey all households. The response was high.

(See Table 2)

TABLE 2

Response to H.A.K. questionnaire

	Number of Responses	Number of Houses	% Response
Case A	45	54	83.0
Case B	18	18	100.0
Case C	51	61	83.6
Total	114	133	85.7

The intention was to collect all the questionnaires personally and this was arranged, in order to check if they had been completed properly, and to identify those tenants who had taken part in the design participation process.

Unfortunately in Case C, such was the enthusiasm to complete the form that most had already been handed into the secretary's house. Only about 10% remained to be collected. However it was possible to gather information about the numbers who had participated in the design process, by other means, for this case study.

On collecting the questionnaires it seemed that many of the tenants had seen the forms, and the spaces they contained for comments, as an opportunity to express their pride in being part of a special project. On the other hand it was clear that a serious attempt had been made by most respondents to express their views about the product and that criticisms, where necessary, were made.

The data from the questionnaires was coded and put onto a computer which provided a number of possibilities for analysis. The results are presented in a similar form to that used by the D.O.E. for ease of comparison, but they are also broken down to show the difference between the views of participants and non-participants. Written comments to open-ended questions were also analysed, but though these were not sufficient in number to warrant statistical analysis, they did yield useful anecdotal material. A Chi-squared test was applied to some of the results in order to assess the degree of significance of the differences between each case.

4.9.3 Other data collection methods

Other data collection methods consisted, in the main, of inspecting and noting observations on the sites themselves, studying documentary sources and carrying out in-depth interviews with individuals and groups in the co-operatives. Regular contact was maintained with the architects and co-operative members over a period of several months and many personal conversations and telephone calls yielded useful information. However the primary sources were semi-structured interviews with the architects and numerous tenants. Interviews with nearly all of the participants were carried out when it was discovered that they were relatively few in number. This followed, in each case, a meeting with the co-operative management committee. A number of interviews were also carried out in Cases A and B with tenants who had not participated in the design process. A schedule of questions used in the interviews can be found in Appendix 2.

Interviews were also conducted with other people, mostly professionals, who had been associated with the project, either in its development or in approving it in some way. This included officials in housing associations, the Housing Corporation, local authority housing officials, planners and politicians.

A problem arose with tenants in Case C because they had already received a great deal of attention from researchers who were interested in their project. They were dissatisfied with this attention because they had received very little feedback or benefit from it, despite giving up much of their time.

Because of this, the co-operative management committee was unwilling to arrange individual interviews, but did permit an extended meeting with the members of the design committee. They were also helpful in making available a draft of a book which they were hoping to publish, based on a considerable number of interviews with members of the co-operative, conducted by a professional writer. The writer was interviewed and his draft book has proved an invaluable source of anecdotal and analytical material. (16)

Some initial pilot interviews with tenants at the Lea View Project in Hackney (17) indicated that there could be a problem with tenants, who had participated in the design process, giving a 'public relations' version of events to anyone from outside. This could have been caused by a defensiveness and unwillingness to admit to problems which had partly been due to the tenants themselves, or on the other hand due to a commitment to extol the virtues of the project. It was clear that the

tenants in Case Study C saw themselves as propagandists for the cause of housing co-operatives and tenant participation and that this coloured their response.

Recognition of this problem led to the identification of the factor of client loyalty which may have influenced the results of the satisfaction survey. A similar point is made in a report of another study of housing co-operative tenants. (18)

In reporting this study with a headline stating, 'Co-ops are Best', the National Federation of Housing Co-operatives warned that we must be cautious about findings that suggest that co-operative tenants are more satisfied than others because:

The very fact of having chosen to live in a co-op may give tenants a more positive attitude to their housing, regardless of the objective standard of management and repair services. (19)

Thus, in the analysis of the data yielded by both surveys and interviews, an attempt has been made to get behind the initial appearances and to avoid the bland and uncritical praise of such schemes that the literature has so far produced. However this has been done in a spirit of respect for the tenants who were interviewed. Cockburn has pointed out that in social research, it is difficult for interviewees to give clear answers as they are weighing up often contradictory issues in their minds. (20) Thus this account of users views had tried to reflect their role as active participants and actors in the projects and not simply as passive consumers.

CHAPTER IV REFERENCES

1. JONES, J.C. (1980): Design Methods. Chichester: John Wiley.
2. POPPER, K.R. (1974): The Logic of Scientific Discovery. London: Hutchinson (7th Impression).
3. LEEDY, P.D. (1980): Practical Research-Planning and Design. New York: Macmillan.
4. BROADBENT, G. (1972): 'The Development of Design Methods, A Review.' Design Methods and Theories, Vol. 13, No.1.
5. HILLIER, B., MUSGROVE, J. and O'SULLIVAN, P. (1976): 'Knowledge and Design', in PROSHANSKY et al (Eds.). Environmental Psychology, New York: Holt, Rhinehart.
6. SHARPLES, S. (1979): The Politics of Design. Unpublished mimeo, University of Strathclyde, Department of Architecture.
7. SAYER, R A (1979): 'Understanding Urban Models versus Understanding Cities.' Environment and Planning A, Vol. II, pp.853-862.
8. LAWRENCE, R. (1980): 'The Simulation of Domestic Space...' Simulation and Games, Vol. II, No. 3, pp.279-300.
9. WATTS, J. and HIRST, M. (1982): 'User Participation in the Early Stages of Building Design.' Design, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp.11-18.
10. THOMAS, A. (1985): Forthcoming, report on tenant participation in Liverpool Housing Co-operatives. Birmingham Centre for Urban and Regional Studies.
11. For example see WATES, N. (1982); LUBBOCK, J. (1983); and WARD, C. (1983).
12. DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT, HOUSING DEVELOPMENT DIRECTORATE (1978): Housing Appraisal Kit - A Complete Social Survey Package. London: D.O.E.
13. DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT, HOUSING DEVELOPMENT DIRECTORATE (1981): A Survey of Tenants' Attitudes to Recently Completed Estates. London: D.O.E., H.D.D., 2/811.
14. SOCIAL SERVICES BUILDINGS RESEARCH TEAM (1976): The Appraisal of Buildings. Mimeo, Oxford Polytechnic.
15. ELLIS, P. and WILSON, S. (1981): 'Duffryn Social Survey.' Architects' Journal, 6.5.81, pp.847-859.
16. MacDONALD, A. (1984): The Weller Way. Unpublished draft for book.
17. For example MANSER, J. (1983): 'Raising the Roof' The Guardian 30.11.83
18. LONDON BOROUGH OF CAMDEN (1984): Housing Associations Tenant Satisfaction Survey - Survey of Findings. Mimeo, London.

19. NATIONAL FEDERATION OF HOUSING CO-OPERATIVES (1984): 'Co-ops are Best.' NAT.FED. OF H.C.S. Newsletter, Issue No. 6, February 1984, p.1.
20. COCKBURN, C. (1983): Brothers. London: Pluto Press, pp.10-13.

CHAPTER V

COMPARING THE SATISFACTION OF PARTICIPANT USERS WITH NON-PARTICIPANTS

5.1 Introduction

In this Chapter, the main proposition, which is concerned with the relationship between user participation and satisfaction, is examined. The proposition suggests that

When user clients participate in the design and development processes, in building projects, there will be greater satisfaction with the completed buildings and environment than in projects where there has been no user participation.

In order to test the proposition, it was decided to measure the satisfaction of users in the three housing co-operative case studies, to analyse the results and compare them with the levels of satisfaction found in tenants of other public sector housing schemes.

In this Chapter, the results of the surveys, carried out using the H.A.K. (Housing Appraisal Kit, see page 110) are analysed. Also data from tenant's comments in the questionnaires, and in interviews, are discussed in order to reach an assessment of the degree of user satisfaction in each case. A number of tentative conclusions are derived from these results about the levels of satisfaction, and the differences between the three cases. The limitations of this evidence are discussed in relation to the proposition, and the reasons for asking further questions and advancing a number of further explanatory propositions are noted.

5.2 The Housing Appraisal Kit Survey and Comparisons with the D.O.E. Survey of Tenants' Attitudes

The Housing Appraisal Kit Questionnaire consists of twenty seven questions. It asks tenants to put down their feelings and opinions about their house or flat and the surrounding environment. The questionnaire was distributed to all households on all three of the case study estates and 86% were returned. The questionnaire was identical (with the exception of one additional question) to that used in a survey, carried out on behalf of the Department of Environment in 1979, of three thousand households on fifty five recently completed housing estates. A full computer print-out of the results of the survey of forty two of these estates was obtained from the D.O.E. These estates included schemes built by local authorities and others built by private developers that had been 'bought in' estates to the public stock. Thirteen of the D.O.E. cases were special schemes for old people whereas the other forty two were provided for a mixture of tenants and household sizes, including some old people. Thus it was decided to make a comparison only with the forty two family housing schemes.

These forty-two estates were distributed throughout England and Wales and were made up of schemes of varying density, building type, size and location. They were located in inner city and rural areas, consisting of both traditional, semi-detached and high density system buildings. The majority (twenty) were of small estates of under fifty dwellings but a small number (five) were of over two hundred and fifty houses. Further details of these estates can be found in Appendix III.

The objective of the D.O.E. survey was to appraise the success of recently built estates, and its results provide a general indication of the attitudes of a cross section of tenants of public sector housing to their houses and of general levels of satisfaction with recent housing. In addition the D.O.E. report on the survey findings comes to some general conclusions. For instance it is argued that satisfaction levels were more closely related to the attitudes of tenants to their estates than to their individual dwellings. It was also contended that certain groups of tenants, like old people, were, on the whole, more satisfied with their housing than others. The survey also discovered that 'bought-in' estates which were generally of 'conventional semi-detached houses...in more desirable suburban areas', were more popular. (1)

It seemed reasonable for the purpose of the study to take the findings of the D.O.E. surveys as an adequate measure of general tenant satisfaction. Thus, in using the same H.A.K. questionnaire with the tenants in the three co-operative case studies, a comparison could be made between results for both user participant and non-participant examples. It is assumed that as the co-operative schemes are seen primarily as alternatives to public housing the D.O.E. cases would provide a reasonable basis for this. In addition, the co-operative schemes could be seen against conventional private housing in the 'bought-in' cases. If there is any evidence to support the proposition then it would be likely that there would be higher levels of satisfaction in the user participant cases than in the D.O.E. surveys. It is contended here that this is a good test of the proposition in that tenants in the D.O.E. surveys seemed very satisfied with their housing. To get even higher levels in the three participant case studies would suggest there is indeed something special about them.

Before considering the results of this comparison it is necessary to point out that there was a gap of approximately four years between the D.O.E. survey and the surveys in this study. However it seemed reasonable to assume that attitudes, standards and expectations had not changed sufficiently during that time to invalidate the comparisons.

Furthermore, all the cases considered in this study were constructed under the same financial provisions and economic circumstances. The schemes in the D.O.E. study were built about 1975-76. This was just prior to the inception of the three co-operative schemes. Thus it is assumed that the D.O.E. schemes were representative of the models of housing most in evidence at the time. If the tenants of the three co-operative case study schemes were familiar with such housing, and in the course of the study it transpired that tenants from at least one of the co-operatives visited some of the schemes surveyed by the D.O.E., then their knowledge of other contemporary housing could have affected their attitudes and expectations. The four year gap would therefore be unlikely to account for significant differences in satisfaction.

5.3 Making the Comparisons With the H.A.K. Results

The H.A.K. questionnaires, having been collected from one hundred and thirty three households in all, in the three case studies, were analysed and the responses collated with the help of a computer program. The H.A.K. survey was designed as a complete kit and a similar format has been used to present the results to that recommended by the D.O.E. The survey yielded extensive data, the full extent of which is summarised in Appendix VII. While much of this

detailed data is extremely interesting and may be useful as feedback to the designers and management committees of the three case studies, it is only useful for the purposes of this study where it contributes to answering the question; are the tenants in the three user participant cases more satisfied than other tenants? Thus the results from the three case studies will be compared with the forty two from the D.O.E.'s published study. In the latter, the D.O.E. calculated an average or 'mean satisfaction score' for each scheme which made it possible to list all forty two projects in order, from that with the highest score to that with the lowest.

In the questionnaire, respondents were asked, in a number of key questions, to say if they were (i) highly satisfied, (ii) satisfied, (iii) neither satisfied or dissatisfied, (iv) dissatisfied or (v) highly dissatisfied. Thus, for example, in response to the question ... 'What are your feelings about your dwelling?', it is possible for any particular case to show that, say, 25% of the households surveyed were highly satisfied, 40% satisfied and 20% neither satisfied or dissatisfied.

The H.A.K. questionnaire consisted of a number of questions of this type and a number of more detailed questions on specific problems, in which respondents were asked to indicate reasons for particular views. The form also included space for comments on more open-ended questions.

The four key, general questions are as follows:

(Question 27) - How would you sum up your feelings about living here generally? [OVERALL SATISFACTION]

(Question 16) - How would you sum up your feelings about your house or flat? [SATISFACTION WITH DWELLING]

(Question 23) - How would you sum up your feelings about the estate outside your home? [SATISFACTION WITH ESTATE]

(Question 18) - How do you feel about the appearance of this estate? [SATISFACTION WITH ESTATE APPEARANCE]

A further key question, (Question 25) will be discussed later in this Chapter.

The results of the survey are summarised in the following Table (Table 3) which shows the response in each case study to the four key questions, which called for views in the Highly Satisfied/Satisfied/Neither/Dissatisfied categories. This shows that there was a fairly high level of satisfaction with very few tenants saying they were dissatisfied.

Table 3
Percentage Satisfaction in Response to the Four Key Questions for Each Case

		Cases		
		A	B	C
		<u>Percentage of respondents</u>		
<u>Ques. 27</u>	(Very Satisfied)			
	and Satisfied	81	83	93
	Neither	17	17	4
	Dissatisfied and (Very Dissatisfied)	2	0	2
<u>Ques. 16</u>	Satisfied	82	94	98
	Neither	18	6	0
	Dissatisfied	0	0	2
<u>Ques. 23</u>	Satisfied	54	67	87
	Neither	37	28	6
	Dissatisfied	9	5	7
<u>Ques. 18</u>	Satisfied	55	72	94
	Neither	43	28	2
	Dissatisfied	2	0	4

These results can also be presented as mean satisfaction scores in which the percentages for each question were aggregated and each case ranked with a score out of 5. Thus, for example, a scheme with a fairly high percentage of satisfied tenants will have a high mean satisfaction score as shown in Table 4 (page 132).

As the four key questions give an overall picture of tenants satisfaction, they were used by the D.O.E. in calculating the mean satisfaction score for each of their surveyed schemes. Thus these questions can be used as a basis for comparison. Data from the other more detailed questions are used later in this study in further discussions.

In addition to presenting the results in tabular form, or as mean satisfaction scores, the percentages can be presented in graphical form. The graphs adopted make it possible to draw up a list in order of highest levels of satisfaction for the three Case Studies and the forty-two D.O.E. schemes. This provides a 'league table' with, what can be argued to be, the most successful scheme at the top (with the highest percentage of satisfied tenants) and the least successful at the bottom. By including the three Case Studies in the 'league table' a comparison of the relative levels of satisfaction can be made, and it is possible to discover whether the three case studies are at the top of the league amongst the most successful schemes, or lower down. The following four graphs are based on such format and show the percentage in each of the five above categories of satisfaction for the forty five schemes (including the three case study co-operatives) (Figures 2-5, pages 127-130).

In listing the schemes, in the graphs, those at the top are the cases with the highest combined percentage of "satisfied" and "highly satisfied". For the purpose of this exercise it was assumed that the "don't knows" were, in effect, saying that they were not satisfied. In Figures 2 to 6, the three case studies can be identified by the heavier outline.

Figure 2

The Response to Question 27. The Three Case Studies and Forty-Two D.O.E. Cases Compared in 'League Table' Form.

Question 27: (How would you sum up your feelings about living here generally?)

* The Numbers identify each of the D.O.E. Cases (see Appendix III).

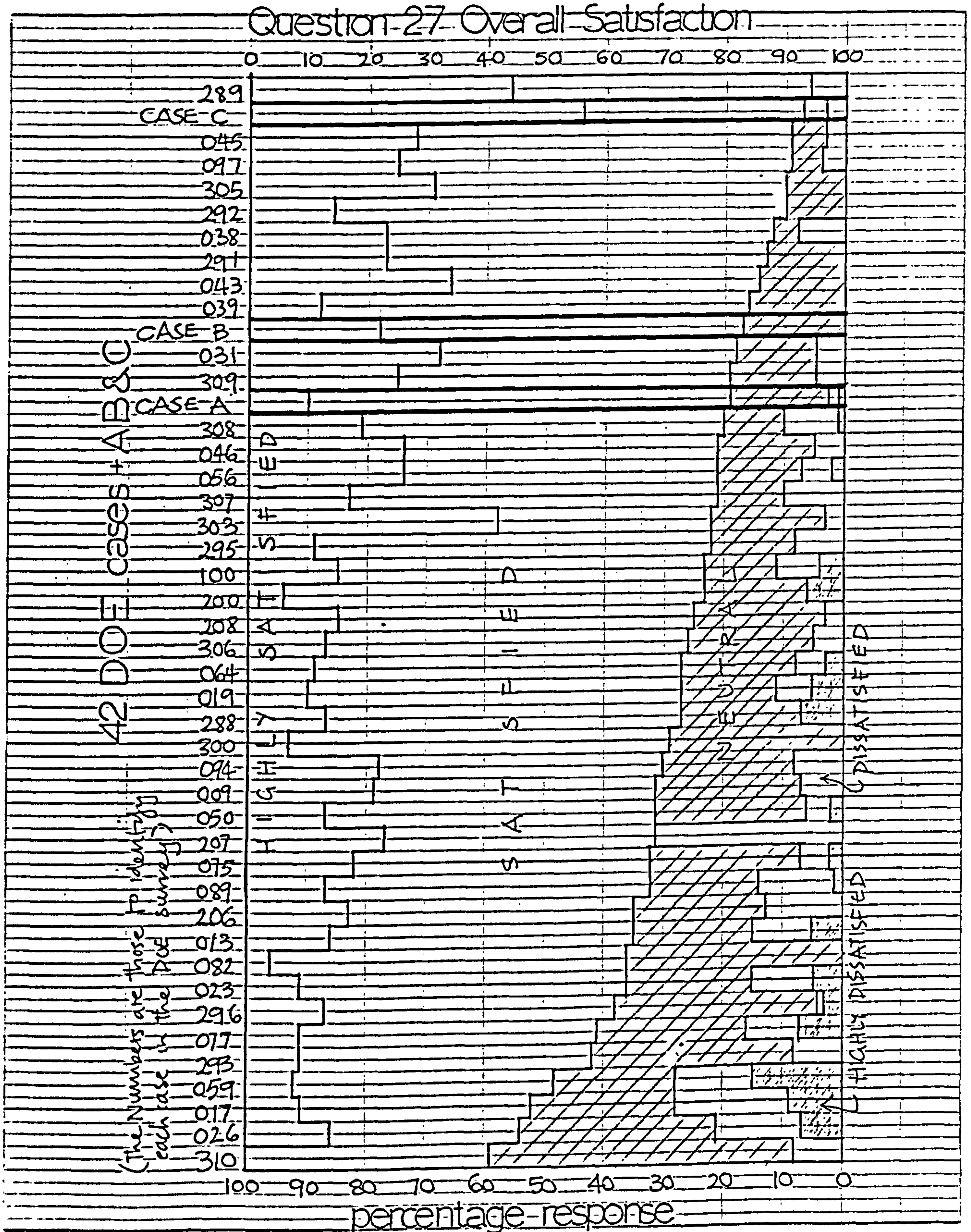


Figure 3

The Response to Question 16. 'League Table' Comparison

Question 16: (How would you sum up your feelings about your house or flat?)

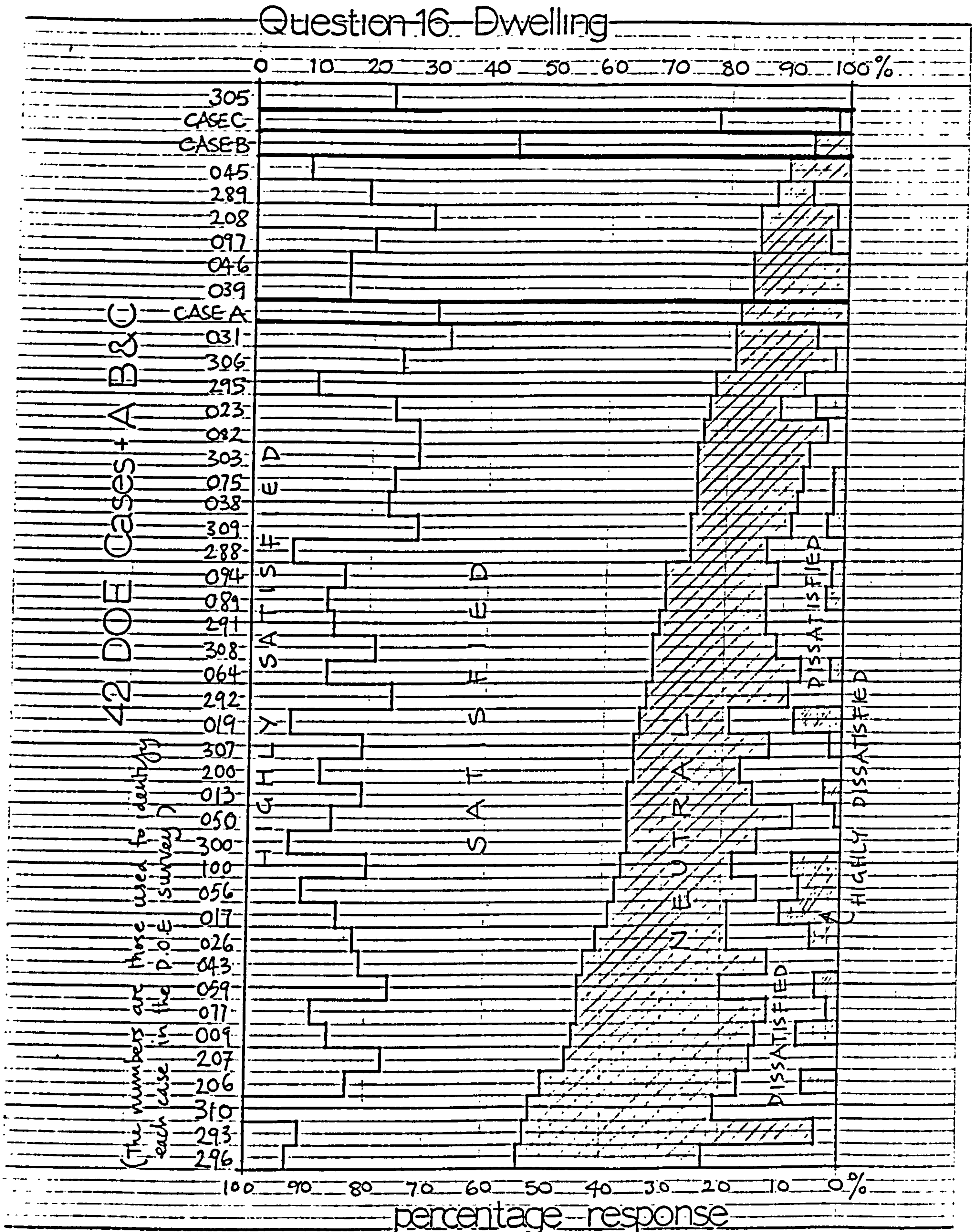


Figure 4

The Response to Question 23. 'League Table' Comparison

Question 23: (How would you sum up your feelings about the estate outside your home?)

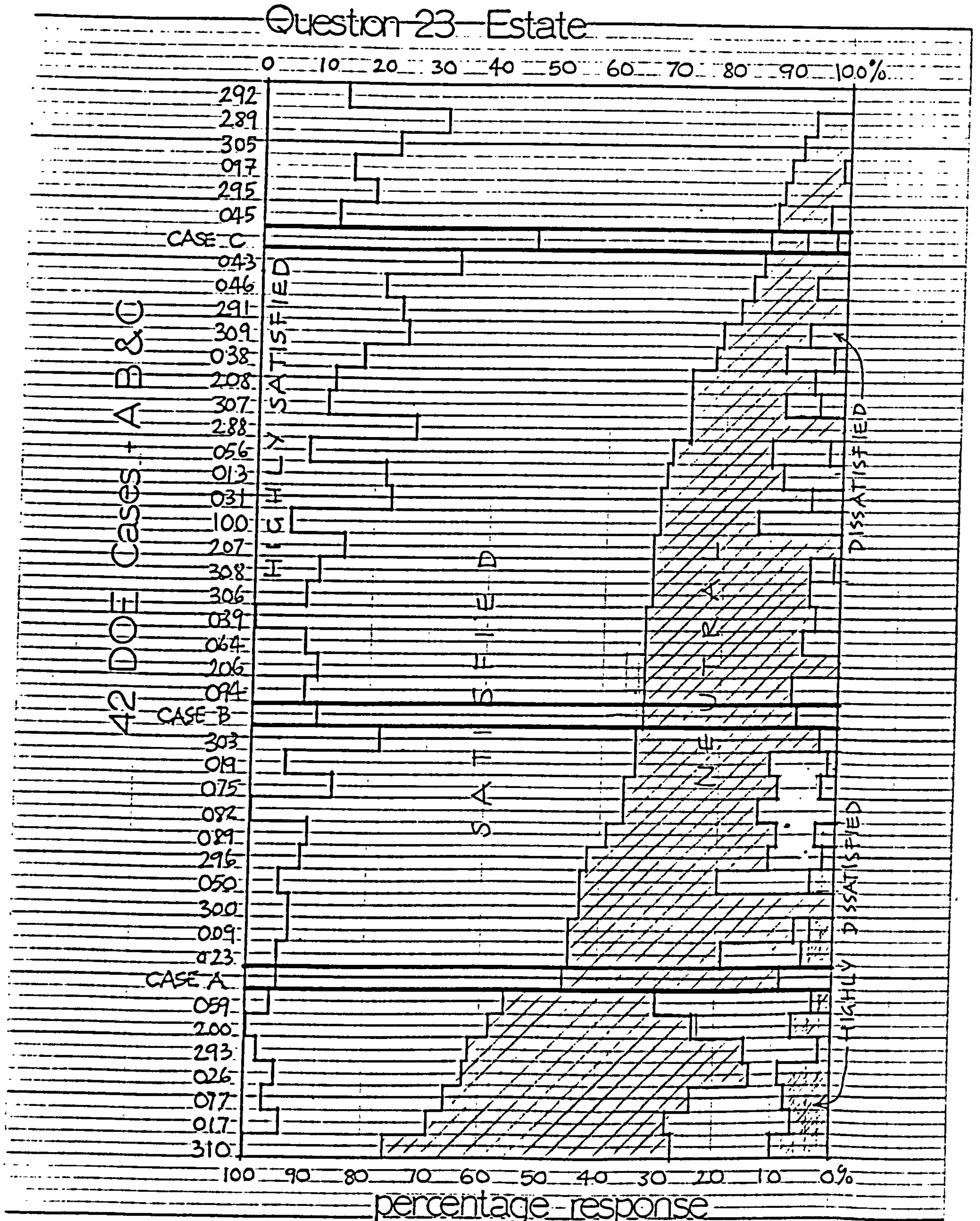
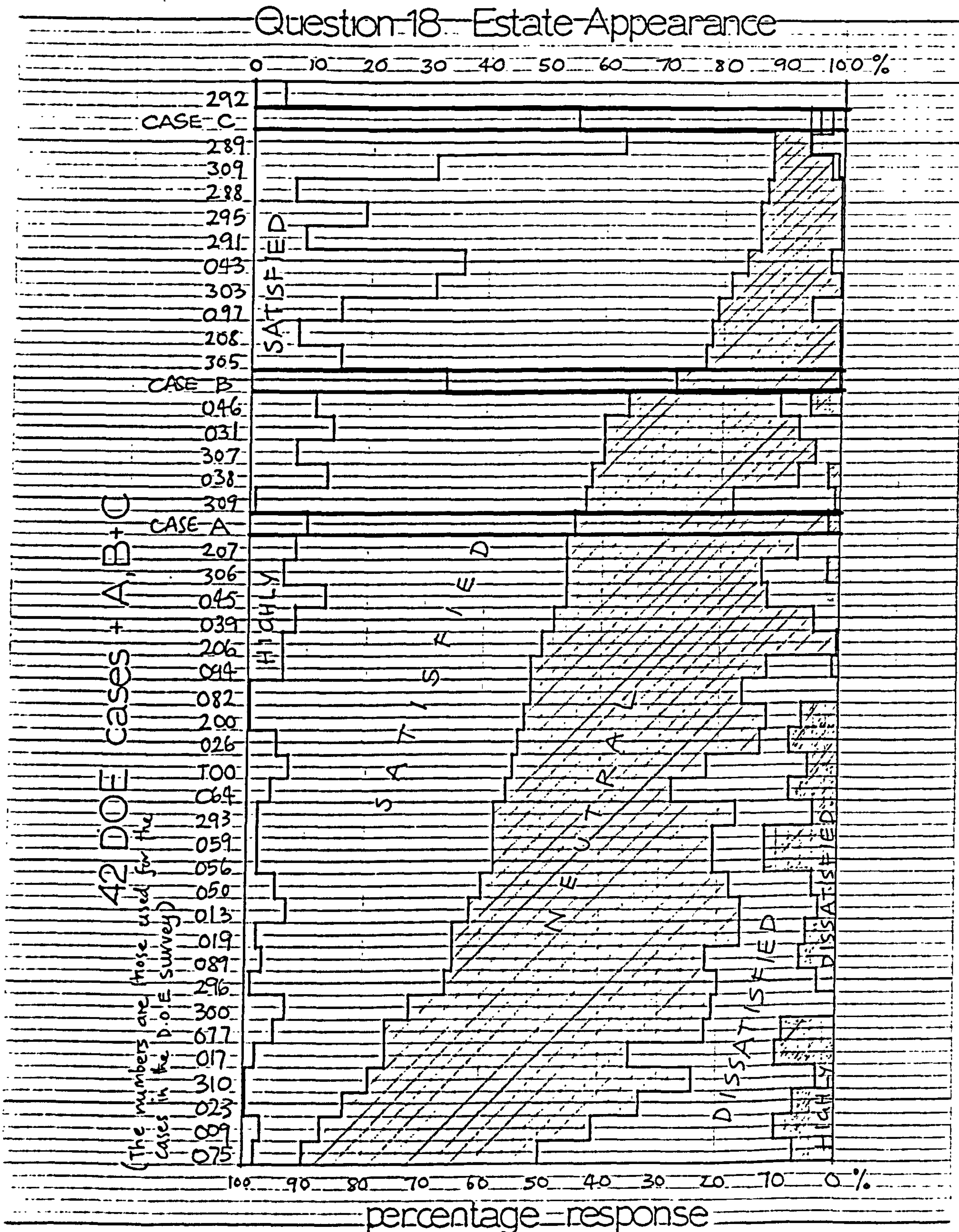


Figure 5

The Response to Question 18. 'League Table' Comparison

Question 18: (How do you feel about the appearance of this estate?)



5.4 Analysis of the Results of the H.A.K. Comparison

From the above 'league tables' it can be seen that on questions 27 and 16 (overall satisfaction and the dwelling) the three Case Studies do reasonably well. Further graphical analysis (see Appendix IV) shows that all three are in the upper quartile (or thereabouts) on both questions. However on questions 23 and 18, (both concerned with satisfaction with the estate), only Case C comes within the upper quartile. On question 25 all three Case Studies come very low down the order. A number of tentative conclusions can be drawn from these results.

Firstly, the results follow a very similar pattern to that reported by the D.O.E. ⁽¹⁾. The D.O.E. found that tenants tended to be more critical of their estates than they were of their dwelling, for instance, as is the case with the three Case Studies.

Secondly, it is clear that, while on questions 27 and 16, the three Case Studies do reasonably well compared with the most successful of the forty two D.O.E. cases, by and large the user participant schemes do not appear to be more successful than the most popular of the D.O.E. schemes. However by examining the mean satisfaction scores for all forty two schemes and aggregating this, it can be seen that the three case studies are above the mean on questions 27, 16, 23 and 18 (see Table 4), with one exception.

TABLE 4

Comparison of Mean Satisfaction Scores

	Mean of all D.O.E. Cases	Case A	Case B	Case C
Question 27	3.8	3.9	4.0	4.5
Question 16	3.8	4.1	4.4	4.7
Question 23	3.7	3.5	3.7	4.2
Question 18	3.5	3.6	4.1	4.4

A statistical test was employed to establish the degree of significance of difference between the results obtained for the three Case Studies and the D.O.E. cases. In this 'Chi-Square test' the numbers of respondents in each category of reply (i.e. how many said they were satisfied on a particular question) are compared with the expected frequency of reply. In a few cases the number of responses is very small. For instance there were very few tenants, in the case study survey, who said they were very dissatisfied about anything, and this limits the usefulness of this test. However it was found that, with one exception, the value of Chi-square obtained for all the key questions was significant at the 1% level. This suggests that the difference between the user participant cases and the D.O.E. cases is a real one and could be expected to reappear. The one exception was over the question of satisfaction with the area (Question 25) in which no significant difference was found. (See Appendix V for Chi-square test results).

Thus, while the levels of satisfaction, found among the tenants of the three Case Studies, were similar to the most successful of the D.O.E. cases overall, the user participant schemes are highly successful with a general level of satisfaction, at least as high, if not higher than that found among tenants of public housing in general as shown by the D.O.E. surveys.

5.5 Comparing The Three Case Studies With The Ten Most Similar D.O.E. Examples

Because the comparisons made above on the three co-operative schemes were with many of the projects, surveyed by the D.O.E., in suburban or rural housing projects, highly different in location, context and architectural style from the three Case Studies, the same comparisons, as above, were made with schemes that had similar characteristics and context.

From the D.O.E. files, ten schemes were selected which were of two and sometimes three-storey terraced houses, they were built by local authorities in inner city areas. Three of the projects were geographically near to the three co-op Case Studies.

These ten schemes were also visited, photographs and drawings inspected and it was possible to conclude that they were similar, in many respects, to the three Case Study schemes with the exception of the standard of planting and landscaping which was much lower in the D.O.E. schemes.

In making the same comparisons using the league table, distribution chart and mean scores, the pattern of distribution is very similar to that in the comparison with the forty-two schemes (see

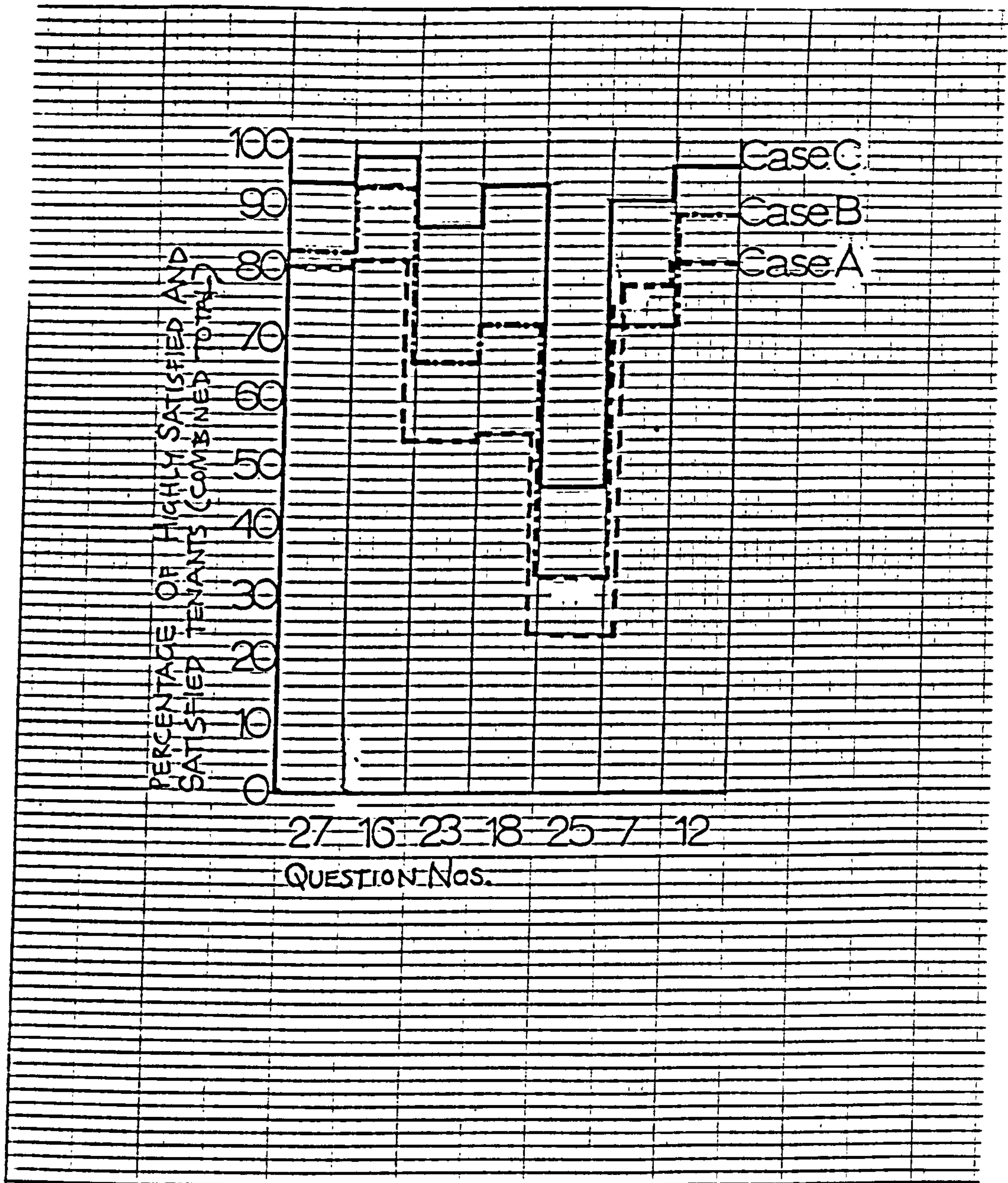
Appendix VI). Thus it was concluded that there was no significant difference in the results when comparing with schemes that were similar. The three Case Studies were not more successful when compared with local authority projects in inner city areas, though Case C does succeed in coming top of the list on most of the key questions.

5.6 Comparison of the Satisfaction Results for the Three Case Studies

Analysis of the above, not only provides some indication of the success of the three case studies compared with other housing, it also reveals there is a consistent difference between the three case studies. For instance, examination of the results for the three co-operative case studies shows that there was a very high level of satisfaction with every aspect in Case C. However, while there was a fairly high level of satisfaction with the dwelling, in Cases A and B, the tenants there were clearly not completely satisfied with the estate layout, and appearance. This pattern, in which Case C is always top and Case A is bottom of the list is confirmed by Figure 6.

Figure 6

Graphical Comparison of the Three Case Studies Over Seven Questions from the H.A.K. Results



This consistent pattern suggested that it might be productive to investigate the reasons why Case C was more successful than Case B which was in turn more successful than Case A in terms of tenants' satisfaction. It is also very interesting to note that many of the tenants in Case C had much stronger feelings about their satisfaction; a much larger percentage than in the other two cases, declaring themselves to be Highly satisfied in answer to all four key questions (Table 5).

TABLE 5

Percentage of Highly Satisfied Respondants in Each of the Three Cases

	Cases		
	A	B	C
Question 27	9.5	22.2	56.2
Question 16	31.0	44.0	78.0
Question 23	4.7	11.1	46.8
Question 18	9.5	33.3	54.9

Thus, in concluding this section, it can be said that, from the above analysis, a fairly high level of user satisfaction has been found in the three case studies, significantly higher in general than the average level of satisfaction in the D.O.E.'s cases, but not higher than the more successful schemes surveyed by the D.O.E. It can also be concluded that there appears to be significant and consistent differences between the three case studies.

5.7 Differences Between the Participants and Non-Participants in the Three Case Studies

It has been pointed out that many of the tenants of the three co-operatives were not involved in the design and development process, either because they joined after others had dropped out or simply because they did not attend meetings. Thus the membership of each co-operative was composed of two groups. The results of the surveys were examined to see if there was any evidence of a difference in attitude between these two groups. This can also be seen as a test of the main proposition by showing whether participants are more satisfied than non-participants, though unfortunately, it was not possible to isolate the participant respondents in the survey of Case C and the following data is for Cases A and B only.

The results of the comparison set out in Table 6 show that the participants were more satisfied than the non-participants in the three case studies. (See page 138)

TABLE 6

Difference in Satisfaction Between the Participants and Non-Participants in Cases A and B

	<u>Case A</u>		<u>Case B</u>		<u>Cases A & B</u>	
	<u>P</u>	<u>NP</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>NP</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>NP</u>
Question 27	4.3	3.8	4.1	4.0	4.2	3.9
Question 16	4.2	4.1	4.6	4.2	4.5	3.7
Question 23	3.8	3.5	3.5	3.8	3.6	3.5
Question 18	4.0	3.6	4.1	4.0	4.1	3.7
Question 25	2.7	3.0	2.9	3.2	2.8	3.0

N.B. P = Participant
NP = Non-Participant

(The figures show Mean satisfaction scores, i.e. the higher the figure, the larger the number satisfied)

(These figures have been rounded up to the nearest decimal point)

Because of the small number of people involved, for instance in Case B (only six, a third of these surveyed had taken part in the design process), the Chi-Square statistical test showed that the degree of difference was not sufficiently significant to be statistically valid. However these figures do suggest that in a larger study it might be possible that the participants in such a project could be more satisfied than the non-participants, as some differences between the views of participants and non-participants can be detected in this study.

5.8 Criticisms and Comments from the Survey and Interviews

Further deductions can be made from the responses to Other Questions in the H.A.K. Survey. (See Appendix VII) In addition, impressions of the levels of satisfaction were gained from both interviews and comments, which some respondents had written into the questionnaires. These give a much fuller picture of the views of respondents and it is possible to reach certain conclusions about user satisfaction from this anecdotal material, as well as the statistical data. The comments were coded, as the questionnaire contained a large number of open-ended questions, and these were also analysed on the computer. However the number of comments, while fairly numerous, were still too few to lead to any statistical conclusions. The in-depth interviews provided a great deal of anecdotal material for analysis, but similarly could not be dealt with on a quantitative basis.

It was not possible, within the scope of this study to carry out interviews with tenants in the forty two D.O.E. schemes and the data, set out below, relates only to the three case studies.

Data from the interviews suggested that tenants were less satisfied with the schemes than the H.A.K. survey results might indicate. In Cases A and B, in particular, interviewees had many criticisms of both their houses and the estates. Interviews were very often followed by a guided tour of the houses where problems were pointed out that had not been picked up in the H.A.K. survey. However it soon became clear that the interviews presented a rare opportunity for tenants to complain about niggling problems whilst tenants, on reflection, they claimed that, in general, they were very satisfied and

proud of their new homes and estates. The interviews, however, did uncover a number of problems and areas of dissatisfaction such as the following. For instance, in Case A, most tenants interviewed, complained about the sheds in the back garden which had not been mentioned in the H.A.K. survey. They thought they were a waste of money, expensively constructed in brick and tiles, yet not even wide enough to store a small lawn mower. Some thought they had been built to buttress the back wall of the house and none were aware that it was intended to provide a privacy screen with the next door garden. It was surprising that such an obvious source of dissatisfaction existed in a project where the users were supposed to have been involved in the design.

Also tenants in Case A had small complaints about poor workmanship and finishes and particularly about the blocking and overflowing of storm drains outside the houses. There were also complaints about faults with the central heating, but none of these were important enough to reduce a general feeling of satisfaction and pride with the estate. A number of the women were especially proud of their large front windows and were vying with each other over net curtain displays! It was clear that nearly all tenants had gone to a lot of trouble over their gardens, putting up small fences and planting flowers.

Most of the grumbles about the estate were about factors outside the scope of the design. For instance being situated close to a Victoria Line tube station, Case A estate attracted a lot of commuter

parking. This was not a problem, in the brick paved pedestrian streets, but in the two access roads, the problem was aggravated by regular use by heavy lorries gaining access to a warehouse. The tenants bordering this street did not gain the benefits of an innovative layout and this may well have accounted in part for the low levels of satisfaction recorded in the survey on question 23.

In Case B the tenants were much clearer about their criticisms of the scheme, many of which seemed major ones and more widespread than in Case A. Yet the tenants were even less willing to admit to being even a little dissatisfied in the H.A.K. questionnaires. Approximately the same number of houses were inspected as in Case A but in Case B there were far more complaints and problems. In particular there were things that tenants claimed had been agreed with the architect, but not carried out.

Problems with fire surrounds and kitchen units were but two of the problems mentioned whilst there was a long list of complaints concerning external features. Tenants seemed bemused about the landscaping and materials that had been used. They were dissatisfied with the layout of the estate and in particular with the curious dual access and separate garden arrangement saying that houses were 'the wrong way round'. Several mentioned the problem of lack of privacy and this reflected the 22% who had complained about this in answer to one of the more detailed questions in the H.A.K. survey. Most felt that passers-by could get too close to their houses. Others complained that the location of the parking area, for some its distance

from and for others its proximity to their houses. Another problem was the noise of people walking on the access balcony to the flats and its appearance, 'like scaffolding', according to some. There was a great deal of discussion about the poor location of the play area and this appeared to have caused a lot of bad feeling between tenants. Some complained that the gardens had not been fenced as they had expected and others pointed out that the sheds were too high and overshadowed the garden. However despite all these criticisms they still claimed to be quite satisfied. As one tenant remarked, "I don't like the look of ours [house], it doesn't look as though its got a roof on ... but I like my house, I'm quite happy here."

The tenants in Case C, on the other hand, were much less critical. While the H.A.K. questionnaires had yielded quite a few interesting comments in Cases A and B, very few Case C tenants had written in anything other than remarks like, "Everything is wonderful!". This absence of critical comments was worrying because it was clear from the higher number of blanks on certain questions that respondents in Case C had not taken so much trouble in filling in the questionnaires as tenants in the two other Cases.

However on visits to tenants in their houses, it became clear that they had far fewer grumbles and were genuinely highly satisfied with their houses. There were few complaints and, in particular, the old people were highly enthusiastic and very keen to show visitors around. The only two discernable complaints from the questionnaire were concerning privacy, 13% thought there was too much privacy! Also a small minority were dissatisfied with parking arrangements (20% of

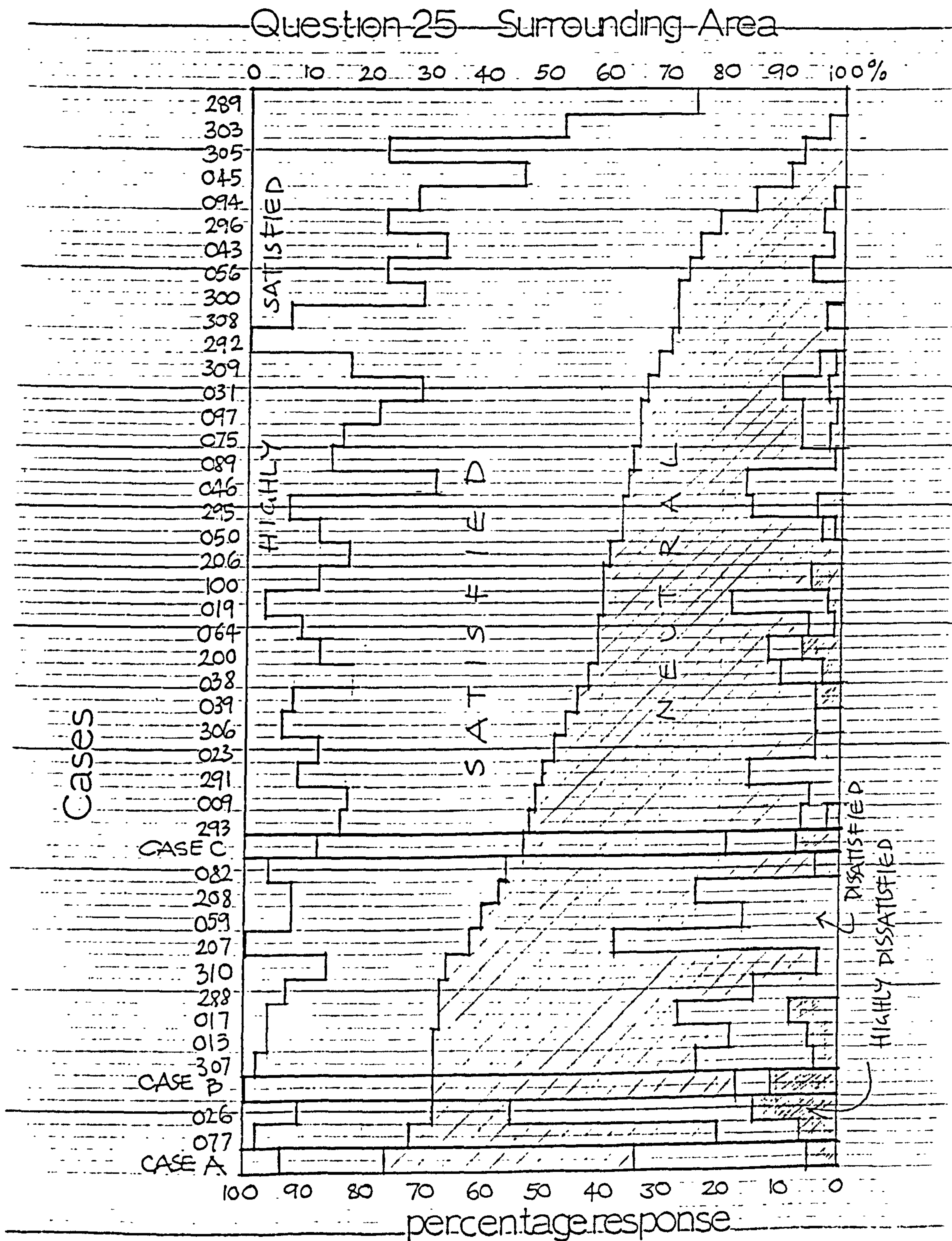
the 40% who answered the question). Many of the comments made were affected by a Liverpudlian sarcastic humour, like the lady who complained about too much noise ... made by her husband when he came home drunk!

It was difficult, at times to avoid the suspicion that there was an informal conspiracy to convince any outsider that Case C was perfect, but this enthusiastic solidarity was in itself of considerable interest. Whereas in Cases A and B, tenants were prepared to point out many failures and problems, these were barely acknowledged in Case C, if indeed they existed.

On the basis of comments in the questionnaires, interviews, meetings and visits to the site, it is possible to rate the three schemes in order of popularity with tenants in Case C, the most enthusiastic and tenants in Case A, the least. The correspondence between this and the results set out above is striking, though somewhat surprising in that the tenants in Case B, clearly had the largest number of problems and defects to complain about. It is not hard to reach the conclusion that client loyalty was an important factor in determining satisfaction. In other words the tenants were choosing to reflect their commitment to the schemes, for which they felt themselves partly responsible, when they expressed feelings of satisfaction about their dwellings or the estate. Such client loyalty appeared to be much stronger in Case C than in Case A with Case B somewhere between the two, though this was an impression drawn from the interviews, visits and meetings.

Figure 7

The Response to Question 25. 'League Table Comparison'



5.9 How Tenants in the Three Case Studies See Themselves as 'Special'

The importance of client loyalty, a commitment to the success of the schemes, whether real or perceived has been identified as an important factor in satisfaction. This point is reinforced by the response to a further key question in the H.A.K. survey which asked tenants what they thought of the area outside their estate. In their response to Question 25 (see Figure 7), all three Case Studies were much lower in the league table than on other issues. It appeared that they were much less satisfied with the areas in which their schemes had been built. In the Chi-Square test, the difference between the three cases and the forty two estates surveyed by the D.O.E., was not significant. However, it was clear, in interviews, that the tenants of the three co-operative schemes saw themselves as very much apart from their surrounding areas. They were like islands in hostile and unsatisfactory environments, even though most of the people in all three schemes were familiar with the locality.

This evidence tends to confirm the view that the tenants were making a judgement about their satisfaction which was influenced not simply by their position as an occupant, but by their role as member of a special project. Not only was the view of many of the tenants different because they were members of a co-operative but many exhibited a form of loyalty to the scheme which appeared to over-ride criticism. Indeed, in view of this, it had been expected to find higher levels of satisfaction than emerged from the survey results. However, the majority of respondents in all three cases claimed that their knowledge that the schemes had been designed with tenants participation had not affected their feelings about the scheme! (See Table 7, page 175)

5.10 Conclusions

- (i) The main purpose of this Chapter has been to examine the data obtained from the survey of tenants' opinions in the three Case Studies and to consider the proposition that user participation will lead to greater user satisfaction, which, it was argued earlier, is one of the main claims of Community Architecture.
- (ii) The purpose of the survey was to obtain a measure of user satisfaction and it was argued that the Department of the Environment Housing Appraisal Kit made it possible to compare satisfaction on the three Case Study schemes with the results of almost identical surveys of a wide range of public housing estates throughout England and Wales.
- (iii) Fairly high levels of satisfaction were found in all three Case Study estates. When tenants were asked to sum up their feelings about living in one of the three Case Study schemes, 81% were either satisfied or highly satisfied in Case A, 83% in Case B and 94% in Case C. By presenting the results graphically for four main questions concerning overall satisfaction, satisfaction with the dwelling, with the estate and with the appearance of the estate, and by calculating mean satisfaction scores, it was possible to rank the three Case Study projects in order of highest satisfaction against the forty-two D.O.E. cases.

- (iv) This comparison showed that the three Case Studies had a similar pattern of response to that reported by the D.O.E. with higher satisfaction with the dwelling than the estate. Furthermore, the three Case Studies show up, in the main, as being above the mean for tenant satisfaction nationwide as reported by the D.O.E. However, the levels of satisfaction in the three Case Studies are not higher than in the more popular of schemes surveyed by the D.O.E. which had not involved any user participation.
- (v) This was further confirmed by comparing the three Case Studies with ten of the schemes in the D.O.E. survey. These ten schemes were similar in many respects to the Case Studies, being alike in architectural terms and located in similar inner city areas. However, in this comparison, Case C did come out on top on a number of issues and did appear to be more successful than the other two Case Studies.
- (vi) It was also clear that there was a consistent difference between the three case studies with an order of success as follows:
1. Case C
 2. Case B
 3. Case A

- (vii) There was also some evidence to show that in Cases A and B the participant tenants were more satisfied than those residents who had not been involved in earlier planning and design stages, though the degree of difference in such a small sample was not significant enough to allow too much weight to be placed on this.
- (viii) Data from comments written in answer to open-ended questions, in the questionnaire and from interviews with tenants, suggested that many people in Cases A and B had criticisms which had not been picked up by the survey. However it has been suggested that this may have been due to the special nature of the scheme which led tenants to express satisfaction, despite problems they were aware of. Tenants in Case C tended not to be critical at all. This was largely because they were satisfied with the product but also because of a strong loyalty to the scheme.
- (ix) This concept of client loyalty is further supported by the way in which tenants in all three cases saw themselves as separate and somehow apart from the surrounding area.

The question remains: does any of this data provide firm evidence in relation to the proposition that user participation will lead to greater user satisfaction? There certainly is some evidence to suggest that the users in all three Case Studies were very satisfied though there was still some dissatisfaction over a number of issues, particularly in Cases A and B. All three projects compare very favourably with the most successful of schemes surveyed by the D.O.E.

It could be argued that the satisfaction of the Case Study tenants is higher than the average level of satisfaction for public sector tenants in the U.K. This is no small achievement for the first three new-build co-operative schemes given that they were a largely experimental and untried form of housing provision.

Thus the data does not provide any firm evidence to support the proposition but neither does it contradict it. There is little evidence that user participants were less satisfied. However it was noticeable that some tenants in the three Case Study schemes, and particularly Cases A and B, commented on faults and problems which might have been expected to be avoided with user participation.

The reasons for these problems seem worthy of study in order to establish whether user participation could have made any difference. It could be, given the complexity of most building projects, that the factors which gave rise to user satisfaction were not only outside the control or influence of the user participants, but also the architect and other involved professionals. Furthermore it seems worthy of study to establish why there was such a consistent pattern of difference in satisfaction between the three cases. Why, for instance, did Case C seem to be much more successful? Perhaps it was free of some of the less satisfactory features of Cases A and B, but was this related in any way to user participation? Consideration of these and other questions makes it clear that, despite the above conclusions, it has not been possible to establish a firm relationship between the two variables of participation and satisfaction.

This may be due to inadequacies in the methodology adopted, but as has already been pointed out in Chapter IV, any building project involves the complex interaction of a number of variables, some

internal and others external to the design and development process. It is necessary to discover whether some of these other factors varied significantly between the three Case Studies and could account for the differences in levels of satisfaction. There could be differences in local housing expectations, management and so on which could also have been influential. Essentially, therefore, for the purpose of this study, it is necessary to discover whether user participation was the key factor in affecting the levels of user satisfaction or whether these can be accounted for in other ways. In order to explore these questions further, three sub-propositions, which are concerned with particular relationships within design participation, are discussed in the next three Chapters. In these Chapters, data from the survey and other sources will be discussed in order to give a fuller picture of the subject and to give some explanation of the results presented in this Chapter.

CHAPTER V REFERENCES

1. DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT (1981): Housing Department Directorate - A Survey of Tenants' Attitudes to Recently Completed Estates. London: D.O.E.

CHAPTER VI

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN USER SATISFACTION, PARTICIPATION AND THE PRODUCT

6.1 Introduction

In the previous Chapter it became clear that the results of measuring user satisfaction in the three Case Studies required further explanation, both in order to discover reasons for the results obtained and to identify whether user participation was a key variable in affecting satisfaction. In this chapter the relationship between satisfaction and the product is considered by asking the question; did user participation during the design and development process actually make any difference to the resulting product?

It would be reasonable to assume that user participation in design would have changed the nature of the resulting buildings and environment if the arguments in support of Community Architecture are accepted. For instance in some of the literature discussed in Chapter III it was claimed that participatory design methods enabled user clients to modify designs (page 71). Thus it would follow that, if users were able to modify designs and if these modifications were in accordance with their needs and wishes, then greater satisfaction would result. This can be summarised in terms of Sub-Proposition 1 which proposes that

the level of user satisfaction is related to the effect that the user-clients had on the product.

In order to consider this proposition two main questions were asked:

- (i) whether the user participants in the three Case Studies had any effect or influence on the design and product and were there aspects of the designs that clearly reflected their requirements?
- (ii) whether user participants believed that they had influenced the designs.

However the converse of the proposition could be the case that, irrespective of participation, the schemes were generally of a higher standard and provided more satisfactory housing, and that it was this that accounted for the levels of satisfaction. In order to examine this, the question; are the three schemes different or similar, better or worse than other contemporary housing?, is also considered.

If there is any substance to the main proposition, then it might be expected that the extent to which the users influenced the designs would have a significant effect on their feelings about it. On the other hand, if it can be shown that the users had very little effect on the schemes, that they are much the same as they would have been had they been designed without user participation, then the main proposition will be called into question.

6.2 The Difficulties of Identifying the Influence of the Users

At a seminar in March 1984 in Liverpool, at which some of these tentative findings were discussed with professionals and tenants from some of the Case Study projects and others, a development worker from a large housing association, which promotes tenants' participation, put forward the following opinion:

If we are interested in the effect that people have on design, it is interesting to compare some of the schemes done by the same firm of architects for a housing association where there was no participation (referring to the architects for Case C)...there is a lot of similarity between the schemes, so this obviously reflects the way that that particular architect approaches design problems. (1)

The implication of this statement is that, by and large, designs will reflect the ideas of the architect even where there has been user participation. A similar suggestion was made by Mamalis (page 77). The architect in question, who was present at the meeting, had a ready answer for this by suggesting that in subsequent schemes the architects had benefited from the user involvement project and had incorporated the lessons learnt. However the question remains, would the schemes have been any different if the users had not been involved?

In general it can be assumed that the design of any building is a long drawn out process in which many different factors can influence the eventual outcome. In particular even the ideas of the clients themselves can have changed during the process. As a result of their involvement, expectations might have been modified as they became aware of what was and what was not possible. This might be even more the case with inexperienced user clients.

In the three Case Studies, the design and development process, which is described more fully in the next chapter, was so lengthy, that in interviews it was clear that the participants' own recollection of what they had expected and what they had accepted, was clouded. Similarly the architects spent so much time talking to the clients (more so than in normal projects) that their own ideas were

modified by this experience. Thus it is not easy to isolate and identify the extent of user client influence, however, there are certain pointers to what did happen.

What becomes clear from this study is that the process of participation modified the attitudes of the participants in such a way that, despite many disappointments and apparent frustrations in trying to modify the designs, this did not necessarily reduce to level of satisfaction. As one tenant from Case B put it, at the meeting in Liverpool referred to above:

In our project there were two design periods. In the first, we had the design that we all wanted, but we ended up with rabbit hutches, ...well they are very nicely designed houses but because we were constricted by the D.O.E. and the Housing Corporation, we were told that the scheme we wanted to live in, which we had a large hand in designing, which the architect wanted to build, we couldn't have. (2)

This tenant was able to refer to the houses as 'rabbit hutches' whilst sitting next to the architect who had designed them. It appeared that they had both shared the disappointment of trying unsuccessfully to get something better than 'rabbit hutches' approved. External factors were being blamed for not allowing this to go ahead. However in the case of Case B, in interviews the tenants did claim to have had a great deal of effect on the designs at a detailed level, such as room arrangement, but felt they had much less control over broader policy decisions. In examining this in more detail it was surprising that the tenants were not more disappointed than they were. It was difficult to avoid the surprising conclusion that they were satisfied with a scheme, which was not what they had wanted.

In the other two Cases, A and C, such a clear difference between original expectations and the eventual results could not be discerned but even so, in these cases, there was some suggestion that from the tenants' point of view, the designs had emerged gradually, rather than being the result of clear choices (with the exception of two or three key features). This is discussed in more detail below, but first, the form of the three schemes is compared with contemporary new build housing.

6.3 Are the Case Study Schemes Any Different from Other Contemporary Housing?

In an appraisal of another housing co-operative's scheme, the second such project in Liverpool which involved user participation, Anderson, states that:

If, in its sameness with several other schemes, it cannot be considered outstanding, similarly it cannot be considered odd. It is essentially a very responsible design producing, in spite of, or perhaps because of its strong user involvement, very much the kind of thing that any district council or the D.O.E. architect would like to see. ... It incorporates many of the vernacular themes popular at the end of the '70s and is not dissimilar to the housing in nearby Warrington New Town. (3)

Similar remarks could be made about each of the three Case Study schemes which are all of low rise, medium density houses with gardens and built in traditional materials in various 'vernacular styles'.

Such was the conventional model for housing design in the mid 1970s, and in none of the three co-operative schemes were decisions taken to depart from this. New Towns, Milton Keynes, Runcorn, Warrington, projects such as Bradwell Common, Neath Hill, Aberdeen Park, Setchell Road and others by architects, McCormac and Jamieson,

Cullinans, Darbourne and Darke and Neylan and Ungless had introduced a 'humanist' approach, ⁽⁴⁾ which was widely fashionable at this time. ⁽⁵⁾ Furthermore, Levitt has suggested that this was an approach which was the 'best ever' used in public housing. ⁽⁶⁾

Many of the tenants who became members of the co-operatives had either lived in system built public housing schemes of the 60s or saw them as their only likely destination, if rehoused. One objective, revealed in interviews, for joining the co-operative was that they were looking for a more 'humane alternative.' But the co-operatives did not have to pioneer such an approach as the tide had already turned. The participation process also included, for many of the early participants, trips to visit other housing schemes, which included New Towns like Warrington for members of Case C. Not only was public housing being largely designed in such a style but private housing, even in inner city sites by developers like Barratts and Wimpey seemed to be very similar.

The ten schemes surveyed by the D.O.E. with the H.A.K. questionnaire, and used for comparison purposes in the previous chapter, were also of a similar type and approach. Mostly two-storey terraced houses, with dual or separate, pedestrian/car access and built around 1974/75, they also reflected the consensus about housing design at this time (see Appendix VIII for layouts of these schemes). It would therefore be hard to argue that the three Case Study schemes varied greatly from existing models of housing design, except perhaps in certain details.

On the other hand, in interviews, tenants compared their housing with the much reviled '60s system built schemes and vast sprawling peripheral estates, so for them a possible source of satisfaction was that the three case study schemes represented a significant improvement on these older models. Participation in design therefore had not led to a new kind of pioneering housing design but an apparent vote of approval for the 'best kind' of housing being designed at the time, without participation. The next section considers the question of tenants' expectations in more detail.

6.4 Tenants' Satisfaction in Context

One factor which might have affected satisfaction was both previous housing experience and expectations of the tenants. In Case A, nearly all the tenant members of the co-operative had been transferred from other local authority schemes, and thus many had been council tenants for many years. In interviews, few complained strongly about their previous accommodation, but mentioned that they had lived in 'the flats' and that Case A was much better than their previous accommodation. They had joined the co-operative for a number of reasons, but getting a better house was an important one and all said that they had achieved this. In this North London Borough, opportunities to move to a new house with a garden on an estate as attractive as Case A, close to good shopping areas and public transport, were few and far between for nearly all tenants.

In 1983, the Borough had a waiting list for houses of 10,775 with nearly 58,000 people living in council houses and 14% of the total housing stock officially unfit for human habitation. (7)

Competition for housing was fierce and therefore it would not be unreasonable to assume that many of the tenants in Case A would have been very happy to have the chance to live in a two-storey, terraced housing scheme, irrespective of whether it would have been designed with tenants' participation.

Similarly in Leeds there was also a severe housing problem. The local authority had been committed to a massive programme of slum clearance which had been halted comparatively late. It had constructed many large heavy concrete system built schemes most of which were very unpopular. Having demolished the massive Quarry Hill estate in the centre of town, ⁽⁸⁾ Leeds City Council were contemplating the demolition of 'Hunslet Grange', a large deck access scheme, known to the locals as 'Leek Street flats.' Most of the members of the Case B co-operative were from the Leek Street flats and some had been involved in the campaign for its demolition. ⁽⁹⁾

The co-operative clearly offered a golden opportunity for its members to get a house with a garden in a small attractive scheme. Here again the tenants had reason to be satisfied with obtaining such housing, without being too concerned about design participation. In Leeds, private property prices are low compared with London and owner occupation did provide some alternative and thus some of the early participants did drop out and buy their own houses during the course of the project.

In Liverpool the housing conditions were as bad as could be found anywhere in the U.K. Case C members had been involved in a lengthy campaign to be re-housed from the 'slums' where most of them lived. Despite this they found themselves at the end of the queue and uncertainty about their area continued for many years. Most were

living in substandard housing, without baths and hot water facilities. (10) The only expectations that the members of the Case C co-operative for re-housing had, were re-lets in inter-war tenement blocks, many of which tenants were campaigning to escape from, or flats in peripheral and highly unpopular estates like Netherley and Cantril Farm. (11) With 25% of Liverpool's council tenants dissatisfied with their housing and 29,000 of the council stock of 77,000 houses, officially classed as unsatisfactory, 50% of the stock in flats and 18% over five floors, the outlook for any future council tenant was bleak. (12)

In interviews some of the initial members of Case C co-operative explained that they wanted to keep their community together, to be re-housed in the locality and to have houses that were not 'Corpyish'. But in a local authority which had not built any new council houses for several years, the only opportunity for the sort of housing they wanted was through housing associations or by forming their own housing co-operative. (13) Not surprisingly the tenants interviewed at Case C were highly delighted with their houses because their scheme was like an oasis in a sea of urban dereliction, they found themselves a privileged minority, with decent housing, in a city where conditions for most were deteriorating.

The above evidence goes a long way to support the suggestion that the tenants in the three case study schemes had good reason to be satisfied with their new homes, irrespective of the effect that some of them may have had on the designs. The schemes, however, would still have to be of a reasonable quality to live up to tenant expectations of getting somewhere better. In the next section the quality of the three projects is assessed.

6.5 Assessing the Quality of the Three Case Study Schemes

Accepting that the three schemes are better than anything that the tenants in normal circumstances might have expected, what conclusions can be drawn from consideration of any differences in quality between the three schemes? A brief appraisal of the sites, suggested that the three schemes are of a fairly high standard on a par with good new housing schemes in, say New Towns. The three case study schemes are undoubtedly of a higher standard than the ten 'similar' schemes selected from the D.O.E. study. In these latter schemes, the quality of landscaping was poor and the designs generally dull and uninspiring. Considerably more trouble has been taken over the details of the three case study schemes in these aspects.

It does not seem unreasonable to group the three case study schemes along with the best public sector housing built at the time. While this will undoubtedly have led to reasonably high satisfaction levels, it is not clear whether this is due to the factor of user participation.

A further factor to take into account when considering this is the relative success of the three projects which were ranked C, B, A in terms of satisfaction levels (page 147). Appraisal of the three schemes, through early site visits, before the interviews and survey results, also rated Case C as the most successful scheme with Cases A and B exhibiting a number of flaws which might have detracted from their success. There are two main reasons for putting forward these personal judgements. Firstly, apparent problems could be identified

by an experienced observer, without reference to the brief or user views, and secondly, failures of the schemes to fulfill initial briefing decisions and client objectives as explained by both clients and architects in interviews and documentary evidence.

A number of flaws in schemes A and B can be identified without reference to the brief or views of the tenants. In Case A the appearance of the houses is spoilt by what some might consider to be an ill proportioned dormer window. The houses are arranged in straight rows but the larger house types with the dormers are staggered in order to maintain the same frontage width. The front gardens provide parking for cars but in such a way that the car inevitably blocks access to the front door. A 'Community' house is included at the end of a terrace adjacent to a playground, which this observer expected might lead to complaints from the adjoining houses. This proved to be the case. (The site plans are set out in Appendix VIII).

In Case B, the central courtyard has an unsatisfactory quality to it, possibly because of the garden space left for the construction of a future meeting room. Some houses turn their backs and others have their front to this space. A wide variety of surface materials contributes to a disjointed and a fragmented feel to it. Back gardens are marred by an over elaborate coal store with a mono-pitch roof, clearly intended as an architectural feature. Also the play area seems an afterthought, in a left over space where children can bounce balls against gable ends, a fundamental mistake in many local authority schemes where new tenants immediately campaign for the removal of such play areas. A surprising mistake in a scheme where there had been participation by the tenants.

Case C, on the other hand, has many features which might be considered by architects to be substantially better than the other two. There is an economy of detail together with a carefully thought through informality by which the buildings and paths are arranged. One criticism which might be levelled at the layout is that the courtyards are not spaces which can be well used and are almost too informal. They merely serve to display plants and park a few cars; whereas a slightly more formal arrangement might have been more appropriate in such an urban setting.

When assessing the schemes against initial objectives a similar pattern emerges. In Case C, certain very clear design objectives were laid down by the co-operative at an early stage concerning privacy from the surrounding area, about provisions of courtyards and the need to spread flats for old people throughout the scheme. Together with resolving problems about access and parking, the layout seems to solve these requirements very successfully. In Case A, however, it was difficult to identify such clear initial briefing decisions and the layout, while attractive in some respects, it appears to compromise by leaving some tenants without the benefits of the private street layout. In Case B it is possible to show that the scheme failed to live up to the clients' initial requirements for a high degree of privacy and patio housing. Here too, the layout seems to be a compromise between a number of factors, none too successfully resolved.

If these necessarily subjective judgements are accepted it seems clear that there are a number of factors in Cases A and B in terms of the product which could account for lower levels of satisfaction. What then were the reasons for this? Was the participation process

less successful in Cases A and B? Were there factors which made the user participants less effective, or are these problems a result of general mistakes? Perhaps Case C had a better architect, or perhaps it cost more. The variables are numerous and the user participation factor only one of a number that could have influenced satisfaction. One possible correlation that had to be examined was the relationship between satisfaction and the cost and standards of each scheme.

6.6 Comparing Costs and Standards

The possibility was considered that the three case studies were significantly different from other housing projects in being much more costly and with higher standards of space or materials. It might be that they were of a much higher quality having had more money spent on them and that this might have affected tenants' satisfaction. However, it was not easy to find cost data which could provide a reasonable basis for comparison. Figures published by the D.O.E., giving average construction costs, were substantially lower than contemporary examples published in the Architects' Journal. ⁽¹⁴⁾ Cost figures were also obtained from the H.A.K. tenant satisfaction study carried out by the D.O.E., for the ten examples referred to above (page 133) and these also varied considerably. (More details of cost information are in Appendix IX).

Despite these difficulties, three quantitative factors were identified, upon which some data was available; cost, size of scheme and density and the thirteen schemes (the ten D.O.E. examples and the three case studies) were ranked in order according to the following criteria. The most expensive scheme was ranked highest, on the

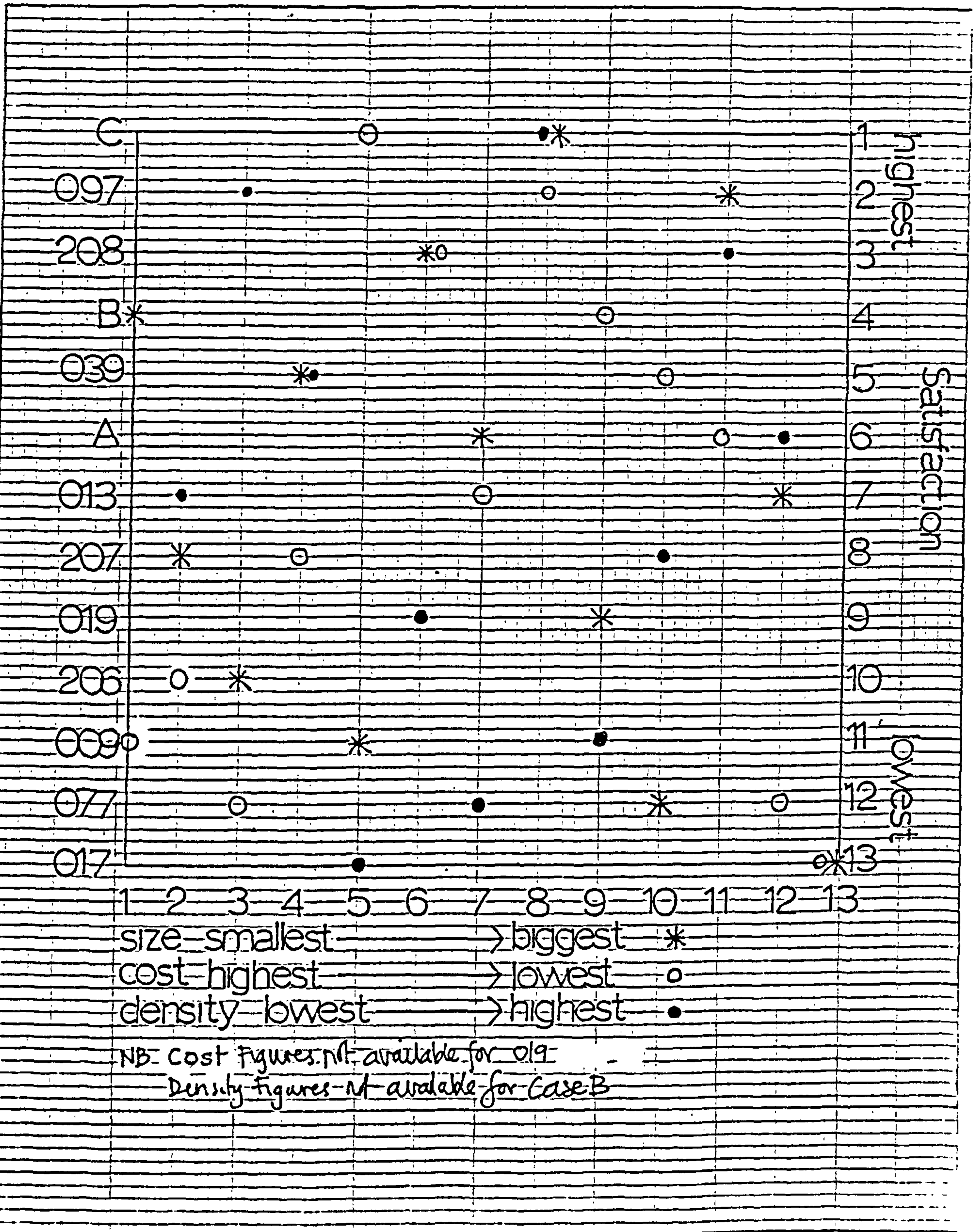
assumption that the scheme, which had the most money spent on it, might be the most successful. The smallest scheme was ranked highest on the assumption that most people would prefer to live in a small scheme. Similarly it was assumed that the lowest density would be the most popular. The factor of space standards was not taken into account as this hardly varied at all between all thirteen schemes - with a range of between 17 and 18.5 square metres per person.

Having ranked all thirteen schemes in order in this way, the results were plotted graphically in a rank correlation test (Figure 8). This test showed that there was no common pattern and no firm evidence of correlations between any of the factors. It also shows that there was no significant difference between the case studies and the D.O.E. schemes in terms of cost, size and density.

In Figure 8, the thirteen schemes are listed in order of highest overall user satisfaction as shown in Appendix VI. While such a test is relatively crude, it can be argued that the levels of user satisfaction were unlikely to correlate with quantitative factors, and would be more likely to have been affected by issues of quality and factors, more difficult to measure.

Figure 8

Rank Correlation Test



6.7 The Effect of the User Clients on the Designs

The evidence so far suggests that there is nothing very remarkable or different about the three Case Studies; they appear to be very similar in many respects to good housing being built elsewhere without participation, nor do they seem to have cost more or be of a better standard. There is little to suggest that such factors correlate with the satisfaction levels. However it would be a mistake to discount the effect of user participation, conclude that it did not make any difference and to argue as some opponents of user participation do, that buildings will be just as good (or bad) whether future users participate or not.

Instead we have to consider the possibility that the schemes would not have been as successful if there had been no user participation. It could have been that the influence of the tenants was sufficient to ensure a high standard of design for the schemes and that such a standard would not have been achieved without participation.

It is also possible, however that if schemes had been designed and built for these particular sites, by the same architects and other professionals, that they would have produced much the same scheme. As has already been pointed out, there is no way of testing such a conjecture, but it is possible to begin to evaluate how much effect the user participants had on the design and answer the question, does user participation lead to a better design and one which more closely reflects the needs and ideas of the people who will use it? Thus in the final section of this chapter the effect of the user participants on the designs is discussed.

In Case A, the local authority, in initiating the project, was clearly interested in the possibility that, in the words of the Housing Committee chairman, 'the tenants would come up with something significantly different'. (15) However he thought the results somewhat disappointing, suggesting that 'the houses aren't very inspired, a bit like Barratt houses, but they do reflect significant choices on specific things.'

Another account of the Case A project also argues that the scheme is 'similar to what might have been designed without tenant participation...[but] the scheme was unique in allowing options for ground floor layouts for each house type.' (16) But there were a number of features that did appear to reflect user participation or provide the opportunity for consumer choice. In this section, the importance of these special features and the evidence that participants did or did not have some effect on the designs is also considered.

In Case A the main feature which clearly reflected tenants' preferences was the ground floor layout of the houses and a decision to put the kitchens at the back of the house. Participant members in interviews explained that they 'didn't like the peculiar idea of having the kitchen at the front,' which they had seen on visits to other schemes. The architect for Case A also pointed out that it was standard practice in this local authority Architects' Department to put the kitchen at the front, and they have generally continued to do so, despite the strong dislike of this arrangement by tenants. The participants were also offered the opportunity to have different

arrangements of rooms, connecting kitchen and dining or dining and living but it was clear from interviews that this was an architect's suggestion. (Figure 9, page 170).

In interviews, tenants who had participated in the designs, indicated that these two factors had an important influence on their feelings of satisfaction about the dwelling. However, others who had joined the co-operative after the designs were completed, had to live with layouts designed for someone else. Even so this did not seem to reduce their satisfaction. On other aspects of the designs, it was harder to identify features which appeared to strongly reflect tenants' preferences. In interviews some implied that they weren't interested in broader design decisions, leaving these to the architect or some to their husbands. For example, in an interview one woman said;

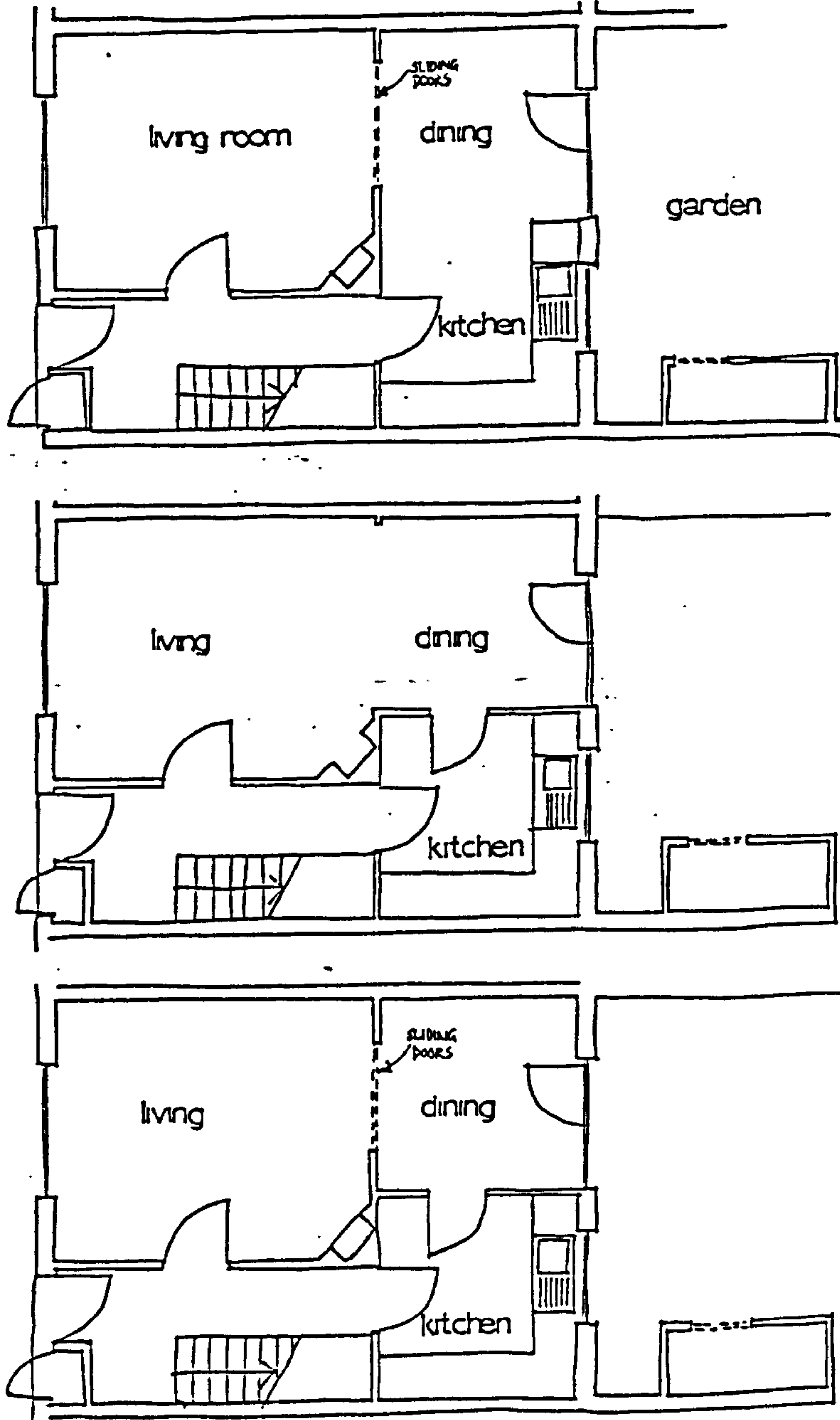
I was only concerned with the details, Bill [her husband] can say more about the building work... but we did want French doors at the back and big windows...they were a bit like a dream idea... the women wanted nice curtains.

It was also possible to identify in Case A several features that did not reflect tenants' ideas. Some tenants complained that they didn't understand the proposals or that they did not get what they wanted. One explained, 'we didn't realise about the dormer windows on the four-bedroom [type] until they were built.' Another complained that they wanted steel windows but had been over-ruled. Some also felt that certain other important features had been overlooked, for example;

Figure 9

Floorplan Layouts. Plan Options in Case A.

3 optional ground floor plans
CASE A 4person 2storey house type



The other thing we didn't get clear was the amount of cupboard space. I can't remember it being discussed. It was one of the things that was brushed aside. The airing cupboard was a disaster, we had to alter it.

Of course the interviews were conducted some years after the design process had taken place and time may have dulled the memory of the participants, but it was hard, even in lengthy interviews, to get tenants to identify features of the designs over which they felt they had exerted strong influence.

Furthermore, a small survey had been carried out at the end of the design period, the results of which, suggest that even at that early stage, some participants felt they had had limited effect on the designs in Case A. Out of thirty-four tenants who completed a questionnaire a significant minority (24%) felt that they had had very little choice in the design of the houses. 75% felt they had been constrained by space standards and 91% constrained by cost yardstick. Nearly a half were doubtful or negative that their personal opinion had influenced the designs, though 62% felt that every member had had an equal chance to do so. (17) In an account of the design participation process written by someone who attended and assisted in many of the meetings it was concluded that in Case A,

Neither the individual units nor the site layout was actually designed by the tenants...the design represents the architect's interpretation...

though this is qualified by the assertion that

It was however an interpretation based on first hand knowledge of the tenants and their views obtained from almost weekly discussion with them over a five month period. The relationship between the architect and tenants was in many ways much like any architect client relationship. (18)

Thus in Case A the effect the user participants had on the scheme was largely through the medium of the architect's interpretation. It would be difficult to argue from this evidence that user participation made a great deal of difference to the designs or to eventual satisfaction.

In Case B there is even stronger evidence that the effect of the participants on the design was quite limited. Some of the participant members, who were interviewed, made it clear that, at the beginning of the project, they had certain strong ideas of what they wanted. These ideas were largely based on a visit to a housing project in North Leeds which they had liked. It consisted of a 'patio' layout with a high degree of privacy and with walled gardens. So clear was this idea in the mind of at least one of the original members of the co-operative that she was able to sketch a plan of it in an interview. Despite such a clear early decision, the final scheme as built shows no trace of a 'patio' layout. Interviews with both participants who were involved in the scheme from the start, and others who joined later, showed that there were other problems.

In Case B, the membership changed radically during the course of the project, with only four left out of the original twenty. While many new members joined during the design process, and thus were able to have some say in the details of their house, when asked who had the greatest say in the design they could only answer that 'it just evolved over time.' Some of those interviewed also complained that 'the reality is totally different from the dream.' Some went further and complained that they had not had sufficient control of the architects. For example one wrote in the questionnaire;

I believe the architects made many mistakes and we are paying dearly for those mistakes. When we asked the architects to change something and they agreed, we accepted their word on trust. Now we know we should have had everything down in writing.

Despite having had individual planning sessions with the architects, six out of the eight tenants interviewed complained of things in their house that were different from 'what they asked for.' There was a general air of disappointment, that even though they were 'satisfied' with the scheme, they had not had much effect on the design. As one explained 'what we wanted was a patio but all we got was a step.'

The situation was very different in Case C where members had adopted design ideas at the start of the participation process and which they were determined to be included in the scheme. Case C co-operative agreed a rudimentary brief early on. They too, had visited another scheme which they had liked, in the Merseyside area. One leading member of the group was already familiar with this scheme and had persuaded the others of its advantages. This was for a courtyard type layout which would group the houses in small units. It provided an architectural form, but also a unit of organisation and management. They also wanted old people dispersed throughout the scheme with a few in each small group. The scheme they had visited had a lush landscape which they also wanted. The other main design principle was for the estate to be enclosed and inward looking, uninviting to outsiders.

Decisions about the design were taken by a relatively small group of participants, however, they did report regularly to a general

meeting of all co-operative members. While they had a clear policy on a number of key items, on other issues, rather like in the other two cases, design decisions were taken as they went along. In their own account of the project, it was made clear by the architect that tenants would only have certain choices within limits. Phrases like, 'the co-op would be able to have some kind of choice within limits imposed by Government cost yardsticks,' or they could, 'if they wanted have some influence over the way the whole estate was designed,' are typical. (19)

It seems that in Case C, the participant member had been happy to leave some of the design decisions to the architect. Surprisingly the women agreed to leave the kitchen design to the architect, having chosen the units and 'told him what everyone wanted'. Other features were also recognised as the architect's idea, such as the balconies attached to some of the old peoples' flats. Perhaps the main decision taken by the tenants during the process was to limit choice in house plans. There was a general policy to cut out all frills and extravagancies, relying on the architect to interpret this, and come up with simple and economic solutions.

6.8 The General Effect of User Participation

In considering the implications of the data from the three case studies, there are a number of issues of interest which follow from each other.

- (i) did the user clients participate in the design process?
- (ii) did they have any effect on the designs as a result?
- (iii) did this effect lead to anything different or better than what might be expected to be designed without participation?
- (iv) did this have any effect on satisfaction?

Firstly, it has been established that some tenants did participate, but in all three schemes the majority did not. In the H.A.K. questionnaire the respondents in the three Case Studies were asked whether the fact of user participation had made any difference to their feelings of satisfaction. The vast majority said that it did not (see Table 7).

TABLE 7

Response to Question 24A

Did the factor of user participation make any difference to feelings of satisfaction?

	A	B	C	Average
YES it did make a difference	18%	22%	25%	22%
NO it didn't make a difference	82%	78%	75%	78%

This somewhat surprising result was backed up by a number of comments by tenants in Cases A and B, written into the questionnaires. For example, one tenant at Case A wrote

It makes no difference to me whether someone who lives here designed it or not, it would not change anything.

and at Case B, the failure of the participants to have sufficient effect on the designs was criticised by one,

The members who helped to form and plan the estate did their best...unfortunately none of them could give any valid arguments to the architect's plans or designs.

Secondly, while the participants did have some effect on the designs, this effect appeared to be limited by a number of factors, including a strong dependence on the architect, the way the process was organised and the limiting effect of external factors.

Thirdly, it has been argued that in addition to the limited effect of the participants the resulting schemes were not very differ-

ent from good quality contemporary public housing except in one or two specific features.

Finally, it was not possible to discover strong evidence to connect the effect of user participation on the design to the levels of satisfaction. Given the retrospective nature of this study, discovering such a link was always likely to be a difficult task, however many of the more journalistic accounts of participation assume that such a link exists and further assume that if a group of future users attend a number of meetings, that such participation automatically results in designs which reflect the users' ideas and are thus highly satisfying to the users. Despite the reasonably high levels of satisfaction found in these three cases it must nevertheless be concluded that this was not necessarily the result of user participation.

To explain this more fully it might be worth comparing the reality of the three projects with what could be seen as idealised models of user participation. Such idealised models fall into two categories. One is 'USER-DESIGN' the idea that, in this case, the future tenants' designed the schemes themselves, leaving it to the architect to 'draw up' their proposals. The other is that a 'CONVENTIONAL ARCHITECT CLIENT RELATIONSHIP' is created. The first model is largely illusory though many people jump to the conclusion that this is what happens. The second is what many of those involved in the three Case Studies said had happened.

From this Chapter it is concluded that neither was the case. The future tenants certainly did not design the schemes themselves. Nor did they, except to some extent in Case C, establish a conventional architect-client relationship. They did not prepare a brief or set of policy objectives which were given to the architect, and such ideas emerged as the projects proceeded. The difficulty found in

getting the participants to explain how decisions were made, and complaints about problems in Cases A and B, gave the impression of a powerlessness for inexperienced clients, faced with a complex and unfamiliar process. This raises a whole series of questions about the nature of the process. Why were there problems in formulating briefs, how did ideas emerge during the process, how many were involved and why was their effect limited, what information were the user clients given by the architect and others and was this information adequate for them to make real choices? Such questions are discussed in the next Chapter.

6.9 Conclusions

Having reached the conclusion in the previous chapter the results of measuring satisfaction were inconclusive, in this chapter, a subpropositions is considered which may give a fuller explanation of the relationship between satisfaction and participation. The subproposition considered in this chapter is that the level of user satisfaction is related to the effect the user clients had on the product.

The conclusions of examining this proposition were that:-

- (i) There was only limited evidence to suggest that the designs and the eventual built product were the result of clear choices by the participants. In all three cases there were a few particular features chosen by tenants, but in general the designs had emerged from the design process rather than reflecting a clear brief.
- (ii) It was also apparent that despite participation, the final schemes were very similar to good quality contemporary housing designed without participation.

- (iii) There was evidence to suggest that user satisfaction was more likely to have been related to the housing expectations of the tenants. The three case study schemes were much better than anything the tenants might have expected to live in and this could have been the case, irrespective of whether they had participated in the design process.
- (iv) However, it was possible to identify differences in quality of the product between the three case study schemes. Cases A and B had a number of problems which may have accounted for their lower satisfaction levels. Yet it might have been expected that these would have been avoided with participation. In general, Case C was more successful, with fewer flaws and problems and this was the scheme with highest satisfaction. However this in itself does not show that this was the result of user participation. The only evidence to link a successful product to participation was in Case C where the co-operative had set out certain clear design objectives on a number of issues. It had not been possible to identify these in Case A. In Case B the only clear design objective had not been fulfilled.
- (v) There was neither evidence to suggest any significant difference between the three case study schemes nor between them and the ten 'similar' D.O.E. schemes, in terms of costs and standards. All were fairly similar and no correlation between these factors and satisfaction was discovered.

(vi) In finally considering, in more detail, the effect of the tenants on the schemes there was very little firm evidence to suggest that user participation was a key factor in ensuring reasonably good quality housing. A number of factors were identified that were seen by the participants as limiting their effect on the designs. This is reinforced by comparing the accounts of participants, in all three Case Studies, of the limited extent of their ability to influence designs, even though they may have been highly involved. This generalisation possibly applies less to Case C but is discussed in much more detail in the next Chapter. What is apparent from the material presented so far is that whilst some tenants took part in the design process, they did not design the schemes themselves, nor did they lay down a clear brief or set of design objectives. Thus, participation in these cases was neither a form of 'tenant design', nor was it a conventional architect-client relationship. The real nature of the relationship is discussed in the next Chapter.

(vii) Thus in considering the sub-proposition, it would not be possible to argue from the evidence here, a causative or even tentative link between participation effect - design product quality - high satisfaction even though it is clear that through participation some users did have some effect on the design product.

However, a more detailed consideration of the participation process throws up more evidence which will cast light on these relationships.

Given that only a minority of those remaining resident in the three cases were actually involved in the design process (and there is only slight evidence to suggest that they are more satisfied), and that the majority said that knowledge of the user participation factor did not affect their views, then it is hard to link satisfaction with effect on design. Instead the tenants appeared to be judging the schemes in terms of places to live, as they find them now, not as products of participation. Thus in terms of the participation linking satisfaction with participant effect in design, there is not a lot of evidence to support this as an explanation of the level of satisfaction, found in the three Case Studies.

CHAPTER VI REFERENCES

1. Notes taken at Seminar in Liverpool University, Department of Architecture attended by about 50 professionals and members of housing co-operatives on Merseyside and from Yorkshire on 16 March, 1984.
2. Liverpool Seminar Notes, 16 March, 1984, op.cit.
3. ANDERSON, H. (1984): Building Study of Hesketh Street Housing Co-operative. Architects' Journal, 18.7.84, pp.45-50.
4. STONEHOUSE, R. (1983): 'Housing in the Humanist Tradition.' Architects' Journal, 9.2.83, pp.46-55.
5. See, for instance, Building Studies in Architects' Journal, 9.7.78, 30.7.80, 15.4.81 and 9.2.83.
6. LEVITT, D. (1982): Untitled article in Architects' Journal, 17.9.82, pp.71-75.
7. Source: (1983): London Borough of Haringey. Department of Housing, published figures.
8. RAVETZ, A. (1974): Model Estate, Planned Housing at Quarry Hill, Leeds. London: Croom Helm.
9. 'SCAT' (Undated) (Services to Community Action and Tenants): 'High and Dry.' London: SCAT Publications.
10. MacDONALD, R. (1983): A Study Inside the English Working Class House 1913-1979. PhD Thesis, Liverpool University.
11. WATERHOUSE, R.: 'Its not much of a site. That's why they gave it to us.' Report in The Guardian, (undated).
12. EVANS, E. (1981): Current Planning Policies and Development Programmes, Liverpool City Planning Department, 1983. See also CORMACK, M., Liverpool Housing, Facts and Figures, Liverpool Council of Voluntary Service.
13. FRIEND, A. (1981): Failed Strategies: Falling Investment - Liverpool Housing Programme and Government Policies. Catholic Housing Aid Society.
14. Department of the Environment. Annual Construction Statistics.
15. Interview with Past Chairman of London Borough of Haringey Housing Committee.
16. MATTHEWS, A. (1981): Management Co-operatives, The Early Stages. London: H.M.S.O.
17. HOPE, E. (1978): Tenant Participation in The Design of a New Build Housing Co-operative. Unpublished draft.
18. HOPE, E. (1978): op.cit.
19. MacDONALD, A. (1983): The Weller Way. Unpublished draft.

CHAPTER VII

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN USER CLIENTS AND ARCHITECTS IN THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

7.1 Introduction

In the previous Chapter it was argued that, while there may be a link between user satisfaction and the quality of the built product in each of the Case Studies, it was not clear whether this had been modified by user participation. Furthermore there appeared to be evidence that the effect of the participants had been limited by a number of factors. Such tentative conclusions might suggest that user participation in these cases, had not been a very effective means of meeting user requirements and that user participation in other cases may not make a great deal of difference to the way buildings are designed, a view held by the detractors of user participation.

However a closer look at the nature of the participation process in each of the Case Studies tells a different story. It seems possible that even though the user participants did not design the schemes themselves, a close relationship with the architect could have made it possible for the architect to incorporate user ideas and needs more effectively in the designs. If this has been done successfully we might reasonably expect the levels of user satisfaction, set out in Chapter V, to be related to the degree to which the architect was able to interpret user ideas.

Thus in this chapter, the second sub proposition is examined:

that user satisfaction is related to the ability
of the architects to understand and interpret user
needs and to incorporate these in the designs.

Such an apparently simple statement, however, contains a complex net of problems which are central, not only to an understanding of user participation, but to design methods as a whole. For instance, is it possible for clients to articulate their needs sufficiently clearly for it only to be necessary for the architect to transform these into built forms? Or is it necessary for architects to analyse and interpret client requirements and then to provide the client with various choices to be made? Can architects provide sufficient information, in a way that it is readily understandable, for the client to make an informed choice? Are real choices possible in projects where, due to the external constraints already referred to (pages 92-93), there are serious limitations on what can be done? Are such choices little more than marginal?

In considering such questions it cannot be taken for granted that architects themselves have user requirements as their first priority. Architects can have many other aims such as furthering their careers, obtaining the approval of their peers and developing certain aesthetic and formal pre-occupations. Indeed the client may have chosen the architect because of a liking for a particular architects' formal work, rather than his or her ability to take account of the client's needs, and may be persuaded to change his or her initial requirements to conform to the architects' programme.

Such issues are further complicated by the introduction of user participant clients who have little experience of such a process. As has been explained, the brief in each of the case studies emerged during the design process and that the user client groups had only a few clearly defined design objectives. It is necessary to consider what efforts were made by the architects to counter the inexperience of the clients and to consider how successful they were at providing

information to facilitate real choices. Even if such efforts were successful, the eventual built form would be the result of how any such ideas and discussions found their way onto the drawing board and how skillfull the architect was at rationalising them with the limitations of site, cost and external constraints.

Any study of user participation must distinguish clearly between projects in which participants, on the one hand, are in control and taking clear decisions themselves about what they want, and on the other, are relying on professionals to record and interpret what they appear to be saying. Either approach may be an equally valid way of approaching the design of buildings but each implies a difference in power relationships between architect and client. Thus is it not sufficient to argue that the client has the power to hire or fire the architect or to decide how money will be spent. Once an architect is employed it may be many years after a building is completed before the client realises a poor job has been done. Furthermore, institutionalised financing systems may give little effective control to the user clients, as appears to have been the case in the examples discussed here.

Thus, any analysis of user participation, must be based on a keen awareness of who takes decisions and how these are put into practice. In examining the design and development process for the three Case Studies it was necessary to try and discover, the extent of involvement of participants in the design process, how the clients were organised, how far everyone understood what was going on, the techniques of participation that were used and the nature of the relationship between the architect and client. Thus the differences between the processes in each of the three Case Studies are considered in an attempt to assess whether the different ways in which design

problems were resolved affected the outcome and thus the satisfaction of the users.

7.2 The Extent of Involvement in the Design Process

Before considering the way in which the user participants were involved in the process, it is necessary to make clear how the extent of involvement varied between the three case studies. This is particularly important in view of the fact that many of the tenants, now in occupation, were not involved in the earlier design stages of the projects. Despite this, many who joined at later stages, still had opportunities to be involved in decision making and would still have come into contact with the architect and other professionals, and this experience may well have affected their feelings of satisfaction. However, in each case the changing nature of the membership and the strong influence of a small group may well have contributed to a situation whereby the architect remained the person who had to draw everything together and was the only figure with an overview of all opinions and ideas. In view of this it seems possible that the stability and continuity of the group could have been a significant factor in affecting satisfaction.

The following table gives an indication of the approximate numbers involved at different stages as far as could be ascertained from a variety of sources. ⁽¹⁾ (Table 8, page 186)

TABLE 8

Numbers Involved in the Development Process

	A	B	C
Initial Membership	85 Adults (50 Households)	25 Adults (15 Households)	N/A (50 Households)
Final Numbers Housed	90 Adults (54 Households)	31 Adults (18 Households)	116 Adults (61 Households)
Numbers remaining of original members	11 Adults	4 Adults	12 Adults
Numbers directly involved in design meetings	Average attendance at meetings 30 adults representing 30 households	Core group of 7 households but only 2 from initial membership	Varied, but approximately 15
Numbers housed from those involved in design meetings	11 Adults	7 Adults	15 Adults

From the above table it should be clear that the tenants cannot be referred to as a homogeneous group though this is what some accounts of such projects tend to do. ⁽²⁾ In each case there was quite a complicated pattern of changing membership, though a few people provided continuity right the way through. At Case A there was a continuous group of people during the design stage, but then there was a long period of delays in which the membership thought they had been abandoned by the local authority who had initiated the scheme and this may have accounted for the high drop out rate. ⁽³⁾ At Case A new members joined as old members left unwilling to wait for the project to go ahead. One of the leading figures quit because of personal reasons only shortly before the houses were completed, while

several joined whilst the contractor was still on site and became involved in finalising details and watching their house being built.

At Case B the membership went through several stages of change. Some dropped out quite early on and others left, again frustrated by delays. Two very active members died, and tragically one disabled lady who had been very involved with the design of her own house died shortly after moving in.

At Case C leading members resigned at a fairly late stage over disagreements on policy. Also the co-operative had regular 'purges' of less active members if they did not come to meetings and this led to some change in the membership.

As a result, in all three cases the co-operative relied for continuity on a small number of key people who provided leadership, and, inevitably, on the architect. However this does not mean that in each co-operative there are a large number of members who were not in any way involved or were somehow outside the process. Some of those interviewed, who had not been involved in the design process, were still very aware of what had happened and were involved in other aspects of the co-operative's work such as management. On the other hand, when collecting the questionnaires, it was possible in Cases A and B to come across a few tenants who seemed remote and out of touch with what had happened.

7.3 How The Co-operatives Organised Themselves For The Design Participation Process

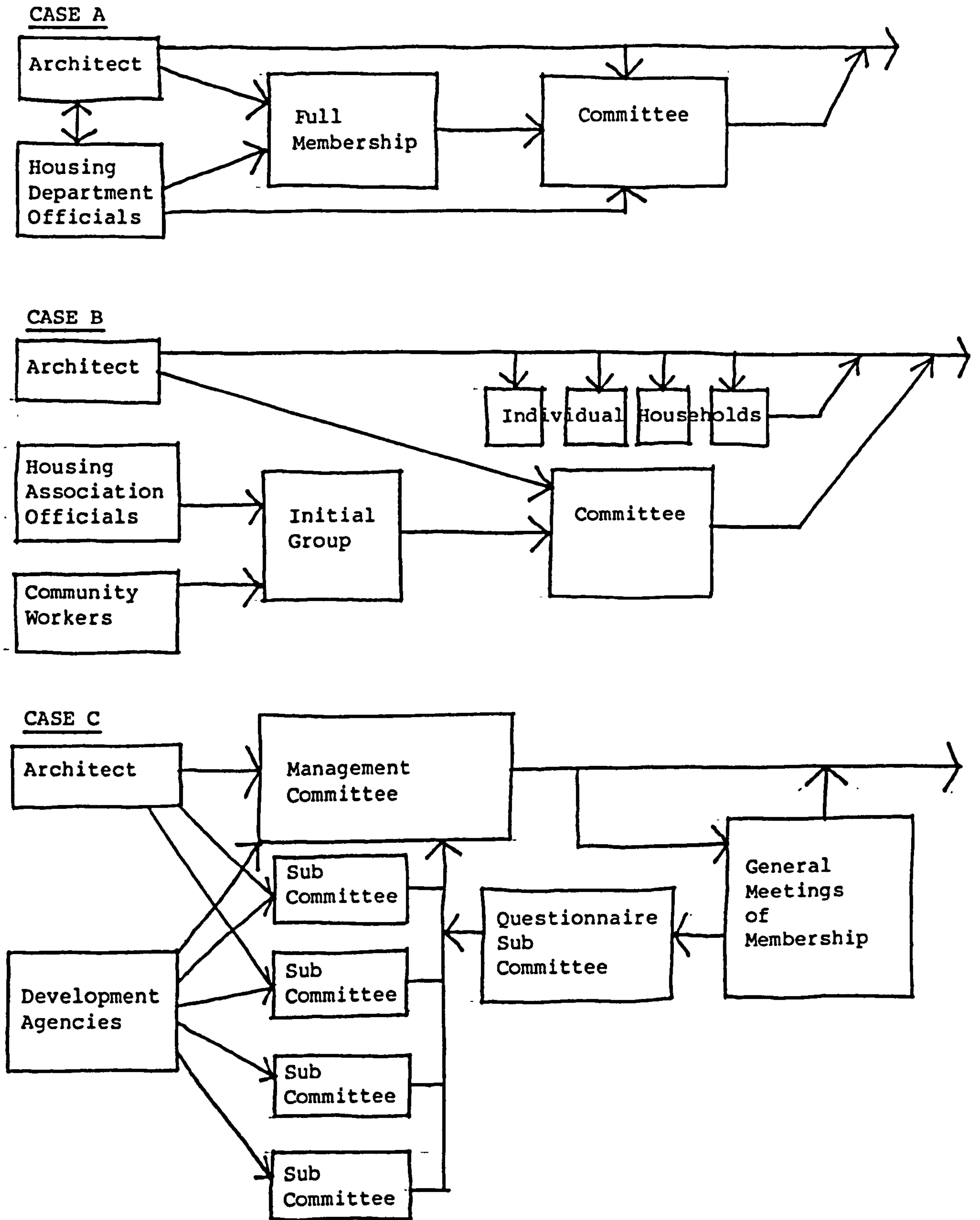
In all three Cases, the structures developed for meetings and other aspects of the process, relied heavily on the recommendations or decisions of the architects and other professionals as very few of the

members of the user client groups had any experience of building projects before they got involved.

In interviews, tenants were quick to point out this key factor and to emphasise how dependent they were on guidance from the professionals who helped to initiate the project. Also co-operative members, who had some experience in the building trade, the Chairman in Case A and a committee member in Case C appeared to have exercised strong influence within the groups. In Figure 10, the different organisational and committee structures are set out.

FIGURE 10

Organisational Structures for Design Process



At Case A the initial programme of meetings, at which the future tenants were introduced to the project and a subsequent series which discussed the design, were planned in advance by local authority housing officials and the architect. Once this (three month) period of inter-communication was complete, the co-operative was encouraged to form a management committee which continued to deal with the general business and any further design decisions that had to be made.

At Case B the co-operative, being much smaller, operated through a series of committee meetings that were open to all the membership. Examination of minutes showed that attendance varied considerably. This organisational structure had emerged from 'educational meetings' organised by a community worker and also followed guidance from the co-operative's development agents, a large housing association, though for the latter, this was their first housing co-operative and user participation experience.

At Case B, as well as attending committee meetings, the architects went on to hold individual meetings with each household, despite this causing a number of problems. According to an official from the housing association which acted as 'development agents' for the co-operative:

The co-operative wanted individual requirements [included in the designs]. Instead of this being accommodated in the brief the architects went to see the individual people in their homes and there wasn't subsequently a confirmation of this and no co-operative decision taken... What has latterly happened is that people have complained, "I said, Mr Architect, I wanted this and that." But the Architect says "No you didn't" ...and the rest of the "co-op" don't know who is right. (4)

At Case C, on the other hand, the process was organised in a more formal way, which reflected stronger ideas on the part of the co-op's leadership about how its affairs should be conducted. However the detailed aspects of design were worked out through various special sub-committees on the advice of professionals working for the Housing Association, which was acting as development agent.

At Cases B and C, a condition of Housing Corporation registration, an essential pre-condition of financial support, was the employment of an experienced housing association to act as development agents. The development agents' role is to help the inexperienced co-operative through the process and to provide certain legal and financial services. This role was extended in both cases to direct intervention in co-operative meetings and design policy. At Case B, this led to considerable friction with the architects and conflict with the co-operative's management committee at Case C. Without going into the details of such conflicts, it can be stated that learning how to handle the development agent and other professionals was an important feature of the maturing and development of organisational autonomy for all three co-operatives.

At Case C the sub committee structure for dealing with the design, recommended by the development agents, meant that a fairly small and constant group were principally involved in the design.

(5) However, all the proposals were reported back to a management committee (of the same group of people) and then to general meetings of the co-operative. The sub committees at Case C were divided into areas of concern with one concerned with education of the membership about the project, one with the design of the inside of the dwellings

and one with the outside, the layout of the estate. Interestingly there were mostly women on the "inside" committee and men on the "outside". This structure had been intended by the development agents to encourage as many members of the co-operative as possible to be involved in design but the sub committees were eventually amalgamated because of falling attendance.

The small groups had originally been intended to encourage more people to get involved but the result had merely been a shuffling of the pack of committee members. (6)

Another sub committee at Case C was concerned with preparing and using questionnaires to collect user requirements from the wider membership. But the divisions of labour between these different activities did appear to lead to breakdowns in communication and consequent disagreements. For instance, the "inside" committee decided (as in Case A) that all kitchens should be at the back of the house, but the "outside" committee had agreed the kitchens would be at the front. The committee members claimed in interviews, however, that these conflicts were amicably resolved at the management committee meetings. However, much of the time it was the architect who was the only person who attended all the meetings, it was often left to him to resolve these difficult areas of overlap.

Thus, in all three cases the structure of committees, the formal vehicle for participation, was not based on any previous experience or theoretical ideal models for participation, nor were they evolved by the co-operative members. Instead professional advisors used their ad hoc judgement of what they thought would be the best way to ensure full participation. While these structures did allow some opportunity for co-operative members to discuss many design issues and problems,

they also appear to have placed the professionals, and in particular, the architect in a powerful position as mediator between different interests and, most importantly, the only people with all the information.

While models of participation and previous experience may not have been readily available to those involved, it was somewhat surprising that not much more attention had been paid to issues of group dynamics and organisational methods. Drawing on such experience might have enabled the co-operative groups to have become more effective in exercising their own views. Instead, the "muddling through methods" employed, far from empowering and enabling user clients, as is claimed in community architecture, may have had the reverse effect, tending to reinforce dependence on professionals.

7.4 Problems Of Understanding For The Wider Membership

In addition to organisational structures which appeared to have put the professionals in a more powerful position, each of the co-operatives appeared to have had problems in getting the wider membership to understand what was being decided. For instance, at Case C, the core group of members relied largely on the questionnaire sub-committee and an informal network of women members to keep them informed about members views. In interviews, committee members claimed that ideas were passed around and discussed in an informal way, but by the stage when the designs were nearly finished they organised meetings of the people allocated to each house type, which were well attended, in an effort to get more people involved. While this may have ensured that most were familiar with the proposed designs, Minutes of a general meeting (28.9.78) show a woman member complaining that:

It is difficult for the members of the co-operative to understand much of the information.

and another committee member, 'suggested that the drawings and charts were difficult to understand.'

At Case A, the participant members who were interviewed, felt that other participants had not understood what was going on and that they had depended far too much on the views of the professionals or leading co-operative members. For instance, one tenant suggested in such an interview that:

I think that the majority of people didn't understand what was going to happen. Most people don't understand about architecture... They just voted with them [meaning the committee]. They [meaning the council] didn't explain in layman's language - in basic terms, the advantages and disadvantages, most just went along with what the architect wanted.

Similarly a tenant at Case B felt that 'We have a lot of sheep who haven't really taken it all in, they looked at how their neighbour was voting and voted accordingly.' She also felt that they were too dependent on the architect for information and did not have alternative sources of information. As another tenant at Case A suggested in an interview:

It would have been a nice idea to have somebody there apart from the architect who would have said things like, "I know you like these windows, but have you considered how you are going to clean them?" When you are a layman you don't realise what is involved or how practical something is going to be.

The impression gained at Cases A and B, was of the tenants being swept along in a process, where they found it difficult to challenge what the professionals were telling them, though they were unwilling

to show their ignorance and admit that they did not understand everything. Only at Case C did one of the people interviewed claim that they would stop the architect and ask, 'What the bloody'ell is that, and he would stop and take time to explain it to us properly.'

Difficulties of perception and understanding are key issues in participatory design, where lay people, unfamiliar with architects' drawings and other technical documents, are suddenly asked to make decisions based on a brief consideration of them. For instance, the housing official, monitoring the design process at Case A felt that council officials found it hard to communicate design issues.

...tenants tended to regard hypothetical designs as concrete proposals...they felt they didn't have the necessary information to make decisions and that this was being deliberately withheld from them. (7)

When interviewed, the architect at Case A explained that he bore the brunt of this criticism. At an early meeting of the co-operative the participants got very angry because 'they felt they were being hoodwinked.' Having protested to the Chairman of the Housing Committee without a lot of success, there remained a 'Them' and 'Us' polarisation in which preferences were being stated in negative rather than positive terms, in a spirit of opposition.' (8) As a result the participant members remained frustrated, though rarely openly critical and apparently, at one or two subsequent meetings, the co-operative members were out numbered by professionals and officials.

At Case B some tenants also complained of not understanding some aspects of the process. In particular the problem of the layout, which was changed so much from the participants original ideas. As one tenant explained when interviewed:

We didn't understand the layout from the drawings. A lot of the Architects' talk just went over our heads. We didn't know what dual and single aspect meant.

Another woman tenant agreed, saying 'At the time I didn't know what they were talking about, only the men had some idea...' However, even one of the men, who was a skilled electrical engineer, said that he had not understood how the layout had been arrived at, perhaps it was because he had been away and missed some of the meetings, he suggested.

Thus it can be seen that while considerable efforts had been made to ensure user participation, attendance at meetings did not ensure all future users were able to influence the designs, as many had a great deal of difficulty in understanding what was being proposed. It is not easy to assess in retrospect how well such difficulties were overcome, but future studies of user participation must pay a great deal of attention to such cognitive issues.

Furthermore, a number of other interesting points emerge from this discussion. One is that there was a tendency for the co-operative members who were most involved to become like semi-professionals, with their own communication difficulties with the wider membership. This appeared to have been the case at Case C, though committee members argued that close informal links overcame this. A second point is that the structures adopted for meetings and so on, were in order to progress the design and other technical matters as quickly as possible. While this was also the priority of co-operative members, anxious to get their homes built, it left little room for them to take the initiative or experiment with better ways of meeting and communicating. This seemed to have been very much so at Case A.

7.5 Participatory Techniques Used By The Architects

If, then there had been problems in the participants understanding what had been going on, there is the suspicion that decisions were being taken about the design which did not fully reflect the participants' ideas, needs and choices. The indications are from the data discussed so far, that even in Case C, the most successful of the three projects, there had been problems in involving co-operative members in the design process. It is necessary to consider how much this was due to the methods used to involve the participants in design.

At the beginning of the study it had been expected that it would be possible to make a detailed comparison of the different participatory design methods and techniques that were used in each of the projects. This might indicate which had been the most successful and correlations with satisfaction could have been discussed. However, it became apparent that the methods and techniques that were used were of a very simple and ad hoc kind. Furthermore, none of the architects had kept careful records of the participation process or the materials that had been used. However it was possible to piece together what had happened from interviews, various documentary sources and some slides and drawings that were rooted out of the bottom of plan chests in the various architects' offices.

It had been expected that participatory design techniques, some of which were referred to in Chapter three, would have been used. These might have included gaming, full scale modelling and structured exercises to develop and test alternative schemes against user requirements. However, none of the approaches used highly structured

or what might be seen as more sophisticated methods. Instead techniques employed, were largely concerned with communicating and educating.

In all three projects there were several key stages.

- (i) General introduction to the problems of design, cost, limitations, regulations and possibilities. This included visits to other schemes, slide shows and examination of design manuals and standard plans.
- (ii) Design exercises, which essentially combined 'paper methods', and discussions at various kinds of meetings around drawings and check lists. These 'paper methods' involved, what could be termed conventional architectural drawings, free hand sketches, overlays and more diagrammatic drawings. Sometimes these were supplemented with paper and cardboard cut-outs. In all three projects the architects used a variety of these as they felt they were appropriate. Meetings were then structured to take decisions around topics or problems. The topics were generally predigested and structured by the architects who would come to meetings with an agenda of decisions they required the co-operative to take.
- (iii) Management - related to design decisions, which were organised by the architects. These covered the specification of materials, issues affecting future upkeep and maintenance and allocation. These decisions were taken by inviting speakers, representing materials suppliers,

and also consulting other experts. Again drawings were used, perhaps with cut-outs, to work out allocation on the site plan. At Case C some games were used around issues of management.

While the style and detailed approach varied substantially between the three Case Studies, the general approach was much the same. After interviews with architects and participants, the conclusion was drawn that it was how these techniques were used, how long was spent on issues, how carefully the architect listened and how determined the participants were, that was most significant. Such factors are not easy to measure and assess. It is important to emphasise however that the architects in each of the projects did go to considerable trouble to work through the design process with the user participants. Each devised various techniques which attempted to demystify aspects of the design process and enable the participants to make decisions. Despite the problems set out above, there was also some evidence from the interviews that this had helped the participant members to be much better informed about the design process.

At Case A the process began with an intensive series of educational meetings organised by the Housing Department. These included visits to other housing projects, though tenants complained in interviews these had been 'useless' or only told them what they did not want. The architect then took over and ran a series of weekly meetings rather like an evening class. Each meeting discussed a particular topic such as house design or site layout, materials and so on. The architect came with a pre-prepared check list of issues that had to be resolved, explained what they involved and then the meeting

broke up into discussion groups. Decisions were taken by voting. The architect also came prepared to some meetings with drawings which showed different options and possibilities. He explained the relative merits of each and the tenants voted on which to choose.

On the face of it, this approach seemed methodical and straightforward, though it tended to retain control of the process in professional hands. (9) To have done more would probably have required much more time, but having to keep to a strict timetable, a policy decision taken by the local authority, meant that there was not enough time to go into things in more detail. The architect was not able to check that participants understood the issues fully and had to concentrate on the main issues. Alternatives were digested by the architect before presenting them to the participants, but it seemed that they remained on too vague and general a level. One account of the design process suggests that tenants were frustrated by the 'open ended and inconclusive nature of many meetings.' (10)

While the participants did make a series of important choices it is open to question whether all of these were based on a clear understanding of what was involved. For instance, some of the tenants could not understand the house plans:

...tenants perceived a relatively long narrow room as smaller than a shorter wider room of the same area. No way was found to overcome this... (11)

Yet the drawings produced by the architect were simple, clear and often diagrammatic, with many freehand sketches produced for meetings. The architect explained, when interviewed, that a model had also been produced, but was not an important feature of the design decision making process. Given the perception problems and the lack of time, it became the responsibility of the architect to assess the

decisions or consensus from the meetings and interpret these into the designs. But even the longest standing and most committed of the co-operative members at Case A were suspicious of this when interviewed, for example:

We would discuss our ideas and then the architect would say if it was suitable within the basic design... While we had a lot of say in it, in my view, eventually, the architect did it his way.

At Case B it was very difficult to trace what had happened in the design process and, in particular, to establish how the layout had ended up so different from the patio layout expected by the early participants. There was some evidence to suggest that the participants thought they had received a lot of conflicting and poor advice from the professionals. The development agent representative, who was also an architect, clearly disapproved of the patio layout and said that it could not be built within cost limits. The architects eventually dropped this scheme and designed a different layout. When asked in an interview, whether the tenants' original ideas had been properly costed, the architects admitted that no comparative cost analysis had been done. Furthermore, the Quantity Surveyor who was appointed at the beginning of the scheme was replaced during the project. It was in peoples' individual houses at Case B that the architects really involved the participants in the design process. However, of all the tenants interviewed, the only thing they could remember of this process was being asked to measure up their own furniture to see how it would fit into the new plan.

At Case C the participant members who had been on the amalgamated design committee could remember a lot more. They talked about the bus trips they had had with the architect to look at other schemes. They also remembered the architect sketching on overlays and

trying to get them to draw and understand what could be fitted into different spaces. The members of the "inside" committee spent several meetings looking at books of standard plans and developing an awareness of what was possible within cost limits. They described this as the architect 'educating' them. From the interviews it appeared that the participants at Case C spent a lot of time discussing issues and arguing about them at meetings and in the pub afterwards. In the interview with the design committee they explained how the committee 'distilled the feelings of the people' in the co-operative and that in this way they got ideas about 'courts that could be driven into' and 'flats that didn't look like flats from the outside.' They then relied on the architect to put these ideas into an architectural form. However, it is not clear from the co-operative's own account of the project how much the scheme reflected the architects' ideas and how much came from the co-operative. Two passages from this account highlight this contradiction:

The co-op's ideas were embedded in the drawings in how they imagined the scheme would look. It wasn't what [the architect] wanted, it was what the co-op wanted. His way of working had turned out to be a method of enabling them to express their feelings and thoughts about their community and the co-op. (12)

and on the other hand another tenant argued;

he [the architect] never used to push ideas on you. He'd spend hours; and yet he'd always get his own way. It was always your idea there but changed. (13)

One possible explanation of this divergence is that the architect, and the most active members of the group, spent so much time together (at least three meetings a week over a year) that their ideas

became very similar. The architect also claimed when interviewed about this that, as details worked out in a specialist committee were reported back to the management committee by co-operative members, this was a good test of how well they had been understood.

Case C members seemed to develop a unanimity about the design, agreeing on general policies and principles, which gave firm guidelines to the architect. For instance, they decided to limit choice between houses and opted for uniformity wherever possible. This was to avoid arguments and, according to the architect, because of a political dislike of 'bourgeois individualism' and a desire to reflect socialist and egalitarian ideals shared by most co-operative workers. There were to be no coloured bathroom suites and after a long argument over the choice of kitchen units, almost everyone chose the same thing anyway, when a questionnaire was sent round.

Apart from using fairly conventional drawings and lots of overlays, some of the core group spent one Sunday building a model of the scheme, in the architects' office. This close involvement created a commitment to the scheme, that had been worked out, which was thrown into relief when one of the partners in the architects' practice, who had not had much contact with the scheme was critical of the design worked out with the co-op participants. Over a few days he worked out an alternative proposal from the brief without any consultation with the co-operative. The tenants explained that they tore it up in anger because it didn't show any respect for what the co-operative stood for. One of the tenants relating this incident said

...behind that was peoples' commitment to the long process of debate, argument and thought that they had gone through...and this guy came along, you know, all the work you've been doing for the last 6 months - f...ing sling it. (14)

It appears from this incident that what was more important for the participant members, was their identification and pride in a scheme, into which they had invested so much time, than whether it was exactly right. The relationship between the architect as Case C participants seemed to have achieved this result.

In conclusion of this section it would be hard to argue from such anecdotal material, to what extent the architects had successfully interpreted the user clients' ideas and needs. However, it is clear that this interpretative role was a crucial part of the participation process. In each project, the architects went to considerable trouble in spending time with the participants, explaining the issues to them, and getting as clear an idea as possible, as to what the client wanted. However the clients had then to rely on the ability of the architects to turn these ideas into built form. As the brief in each case only emerged as the design went along, it was not easy, therefore, to test the design solutions against what the participants wanted.

7.6 The Relationship Between The Architects And User Clients

From the preceding section it can be suggested that, rather than take every decision about the design, the participation process provided the potential for the user client participants to work out what they wanted, in response to issues raised by the architect.

In relying on the architect in these respects, the relationship between architect and client was crucial. How much confidence did the participant members have in their architects and how much did they trust them to carry out their ideas? The quality of the relationship

could have been an important factor in forming the participants feelings and thus the levels of satisfaction.

It also became apparent from interviews with non participants that the architect in each project acquired a reputation with co-operative members. The confidence that the architect had, or had not, got it right, seemed based as much on what the participants thought of the architect as a person and how he had got on with them, than on any objective evaluation of whether the architect had correctly interpreted user requirements. Such was the lack of clarity about decisions that had been taken during each of the processes, that few of the participants could be sure what had and had not been incorporated or ignored by the architect. But they had views about it.

At Case A, the architect had deliberately tried to avoid a special approach to participatory design. Instead he explained that he:

didn't want to use any special techniques...
didn't want to be patronising. From the start we decided not to treat the tenants like monkeys but with the respect we would show to another client body.

Some of the co-operative members interviewed, seemed to appreciate the efforts that the architect had made to establish a good relationship. For instance one said, 'He had a very difficult job, he was willing to come to our meetings. He gave up a lot of time. Even now we can phone him up.' But there was also an element of mistrust. Some criticised him for not delivering what he promised, 'I didn't think much of the architect. He always said Yes, Yes but never did much. He promised things when he couldn't really give them.' Some thought that this was because 'The architect is obviously doing a job for the

council and I believe the council will take the easiest way out,' but, added another tenant, 'But don't let that get back to him for God's sake!'

At Case B the tenants appeared to have developed stronger personal relationships with the architects, indeed the relationship had become too friendly, according to one tenant, because 'there are a lot of things they could have dealt with promptly...I would advise people...be friendly by all means, but keep it business like.' The architects at Case B were inexperienced and some of the tenants thought it a mistake that they had learnt at the co-operative's expense, even though at the beginning they had hoped the architects 'would be prepared to put more into it because they were up and coming.'

In Cases A and B, the greatest dissatisfaction with the architects was over contract supervision and this was still freshest in the minds of those who were interviewed. At Case A the architect was blamed for delays, and tenants said he had been too soft. However, life was not easy for the architect, with twenty or thirty amateur clerks of works who would visit the site regularly to watch the progress on their house, and as one said, 'the architect got a bit peeved because we spotted faults...these were things that should have been sorted out by the architect, but there were delays when he didn't.'

The tenants at Case C, however, held their architect in high regard. They had liked him from the start because he was a 'local lad, who went to work on a bike.' He was the only professional

involved in the project who didn't earn a derogatory nick name. They were pleased that he was young and 'inexperienced', feeling that he has 'learnt with them.' There is little doubt that the architect in Case C earned the trust of the participant members of the co-operative because of the enormous amount of time he had devoted to the project. The tenants explained that he was very patient and willing to listen. As he explained it, 'my attitude was that I was prepared to discuss what they were interested in rather than structure it...I was trying to get at what they were thinking about...so we spent an awful lot of time talking about [rubbish] bins.'

The architects on all three projects claimed that they had been required to put in a great deal more time than on normal projects, attending evening meetings and in the additional preparation required for these. The architect at Case C stated that much of this overtime was at his own expense, as the practice was working at risk for more than a year before the project and, therefore, professional fees were approved.

Such 'speculative work' is common for architects working for housing associations and at Case B also, the architects said they had worked at risk, having established a new practice, practically on the strength of this one housing project. Even at Case A the architect, who was working for the local authority claimed that;

During the design period, which was all done outside office hours [without overtime] I had to work on other jobs normally, supervising a job on site and being a departmental representative in meetings about reorganisation; there were no extra resources in the department.

In view of this, the opportunities to develop more sophisticated participatory design techniques, were limited by the architects' own belief that they did not have the time and resources to do this. The possibility that such techniques might have saved time did not seem to have been given much consideration, though the architects in all three Cases mentioned some experience of the techniques developed by Gibson, the only material which seemed to be readily available. (15) However none were very impressed with Gibson's ideas and this convinced them to stick to their own methods. Furthermore, it was felt that the participants, in each Case, wanted to get on with the job and would have been suspicious of anything which might seem to delay progress or add to costs.

What was apparent from interviews, with both participant members and architects, was that the quality of the personal relationship was a key factor in general attitudes towards the project. At Case A the relationship was distant, with the exception of a few committee members, at B, mixed and at Case C, on the whole, fairly good - thus reflecting the levels of satisfaction closely.

7.7 An Overview Of The Design And Development Process

The extent to which the user participants relied on the architect to interpret their ideas and requirements becomes clearer when the whole development process for the projects is considered. The diagram in Figure 11 shows the processes for all three Cases, in which the user client groups were involved, for nearly seven years, from the inception of the schemes. During this time some of the members of the co-operative group became involved in, and had to take responsibility for, many more problems and areas of work than the design of the dwellings and the estate layout.

The six to seven year period from inception to handover seems a long one, especially for people in Case C, who were in housing need, with their old homes in imminent threat of demolition. Tenants in all three Cases complained of the length of time involved, though none of the architects interviewed, felt that the projects had taken an unduly long period, when compared with normal local authority time scales.

Unfortunately, at Case A, the initial co-operative members were promised that they would be in their new homes within two years. (16) Something similar was promised at Case B. Furthermore, the Co-operative Housing Agency Development Guide suggests a three year process for new build co-operative schemes. (17) (See Figure 12)

In Figure 11 the main outline of the development process for each of the three Cases is compared. Detailed examination of this suggests that user participation was not the main reason for the length of time involved. For instance at Case A, Inception to Financial Approval Submission was achieved in less than a year, what might be seen as record breaking time. According to the architect, this was due to a political decision to prove that user participation would not make the scheme take any longer or cost more than usual.

PAGE
EXCLUDED
UNDER
INSTRUCTION
FROM
UNIVERSITY

Unfortunately, the scheme was then held up at the Department of the Environment for a considerable period of time, for reasons unconnected with participation. At Cases B and C, longer was spent on the design period but not so as to delay the projects appreciably. During the design period other problems, such as land acquisition and financial approvals, were taking just as long.

The important conclusion from comparing the development process, for each of the Case Studies, with the normal process for projects (which do not include user participation) is that there were no major differences. In each Case, the projects had to follow all the normal procedures for financial and other approvals. Nothing was altered to facilitate user participation and the user client groups had to go through all the normal procedures. Because of this they were very dependent on the experience of the professionals and the projects had to be handled in terms which were acceptable to administrators with no previous experience of user clients. As a result, in Cases A and B these problems were largely left to the architects to sort out. However things were a little different at Case C and the importance of this is discussed in the next Chapter.

7.8 The Educational Nature Of The Participation Process

In all three projects, efforts were made by the professionals to provide what, they called 'education' for the inexperienced user clients. 'Education' seems rather a grand title for what consisted largely of an attempt to provide some background knowledge and introduction to the complex process on which the participants were about to embark. It is questionable whether the 'education' sessions had much effect when it came to the participants' input to the design sessions. Furthermore, it has already been pointed out that, far from a neat

linear process of Education-Brief-Design, all three stages tended to happen simultaneously. In interviews both architects and participants seemed somewhat cynical about 'education' attempts. The architects indicated that, in all three projects, attempts made to discuss design problems in abstract were a dismal failure. A conclusion from this was that design issues could only be really understood (if they were at all) by grappling with real problems and working through the design.

Case A began with five, so called, 'Design Education' sessions in one week. Only twelve out of the 54 member households managed to get to all the sessions of which only the last, achieved active participation of the tenants. ⁽¹⁸⁾ At Case B, a so-called 'education worker' had been employed with a grant from the Housing Corporation. ⁽¹⁹⁾ She organised a series of open meetings for newly recruited members and took them on visits to other housing projects. However it was found that it was difficult to isolate educational activities from other work. ⁽²⁰⁾

Similarly at Case C, the education sub committee was the least active, though it did organise useful input for the co-operative by bringing in outside speakers. ⁽²¹⁾ When asked to explain the design participation process and asked how much the participants were able to affect the design, the architect for Case C replied in an interview that:

At the time, what seemed to be more important was not that a choice of options was on offer, but that an educational process took place, which involved making comparisons of different schemes.

He also said that he was 'a little cynical of participation...in principle the options are still set up by the professional who remain in control of the situation.' ⁽²²⁾

In other words the participants were unable to achieve a position where they could be in control of the design process, but instead were always catching up with what was going on. They were going through, what could be termed, a learning process about the way buildings were designed and developed. However this learning always lagged behind the pressure to take decisions. Thus at the time, the participants did not have enough information to be fully aware of the implications of any of the decisions they were taking, nor could they be absolutely sure that they would get what they wanted. Several participants, in interviews, described the participation process as an 'exhausting struggle.' They felt that it had been very hard work but that they had got a lot out of it, without necessarily having got the design they had wanted. As one tenant from Case A put it; 'It has been an experience which I wouldn't have missed for anything.'

The user participants were, in effect, learning how to be clients and this meant that a great deal of responsibility for how that took place was taken by the architect. Thus it is reasonable to assume from this that the ability and motivation of the architects, to interpret the users requirements, must have played a significant part in affecting feelings of user satisfaction. However a further factor to be considered, is how successfully the three co-operative groups established themselves as clients and this will be discussed in the next Chapter.

7.9 Conclusions

- (i) A number of questions were posed in this Chapter. Principally whether user satisfaction was related to the degree of success of the architect in incorporating user ideas into the designs. This leads to subsidiary questions as to, whether user participation is an

effective means for architects to determine user needs and requirements, and how architects can use such means and whether they are successful at doing so.

The empirical evidence discussed in this Chapter gives an indication of an answer to these questions. Some of the problems and issues associated with user participation have been discussed at length because the architects' role was clearly only one part of a complex exercise.

(ii) For instance, it was found that the extent of user involvement varied substantially between the three Cases because of a number of factors. This could have affected feelings of satisfaction, in that the experience of those who were highly involved, was very different from those on the periphery or who only joined at a late stage.

(iii) The way in which the design and development process was organised in each Case, was very much the result of professional advice. However, these structures were ad-hoc and not based on any clear organisational or management principles to ensure full participation. This tended to reinforce the power and influence of the professionals.

(iv) There was some evidence of problems in involving the wider membership, thus opening a gap between the co-operative leadership. In Cases A and B, in particular, there was little opportunity for participant initiative. There was also some evidence that even the

leaders had problems in understanding some of the decisions that had to be made.

(v) The Architects, despite the above, had gone to considerable lengths to evolve a number of simple and basic techniques, to give information to participants and to explain the process and decisions that had to be taken. There is some evidence that the success of these was limited, thus leaving the architects in a position where they had to guide the decision making. Thus the user participation process was essentially a means by which the architect developed a good sense of what people wanted, but still had to exercise their judgement over many matters, even when policy decisions were taken by the co-operatives.

(vi) A comparison of the whole process for all three projects emphasised the way in which normal procedures had to be followed, but also differences in the time devoted to consideration of the design. This too emphasised the dependence on the experience of the architect, but also mirrors the differences in satisfaction.

(vii) Finally, the anecdotal evidence, from interviews, emphasised the importance of the educational nature of the experience for all those interviewed. The term education is used advisedly here in its broadest sense. Participants claimed, in all three projects, not only that they had learnt a lot about how buildings were produced, but about themselves and life in general.

Thus the project had been an 'experience' and the quality of the experience affected the tenants' feelings of satisfaction. Whether or not the buildings met their needs exactly was not necessarily a principle factor in determining their feelings. Furthermore, the architects, even at Case C, were willing to admit that despite attempts at participation, they remained somewhat cynical of how far participation could go and that professionals had to take many decisions. Thus in conclusion we can say that the participation process was a means by which architects could:

- (a) through direct contact, get a much better idea of what people wanted;
- (b) while tenants were able to exercise a few real choices;
- and (c) tenants were able to understand what was going on.

While it is clear that the proposition only deals with part of this complex issue, the evidence of one interpretation of this, is that such a process created a legitimacy for the scheme. The tenants identified with and felt a loyalty towards the scheme as they had an awareness of how it had been designed and this was more important than the degree to which the architects had successfully interpreted the users ideas and needs in affecting satisfaction.

CHAPTER VII REFERENCES

1. The sources included the following:
Case A - Interviews and HOPE, E. (1978) 'Tenant Participation in the Design of a New Build Housing Co-operative.' Unpublished draft paper 1978.
Case B - Minutes of Co-operative Meetings and Interviews.
Case C - Minutes of Design Committee and Management Committee Meetings.
2. For example WATES, N. (1982) 'The Liverpool Breakthrough or Public Sector Housing Phase 2.' Architects' Journal, 8.9.82, pp.51-58.
"The first thing that most co-ops tell their architects is that their homes must not be like those built by the Council."
and LUBBOCK, J. (1983) 'Housing for Need', New Statesman, 14.10.83, pp.27-28.
"They voted for uniformity...they wanted small protected courts."
3. MATTHEWS, A. (1981): Management Co-operatives, The Early Stages, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, London, 1981.
4. Interview with Architect, Development Officer for a large Leeds Housing Association.
5. Minutes of Case C Co-operative Design Committees and Management Committee Meetings.
6. MACDONALD, A. (1983): The Weller Way. Unpublished draft.
7. HOPE, E. (1978): op.cit.
8. HOPE, E. (1978): op.cit.
9. WOOLLEY, T. (1977): 'Designing with Tenants', Architects' Journal, 19.10.77, pp.759-760.
10. HOPE, E. (1978): op.cit.
11. HOPE, E. (1978): op.cit.
12. MACDONALD, A. (1983): op.cit.
13. MACDONALD, A. (1983): op.cit.
14. MACDONALD, A. (1983): op.cit.
15. GIBSON, T. (1980): 'Planning for Real and Neighbourhood Change', Bulletin of Environmental Education, 109, May 1980.
16. Interview with Case A Architect.
17. Housing Corporation (undated): CO-OP HOUSING OUTLINE No.8, one of a series of advisory leaflets for people thinking of forming a Housing Co-operative.

18. HOPE, E. (1978): op.cit.
19. CRAIG, B. (1978): 'H' Housing Co-operative - A History. Unpublished mimeo.
20. CRAIG, B. (1983): Letter.
21. Interview with Case C Co-operative Minutes Secretary.
22. Letter from Case C Architect 1984.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RELATIONSHIP OF USER SATISFACTION TO NON-DESIGN FACTORS

Just a bit of everyone
There's not much more to say
We gave our time and leisure
To show we're here to stay (1)

8.1 Introduction

In the preceding two Chapters it has been possible to include a great deal of data about the three Case Study projects. However, there is another important part of the story which is principally concerned with the organisation and management of the three co-operatives. This is less to do with the nature of the buildings or the design process, than the more general experience of being involved in a self managed housing project. Thus in this Chapter, the third sub-proposition is examined,

that the satisfaction of the users is related, not to the product, but to the nature of the process and the degree of control which they had over it.

In this Chapter, it is argued that there are a number of other issues concerned with the role of the users as clients and managers, when they were groups of inexperienced, low income, relatively poorly educated people. They had to get organised and take charge of managing their own affairs in a way which few people of their class and background normally have the opportunity to do. To do so, with any degree of success, was an important achievement which demanded attention to many issues and problems. It is argued that the success with which the groups handled these problems, and the extent to which they took control and managed their own affairs, had an important effect on their feelings of satisfaction about the scheme.

The implication of this proposition is that it is not important whether the built schemes are different from other contemporary housing projects, but whether the users are more satisfied, because of their feelings of pride and satisfaction at having been involved in the project. Interviews with participant members invariably involved discussion of the idea that, what was significant about the three Case Study projects was the way in which they gave people the opportunity to have some greater degree of control over their own lives and future. While this degree of control may seem quite limited, the opportunity for people to affect where they were going to live and who would be their neighbours, was an opportunity not readily available to many. This factor, in itself, might have led to greater feelings of satisfaction.

However, as with other claims made about 'Community Architecture', it is also important to be sceptical about such claims about 'user control'. (2) This is particularly important because of the way in which further claims have been built on top of relatively flimsy evidence, including the idea that a new sense of 'community' will emerge from such projects. It is assumed that by participating in design or self management, neighbourhoods will inevitably become more cohesive, with resulting reductions in social problems such as vandalism and crime. (3) Such prescriptive and utopian forms of social policy are enjoying a resurgence, in the face of what is seen by some, as the social breakdown of many public housing schemes. (4) Indeed, many of the local authority programmes to tackle these problems, invariably include attempts at user involvement, participation in management and attempts to revive a sense of 'community'. (5) Housing co-operative projects are often cited as models for such initiatives.

Furthermore, many of those interviewed in the three Case Study co-operatives saw the chance to manage their own housing and to create or save a 'community' as important reasons for getting involved. Thus in this Chapter an attempt is made to evaluate factors which might indicate how far the three cases were able to go in meeting such objectives and whether, in achieving them, this affected the feelings of satisfaction of the tenants as a whole.

These questions are examined under a number of headings. Firstly, the extent to which each of the user client groups were self-managed, in the sense that they took the initiative in running the projects, and remained in control of their affairs. Secondly, the relationship between the user-clients and external agencies is identified as a key factor, in that such external agencies, in providing land, finance and approvals, ultimately determined whether the projects went ahead. Thirdly, the way in which each group has begun to handle housing management problems is discussed. Now the schemes were occupied, questions of maintenance and upkeep were uppermost in the minds of tenants and likely to have influenced their feelings of satisfaction.

Fourthly, the difficult question of whether the co-operatives had begun to create a 'community' is considered, particularly in relation to questions of control and management. Finally, the nature of the three projects as special experiments, and the effect on the tenants' feelings of satisfaction, of all the attention they received from outsiders, is linked to the relationship between the three co-operatives and other community and housing organisations. It is argued that the degree to which the co-operatives adopted a political and outward looking role is a test of the self-confidence and success of the groups in terms of managing and controlling their own affairs.

It is also argued that the above factors were crucial in determining the success of the projects and the image that co-operative members and tenants had of themselves. In examining them, it is possible to establish a fuller picture of the character of user participation projects than can be obtained from concentrating on aspects of design participation, or the role of the architects.

8.2 The Initiation Of The Projects

It is suggested here, that the degree of control of the co-operative members over the projects, is reflected in the extent to which they took the initiative to set up the projects. This is important in view of the degree of professional paternalism on the part of the established agencies which assisted the co-operatives.

All three projects had their inception at a time when there was a favourable climate for housing co-operative development (as discussed in Chapter II, pages 51-52). However, from interviews, it was clear that none of the early participants had any knowledge of housing co-operatives and they had to glean this, once they joined, or started, from sympathetic professionals in the community work and housing fields. At Case C the initiative came almost entirely from the people who went on to become members of the co-operative, however in Cases A and B the initiative was taken in the first case, by a local authority and in the second, by a housing association and community, church organisers.

The idea for Case A was announced in the local authority newspaper as part of a series of experiments in co-operatives and tenant participation. All of those interviewed had heard about the scheme in this way, they were existing council tenants who claimed they were

attracted by the idea of 'designing their own home' and 'being part of a community'. The applicants were interviewed and selected by officials in the housing department. These officials had also devoted some months to researching the idea of participation and preparing for the start of the project. By the time the prospective members of Case A came together in January 1977 for their first meeting, the architect had been chosen, the site approved and a programme for design participation worked out. Not only had few of the tenants ever met before but they had had no time to sort themselves out as a group before they were plunged into the design meetings.

In Case B the initiative was taken by a new housing association which has grown to be one of the largest in Leeds. It was supported by the Leeds Housing Committee chairman who had been a member of the Campbell Committee on Housing Co-operatives (see Page 51). The Housing Association had identified a vacant site at the edge of a Housing Action Area, in which it had been involved, and joined forces with a local church community worker to form a co-operative to build houses on this site. (6)

At first in Case B, ideas were developed by the Housing Association with two local architects who claimed to be providing 'Alternative' building design services. Then the community worker advertised the ideas in a local newspaper and various local authority housing offices. As has already been pointed out, it attracted people keen to get out of the nearby Leek Street Flats. In interviews, some also mentioned the desire to design their 'dream homes' and 'to be part of a community.'

As in Case A the participant members in Case B were selected by a small group of housing professionals. The new co-operative members then found that they would have the housing association as development

agents, an education officer had been appointed with a grant from the Housing Corporation, the site approved and an architect already involved. However, they then had a six month period of meetings and education sessions, during which the co-operative began to become organised by the members themselves, leading them to make some changes. For instance as the Co-operative secretary at Case B explained:

The first six months we didn't realise we had a choice about the architect. He was at the first meeting, with a rough plan, we thought it was what we had to have. We didn't fully realise that we could help to plan. But we weren't happy. The architect was very strong that he didn't want us to have a choice, every time we made suggestions, they were shot down in flames.

This dissatisfaction with the architects, resulted in them being given the sack, and the co-operative looking for a new one. Thus they had begun to assert some control over the process in doing this.

In Case C, on the other hand, the initiative lay with the people who were eventually to be housed by the co-operative. They were members of a community action campaign, anxious to find an alternative form of rehousing. They had been involved in a long struggle to improve their conditions, with little success, when the privately rented houses which they occupied were taken over by a London based housing association with an interest in promoting co-operatives. The action group, which was led by women, began to discuss the idea of a co-operative with workers from the housing association and professional community workers. They then launched the idea of a co-operative at a public meeting in June 1977, attended by over 50 people. There were disagreements about setting up a co-operative as some felt that they should continue to press the council for rehousing, but as one man, who had some experience as a trade unionist

at Fords, saw the co-operative as their only hope of decent housing, said:

We can either go on doing what we have been doing, petitions, lobbying, councillors...or we can do nothing and let 'em walk all over us, or we can form a co-op. (7)

Thus a small group of local people took the initiative. At this time they had no money, no support from the local authority and it was nearly a year before they found a site.

8.3 Appointing The Architects

The tenants in Case A had no choice of architect. In Case B, having sacked the first one, the co-operative approached three architects' practices asking them to do sketch schemes based on their idea for patio housing. Only one firm complied with this request, as it was 'unethical' at the time, for architects to do speculative work. They got the job, and the user-clients had made a choice of sorts.

In Case C the co-operative went to a lot more trouble, inviting several architects to interviews, and looking at examples of their work. They ended up selecting the practice which had been strongly recommended by their development agents, the housing association which had been involved from the start. In an interview with members of the co-operative committee, they claimed that they had made the choice themselves and this supported a strong impression that Case C's active members were much more in charge of managing their own affairs than the other two groups. It is suggested that this had a beneficial effect on the co-operative, as a whole, creating a strong impression of collective control, unlike in Cases A and B, where the members were much more under the paternalistic influence of, albeit sympathetic, professionals.

This can be seen at later stages in the process, where in Cases A and B, the co-operative members had very little to do with the appointment of other professionals such as quantity surveyors. Nor did they have much to do with the selection of building contractors. Case C, on the other hand, through its management committee and leading members, was involved in every decision.

Further evidence of this was supplied in interviews with other professionals and outsiders who became involved with Case C. For instance, the Clerk of Works had stories of how he had to come to terms with the co-operative committee members' abrasive style of dealing with people. The committee members themselves claimed they made it clear to everyone involved, whoever they were, that they were working for the co-operative and that they weren't going to be messed around. This was not the case with projects A and B.

8.4 Dealing With External Agencies

A similar picture emerges from examination of the way that the three co-operatives dealt with the organisations which provided the finance, sites and various approvals for the projects. At Case A, the tenants had very little contact with anyone other than the professionals immediately involved with the project, whilst at Case C the committee members had a great deal of contact.

In Case B there is some evidence that, as the project progressed, its members grew in confidence and took on more responsibility for work in this area.

In interviews, tenants were asked about external agencies and the broader context in which the projects took place. The responses showed that only the leadership got involved in such issues, but even

so, some of the stories and experiences that this led to were well known to other co-operative members. However, at Case A only two of those interviewed had any idea of what the Department of the Environment was and it became clear that the architect had been left to handle any negotiations over approvals and finance. Members were aware of the limiting effect of external agencies, but only in the terms that had been explained to them by the architect. There was also some awareness that there had been delays caused by external bodies, but no effort had been made by the co-operative members to take action over this. Instead they tended to blame the architect and found it hard, for example, to accept the way that yardstick calculations were carried out.

At Cases B and C also, the basis of yardstick was explained, but the architects were left to work out application and costs. There was a general acceptance that the designs had to be within cost limits and the architects' guidance on this was accepted. As one tenant from Case B put it, 'you imagine you can have much more than you can but you have to bring your dream down to basics.' In each case the architect acted as intermediary. As far as could be discovered, none of the user participants in any of the cases got involved in negotiations for extra money or resources, even though they did grumble about the limitations.

On the other hand, when it got to procedural delays and approvals, tenants at both Cases B and C intervened and dealt directly with external agencies. For instance, at Case B the Housing Corporation had allegedly mislaid an application from the Co-operative. Two of the men from the committee went to the Housing Corporation's city centre office one day, and sought out the responsible official, who

promised to find the paper by the following week. According to several tenants interviewed, the story then became part of the co-operative's 'folklore' as the committee members went through the official's sheafs of paper until they found their application, put it in front of him and got him to sign it! One is reputed to have said '...this might be a piece of paper to you but this is our dream you are messing about with.' However, Housing Corporation officials, when interviewed, denied that the project had received any 'special treatment.'

The tenants, interviewed at Case C, had a similar fund of stories and it was clear that they had dealt with a wide range of external bodies. This included invading a smart hotel and interrupting a dinner, at which the Chairman of the Housing Corporation was meeting the heads of local housing associations. As a result he agreed to meet the members of Case C co-operative and other Liverpool co-operative members, after one allegedly, put a finger in his soup.

The members of the design committee explained in an interview, that fear of delays and problems with external agencies, had affected their design decision, for instance,

We didn't want individual houses in case we got knocked back on anything. We didn't want to make one mistake they could throw back at us, not because of cost, but because of time, we didn't want any delays.

Despite this, there were serious delays and various confrontations with officialdom. At one point (in August 1979) the co-operative arranged a meeting directly with the Housing Corporation, without going through their development agents. Because of the determination of the leadership to deal with officialdom directly, such officials

came into regular contact with users, something that is normally uncommon. Despite abrasive and difficult meetings, nevertheless, the senior Housing Corporation official took part in the opening ceremony in October 1982. Similarly the regional architect from the Department of Environment, based in Manchester, had been directly involved with the co-operative and had even been to dinner with co-operative members in their houses after the scheme was finished. In an interview, this Department of Environment official said that he got on very well with the co-operative members, even though they did get what they wanted by 'banging the table.' While he admitted that it was very unusual for an official like him to come into contact with tenants at the design stage, he didn't think that the scheme had been treated any differently or received any extra benefits as a result. It is possible that the officials in question were pre-disposed to be sympathetic, but it was clearly seen as an achievement among co-operative members that they had dealt successfully with such 'bureaucratic' agencies.

Dealing with local authority officials, proved to be more of a problem for the co-operatives even in Case C. Again, in Case A the co-operative participants left most of these issues to the architect, though they did have to deal with the housing department to some extent. Similarly at Case B, the influence of the local authority Planning Department had a big influence on the site layout, limiting development on the site to a very small area, which was resolved by using 'single aspect houses.' None of the tenants interviewed could explain how this had happened.

However, at Case C, the leadership of the co-operative claimed they were unwilling to be 'pushed around by the local authority' and even if they were not directly involved in the negotiations, they could explain the roles of solicitors, valuers, the 'Approval to Purchase Procedures' and arrangements with the local authority over the purchase of the site. They also came into conflict with the Highways Engineer who wouldn't accept the layout which had been worked out with the 'Outside Committee' of the co-operative. After a difficult meeting with two officials and the co-operative, the decision was taken to keep Case C's courtyards as 'unadopted' rather than compromise the scheme. As a result of taking charge of these negotiations, the co-operative was able to take an important policy decision with the leadership, at least, fully aware of its implications and effects on design.

Further problems occurred with requirements from the local authority planning department for one hundred percent car parking. As only twelve of the co-operative's sixty-one households had cars, the tenants didn't want to pay the extra cost of this. The architect produced a solution of hard standings in the back gardens, something the tenants might not have agreed to if they hadn't been involved in the negotiations. Subsequently, as a result of the relationships with Case C co-operative, the planning officials explained, in an interview, that they became willing to attend meetings with other co-operative groups in the city to discuss planning applications informally.

Again it is possible to see how much Case C differed from the other two Cases. The extent of activity among Case C members and their willingness to meet or to battle with anyone who appeared to threaten the future of their project, created a special atmosphere

in the co-operative. This meant that, even members who were not fully involved, became aware that their co-operative was in charge, or at least, attempting to remain in control of the development process. The participants at Case B had a taste of this, whereas at Case A there was almost total dependence on the paternalistic role of local authority housing and architect officials. The parallel between these three degrees of control and the levels of satisfaction are striking.

8.5 Management And Post Occupancy Problems

A further factor which may have affected the satisfaction of the tenants is that of management and maintenance. Questions on these topics were included in the HAK questionnaire and were identified as a source of much dissatisfaction in the DOE survey of non-participatory housing. The expectation, from the claims of Community Architecture, is that self managed and user participant schemes will lead to better and cheaper upkeep and that people will look after their environment better, with reduced vandalism etc. It was too early to gather firm data about these issues but there were certain indications from the available material that there could be problems, in the future, with upkeep of the schemes. As the satisfaction of tenants would be affected by the way in which repairs and complaints were dealt with and this was the responsibility of the tenants themselves, it was expected that even in the early stages, there would be a different attitude to such problems.

On the issue of repairs, a minority at Cases A and C had complaints, as shown in Table 9. However, the problems mentioned were largely due to defects in the work of the contractor and were due to be sorted out in the defects liability period of the building

contract. The fact that these problems had not finally been resolved was attributed to the architects failing to put enough pressure on the contractor at Cases A and B.

TABLE 9

Results of HAK Survey on Satisfaction With Getting Repairs Done in Three Case Studies

	Cases			DOE Average
	A	B	C	
Satisfied	73%	94%	83%	66%
Dissatisfied	27%	6%	18%	34%

Tenants had greater complaints about estate cleanliness and at Case A a greater percentage were dissatisfied with this than the average figure for all the estates surveyed by the DOE. (See Table 10)

TABLE 10

Results of HAK Survey on Feelings About Cleanliness of Estates Three Case Studies and DOE Average

	Cases			DOE Average
	A	B	C	
Satisfied	62%	72%	92%	72%
Dissatisfied	38%	28%	8%	28%

At Cases B and C, tenants were responsible for doing their own cleaning outside the houses, as the courtyard areas were both unadopted by the local authority. Thus cleaning relied on informal arrangements and people did it when they felt like it. But at Case A the cleaning was done by the local authority, which might have accounted for the higher level of dissatisfaction. On the other hand, some tenants at Case A felt that their neighbours didn't look after

the estate well enough. As one explained in an interview, 'There are a few mucky ones [tenants]. It would be nice if they made the effort.'

Committee members at Cases A and B had complaints that some of the tenants failed to understand that it was a self-management scheme and that they, the committee, were not like landlords or the council. One tenant at Case A complained, 'They don't understand that we aren't getting paid for this. They will knock on your door with a repair problem at any time of day or night.' This problem may have been aggravated at Case A by the local authority housing department retaining control of all nominations of new tenants when vacancies arose. This had been the case throughout the development process and even though the co-operative interviewed all applicants, the committee members claimed that the local authority was sending people who were unsuitable, had no interest in co-operatives, or didn't want to live there anyway. At the time of the interviews this was a pressing problem for the co-operatives. As the secretary explained,

The council has not been very co-operative regarding nomination of suitable tenants. We must find people who are willing to take over some responsibility for this estate. We cannot make the council realise this. They accuse us of being too selective.

Thus it was possible that Case A had tenants, who were not fully supportive of the co-operative idea or were very interested in the special history of their housing. On the other hand, the tenants at Cases B and C had exercised much more control over anyone new moving in. While nomination rights also existed at Cases B and C, as is normal for any publicly funded housing co-operative, they were not exercised by the local authority. But at Case A there was the

suggestion that as some people had left, there was a growing number of people living in the scheme who saw the co-operative as landlord and thus the burden on the leadership was increasing. Despite this, the co-operative had decided to take over an additional 20 houses that were being built to the same design, adjacent to the co-operative scheme.

The other management problem, likely to cause difficulties in any co-operative, is that of rents and evictions. Only at Case A was there any evidence of problems of this sort and it was not possible to obtain any details. Again it seemed a little early to identify such problems as few tenants had been in residence for more than a year or so.

The question of rents had not arisen as a problem in any of the interviews. Only at Case B had anyone mentioned the cost of living in the co-operative as a positive factor. He explained that 'money is the big difference.' Having paid £18 a week for a 3 bedroom house in the Leek Street flats in 1979, his rent would have risen to £21.40. But in his larger co-operative house he was paying only £13.40. Being based on a system of 'Fair rents' assessed by the Rent Officer, private co-operatives seem to get a very good deal. The tenants at Case A, on the other hand, were paying the same as other council tenants, as were those at Case C. The co-operatives were also entitled to claim a subsidy from the Housing Corporation, known as Revenue Deficit Grant, which meant that, for the moment, finance was not a difficult issue.

A further factor to be considered, is that of day to day management. At Cases A and B, all the work was being done on a voluntary basis by committee members whereas at Case C, they had employed a paid worker to carry out administrative jobs. This further reflects the

way in which the Case C co-operative has been able to exercise control over its own affairs and it seems reasonable to conclude that the higher level of satisfaction found there, is a result of this.

8.6 Creating a Sense of 'Community'

Apart from the problem of creating an organisation which could successfully implement the design and construction of the three estates, the three co-operatives were all concerned with the social relations which would come into existence once the schemes were built. The degree to which they could successfully achieve these social aims was clearly an important feature of the whole development process. In interviews, participants were very concerned about whether they had managed to create a 'community'. This was perceived in terms of management issues, relationship between neighbours and collective activities rather than the physical design of estate layout.

Investigation of the relationship between design and 'community' is a most complex issue and is only touched upon in this study inasmuch as it relates to general satisfaction with the scheme. (8, 9, 10) At Cases A and B there did not appear to have been any clear discussion of whether the layout of the scheme could facilitate social relations. The architect in Case A had tried to encourage communal activities by including in the scheme, one converted house shell, which could be used for meetings and as an office. He explained that this had gone through approvals for finance as though it was a dwelling in order to avoid the need to apply for special finance.

At Case B it seems that the architect had tried to facilitate social contact by grouping the houses round a square, in which a meeting room was to be built. However, the failure of the design to

meet the tenants' aspirations for patio housing and the problem with dual access, may explain the failure of the tenants to recognise this. Only in Case C were there any clear attempts to relate architectural form to social relations, as it was hoped by the co-operative, that the arrangement of the scheme into courtyards would provide small social units within the larger community. Observation of the estate, based on visits during this study, suggested that friendships within the co-operative were quite strong and that people were in and out of each other's houses irrespective of whether they were in the same or different courtyards. However, this particular issue might be worthy of study once the scheme has been occupied for a further few years.

In interviews, tenants were asked if they felt that a sense of community had been achieved, as most had put this forward as a reason for joining the co-operative in the first place. They were also asked how they got on with their neighbours and what problems existed within the co-operatives.

In response, quite a few tenants in each scheme identified a number of problems, which suggested there were tensions, difficulties and divisions in each of the schemes, which tended to detract from a sense of 'community'. These more detailed responses about particular issues, give a better insight into the social relations in each scheme, which is useful as a way of evaluating the degree of 'community.'

There were indications of differences within the co-operatives, which led to some internal tensions. In each of the Cases, references were often made to the leadership as 'Them'. One tenant, from Case C, in completing the questionnaire, praised the layout and wrote that they liked it 'because of the way that they have planned the land-

scaping and the courts.' Co-operative C has been described as 'a group of leaders and a group of followers. They felt a common bond as working class neighbours.' In addition to this 'bond' it is claimed that 'half the co-operative was related to somebody else in the co-operative.' (11) The people in Case C all came from a small close knit neighbourhood and one of their main intentions had been to keep their community together. If there were internal tensions, due to the differences between leaders and led, these did not appear in the interview responses, though it was suggested by some, that there were 'normal marital rows and neighbourly squabbles.' However, interviews with professionals, associated with the project, revealed that there had been major rows, which had led to resignations during the development process.

At Case A, on the other hand, a few of those interviewed, were quite open about problems with their neighbours and many were critical about members of the co-operative committee or the general membership, depending on which category they fell into themselves. For instance, one committee member who had been a long standing participant explained;

I was one of the original member and helped in the planning. I am interested in the co-op system of housing and hope it will be a success. However some members appear totally disinterested in the idea; but there should be enough keen members to carry through essential functions.

The large number of Black and 'Asian' members of Case A co-operative could also have been a source of tension. There were a small number of racist comments in the questionnaires, for instance. But the racial issue seemed well out in the open at meetings, attended in the course of this research. Half of the committee were Black and the co-operative claimed that it had taken steps to counter any racial bias in allocating houses to new members.

But Case A co-operative had problems in getting its membership together because the meeting room, that had been included in the scheme, could not be used, because of complaints about noise from the adjoining house. The tenants were awaiting noise insulation measures to be completed before starting a social programme. However, some members complained that early attempts at a youth club and outings had been a failure. There was little sign of strong communal identity, but this may change over time.

At Case B the tenants, who were interviewed, all seemed to know each other well now they were living in the scheme, and being a small scheme, there seemed less likelihood that someone could be a tenant there and not have any contact with others in the scheme, as appeared to be the case with a handful of people in Case A. However, at Case B there were also problems with being in close proximity. Arguments had taken place over children, which had not been helped by the poor siting of the play area. Where children play and how they are supervised can be a serious problem on any housing scheme and there was no evidence on any of the schemes that self management had made this any easier. Even at Case C an argument had taken place at one committee meeting about children riding bicycles over planted area. At Case C, no play area had been included in the scheme.

At Case B these difficulties were 'spoiling the community spirit', according to one tenant, and another explained that they had not anticipated the problems of living together when they had talked about the scheme at earlier meetings.

You see the trouble is, when we all went to meetings before the houses were built...everybody got to know each other...Nobody ever thought of how we were going to react when we were all living together. Mind you, I thought it were going to be marvellous, but we forgot about the kiddies. If there is a problem with your kiddies, they don't come to your house and tell you, they wait until its a meeting, but if people don't want kiddies around they should move elsewhere.

Whilst the tenants in the three projects had more opportunity to meet to discuss problems between them, there was little evidence that this had taken place. It would be a mistake to assume that neighbourly frictions and alienation disappear in co-operatives, and none of the people interviewed in these three cases could say that their co-operative had discussed group dynamics or how problems would be solved.

There was some evidence of attempts to cope with internal problems at Case C but this appeared, however, to depend on the strong willed and domineering leadership of one or two charismatic figures. For instance, according to an account from one committee member at Case C,

The committee split up throughout the meetings to try and get rid of the us and them set up. We decided to get 'em all in chairs in a circle like the Knights of the Round Table. The Chairman never had a chair, he stood in the middle with the papers in his hand.

Also the current chairman explained that he had taken over because the previous chairman had come to his house one evening and told him he was going to be the next chairman.

The men in Case C co-operative appeared to have a strong and dominating role and the issue of gender relations appeared, more than once, in interviews and in the responses to the HAK questionnaires, in all three Cases. Apart from the division between inside and outside committees on gender lines in Case C, the leadership roles had largely been filled by men, even though the committee members had claimed that the majority of people who attended general meetings, were women. This had led to some conflict within the co-operative because the leading men had wanted all the houses the same, while, according to a woman committee members 'the women wanted a few different house types. The men don't understand its the women who are in the house all the time!'

Also at Case A, several women interviewed, blamed the men for inadequacies in the houses including one who said that,

I suppose everybody tried their best but I feel housewives knew what they needed and where they need it. Mainly men were involved with the planning and I think this shows up only too well.

In all three Cases it was apparent that no attempt had been made to change or question conventional social relations. All house units were either for conventional families or old people and no attempt had been made to include communal or collective facilities, with the exception of the meeting room in Case A.

However, at Cases B and C there had been parties and social activities and at Case C in particular there had been a series of events, particularly during the development process, when members had dressed up in fancy dress and celebrated various stages of the project.

While there does not seem to be a great deal of evidence to support the idea that self management will solve social problems and create 'community' per se, examination of these issues does show up a link between the quality of social relations and the level of satisfaction found in the survey, with Case C coming top, again, and Case B somewhere in the middle. Issues of community and social inter-action had been very much in the minds of the user-client participants but the links between this, and the activity of design participation, were somewhat tenuous. Meetings to discuss design had obviously provided opportunities for social contact, and it did seem a possible conclusion from the interviews, that this opportunity to come together, may well have been more important, for some participants, than the degree to which they were able to affect the designs.

8.7 The Three Case Studies In Context

A final factor to consider, in relation to the sub-proposition, is that each of the three projects did not take place in a vacuum. They were also subject to a great deal of attention from various media and interested experts. They were set up within a context of housing activity, where they had contact with other people, trying to improve their housing conditions. Many of the participants were well aware that the project, in which they were involved, was a special experiment and that many people were watching to see if they succeeded or failed. There seems little doubt that this strongly influenced the feelings that tenants had about the resulting schemes and the process in which they had been involved. In particular the issue of client loyalty has already been referred to and is very much part of this argument. (Page 116)

At Case A there seemed to be little contact with other co-operatives despite the fact that there are a large number of them in the Borough. Most of these, however, were related to the 'short-life' and squatter movement and the people involved had little in common with Case A tenants. ⁽¹²⁾ At Case B there were clearer links with wider housing and planning issues. Apart from the campaign for the demolition of Leek Street flats, Case B tenants explained that they were attempting to do their bit to regenerate the area and make it possible for local people to stay there. Hopes to develop a second co-operative and establish a 'secondary' to do development work, had been shelved for the time being, but the secretary and another member, who was involved in the National Federation of Housing Co-operatives, had not forgotten the idea. Another member of the co-operative, a woman, was also involved in a scheme to set up a workers' co-operative, which has plans to set up a business, providing food to catering organisations.

At Case C, the situation was somewhat different, in that a movement to establish housing co-operatives, soon spread throughout the city. While marginal in numerical terms, the housing co-operatives were important politically, and soon became surrounded by controversy.

(13) Without discussing this in detail, it can be said that members of Case C co-operative were involved in, and well aware of this controversy.

Case C had attracted a great deal of publicity, in both local and national newspapers, throughout its life, and all this media attention ensured that it received many visitors from all over the world. Case C members were cynical about all the attention, but clearly enjoyed it as well. They had taken part in radio and television programmes. (14) They were particularly critical of some researchers and housing 'experts' who they felt had wasted their time.

The political debate was important to the leading members of Case C co-operative, because they felt that they had, for instance, only just begun to tackle the problem of handling professionals. The project had been a long struggle and they were anxious that this side of it should not be underplayed, with superficial accounts that implied they had either solved all the problems themselves, and were in complete control of the professionals. For them there was a great deal of satisfaction to be had in engaging in the struggle and this sense of battle was shared by all members of the co-operative, even if only in terms of supporting the leadership.

This was a factor common to all three projects, where ordinary people felt that the co-operative schemes had given them an opportunity to do something they might otherwise not have been able to, to take control of certain aspects of their lives. Thus when asked

in interviews, whether it was really worth it, tenants emphasised, not the eventual product, but the experience. As one at Case A put it:

Being involved from the beginning and working with people to make a success of the project is something to work for, although there may be very little reward for the efforts, the reward is feeling that something has been achieved and hopefully other people will begin to feel a part of a community in time.

Similarly, the secretary of Case B co-operative explained,

We have a feeling of pride that we have done it. You do get disheartened and just wish you had a corporation house but when you speak about it to someone else you realise how much pride you have, how you've done it yourself, how much you've accomplished. We are different.

Thus members were exercising power and control themselves over their housing future. Recognition of this from outside was really important to the participants in the projects as well as their own sense of achievement. Such feelings would not be available to tenants of ordinary local authority housing projects and were clearly an important factor in influencing the feelings of satisfaction in all three cases.

8.8 Conclusions

- (i) Having considered the nature of the buildings produced and whether these reflected the ideas of the user clients and then discussed the nature of the design participation process, this final Chapter has considered a number of broader issues about the three Case Study projects. This was in order to examine the proposition that the levels of satisfaction set out in Chapter V were related not to the built product

but to the nature of the (design and development) process and (particularly) the degree of control which (the user clients) had over it.

This included considering questions of management and general development of the projects, of which the design and role of the architect were only part. The argument which runs through the Chapter is that a more general desire on the part of the user participants to exercise some control, over an important part of their lives, was a key factor in all three cases. The degree to which this objective was fulfilled, could have been an important criteria in affecting the feelings of satisfaction, of the members of the co-operatives.

(ii) The first issue to provide some evidence of the above is the way, that at Case C, the most successful project in terms of satisfaction, the user client group had the strongest role to play in initiating the project. Taking the initiative and fighting a long hard struggle to establish the co-operative created an important feeling among co-operative members than in the other two Cases, where there had been different degrees of professional paternalism at the start.

(iii) This was also reflected in the question of architect appointment. Here again participants at Case C exerted the strongest influence whereas co-operative members at Case A had no choice and at Case B a limited one.

- (iv) Professional paternalism extended throughout the projects in different degrees. At Case A the participants were largely insulated from external agencies and to some extent at Case B, while at Case C the leading members of the co-operative were determined to conduct negotiations and deal with anybody who could affect the outcome of the project. This further reinforced the sense of control and enriched the experience of the development process for the participants at Case C. This may have enhanced the sense of satisfaction of achievement, not only among the leadership of Case C co-operative, but among all its members.
- (v) If morale had been raised or lowered by participation in the design and development process, the issues of management and maintenance, now the houses are occupied, would clearly have an important bearing on present feelings. It was possible to identify a number of problems and areas of dissatisfaction with management and maintenance issues and to conclude that such difficulties do not disappear with tenant management. They simply become the responsibility of the co-operative rather than a distant authority. Here again there was some evidence that Case C co-operative was managing to cope reasonably well, whereas Case A had a number of difficulties. This particular issue warrants further study, outside the scope of this research. However, it was clear that ongoing management issues must have influenced feelings of satisfaction strongly.

(vi) A further factor, related to the general experience of the project and broader social objectives, was that of the social relations which had emerged, once people had moved into the three schemes. Most participants had indicated they wanted a sense of 'community', but there was little evidence that, other than coming together as a group to get the housing built, that anyone had known how to set about doing this. Again a stronger sense of neighbourliness, community identity and fewer problems and disputes existed at Case C when compared with the other two Cases. This seemed due to a number of factors, of which the design of the scheme, was only one.

(vii) Finally, the importance of the attention which the three projects received from outsiders is emphasised. The participants were aware that they were part of a special experiment. It seemed important to most of the participants in all three projects that they were different as people and organisations on other housing developments. A sense of pride and achievement was a major element in the overall feelings of satisfaction that all the obstacles (including the design stage) had been overcome and that more important than anything else, the houses had been built. The degree to which this was felt seems likely to be more strongly linked with satisfaction than the success or otherwise, of the design participation process.

CHAPTER VIII REFERENCES

1. Plaque on wall at Case C Housing Co-operative. The text was chosen in a competition with entries from co-operative members.
2. TURNER, J.F.C. (1976): Housing By People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments. London : Marion Boyars.
3. GIBSON, T. (1979): People Power: Community and Work Groups in Action. Harmondsworth, Pelican Books.
4. ASSOCIATION OF METROPOLITAN AUTHORITIES (1984): Defects in Housing Parts 1 and 2. London: A.M.A.
5. POWER, A. (1984): Local Housing Management Priority Estates Project Survey. Department of the Environment. London: HMSO.
6. CRAIG, B. (1978): 'H' Housing Co-operative - A History. Unpublished mimeo and correspondence.
7. MACDONALD, A. (1983): The Weller Way. Unpublished draft.
8. GANS, H. (1968): People and Plans.
9. BROADY, M. (1972): Social Theory and Architectural Design in R. GUTTMAN (ed.). People and Buildings.
10. PAHL, R. (1970): Patterns of Urban Life, Chapter 8, Social Engineering and the Local Environment. London: Longmans.
11. MACDONALD, A. (1983): op.cit.
12. WOOLLEY, T. (1984): From Squatting to Short Life Housing in England: A Case of Incorporation? Berlin: Internationale Bau-Austellung.
13. ARCHITECTS' JOURNAL (1983): 'Housing Havoc in Liverpool.' Architects' Journal, 3.8.83, pp.18-19.
14. B.B.C. (1983) 'Weekend - Let's Replant the Neighbourhood', BBC Radio Transcript.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS

The Nature of Community Architecture

The central problem examined in this study was to question whether user participation is a 'magic formula' for creating satisfactory buildings. (p.85) The term 'magic formula' was used to emphasise the way in which user participation has been advanced as a panacea for the apparently intractable problem of meeting users' needs in building design. This is despite the lack of hard evidence to confirm such a supposition. Indeed since this research was completed, there has been an upturn in media interest in Community Architecture and it is quite common at conferences and meetings, where housing problems are discussed, to find user participation, in both design and management, brought out as a cure-all policy solution.

This is not surprising, in that the concept has a number of attractions for all parties involved. For Government it offers, at a time of economic restraint, the possibility of reduced expenditure, by shifting responsibility for housing, building and social problems to a more local level. For building consumers it appears that, at long last, they will have some say in the construction of their environment, and for professionals it creates the possibility of more satisfied customers, a better public image and the opportunity for greater contact with their clients. These, and other reasons, make it attractive to support the ideas of user participation, whether or not they have any substance. People in all walks of life want to believe they are true. Of course, there are also detractors of user participation, but their criticisms of user participation are no more based on a sound knowledge of it in practice than are the opinions of many of its supporters.

Before answering the question; How strong is the case for user participation in architectural design?, the argument made in the first part of the thesis must be reviewed. Firstly, it is suggested that, whatever else may be said about Community Architecture, it is distinguished from other forms of architectural practice by its focus on user participation and this was the definition adopted for this study. (p.6)

However, on top of such an apparently simple concept, a whole new ideology of architectural practice is being constructed. A wide range of writers, theorists and practitioners are beginning to suggest that important social changes will result from Community Architecture. However, in this study it is suggested that it is dangerous to assume that the intervention of architects in social action will 'transform people'. (p.4) Such ideas are very similar to long discredited ideas of architectural determinism which argued that buildings could modify human behaviour in a predictable way. These ideas assume that professional initiative and intervention is the key to social well being and that architects, by involving their clients in the design process, hold the key to such social transformation. The evidence in this Study tends to confirm the doubts about such an ideology.

However, an analysis of the literature in Chapter I showed that motives are far more self interested. Architects have had to respond to public dissatisfaction, forces which have undermined traditional professional dominance, and the need to search for new areas of work. Their motivation in embracing Community Architecture has been an attempt to retain or extend the professional sphere of influence.

However, in Chapter II it was shown that there have been social, economic and political changes which have created opportunities for experimental projects involving user control and participation and a

resurgence of interest in participatory ideas. Rather than initiating such innovations, architects have responded to them, adopting, on the way, prescriptive notions of social change. However, in Chapter III it was suggested that this professional response has been inadequate and uneven and that participatory design methods, specifically developed for user client involvement, remains largely undeveloped. (pp.69-72) Instead, architects merely try to adapt existing ways of working, often in ignorance of the debates and doubts which have taken place over questions of participation in the past. (pp.72-78)

In order to justify Community Architecture, furthermore, its protagonists have had to rely on making a number of claims unsubstantiated by empirical evidence. (p.83) One of these, the claim that user participation leads to great user satisfaction, is seen as a central issue to be considered in this thesis. The objective of the research, as outlined in Chapter IV, was to test this proposition. (p.91)

That when user clients participate in the design and development process, in building projects, there will be greater user satisfaction with the completed buildings and environment than in projects where there has been no user participation.

In order to do this three Case Studies, new build housing co-operatives in London, Liverpool and Leeds were examined, as examples of user participation in design and were compared with other public sector housing in England and Wales.

Testing the Main Proposition

The principal finding was that, when tenants of the three Case Studies were asked if they were satisfied with their homes and

estates, and this was compared with satisfaction levels found in a Department of the Environment study of forty-two public sector housing schemes, that it was not the case that they were substantially more satisfied than tenants of non-participatory schemes. (5.4) On the other hand, a statistically significant proportion of those in the Case Study schemes were as satisfied as tenants in the non-participatory examples with the highest levels of satisfaction. (5.3) Thus it is concluded that, while high levels of satisfaction were found in the three Case Study schemes, given that these were experimental projects, it would still be difficult to argue that user participant tenants are likely to be more satisfied than other tenants. Indeed a similar pattern of response was found to that discovered by the D.O.E., suggesting that the tenants of the three Case Studies did not differ substantially from ordinary tenants in their attitudes to their housing. (5.4)

On the other hand, comparison between the three Case Studies and with ten selected schemes from the D.O.E. study revealed that one of the Cases, Case C, was consistently more successful in terms of user satisfaction. (5.5. and 5.6)

Due to the complexity of these results, the data is open to a variety of interpretations but it is argued that it was not possible to find firm evidence of a link between participation and satisfaction and thus the main proposition is largely unsupported by this work. (5.10) On the other hand, the majority of the tenants were well satisfied in all three Case Study schemes and this was confirmed in interviews and meetings with the co-operatives despite a number of specific criticisms and disappointments. (5.8)

What did become apparent was that there was a small, though substantially insignificant, difference between participant and non-participant members of the Case Study co-operatives. (5.7) There was also evidence that the tenants saw themselves as special and different from other residents of their neighbourhood and this did suggest a possible correlation between satisfaction and the user participation nature of the schemes. (5.9) One possible conclusion to be drawn from this was that, in considering their feelings about the schemes, tenants distinguished between their satisfaction with the built project, which had some faults, for some in each of the three Cases, and their satisfaction with being part of a special project.

Explaining the results of the survey

Three sub-propositions were considered which related various factors to user satisfaction, in an attempt to explain more fully the results of the surveys and interviews. Firstly, it was found that there was not much evidence that the participants had exerted a strong influence on the designs. While they had started out with some specific ideas at the start of the project, there had not been clear briefs and the housing which resulted was much the same as contemporary housing being built elsewhere without tenants' participation. (6.1 and 6.2) There was also no evidence that the three Case Study schemes had cost more or were of higher standard than comparable public housing. (6.5) Nevertheless, there was a small difference in quality between the three schemes, with a more satisfactory reduction of design problems in Case C when compared with the other two. (6.4) The similarity with other good quality contemporary housing can be contrasted with other models of poor quality public housing with which the tenants would have been more familiar. Their expectations would have been affected by this. (6.3)

Furthermore, given that many of the participants had dropped out during the design process, it was hard to link the influence of a small minority on the designs, to the satisfaction of all the Case Study tenants. (6.6. and 6.7) Of course, it could be argued that in schemes with a higher degree of involvement there would be a stronger correlation between participation and satisfaction. However, no strong evidence of that could be found in these Case Studies.

Even if the tenants' influence on the designs was limited it was always possible that the factor of user participation ensured that the architect was able to interpret the clients' needs more accurately and that this would correlate with satisfaction. This was the basis of a second sub-proposition. However, in examining in detail, the nature of the participation and development process, there was quite a lot of evidence that there had been many problems in implementing a participation exercise. Participation methods, organisation and approaches varied widely between the three schemes and it was argued that the ad hoc nature of these activities made it hard for the tenants to put their ideas forward. Instead it reinforced dependence on the judgement of the architects. (7.2 and 7.3)

The architects developed ideas of what people wanted and these may have been more accurate than if there had been no participation. However, there were problems of communication in all three projects both between architects and participants and between leading activists in each co-operative and their own rank and file membership. (7.4 and 7.5)

While all three projects each took six years from inception to work on site, there was little evidence that user participation had been responsible for delays. Instead the presence of participants was

an extra pressure to process projects speedily. The longest design period was found in the Case C with the highest levels of satisfaction, and there was some suggestion at Case C that a better relationship with the architect and more success in discussing design policies with the membership, led to more positive feelings among tenants about the projects as a whole. (7.6)

What was apparent from this data was the way in which tenants regarded the whole project as a positive personal experience from which they had learnt a lot. This might appear to support the idea that Community Architecture involvement changes peoples' lives, but these feelings seemed more strongly based on a general attitude to tenant control, and many tenants interviewed remain suspicious of architects and professionals. (7.7)

Finally, a sub-proposition was considered that there was a much stronger relationship between tenants' satisfaction and broader issues of control, management and the general nature of involvement in a building development process than to the relationship with the architect or the designs. (8.1) In this respect there appeared to be clear differences between the three projects, with Case C providing stronger evidence of user control and management. In this Case the participants had more say in initiating the schemes, appointing the architect, dealing with external agencies and managing the houses once they were occupied. (8.2, 8.3, 8.4, 8.5) A greater level of professional paternalism in the other two schemes correlates strongly with the lower satisfaction levels.

Futhermore, there appeared to be a strong degree of neighbourliness in Case C which was not so well developed in the other two Cases. The extent of 'community feeling' appeared to be more strongly

connected with issues of management and organisation than with house designs or estate layout. (8.6)

Tenants interviewed were quick to point out their overall feelings of achievement at having overcome the problems of the development process. Most described it as a long hard struggle. Many were also aware of the special interest from outside that their projects had attracted. It did appear that, for the participant members at least, the privilege of having taken part in a project which had been a positive experience and given them greater control over their lives, was a stronger factor in determining their feelings of satisfaction than the nature of the schemes themselves. (8.7)

Some general conclusions

From the Cases studied a number of general points can be made about the nature of user participation in building design. While only three cases have been studied, it is contended that, nevertheless, they are fairly typical of the state of the art at present.

There are seven main points:

1. That whatever is said in superficial accounts of user participation projects in the literature, the degree of participation, on closer examination, is quite limited. Architects and clients are dependent on relatively conventional procedures for finance, approvals, development and design.
2. In no sense do the tenants design the schemes themselves. They are dependent on the professionals who, therefore, retain a substantial amount of control over decision-making, whether or not this is their intention.

3. Thus, user participation in design is a process by which users are informed as to the nature of the building development process and are given limited opportunities to influence decisions, depending on their abilities to ask the right questions and press their own ideas and needs.
4. The case for user participation in design, in light of the above, is, therefore, not a strong one. It is conceivable that many of the benefits of user control, management, education and inter-action identified in this study, could have been achieved in other ways without participation in design. Participation in design was not necessarily a guarantee that users' ideas and needs could be fully met.
5. There was little evidence to show that user participation was a solution to the problems of designing for user requirements. Far from simplifying design, communication and methodological problems, it considerably added to them. Conventional design methods and architectural practice do not readily adapt to radical social experiments and the architects involved had many problems in dealing with all the conflicting demands placed upon them.
6. It would also be quite wrong to assume that, through user participation, ordinary people are able to gain some ascendancy over professionals. Instead it was clear that the architects and others retained a strong position of influence as intermediaries between the client and external agencies.

7. Finally, it was found that the projects were an important experience for some participants and did 'transform their lives' to a limited degree, but this was not due to the intervention of a Community Architect, but a determination on the part of the tenants to improve their conditions. The presence of a sympathetic architect was only a minor contributory factor in this.

Recommendations for the future

Given the widespread belief in the value and success of user participation, despite the problems and limitations identified in this study, it is likely that there will be a growing number of experiments and initiatives in the field. Projects will be established in a wide variety of contexts with varying objectives, financial and legal frameworks for many different building types. While such projects may appear to be very different from the new build housing co-operative cases discussed here, they are likely to share the common feature of professionals working directly with user clients and some degree of user control or management in the client organisation.

If future projects of this nature are to benefit from past experience then it is important that the lessons learnt in projects, like the three Case Studies, are passed on. Unfortunately, much of the literature discussed in the early Chapters of the thesis tended to give a superficial and rosey view of such projects. This is partly because it is assumed that there is still a great deal of opposition to the idea of user participation and that to highlight faults or problems will undermine any possibility of local authorities, central government and professionals accepting the ideas.

However, the argument advanced here, is that unless the problems and difficulties of user participation are discussed openly, work in this field will not advance very far. Firstly, it is essential to have a realistic appraisal of what is involved and, secondly, sufficient knowledge of what really happens, to avoid myths and illusions. The main drift of the argument in this work has been that the success of such projects is determined by the social relations and social forces that are involved. Our attention must focus on why a project is being carried out, how it fits into a wider context, who it will benefit, how they will be involved and how much control they will have. The role of the architect and design is only one piece of this jigsaw. Thus the principal recommendation to anyone, whether they be a policy maker, professional, government official or tenant, is to look beyond the ballyhoo and propaganda, which is increasingly surrounding 'Community Architecture' and to consider the interests and primary role of the 'ordinary people' that are involved. It is invariably their effort and commitment which will ensure the success of the project and it is the job of the architect and other professionals to support that, to make a positive contribution, but not necessarily to set themselves up as the initiators or prime movers in any project. Given these general strictures there remain a number of more specific activities which need urgent development if user participation and the involvement of architects in the community is to be successful.

- (1) There is an important need for more accounts, research and analysis into projects which examine process and product and reveal, honestly, the problems and achievements. Such work needs to be published and circulated in a variety of forms, accessible to tenants, policy makers and professionals.

- (2) There is a need for more meetings between professionals and participants to share experiences and ideas. At present far too many projects start from scratch without the benefit of previous experience.
- (3) There needs to be greater acceptance within the architectural profession that participatory design is not something which can easily be taken on board by any architect. Existing design methodologies, methods of working, practice organisation, skills and techniques are not necessarily suitable and are not easily adapted to the rigours of working with user client groups.
- (4) Once this is accepted there is a need for research and development into the methods, skills and techniques that are required. This will inevitably mean changes in the content and curricula of architectural education and mid-career, continuing professional education. There is enormous scope for work in this area.
- (5) There is a pressing need for resource centres which have facilities and expertise to assist with participatory design. Full scale modelling facilities, computer aided design, training and so on could be made available to user client groups and their architects.
- (6) There is also the need for educational activities in the form of evening classes, easy to read literature, video films and environmental educational material that will increase the awareness of potential user clients before they get involved in such projects. Many people have no idea what architects do and how buildings are

produced. They do not need to learn to become architects themselves, but they do need to be able to ask the right questions.

(7) For policy makers, Government and local government officials there is an urgent need to review the reasons for embarking on user participation. There is a real danger of a 'band wagon' on which projects are established to include participation without any realistic assessment being made of the implications in terms of time, resources and expectations. One lesson from this research is that the most successful group was the one which took the most initiative and control. People may want to participate in shaping their environment, but often a great deal of community development work must be done to help viable groups form and manage their affairs. Participation cannot be successfully imposed from above.

(8) This leads on to a further recommendation that there should be greater inter-disciplinary contact and training to draw on the experience of different professions. In many examples of Community Architecture projects the architect has to become an amateur accountant, community worker, group psychologist and entrepreneur. Some architects are egotistical enough to think they can fulfil all these functions. However, greater partnership between people with expertise in each of these fields could be much more productive.

Community Architecture is surrounded by a great deal of muddled and contradictory rhetoric, based on claims which have not yet been substantiated by empirical research. This study has, hopefully, gone some way to laying bare the issues involved, and demonstrating that the issues are much more complex than is shown by the simplistic claims made about Community Architecture. Rather than continue to make extensive and ill-founded claims about the supposed benefits, proponents should work harder on the problems and do what they can to ensure that architects and their clients are better equipped to do the job and have a better understanding of what is required of them. This may ensure that in future, the experience of user participation in design will be a richer and fuller and more creative experience than has been possible so far.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ABRAMS, J. (1981): 'Coin Street - Shoddy Profession has Throttled Life Blood of Communities.' Building Design, 11.9.81, p.1.
- ALEXANDER, C. (1977): A Pattern Language. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- ANDERSON, H. (1974): Building Study - Hesketh Street Housing Co-operative. Architects' Journal, 18.7.84, pp.45-50.
- ANSON, B. (1977): 'Community Architecture Stifles Rebelliousness.' Architects' Journal, 2.11.77.
- ARCHITECTS' JOURNAL (1978): 'Krolls Krunch', 7.6.78, p.1092.
- ARCHITECTS' JOURNAL (1978): 'Graham Overlooks Community Architecture Code Breakers', 23.8.78.
- ARCHITECTS' JOURNAL (1982): 'Enablers at the RIBA', 14.7.82, p.38.
- ARCHITECTS' JOURNAL (1983): 'Lee View House, Clapton', 20.7.83.
- ARCHITECTS' JOURNAL (1983): 'Housing Havoc in Liverpool', 3.8.83, pp.18-19.
- ARMSTRONG, A. (1979): Planning and Environmental Education, Centre for Environmental Studies Occasional Paper 7.
- ARMSTRONG, G. and WILSON, M. (1973): Delinquency and some aspects of housing in WARD, C. (1973).
- ARNSTEIN, S. (1969): 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation.' Journal of the American Institute of Planners, July 1969, pp.216-224.
- ARSCOTT, M. et al (1976): Alternatives in Housing A Report on Self Build in Britain, London: Architectural Association, Unit 11.
- ASSOCIATION OF METROPOLITAN AUTHORITIES (1984): Defects in Housing Parts 1 and 2, London: Association of Metropolitan Authorities.
- BAILEY, R. (1973): The Squatters, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- BAINE, S. (1975): Community Action and Local Government, Occasional Papers on Social Administration, No.59, Bell.
- BANCROFT, J. (1980): 'Housing at Aberdeen Park.' Architects' Journal, 30.7.80, pp.209-224.
- BANHAM, R. (1981): 'The Architect as gentleman and the Architect as hustler.' London: RIBA Transactions.
- BARKER, A. (1979): Public Participation in Britain, A Classified Bibliography. London: Bedford Square Press.
- BARKER, A. (1983): 'Battle in Normandy.' Building Design, 4.11.83.

- BARNARD, R. (1970): 'Community Action in a Twilight Zone.' RIBA Journal, Oct. 1970, pp.445-453.
- BARON, R.D. (1974): 'St. Louis Tenant Management Corporations bringing major transformation of public housing.' US Journal of Housing, June 1974, pp.263-269.
- BEARD, A. (1971): 'Walkley: Architects Serving People.' The Catonsville Roadrunner, No.30.
- BERESFORD, S. and P. (1978): 'Participation for Whom.' New Society, 17.8.78, pp.351-352.
- BIRMINGHAM COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT (1979): From Failure to Facelift. Final Report No.6, Urban Renewal Birmingham: CDP.
- BISHOP, J. (1983): Voluntary Sector - Local Authority Collaboration on Environmental Improvement Bristol: School for Advanced Urban Studies.
- BLACKABY, B. and PARIS, C. (1979): Not Much Improvement. London: Heinemann/CES.
- BLACKWELL, L. (1984): 'Community Architecture Ultimatum.' Building Design, 13.7.84.
- BLAIR, T. (1971): 'Technocrats, dreamers or rebels: what should professionals be in the inner city?' RIBA Journal, April 1971, pp.149-150.
- BODENSCHATZ, H. et al (1983): Schluss mit der Zerstörung. Berlin: Anabas.
- BRADEN, S. (1978): Artists and People. London: RKP.
- BRAVERMAN, H. (1974): Labour and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the 20th Century. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- BREAKELL, D. (1978): Community Architecture and Education. Unpublished mimeo.
- BRENT FEDERATION OF TENANTS AND RESIDENTS ASSOCIATIONS (1978): How to Gain a Better Council Tenancy Agreement. London: B.F.T.R.A.
- BRITTEN (1977): What Is a Satisfactory House? A Report of Some Householders' Views. Watford: Building Research Establishment, Current Paper CP 26/77.
- BROADY, M. (1968): Planning for People. London: Bedford Square Press.
- BROADY, M. (1972): Social Theory and Architectural Design in Guttman, R. (ed) 1972.
- BRYANT, B and R. (1982): Change and Conflict - A Study of Community Work in Glasgow. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.

- BUILDING DESIGN (1978): 'Architecture for Needy Communities.' Building Design, 28.7.78.
- BUILDING DESIGN (1983): 'From Fishmarket to Up-market.' Building Design, 21.1.83.
- BUILDINGS RESEARCH TEAM (1981): Brief Formulation and the Design of Buildings. Oxford Polytechnic.
- BURBIDGE, M. (1981): 'Tenants Role in Tackling Rundown Estates.' Housing Review, May/June 1981, pp.81-85.
- BURGESS, R. (1982): Self Help Housing Advocacy - A Curious Form of Radicalism in WARD, P.M. (ed) 1982.
- BURNS, W. (1963): New Towns for Old. London: Leonard Hill.
- BUTCHER, H. et al (1980): Community Groups in Action. London: RKP.
- BYRNE, D. and DAMER, S. (1980): The State, the Balance of Class Forces and Early Working Class Housing Legislation in Housing Construction and the State. London: Conference of Socialist Economists.
- CAIRD, D.J. (1982): 'Alternative Practice'. Unpublished Report. Oxford Polytechnic, Department of Architecture.
- CAMDEN LONDON BOROUGH (1984): Housing Associations - Tenant Satisfaction Survey, Mimeo.
- CAMPBELL, H. (1975): 'Tenant Co-operatives - Are They Really On?' Housing, October, pp.13-14.
- CARLO, G. (1971): An Architecture of Participation. Melbourne.
- CASTELLS, M. (1977): The Urban Question. London: Edward Arnold.
- CASTELLS, M. (1978): City Class and Power. London: Macmillan.
- CASTELLS, M. (1984): The City and the Grass Roots. London: Edward Arnold.
- COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT (1977): The Poverty of the Improvement Programme. CDPT Political Economy Collective.
- COMMUNITY ACTION (1973): Compulsory Purchase Orders Action Report. Community Action, No.9, July/August, pp.13-29.
- COMMUNITY ACTION (1974): 'Black Road Success'. Community Action, No.4, June/July, pp.31-35.
- COMMUNITY ACTION (1974): 'Manchester's Bulldozers Stopped. How Community Action Forced Major Changes in a City's Housing Policy'. Community Action, No.16, October/November, pp.33-37.
- COCKBURN, C. (1977): The Local State, Management of Cities and People. London: Pluto Press.
- COOPER, D. (1982): 'Paying for Idealism'. Architects' Journal, 15.9.82, p.65.

- COWLEY, J. et al (1977): Community or Class Struggle. London: Stage One.
- CRADDOCK, J. (1975): Council Tenants Participation in Housing Management. London: Association of London Housing Estates.
- CRIPPS, C. (1984): Towards a Political Economy of Building Design. PhD Thesis in Architecture. University of Liverpool.
- CROSS, N. (1982): 'Participation'. Architects' Journal, 20.1.82, pp.76-78.
- CULLINGWORTH, B. (1979): Essays of Housing Policy, Chapter 7, Alternative Housing Tenures. London: Allen and Unwin.
- CUNNINGHAM, J. (1984): 'Architects of their own Despair'. The Guardian, 25.6.84.
- CURNO, P. (ed) (1978): Political Issues and Community Work. London: RKP.
- DARKE, J. (1979): 'The Primary Generator and the Design Process'. Design Studies, Vol.1, No.1, July.
- DARKE, J. (1984): 'Architects and User Requirements in Public Sector Housing'. Environment and Planning B, October 1984.
- DENNIS, N. (1972): Public Participation and Planners Blight. London: Faber and Faber.
- DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT (1969): People in Planning: The Skeffington Report, HMSO.
- DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT (1975): Final Report of the Working Party on Housing Co-operatives (The Campbell Report), HMSO.
- DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT (1978): Housing Appraisal Kit - A Complete Social Survey Package. Housing Development Directorate.
- DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT (1981): A Survey of Tenants' Attitudes to Recently Completed Estates, Housing Development Directorate.
- DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT (1982): Whose Town Is It Anyway? Proceedings of the Durham Conference on the European Campaign for Urban Renaissance, HMSO.
- DICKENS, P. (1978): Social Change, Housing and the State in HARLOE, M. (ed) Urban Change and Conflict Conference Proceedings. London: C.E.S.
- DICKENS, P. (1981): 'The Hut and the Machine'. Architectural Design, Jan/Feb 1981.
- DICKENS, P. (1981): Mental Labour, Manual Labour and Building Production (A Materialist Approach to Design). Unpublished mimeo.
- DICKENS, P. and GRAY, F. (1982): Professionals and the Management of Social Relations. Unpublished mimeo.

- DINGWALL, R. and LEWIS, P. (1983): The Sociology of the Professions. London: Macmillan.
- DONNISON, D. and UNGERSON, C. (1982): Housing Policy. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- DUNLEAVY, (1980): Urban Political Analysis: The Politics of Collective Consumption. London: Macmillan.
- DUNLEAVY, (1981): Politics of Mass Housing in Britain 1945-75. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- EDGAR, E., LEVITT, D and PICKERING, C. (1973): 'New Prospects for Housing Associations'. Built Environment, June, pp.335-338.
- EDWARDS, J. and WILKINSON, D. (1973): 'Let's have no more cant?' RIBA Journal, July, p.335.
- ELLIS, C. (1980): 'Do-It-Yourself Vernacular'. Architects' Journal, 17.12.80, pp.1185-1205.
- ELLIS, P. and WILSON, S. (1981): 'Duffryn Social Survey'. Architects' Journal, 6.5.81, pp.847-859.
- ELLIS, P. (1982): The Phenomenology of Defensible Space in STRINGER, P. (ed) Confronting Social Issues. London: Academic Press.
- ERSKINE, R. (1984): Designing Between Client and Users in HATCH, C.R. (ed) (1984).
- EVANS, E. (1981): Current Planning Policies and Development Programmes. Liverpool City Planning Department.
- FIELD, D. et al (1980): The Provisional of Technical Services to the Community. University of Liverpool - unpublished.
- FITZWALTER, R. (1981): Web of Corruption. London: Granada.
- FRANKS, M. (1975): 'An Experiment in Inner City Conservation'. Architectural Association Quarterly, Vol.7, No.4, pp.43-47.
- FRENCH, P. (1978): 'Architects in Dispute Over Summerland Fire Verdict'. Sunday Times, 5.11.78, p.3.
- FRIEND, A. (1981): Failed Strategies: Failing Investment. London: Catholic Housing Aid Society.
- GANS, H. (1968): People and Plans. London: Basic Books.
- GIBSON, T. (1979): People Power - Community and Work Groups in Action. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- GIBSON, T. and BEAN, J. (1980): 'Planning for Real and Neighbourhood Change'. Bulletin of Environmental Education, No.109, May.
- GIBSON, T. and DORFMAN, M. (1981): The Planning for Real Report: Education for Neighbourhood Change. HMSO.
- GINSBURG, L. (1983): 'Architects and the Corporate Estate?'. Architects' Journal, 5.1.83, pp.22-26.

- GLADSTONE, F.J. (1979): Voluntary Action in a Changing World. London: Bedford Square Press.
- GOODMAN, R. (1972): After the Planners. Harmondsworth: Pelican.
- GOUGH, I. (1979): The Political Economy of the Welfare State. London: Macmillan.
- GREATER LONDON ASSOCIATION OF COMMUNITY ARTISTS (1983): 'Friends and Allies', Report of Salisbury Conference, April 22-24 1983.
- GUNDREY, W. (1971): 'Architects in the Community'. RIBA Journal, January, pp.21-25.
- HABERMAS, J. (1981): 'Modern and Post-Modern Architecture'. 9H, No.4, 1982 - translated from Suddeutsche Zeitung, Dec. 5/6, 1981.
- HABRAKEN, N.J. (1972): Supports: An Alternative to Mass Housing. Translated by B. Valkenburg. London: Architectural Press. First published 1961.
- HACKNEY, R. (1975): 'The Black Road Improvement Area'. Royal Society of Health Conference on Housing Improvements. Nov. 5, 1975, Newcastle.
- HACKNEY, R. (1982): 'New Areas of Work'. Unpublished Paper. RIBA Seminar - Promoting Your Practice, June.
- HACKNEY, R. (1982): Book Review of Young and Connelly - Policy and Practice in the Multi-racial City. Architects' Journal, 13.1.82, p.32.
- HACKNEY, R. (1984): Letter to The Guardian, 19.6.84.
- HAGUE, C. (1982): 'Reflections on Community Planning,' in Paris, C. (1982).
- HAIN, P. (ed) (1976): Community Politics. London: John Calder.
- HALL, P. (ed) (1981): The Inner City in Context. London: SSRC/Heinemann.
- HANDS, J. (1976): Housing Co-operatives. London: Society for Co-operative Dwellings.
- HARDING, D. (1979): 'Planning, Building and Participation', in Haworth, J.T. (1979).
- HARLOE, M., ISSACHAROFF, R. and MINNS, R. (1974): The Organisation of Housing: Public and Private Enterprise in London. London: Heinemann.
- HARLOE, M. and LEBAS, E. (1981): City Class and Capital. London: Edward Arnold.
- HARMS, H. (1979): Great Brook Valley: 'Tenant Participation Project in Worcester, Mass, U.S.A.', in Schreurs et al (1979).
- HARRIES, P., LIPMAN, A. and PURDEN, S. (1983): The Marketing of Meaning, Aesthetics Incorporated. Unpublished mimeo,.

- HARTMANN, M., KOBLIN, W. and NABAUER, R. (1978): Selber und Gemeinsam - Planen, Bauen und Wohnen, Munich.
- HATCH, C.R. (ed) (1984): The Scope of Social Architecture New York; Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- HAWORTH, J.T. (1979): Community Involvement and Leisure. London: Lepus Books.
- HEFFERNAN, D. (1975): Action Study of Milton Court and Evelyn Estates, Lewisham. Edinburgh: Architecture Research Unit.
- HELLMAN, L. (1973): 'Housing and Participation'. Built Environment, June 1973, pp.328-332.
- HERTZBERGER, H. (1984): The Interaction of Form and Users in HATCH, C.R. (1984).
- HILL, R. (1980): 'Architecture - the past fights back'. Marxism Today, 24.11.80.
- HILLIER, W. (1973): 'In Defense of Space'. RIBA Journal, November 1973.
- HILLIER, W. et all (1983): 'Space Syntax'. Architects' Journal, 30.11.83, pp.47-63.
- HINDESS, B. (1971): The Decline of Working Class Politics. London: Paladin.
- HINDESS, B. (1977): Philosophy and Methodology in the Social Sciences. London: Harvester.
- HIRST, P.Q. (1976) Social Evolution and Sociological Categories. London: Allen and Unwin.
- HIRST, P. and WOOLLEY, P (1982): Social Relations and Human Attributes. London: Tavistock Publications.
- HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE (1977): Policy for the Inner Cities, HMSO, June 1977, White Paper.
- HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE (1981): The Brixton Disorders: Report of an Enquiry by the Right Hon. The Lord Scarman, Nov. 1981.
- HOLGATE, W. (1976): Community Action in Kensal Green. London: Architectural Association.
- HOLMES, C. (1978): 'Key Issues in Co-operative Housing'. SCOOP. Nov. 1978, pp.3-5.
- HOME, R.K. (1982): Inner City Regeneration. London: Spon.
- HOOK, M. (1977): 'Housing Co-operatives'. Architects' Journal, 29.6.77, pp.1215-1228.
- HOPE, E. (1978): Tenant Participation in the Design of a New Build Housing Co-operative. Unpublished Draft.

- HOUSING SERVICES ADVISORY GROUP (1978): The Client Role in Public Sector Housebuilding. London: HMSO.
- HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE OF WALES (1984): Speech to the Royal Institute of British Architects. 30.5.84. Text issued by the Palace.
- HUNTER, J. (1969): 'Self Help Planning'. The Architect and Building News, 20.11.69, pp.34-39.
- HURLEY, J. and METCALFE, G. (1977): 'Appropriate Education - Schools of Architecture and Community Design'. Architects' Journal, 19.10.77, pp.761-767.
- ILLICH, I. (1971): Deschooling Society. London: Marian Boyars.
- ILLICH, I. (1976): Medical Nemesis. London: Marian Boyars.
- ILLICH, I. (1979): Disabling Professions. London: Marian Boyars.
- ILLICH, I. (1980): Shadow Work. London: Marian Boyars.
- ISRAEL, T. (1983): Newcastle Architecture Workshop Ltd. A Preliminary Evaluation of an Environmental Education and Community Technical Services Programme. City University of New York. Mimeo.
- JENKS, M. (1981): The Briefing Context - Some Recent Survey Findings. Oxford Architectural Research Papers No.3. Oxford Polytechnic.
- JOHNSON, J. (1979): 'Housing Rehabilitation - A Challenge to the Profession' in MARKUS, T.A. (ed) 1979.
- JOHNSON, R. et al (eds) (1982): Making Histories. London: Hutchinson.
- JOHNSON, T.J. (1972): Professions and Power. London: Macmillan.
- JONES, D. and SMITH, L. (eds) (1981): Community Work 6. London: RKP/ACW.
- JONES, J.C. (1980): Design Methods. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.
- KARPF, A. (1977): 'The Pressure Groups'. Architects' Journal, 19.10.77, pp.728-734.
- KAY, T. (1984): 'Commentary on Black Road', in HATCH, C.R. (1984).
- KIRK, G. (1980): Urban Planning in a Capitalist Society. London: Croom Helm.
- KLAUSENER, D. (1982): Urban Symbolism and the Production of Culture. Working Paper 31, Urban and Regional Studies, University of Sussex.
- KNIGHT, B. and MCKEAN, J.M. (1977): 'Confusion over the RIBA Community Group'. Letter Building Design, 11.3.77, p.8.
- KNEVITT, C. (1977): 'Hackney makes a bid for seat on Council'. Building Design, 4.3.77.

- KNEVITT, C. (1977): 'Down Your Way: Current Projects by Rod Hackney'. Architects' Journal, 5.10.77.
- KNIGHT, B. and HAYES, R. (1981): Self Help in the Inner City. London: Voluntary Services Council.
- KNIGHT, B. and HAYES, R. (1982): The Self Help Economy. London: Voluntary Services Council.
- KROLL, L. (1982): 'Alencon: The Impossible Rehabilitation of Perseigne'. Architectural Association Quarterly, Vol.13, No.4.
- LAMBERT, J. (1978): Political Values and Community Work Practice in CURNO, P. (ed) 1978.
- LAMBERT, J., PARIS, C. and BLACKABY, B. (1978): Housing Policy and the State. London: Macmillan.
- LAWLESS, P. (1979): Urban Deprivation and Government Initiative. London: Faber and Faber.
- LAWLESS, P. (1977): 'HAAS: Powerful attack or financial fiasco?' The Planner, March 1977, pp.39-42.
- LAWRENCE, R. (1980): 'The Simulation of Domestic Space: Users and Architects Participating in the Architectural Design Process'. Simulation and Games, Vol.11, No.3, pp.279-300.
- LAWRENCE, R. (1983): 'Voluntary Action: A Stalking House for the Right'. Critical Social Policy, Vol.2, No.3, Spring, pp.14-30.
- LAWSON, B. (1980): How Designers Think. London: Architectural Press.
- LEAT, D., SMOLKA and UNELL, J. (1981): Voluntary and Statutory Collaboration. London: Bedford Square Press.
- LEEDY, P.D. (1980): Practical Research - Planning and Design. New York: Macmillan.
- LIPMAN, A. (1969): 'The Architectural Belief System and Social Behavior'. British Journal of Sociology. Vol.20, 1969, pp.190-204.
- LONDON EDINBURGH WEEKEND RETURN GROUP (1980): In and Against the State. London: Pluto Press.
- LONEY, M. (1984): Community Against Government: The British Community Development Project 1965-78. London: Heinemann.
- LOW, J. and RAVETZ, A. (1980): 'PSSHAK - 18 months on'. Architects' Journal, 27.2.80, pp.425-439.
- LUBBOCK, J. (1983): 'Housing for Need.' New Statesman, 14.10.83, pp.27-28.
- MACDONALD, A. (1984): The Weller Way. Unpublished draft.
- MACDONALD, R. (1983): A Study Inside the English Working Class House 1913-1979. PhD Thesis, Liverpool University.
- MACEWEN, M. (1971): 'On the Professional Dilemma'. RIBA Journal, May 1971, pp.188-193.

- MACEWEN, M. (1974): Crisis in Architecture. London: RIBA Publications.
- McKEAN, J.M. (1976): 'From Redevelopment to Rehabilitation'. Architectural Design, 3/76, pp.138-141.
- MACKINDER, M. and MARVIN, H. (1982): Design Decision-Making in Architectural Practice. BRE Information Paper IP 11/82, July. Garston: Building Research Establishment.
- MACMILLAN, A. (1971): 'Architects are also People'. RIBA Journal, Vo..78, 1971, pp.450-1.
- MCROBIE, G. (1981): Small Is Possible. London: Harper and Row.
- MAGUIRE, R. (1971): 'Architects' Approach to Architecture: Nearness to Need'. RIBA Journal, Vol.78, 1971, pp.140-8.
- MALPASS, P. (1979): 'A Reappraisal of Byker, Magic Myth and the Architect'. Architects' Journal, Part 1, 9.5.77, pp.961-969, Part 2, 16.5.77, pp.1011-1021.
- MAMALIS, M. (1983): 'Housing the Co-op Way'. Architectural Psychology Newsletter. Vol.XIII, Nos. 2 and 3, pp.22-26.
- MANCHESTER AND SALFORD HOUSING ACTION (1975): 'Lower Broughton Tenants Victory and Council Deceit'. MASHA Newsletter. No.2, Feb. 1975.
- MANSER, J. (1983): 'Raising the Roof', Lea View Flats, Hackney. The Guardian, 30.11.83.
- MARKUS, T.A. (1979): Building Conversion and Rehabilitation. London: Newnes Butterworth.
- MARKUS, T.A. (1984): 'Celebration of a Conspiracy'. Strathclyde University, unpublished mimeo.
- MARMOT, A.F. (1982): 'Flats Fit for Families: An Evaluation of Post Occupancy Evaluation'. Design Studies, Vol.4, No.2, April 1983.
- MARTIN, B. (1983): 'Architecture as the Art of Construction'. Architects' Journal, 16.3.83.
- MASON, T. (1977): Community Action and the Local Authority, Urban Change and Conflict. York 1977, C.E.S.
- MATTHEWS, A. (1981): Management Co-operatives: The Early Stages. London: HMSO.
- MAYO, M. (1982): 'Community Action Programmes in the Early Eighties - What Future?'. Critical Social Policy, Vol.1, No.3, Spring 1982, pp.5-18.
- MELLING, J. (1984): Rent Strikes. People Struggle for Housing in West Scotland 1890-1916. Edinburgh: Polygon Books.
- MENZIES, W. (1978): 'A Fairy Tale of Our Times'. Urban Design Forum, No.1, pp.53-56.

- MERRET, S. (1976): 'Gentrification' in Housing and Class in Britain. Conference of Socialist Economists, Political Economy of Housing Workshop.
- MERRET, S. (1979): State Housing in Britain. London: RKP.
- MINISTRY OF HOUSING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT (1968): Old Houses into New Homes, H.M.S.O.
- MOORHOUSE, B., WILSON, M. and CHAMBERLAIN, C. (1972): Rent Strikes - Direct Action and the Working Class in MILIBAND, R. and SAVILE, J. (eds.). The Socialist Register. London: Merlin Press.
- MOUGHTIN, C. and BONE, D. (1981): The Building of a Community. Unpublished Report, Newark Nottingham.
- NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE CARE AND RESETTLEMENT OF OFFENDERS (NACRO) (1974): Architecture, Planning and Urban Crime. Proceedings of a Day Conference, December 6, 1974.
- NACRO (1975): Housing Management and the Prevention of Crime. Proceedings of a Day Conference, March 4, 1975.
- NATIONAL BUILDING AGENCY (1975): Self Build: A Manual for Self Build Housing Associations. London: National Building Agency.
- NATIONAL CONSUMER COUNCIL (1976): Tenancy Agreements: Discussion Paper. London: N.C.C.
- NATIONAL FEDERATION OF HOUSING CO-OPERATIVES (1984): 'Co-ops are Best'. National Federation of Housing Co-operatives Newsletter. Issue No.6, February 1984.
- NEEDLEMAN, L. (1969): The Comparative Economics of Improvement and New Building. Urban Studies, Vol.6, No.2, pp.196-209.
- NEIGHBOURHOOD HOUSING SERVICES (1974): Application for Financial Assistance to Shelter for Neighbourhood Housing Services. Unpublished Mimeo.
- NEWMAN, O. (1972): Defensible Space: People and Design in the Violent City. London: Architectural Press.
- NEWMAN, O. (1981): Community of Interest. New York: Anchor Books.
- NEWMAN, R. (1975): 'Study and Research - A Systematic Approach.' Oxford Polytechnic, Department of Architecture.
- NICHOLSON, S. (1973): Community Participation on City Decision Making. Milton Keynes Open University.
- NOBLE, J. (1973): 'Contingency Housing'. Architects' Journal, 24.10.73, pp.976-1000.
- NORMAN, P. (1975): Managerialism: review of recent work, in C.E.S. (1975), pp.62-86.

- OLIVEGREN ARKITEKTKONTOR AB (No Date): Klostermuren - Participatory Design Method. Hisingen - Goteborg - Sweden.
- OLIVEGREN, J. (1984): How a Little Community is Born, in HATCH, C.R. (ed) 1984.
- O'MALLEY (1977): The Politics of Community Action. Nottingham: Spokesman Books.
- PAHL, R. (1970): Patterns of Urban Life. London: Longmans.
- PALMER, J. (1973): 'Public Participation and Planners' Blight'. Journal of the Royal Town Planning Institute. Vol.59, No.2, February, pp.87-88.
- PARIS, C. (1982): Critical Readings in Planning Theory. London: Pergamon Press.
- PEBODY, G. (1978): 'Private Practice on the Public Purse?'. SLATE, Issue No.10/11, pp.23-25.
- PHILLIPS, M. (1977): Homelessness and Tenants' Control, Struggles for Council Housing in Tower Hamlets 1974-76. London: Dame Colet House.
- PHIPPEN, P. (1982): 'An Approach to Housing Design'. Architects' Journal, 24.11.82, pp.75-85.
- PLATT, S. (1980): A Decade of Squatting, Chapters 3-7 in WATES, N. and WOLMAR, C. Squatting the Real Story. London: Bay Leaf Books.
- PLUMB, C. (1978): 'Housing at Setchell Road'. Architects' Journal, 9.8.78, pp.251-265.
- POULANTZAS, N. (1973): Political Power and Social Classes. London: Sheed and Ward.
- POWER, A. (1977): 5 Years On: A Study of Holloway Tenant Co-operative. London: HTC.
- POWER, A. (1984): Local Housing Management: Priority Estates. Department of the Environment, H.M.S.O.
- PUBLIC DESIGN GROUP (1978): Community Architecture - A Public Design Service? New Architecture Movement, 29 Septeber, 1978. Mimeo.
- PYATOK, M. and WEBER, H. (1978): Participation in Residential Design. A Method for Generating Choice and its Ideological Implications in SANOFF, H. (ed) (1978).
- RABANEK, A. (1975): 'The New PSSHAK'. Architectural Design, 10.1975, pp.629-633.
- RADFORD, J. (1976): 'The Community Movement', in HAIN, P. (ed). Community Politics. London: John Calder.
- RAPOPORT, A. (1983): 'Studious Questions'. Architects' Journal, 26.10.83, pp.55-57.

- RAVETZ, A. (1974): Model Estate: Planned Housing at Quarry Hill, Leeds. London: Croom Helm.
- RAVETZ, A. (1980): Remaking Cities. London: Croom Helm.
- READE, E. (1976): 'Some Doubts about the Notion of Community Planning'. ZOO 11, Dept. of Town and Country Planning, Heriot Watt University.
- R.I.B.A. (1962): The Architecture and His Office. London: RIBA Publications.
- R.I.B.A. (1978): The Practice of Community Architecture, submitted by Membership and Public Affairs Executive Committee to RIBA Council, 17.3.78.
- R.I.B.A. (1983): Highfield Hall: A Community Project. London: RIBA Publications.
- RICHARDSON, A. (1973): The Participation of Council Tenants in Housing Management - some recent developments in London Boroughs. Housing Review, Jan-Feb 1973, 22(1), pp.16-18.
- RICHARDSON, A. (1979): 'Thinking about Participation'. Policy and Politics, July 1979, 7(2), pp.227-244.
- ROCK, D. (1979): The Grassroots Developers. A Handbook for Town Development Trusts. London: RIBA Publications.
- ROGERS, M. (1981): 'A Radical Architecture - Supports' Politics'. SLATE, No.17.
- ROSE, H. and HANMER, J. (1975): 'Community Participation and Social Change' in JONES, D. and MAYO, M (eds). Community Work 2. London: RKP.
- ROSE, H. and PUCKET, T. (1973): 'Blueprint for Bureaucrats'. RIBA Journal, June 1973, pp.277-281.
- RUDOLFSKY, B (1964): Architecture Without Architects. London: Academy Editions.
- SAINT, A. (1983): The Image of the Architect. NewHaven: Yale.
- SANOFF, H. (ed) (1978): Designing with Community Participation. Stroudsburg: Dowden, Hutchinson and Ross.
- SAYER, A. (1979): 'Understanding Urban Models or Understanding Cities'. Environment and Planning A, No.11, pp.853-862.
- SCHNETZER, V. and POHL, W. (1982): Architektur des Unfertigen. Die Arbeiten von Susanne Ussing and Carsten Hoff. Dusseldorf Archipol Verlag.
- SCHREURS, J., SMETS, M. and JANSSEN, L. (eds) (1980): Leuven Seminar on Participatory Design. Leuven ACCO.

- SCHUMACKER, E.F. (1974): The Idea of Neighbourhood. What Local Politics Should Be About. London: Pluto Press.
- SHAKESPEARE, P. (1982): Indicators of Professionalisation in Community Education. Dissertation, Dept. of Education Studies, University of Oxford.
- SHANKLAND COX (1982): Phased Improvement with Tenants in Residence - A Study of the Repair and Improvement of Older Houses. H.M.S.O.
- SHARPLES, S. (1979): The Politics of Design. Mimeo, University of Strathclyde.
- SHARRON, H. (1981): 'The Souring of Partnership - How Participation Turned to Conflict in Birmingham's Inner City'. Voluntary Action, Winter 1981, pp.18-19.
- SHIELD, R. (1982): 'Power to the People - Decentralisation and Socialism'. Chartist, No.91, June/August, pp.10-14.
- SHREEVE, J. (1969): '(Islington Break Up' in Solidarity South London, No.6, 21.9.69, pp.8-10.
- SIGSWORTH, E.M. and WILKINSON, R. (1967): 'Rebuilding or Renovation?' Urban Studies, Vol.4, No.2, pp. 109-121.
- SIMMONDS, R. (1980): Limitations in the Decision Strategies of Design Students. Design Studies, Vol.1, No.6, pp.358-364.
- SCOTTISH LOCAL AUTHORITIES SPECIAL HOUSING GROUP (1979): Public Involvement in Modernisation, Advisory Note 3. Edinburgh: S.L.A.S.H.
- SPENCE, J. and HEDGES, A. (1978): Community Planning Project - Cunningham Road Improvement Scheme. London: Social and Community Planning Research.
- SOCIAL SCIENCE BUILDINGS RESEARCH TEAM (1976): The Appraisal of Buildings. Mimeo, Oxford Polytechnic.
- STEAD, P. (1979): Self Build Housing Groups and Co-operatives - Ideas in Practice. London: Anglo German Foundation.
- STEEN, A.D. (1981): New Life for Old Cities. London: Aims of Industry.
- STONEHOUSE, R. (1983): 'Housing in the Humanist Tradition'. Architects' Journal, 9.2.83, pp.46-55.
- TAPNER, V. (1977): 'RIBA Looks to the Community for Some Inspiration'. Building Design, 18.2.77, p.2.
- TAYLOR, M. (1978): 'Can People Plan?' The Planner, November 1978.
- THORNLEY, M. (1976): 'Housing Rehabilitation'. Architects' Journal, 10.11.76, pp. 901-908, 8.12.76, pp. 1089-1100 and 9.2.77, pp.269-277.
- TURNER, B. (1983): A Methodology for Working with User Reference Groups. A.H.A.S., 5 Dryden Street, London WC2. Mimeo.
- TURNER, J.F.C. and FICHTER, R. (eds) (1972): Freedom to Build. New York: Macmillan.

- TURNER, J.F.C. (1976): Housing By People. London: Marian Boyars.
- VOLUNTARY ACTION (1980): 'Liverpool's Community Architects'. Voluntary Action, No.2, Sprint 1980, Pp.22-23.
- WARD, C. (1968): 'Tenants Take Over - A New Strategy for Council Tenants'. Anarchy 83, Vol.8, No.1, Jan. 1968, pp.1-19.
- WARD, C. (1974): Tenants Take Over. London: Architectural Press.
- WARD, C. (1978): 'Accidental Heroes'. New Society, 18.5.78.
- WARD, C. (1983): Housing an Anarchist Approach. London: Freedom Press.
- WARD, P.M. (ed) (1982): Self Help Housing - A Critique. London: Mansell Publishing.
- WATES, N. (1976): The Battle for Tolmers Square. London: RKP.
- WATES, N. (1982): 'The Liverpool Breakthrough or Public Sector Housing Phase 2'. Architects' Journal, 8.9.82, pp.51-58.
- WATES, N. (1983): 'ACTAC in Action'. Architects' Journal, 12.10.83, pp.57-63.
- WATES, N. (1984): 'Princely Boost for Peoples' Architects'. The Guardian, 2.7.84.
- WATES, N. (1984): 'Expanding Plans for Community Architecture Role'. Building Design, 5.10.84, p.4.
- WATTS, J. and HIRST, M. (1982): 'User Participation in the Early Stages of Building Design'. Design, Vol.3, No.1, Jan. 1982, pp.111-18.
- WEBB, S. (1969): 'In Need of Support'. Architectural Design, August.
- WEIR, S. (1976): 'Tenants Take Over - Reality or Myth'. Roof, March 1976, pp.54-57.
- WEITZEL, A. (1980): 'The Haringey Experiment on the Structure and Management of the Architects' Service'. S.C.A.L.A.
- WILLIAMS, G. (1983): Inner City Policy - A Partnership with the Voluntary Sector. National Council of Voluntary Organisations, Occasional Paper 3. London: Bedford Square Press.
- WILLIAMS, R. (1981): Culture. London: Fontana.
- WILLMOTT, P. and YOUNG, M. (1957): Family and Kinship in East London. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- WOOLLEY, T. (1971): 'The Social Conscience of Architecture'. New Edinburgh Review No. 11.
- WOOLLEY, T. (1975): 'After the Bulldozers - What Next?'. Architectural Design, 7/75, pp.441-2.

- WOOLLEY, T. (1977): 'Designing with Tenants'. Architects' Journal, 19.10.77, pp. 759-760.
- WOOLLEY, T. (1977): 'Alternative Practice'. Architects' Journal, 19.10.77, pp.735-744.
- WOOLLEY, T. (1982): 'Prefab Pioneers'. Architects' Journal, 10.82.
- WOOLLEY, T. (1982): 'Where Will the Money Come From?'. Architects' Journal, 7.7.82, pp.74-76.
- WORPOLE, K. (1982): 'Who's in the Community?'. City Limits, 12-18 March 1982, p.51.
- WORTHINGTON, J. (1984): 'Architecture Enhanced by Process'. Architects' Journal, 4.1.84, pp.49-51.
- YOUNG, R. (1971): Tenement Improvement Project. University of Strathclyde and New Govan Society Glasgow, 8.2.71.
- YOUNG, T. (1984): Community Technical Aid. London: Voluntary Service Council.

APPENDIX I

The Housing Appraisal Kit 'Your Home'
Questionnaire as Used in this Study

Pages 279 to 294 are copies of the questionnaire which was distributed to all households in the three Case Studies, accompanied by a letter from the secretary of each co-operative asking tenants to fill it in. This questionnaire is identical to that used by the D.O.E. with the addition of Question 24A.

FOR OFFICE USE

DOC

--	--	--

USE

--	--	--	--	--

EST

--	--	--

ADD

--	--	--

COL

your home

TOM WOOLLEY , A RESEARCH STUDENT AND
THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE , OXFORD POLYTECHNIC

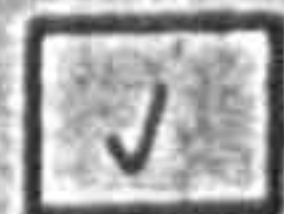
want to find out the things you like or dislike about your home and its surroundings. This is to help us to improve the design of future homes.

Please help by answering the questions on the following pages. Someone will call to collect the questionnaire in a few days. The same person will be able to help you with any questions which were unclear, and will ask a few extra ones.

Your help will be greatly appreciated.

THIS SHOULD BE FILLED IN BY THE HOUSEWIFE, OR BY THE PERSON WHO DOES THE HOUSEKEEPING

PLEASE USE TICKS



This survey is being carried out with the approval of the Co-operative

1. Could you begin by writing down in this space
the main things you dislike about this house or flat

write NONE if there is nothing you dislike

Now write down in this space
the main things you like about this house or flat

write NONE if there is nothing you like

2. Do you have
enough room indoors generally?

Tick a box: YES NO

Do you have enough room in the following places

Tick ONE box for EACH PLACE

In the –	YES	NO	DOESN'T APPLY TO ME
Living room	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Kitchen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Dining room	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bedsitting room	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Largest bedroom	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2nd bedroom	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3rd bedroom	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4th bedroom	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bathroom	<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"/>
On the landing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Tick ONE box for EACH PLACE

3. Do you have enough room

For --	YES	NO	DOESN'T APPLY TO ME
Doing washing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Drying washing at home	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Getting meals ready	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Eating in the kitchen when you want to	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Everyone sitting down to eat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Everyone just sitting to read or watch TV	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Entertaining friends and relatives	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Doing hobbies	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Children doing homework	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Children playing indoors	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Tick ONE box for EACH ITEM

Is there anything else you don't have enough room to do?

If nothing else, write NO

4. Do you have problems arranging furniture or equipment?

Tick a box: YES NO

IF YES

write in these larger boxes

The names of UP TO three main places where arranging furniture or equipment is a problem --

	<i>name of room:</i>	<i>name of room:</i>	<i>name of room:</i>
Now <i>tick the small boxes</i> to show the reasons why:			
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	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<i>write down</i>	<i>write down</i>	<i>write down</i>

Tick more than one box if you want to

5. Do you think that any rooms in your house or flat are in the wrong place?

Tick a box:

YES

NO

If YES: tick to show which rooms they are

Why is this?

Living room

.....

Kitchen

.....

Dining room

.....

The largest bedroom

.....

The 2nd bedroom

.....

The 3rd bedroom

.....

The 4th bedroom

.....

The bathroom

.....

The separate w.c.

.....

Storage spaces

.....

Tick more than one box if you want to

Do you have any other comments about the way your house or flat is arranged?

write NONE if you don't have any comments

6. 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.

7. THIS QUESTION IS FOR PEOPLE WHO HAVE THEIR OWN GARDEN OR BALCONY

Tick the boxes to show what you feel about it

	YES	NO	DOESN'T APPLY TO ME
Is it important to you to have a garden or balcony?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Are you satisfied with your garden or balcony?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
If you have a balcony: do you wish you had a garden instead?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If you have a garden: do you wish you had a balcony instead?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Is your garden or balcony big enough?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Is it safe enough for children?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Do you have enough privacy in your garden or balcony from people passing by?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Do you have enough privacy in your garden or balcony from people in other homes?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

Do you have any other comments about your garden or balcony?

Please write down in this space:

write NONE if you do not have any comments

8. THIS QUESTION IS FOR PEOPLE WHO DO NOT HAVE THEIR OWN GARDEN OR BALCONY

	YES	NO
Do you wish you had one?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If YES: which would be your ideal choice:

A garden?

Tick ONE box

A balcony?

9. EVERYONE SHOULD ANSWER THIS:

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 other homes
- Another reason *write in below*
-
-
-

10. When you are indoors, do you feel too cut off from other people?

Tick a box: YES NO

11. Do you have any problems getting to your front door from the street?

Tick a box: YES NO

If YES: tick to show what problems you have:

Too many stairs or steps

There are steep slopes to walk up

I have to go a long way round
to reach my door

*Tick more than
one box if you
want to*

Other problems
write down

.....
.....
.....

12. When you have visitors, how do you feel about the appearance of the approach to your house or 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?

13. What do you think of the outlook from your kitchen?

Tick a box to show what you think:

Tick ONE box

- Like it very much
- Like it
- Neither like it nor dislike it
- Dislike it
- Dislike it very much

Why do you feel this way?

What do you think of the outlook from your living room?

Tick a box to show what you think:

Tick ONE box

- Like it very much
- Like it
- Neither like it nor dislike it
- Dislike it
- Dislike it very much

Why do you feel this way?

14. 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 LITTLE VERY MUCH

Children and teenagers outside

Where are they when they bother you?

.....

Other people outside

What *sort* of noise, and *where* from?

.....

People in your own home

What sort of noise is this?

.....

People in other homes

What *sort* of noise, and *where* from?

.....

Traffic

Where does this noise come 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

15. Are you satisfied with the heating provided with your home?

Tick a box: YES NO

If NO: please write down your reasons in this space

ONE LAST QUESTION
ABOUT YOUR HOUSE OR FLAT

16. How would you sum up your feelings about your house or flat?

Tick ONE box to show how you feel:

- Tick ONE box
- Very satisfied
 - Satisfied
 - Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
 - Dissatisfied
 - Very dissatisfied

NOW THERE ARE SOME
QUESTIONS ABOUT THE
ESTATE OUTSIDE –
PLEASE TURN OVER

17. First write down in this space
the main things you dislike about the estate 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 estate your home is in:

write NONE if there is nothing you like

18. How do you feel about the appearance of this estate?

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?

19. **EVERYONE SHOULD ANSWER THIS QUESTION
WHETHER OR NOT THEY HAVE CHILDREN OF THEIR OWN**

Do you find children's play around here a problem? YES NO

Whether you answered YES or NO,
Tick the boxes to show particular problems, if any

	CHILDREN UNDER 5	OLDER CHILDREN
Children play too close to my home	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Children are too noisy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Children cause damage on the estate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There are too many children on the estate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There are too many restrictions on play	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Neighbours complain when my children play	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There is not enough play space on the estate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There is not enough play equipment on the estate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Children cannot be let out alone	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Difficult to keep children in sight	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There is no supervised play, or not enough	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The play areas are not safe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Children are not safe from traffic on the estate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Children are not safe from traffic on roads outside estate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other problems with children under 5	<input type="checkbox"/>	

Type of problem:

.....

Other problems with older children

Type of problem:

.....

20. Does anyone in your household usually park a car or van on or near the estate?

Tick a box: YES NO

If YES: where is it usually parked overnight?

In a lock up garage:

- attached to my home
- on the estate in an open garage yard
- on the estate in an undercover garage area
- off the estate

In a parking space:

- attached to my home
- in an open parking area on the estate
- in an undercover parking area on the estate, not locked up

Tick ONE box

On a road:

- on an estate road
- on a road off the estate

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 car-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	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

.....

21. EVERYONE SHOULD ANSWER THIS QUESTION – whether or not they own a car

Does traffic or parking on the estate cause any problems?

write NONE if there are no problems

22. Thinking about some services and facilities on this estate, tick to show what you feel about them:

	SATISFIED	DISSATISFIED	
The cleanliness of the estate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
			If dissatisfied, why? <i>write down</i>
		
Getting repairs done	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
			If dissatisfied, why? <i>write down</i>
		
Getting complaints attended to	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
			If dissatisfied, why? <i>write down</i>
		
Getting rid of everyday rubbish	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
			If dissatisfied, why? <i>write down</i>
		
The provisions for washing and drying clothes (if any)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
			If dissatisfied, why? <i>write down</i>
		

ONE LAST QUESTION ABOUT THE ESTATE OUTSIDE

23. How would you sum up your feelings about the estate outside your home?

Tick ONE box

<input type="checkbox"/>	Very satisfied
<input type="checkbox"/>	Satisfied
<input type="checkbox"/>	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
<input type="checkbox"/>	Dissatisfied
<input type="checkbox"/>	Very dissatisfied

NOW THERE ARE SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT WHERE YOU LIVE GENERALLY – PLEASE TURN OVER

24. 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:

	<i>Tick if INCONVENIENT</i>	<i>Write in THE REASONS below</i>
For getting to –		
local shops	<input type="checkbox"/>
nearest main shopping centre	<input type="checkbox"/>
chemist shop	<input type="checkbox"/>
Post Office	<input type="checkbox"/>
clinics	<input type="checkbox"/>
a doctor	<input type="checkbox"/>
launderette	<input type="checkbox"/>
public house	<input type="checkbox"/>
For –		
primary schools	<input type="checkbox"/>
parks	<input type="checkbox"/>
public telephones	<input type="checkbox"/>
public transport	<input type="checkbox"/>
For getting to –		
work	<input type="checkbox"/>
friends and relatives	<input type="checkbox"/>
entertainment	<input type="checkbox"/>
For getting to other places	<input type="checkbox"/>
what places are these? <i>write down</i>	
	

24A Did you know that some of the original tenant members of the co-operative were involved in planning the estate and designing the houses ?

YES

NO

Does this make any difference to your feelings about the estate and your house ?

YES

NO

Why do you feel this way ?

25. How do you feel about the area outside the estate?

Tick a box to show how you feel:

Tick ONE box

- Like it very much
- Like it
- Neither like it nor dislike it
- Dislike it
- Dislike it very much

Why do you feel this way?

26. Is there anything else important you want to say that you haven't had a chance to say so far?

Write down whatever you feel

Continue on the back of this page if you want to

ONE LAST QUESTION

27. Finally, taking everything into account – your home, the estate, and the area it is in – how would you sum up your feelings about living here generally?

Tick ONE box

- Very satisfied
- Satisfied
- Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
- Dissatisfied
- Very dissatisfied

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR ANSWERING THESE QUESTIONS:

SOMEONE WILL CALL TO COLLECT THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IN A FEW DAYS, AND WILL HELP YOU WITH ANY QUESTIONS WHICH WERE UNCLEAR.

APPENDIX II

SCHEDULE OF QUESTIONS USED IN INTERVIEWS WITH CO-OPERATIVE MEMBERS

1. Firstly I would like you to tell me how you first got involved with the co-operative and what hopes and expectations you had about the project at the beginning?

(PROMPT LIST)

Why did you join?
When did you join?
Where did you live before?
Did you have any previous knowledge or experience of co-operatives?
housing development?
tenant organising?
When you joined did you have any idea of what it was going to involve?
Would you still have joined if you'd known how much work it would involve?
What did you hope the project would be like as a place to live?

2. Next I would like you to tell me how much you felt you understood the process of designing the houses and estate? Can you tell me what went on?

(PROMPT LIST)

Did the architect explain the different stages of the process - or did you become aware of these i.e. preparing a brief?
outline design?
detail design?
specification?
How easy was it to understand what had to be decided?
Which was hardest and easiest?
Which of the following were used in meetings and were most useful?
slide shows?
visits to other schemes?
models?
freehand sketches?
formal drawings?
check lists?
others?
How much were you able to choose between options at different stages of the process?
Did you understand what the implications of these options would be in terms of
cost?
future maintenance?
appearance?
function?

Was there anything the architect didn't tell you about that turned out to be important later?
Were there things which were left to the architect to decide?
Were you happy with this?
Was there anything that surprised you when you saw the houses completed that you hadn't expected from earlier participation?
What things in the design were most important to you, were they included to your satisfaction?

3. Now I would like you to tell me your views about the architect(s) and other professionals who were involved with the project?

A. (PROMPT LIST)

Do you remember the names of the architect(s) involved with the scheme?
How was the architect chosen?
What sort of skills and abilities do you think an architect needs to work with housing co-operatives?
Do you think the architect had too much say in the design?
How would you describe the relationship with the architect?
Did you think of the architect as being on your side or as a distant official?

B. Now about other professionals and officials

Can you say who were the other people who had an influence on the design of the estate and the houses?
Interviewees were asked if they had any contact with the following:
LA Planners?
LA in general?
LA Housing Department?
Development Agents?
Housing Corporation?
DOE?
Community Worker?
Others?
Did you meet any outside official at any point?
Were they sympathetic, helpful or obstructive to the idea of tenant management?

4. Finally I would like you to say what effect, involving tenants in design had on the scheme and the co-operative?

(PROMPT LIST)

Do you think it is different from other recently built council estates?
Do you think tenant participation made a difference to this?
What features of the houses and estate would you say are definitely a result of tenant involvement?
Would you say there is a stronger sense of community here than elsewhere?
Is this a result of
(a) the design/layout?
(b) having been involved in design?
(c) because the estate is tenant managed?
Was tenant participation in design essential to the success of the co-op?
What have you got out of it apart from a new house?

APPENDIX III

List of 42 Estates in D.O.E. H.A.K. Survey

Town in Which Estate Located	Type of Estate LA or BI	Number of Dwellings	Type of Location	Density bs/ha
Birmingham	BI	24 Flats	Suburb	172
Pembrokeshire	BI	15 Houses	Village	123
Bristol	LA	71 Houses	Suburb	107
Devon	LA	44 Houses	Village	137
Notts	BI	32 Houses	Suburb	126
Lewisham	BI	48 Flats	Suburb	N/A
Birmingham	LA	120 Mixed	Suburb	135
Cwmbran	LA	163 Houses	New Town	170
Nottingham	BI	27 Houses	Inner City	152
Staffs	LA	67 Houses	Rural	152
Staffs	LA	28 Houses	LA Estate	184
Devon	LA	24 Houses	Rural	131
Mid Glamorgan	LA	57 Flats	Suburban	150
Southport	BI	203 Houses	Suburban	77
Basildon	LA	119 Mixed	New Town	164
Edmonton	LA	46 Houses	Urban LA Estate	235
Sheffield	BI	60 Houses	Interwar LA Est	86
Sheffield	BI	90 Houses	Edge of City	N/A
Durham	LA	35 Houses	Inner City	215
Cambridge	LA	278 Houses	Suburb	154
Hounslow	LA	176 Houses	Suburb	220
Runcorn	LA	107 Flats	New Town	207
Suffolk	BI	32 Houses	Rural	74
Kent	BI	15 Houses	Rural	N/A
Glamorgan	BI	400 Houses	Suburb	113
Liverpool	LA	127 Mixed	Inner City	201
Swinton	LA	129 Houses	New Town	188
Hull	LA	215 Mixed	LA Estate	148
Bromley	LA	19 Houses	Inner City	169
Lewisham	LA	21 Houses	LA Estate	166
Nuneaton	BI	31 Houses	Suburb	199
Essex	BI	90 Houses	Rural	N/A
Widnes	LA	189 Houses	Renewal area	138
Yorkshire	LA	30 Houses	Rural	137
Haringey	LA	20 Houses	Inner City	233
Swindon	BI	56 Houses	New Town	102
Notts	LA	73 Houses	Suburban	217
Wandsworth	LA	131 Mixed	Inner City	214
Burton on Trent	LA	34 Mixed	Mining Village	132
Swindon	BI	42 Houses	New Town	104
Manchester	LA	268 Houses	Inner City	202
St. Asaph	LA	31 Houses	Suburban	178

Distribution of Estates by Size

0-50 Dwellings	20
50-100 Dwellings	8
100-200 Dwellings	9
Over 200 Dwellings	5
	<u>42</u>

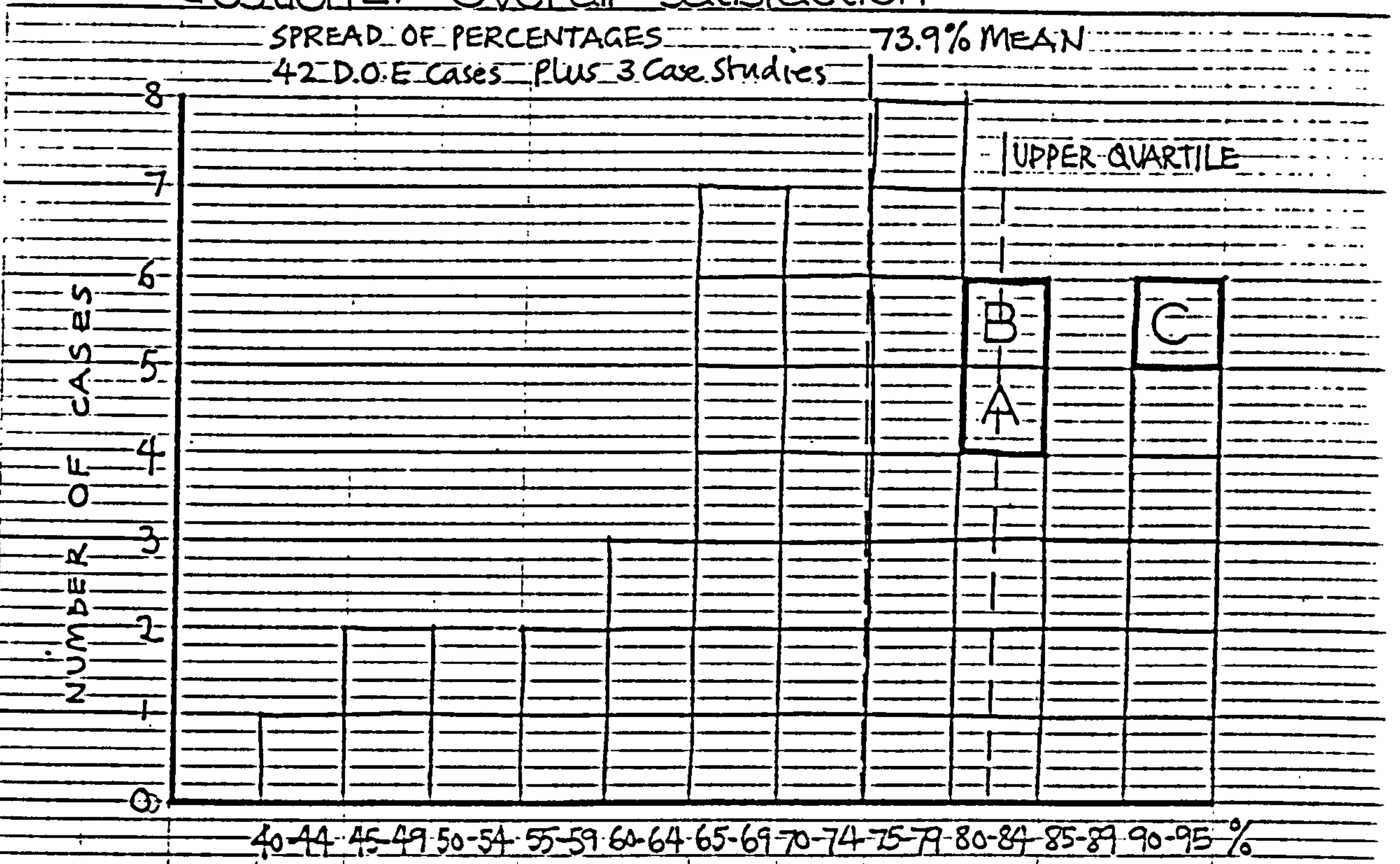
(LA = Local Authority, BI = Bought In).

APPENDIX IV

Further Graphical Analysis of the Relationship of Percentages Between the Three Case Studies and Forty-two D.O.E. Schemes

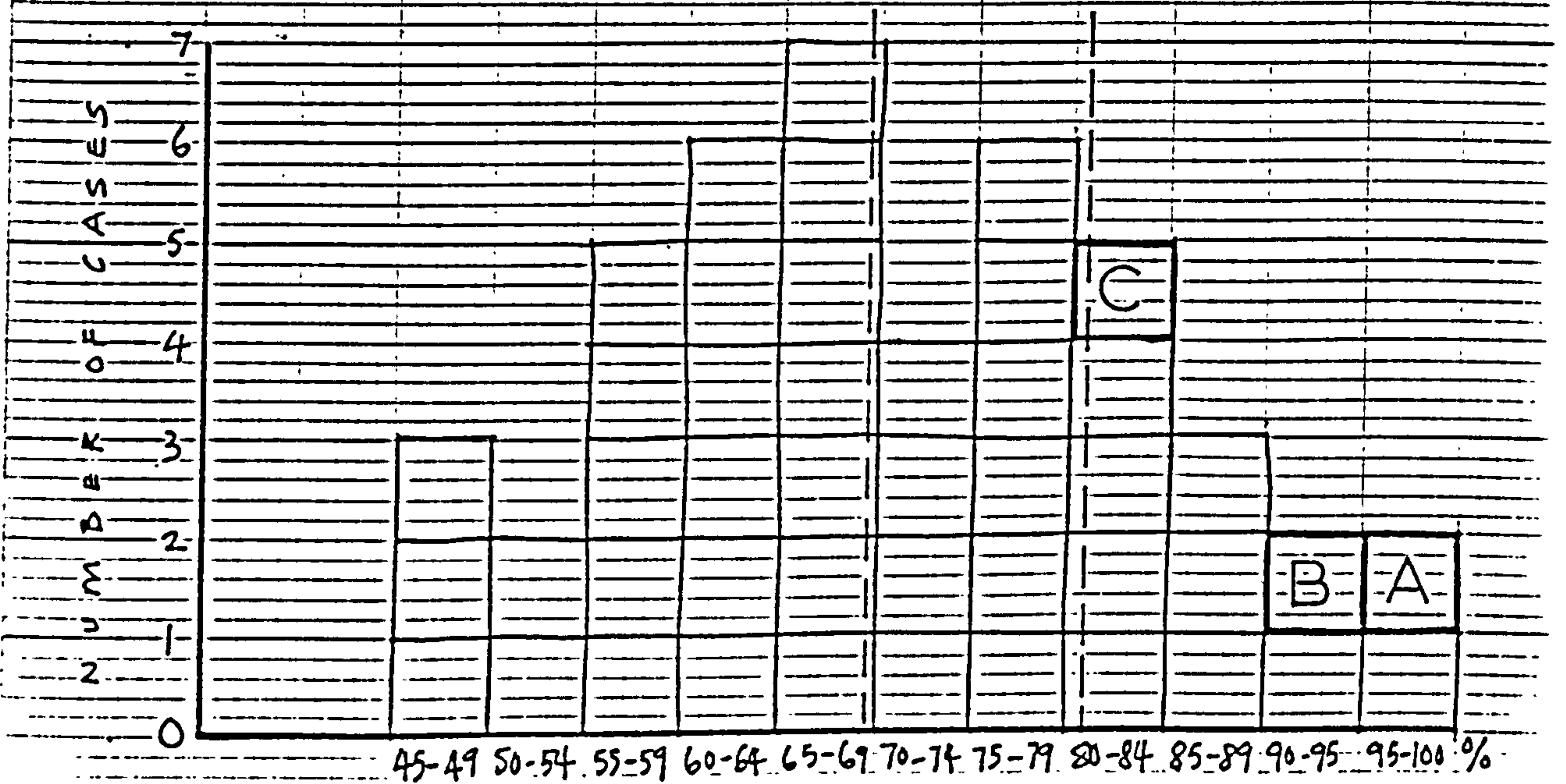
The following four figures present the same data as that shown in Figures 2,3,4 and 5 on pages 127-130 inc., the 'League Table Comparisons.' These figures, for Questions 27, 16, 23 and 18 show the distribution of the levels of satisfaction over all forty-five cases, the forty-two D.O.E. schemes and the three Case Studies. These show that in Questions 27 and 16 the three Case Studies are in, or nearly in, the upper quartile but on Questions 23 and 18, only Case C comes in the upper quartile, emphasising greater dissatisfaction with the estate in Cases A and B.

Question 27 Overall satisfaction



PERCENTAGE OF TENANTS SATISFIED AND HIGHLY SATISFIED

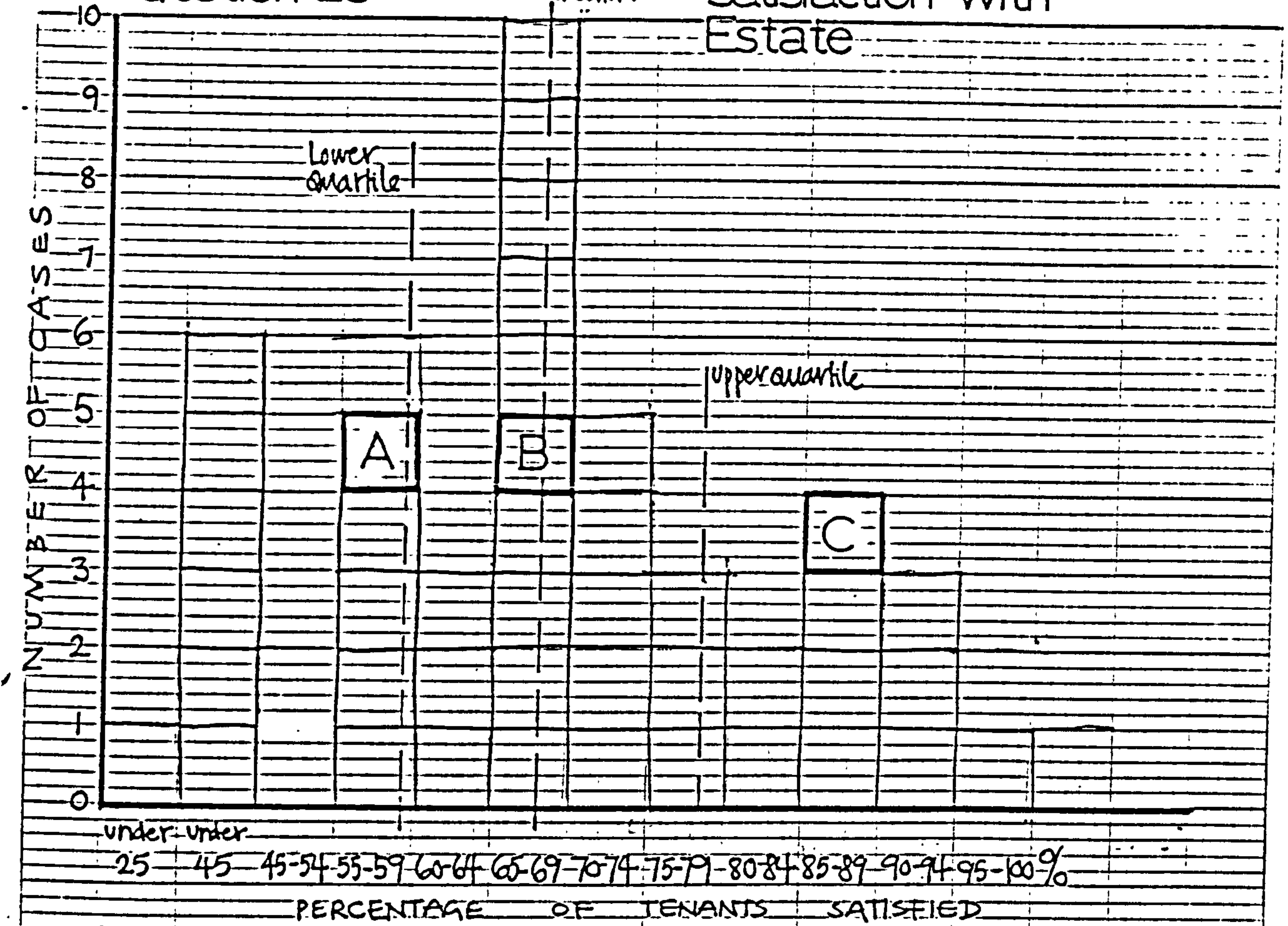
QUESTION 16 Dwelling satisfaction



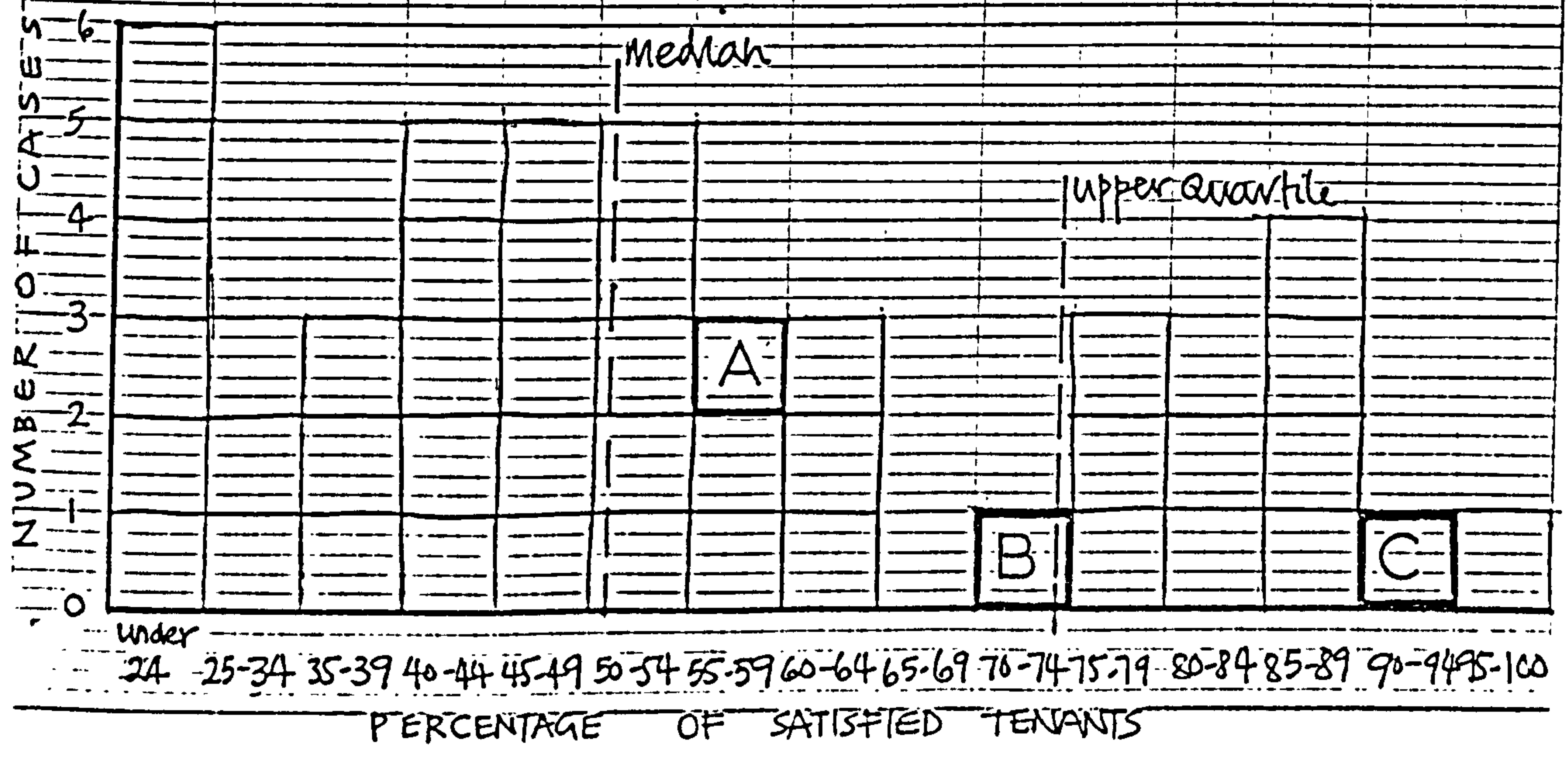
PERCENTAGE OF TENANTS SATISFIED

Question 23

Satisfaction with Estate



Question 18 - Satisfaction with Estate Appearance



APPENDIX V

Chi-Square Test Results

The CHI-SQUARE Test is 'one of the most widely used tests in social statistics.' (1) It is used to examine the statistical significance of statistical results where there are more than two categories of data. By applying the formula:

$$x^2 = \frac{(\text{observed value} - \text{expected value})^2}{\text{expected value}}$$

and checking the results against published tables, it is possible to say that a real difference between particular phenomena exists and that it will reappear in other similar samples. In this case, the data for the three Case Studies was compared with that for the D.O.E. data for the ten selected examples and the forty-two cases.

The following results for the Chi-Square test were calculated.

Question 27 Overall Satisfaction

Three Case Studies - v - Ten D.O.E. Cases.
CHI-SQUARE = 35.33.

Three Case Studies - v - Forty-two D.O.E. Cases.
CHI-SQUARE = 25.33.

Question 16 Dwelling Satisfaction

Three Case Studies - v - Ten D.O.E. Cases.
CHI-SQUARE = 89.99.

Three Case Studies - v - Forty-two D.O.E. Cases.
CHI-SQUARE = 90.47.

Question 23 Estate Satisfaction

Three Case Studies - v - Ten D.O.E. Cases.
CHI-SQUARE = 17.08.

Three Case Studies - v - Forty-two D.O.E. Cases.
CHI-SQUARE = 14.14.

Question 18 Estate Appearance Satisfaction

Three Case Studies - v - Ten D.O.E. Cases.
CHI-SQUARE = 102.18.

Three Case Studies - v - Forty-two D.O.E. Cases.
CHI-SQUARE = 96.08.

Where the CHI-SQUARE value is 9.488 or more, this means a significant difference between the Case Study data and the D.O.E. data at the 5% level. Where the CHI-SQUARE value is 13.277 or more, it is significant at the 1% level.

Thus the data for all four questions is significant at the 1% level.

Comparison of Participants and Non-Participants in Cases A and B

The CHI-SQUARE TEST was applied to all the questions and the responses of participants and non-participants were compared.

However, because of the small numbers involved the degree of difference was too small in each case to be significant.

(1) Rowntree (1982): Statistics Without Tears. Harmondsworth: Pelican, pp.150-154.

APPENDIX VI

Graphical Comparison of the Three Case Studies
With Ten D.O.E. Schemes

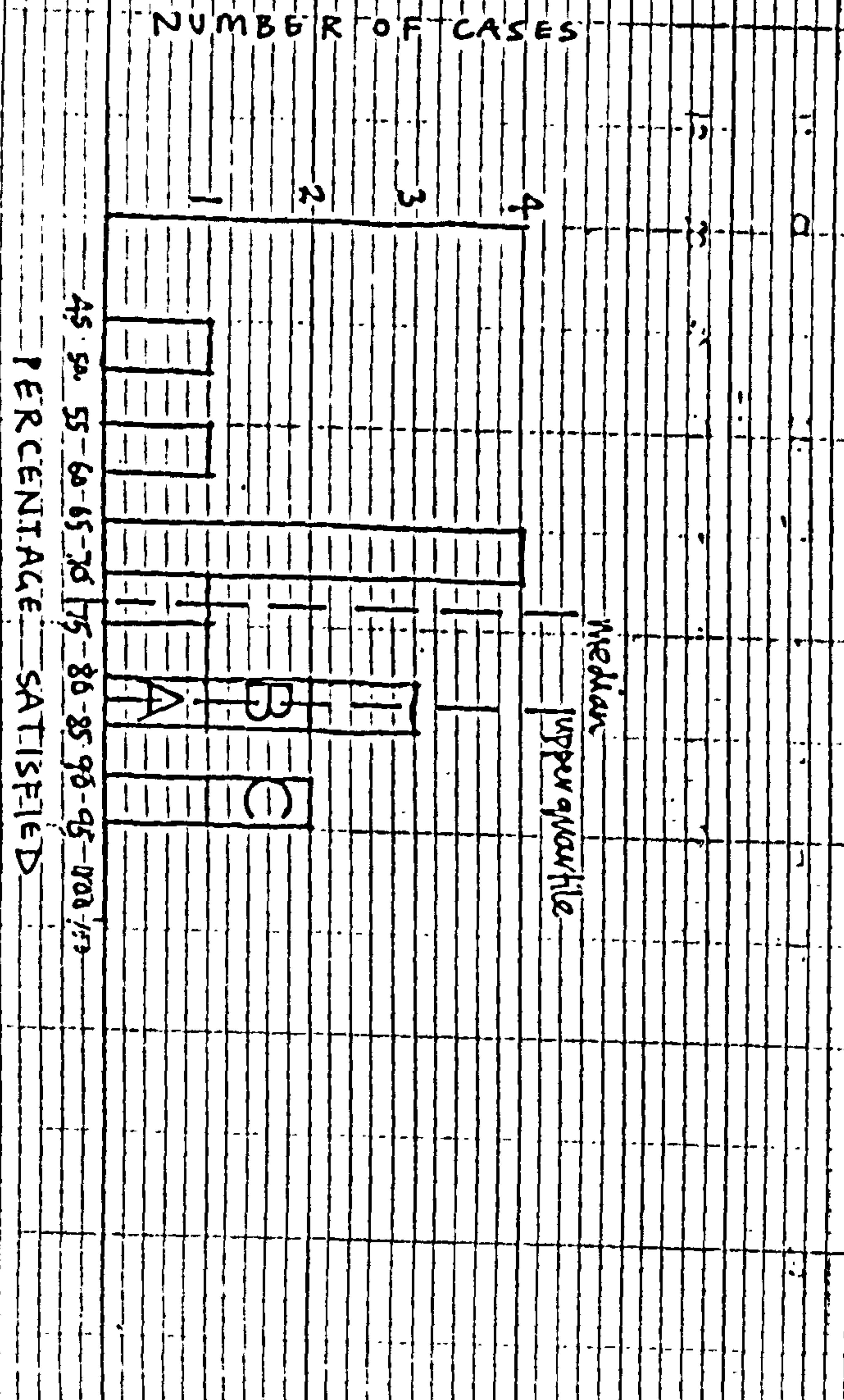
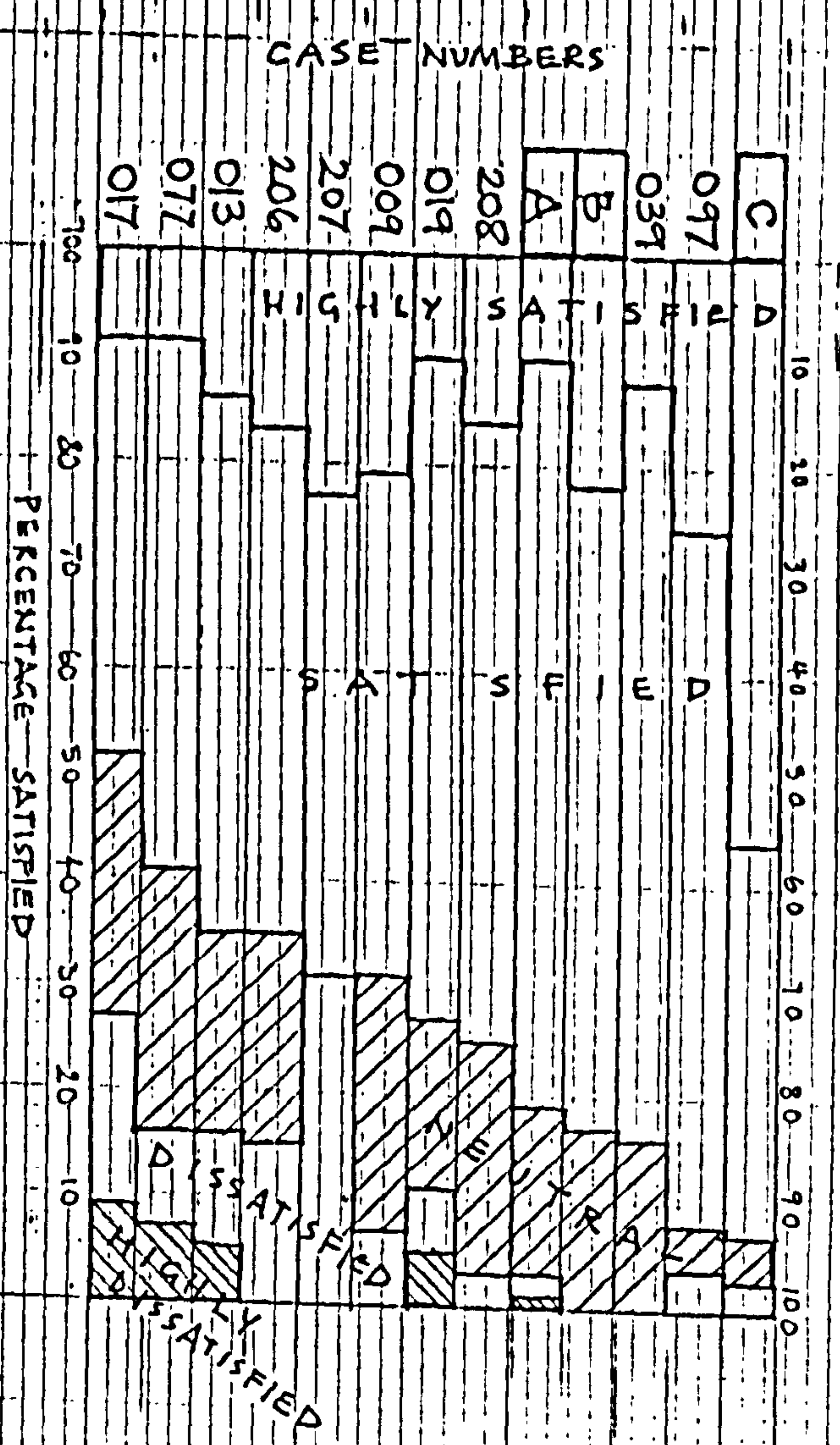
Ten D.O.E. schemes were selected from the forty-two on the following criteria:

- medium to high density;
- built in two-storey terraced form;
- located in inner city areas or poorer areas.

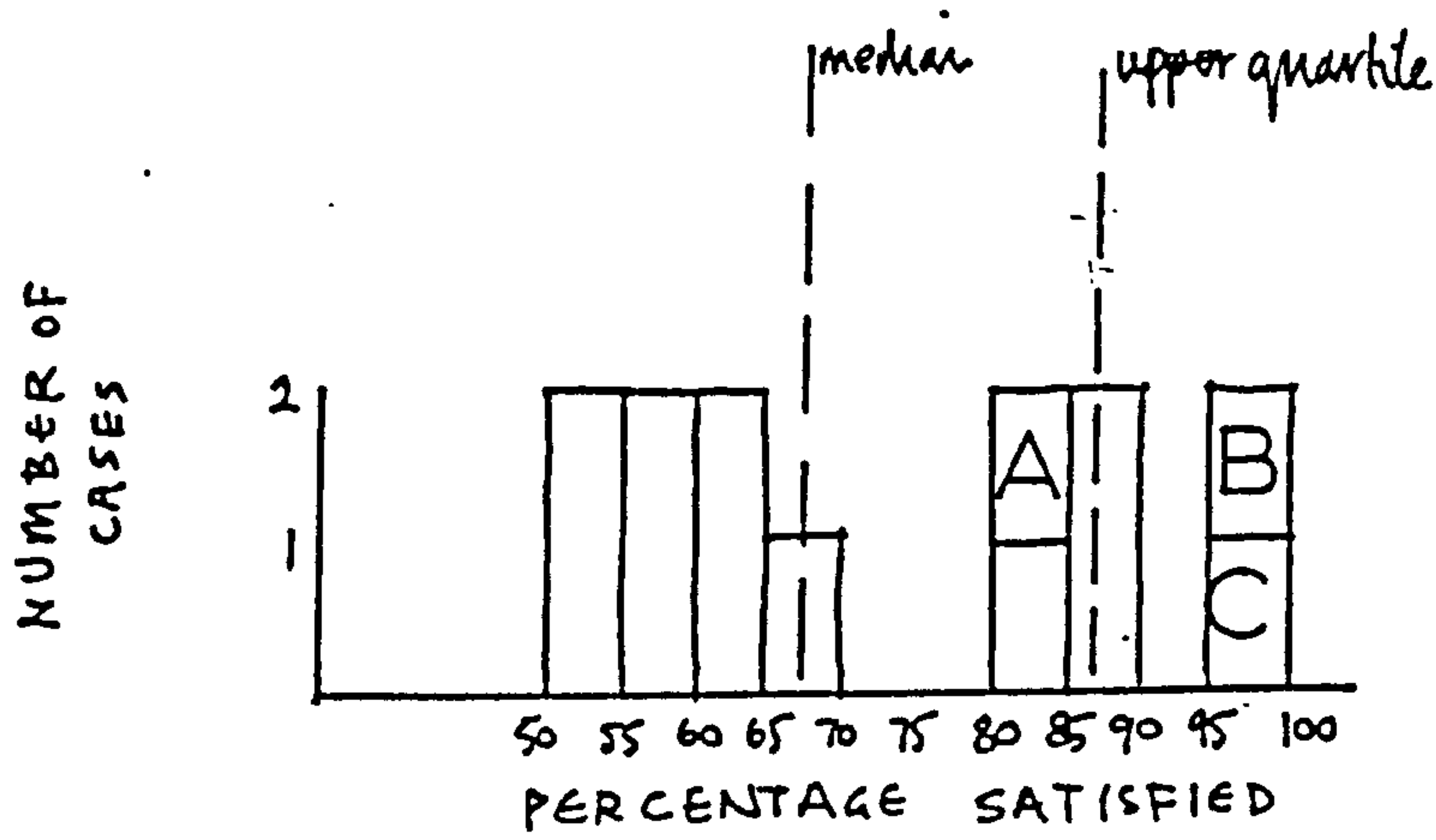
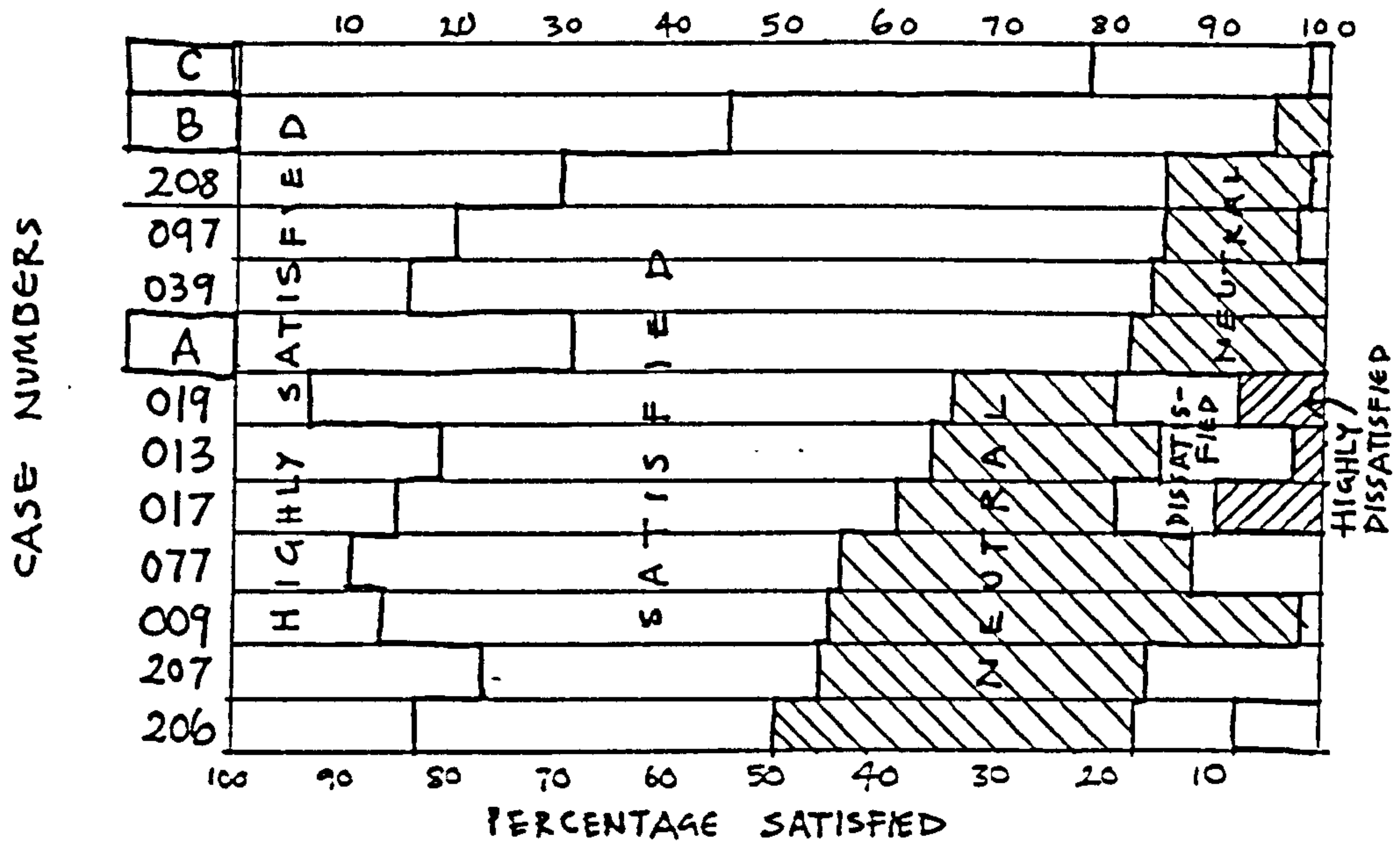
Viz. Cwmbran, Walsall, Edmonton, Darlington, Liverpool, Lewisham, Widnes, Haringay, Wandsworth, Manchester.

The levels of satisfaction were then compared, using the 'League Table' format and the distribution charts as in Figures 2-5 and Appendix IV for Questions 27, 16 and 23, shown on the next three pages.

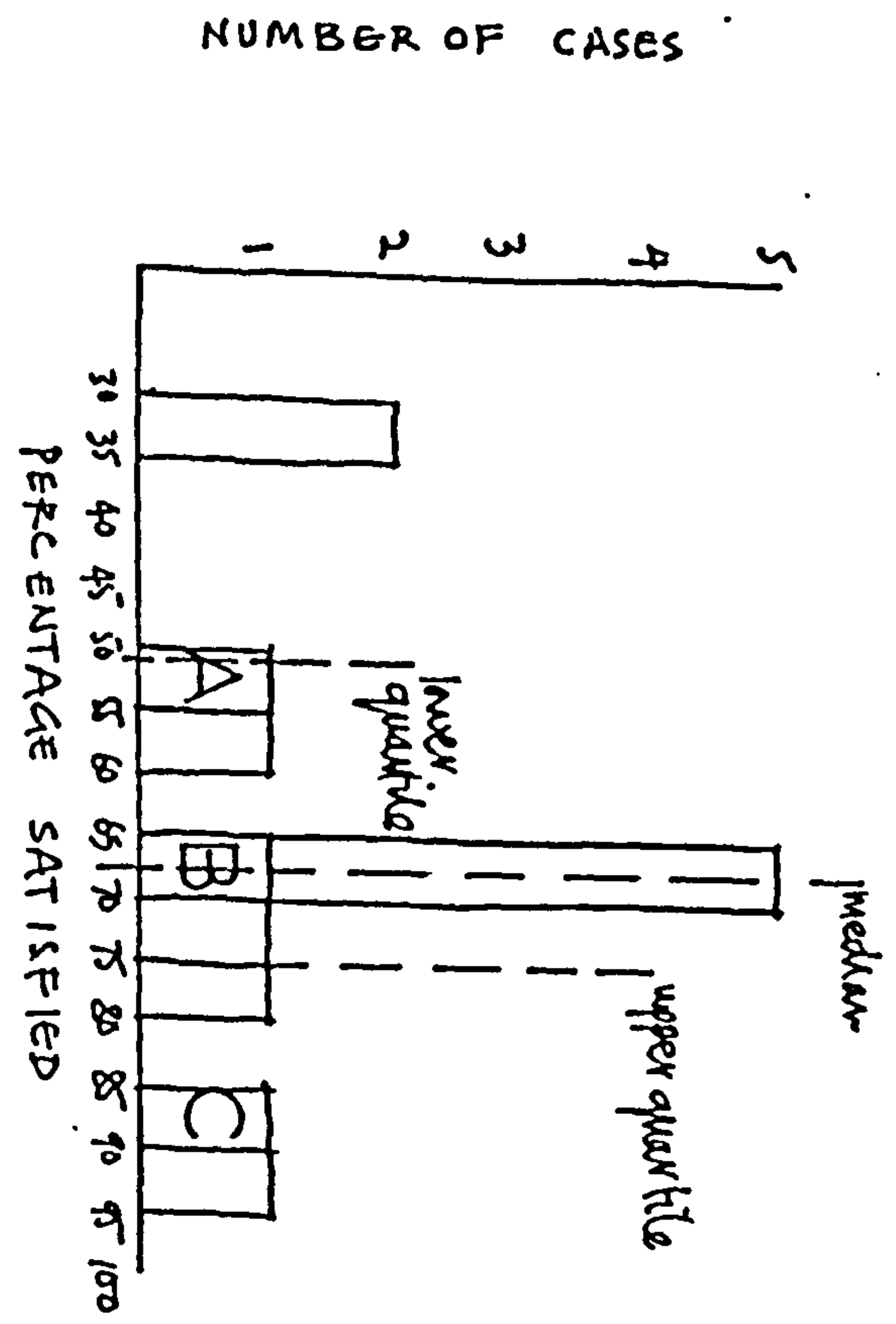
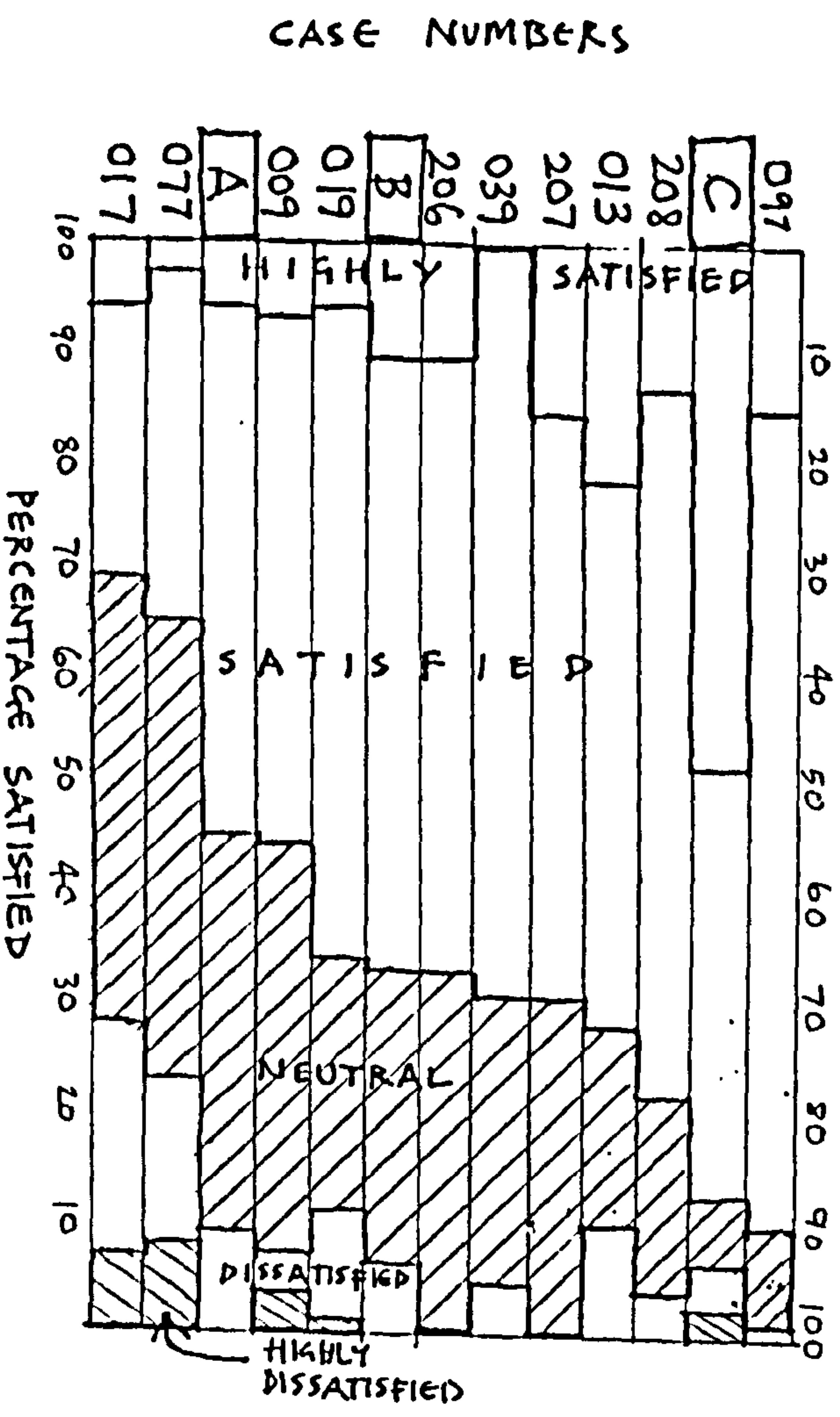
Ques: 27 Overall Satisfaction



Ques 16 Dwelling Satisfaction



Ques 23 Estate Satisfaction



APPENDIX VII

Summary of Results of the H.A.K. Survey of the Three
Case Studies for all Questions

CASES

A B C

Figures are percentage
of respondents

Question 1

The main things you dislike about the house or flat?

The majority put nothing or none. The following is a list of points which a small minority of respondents listed: the asterisk indicates just one mention, percentage in figures shown where appropriate.

Lack of privacy	*		
Poor repairs			*
Noisy outside	*		*
Poor outlook			*
Window design	*		
Small balcony		*	
Room layout	8,9%		
Small rooms	*	*	*
Home too small		*	
Poorly finished	*		*
More storage needed	*		
Poor lighting	*		
Poor heating	*		*
Draughts	*		
Kitchen design	*		
Bathroom layout	*		
Bathroom small		*	
Separate w.c. wanted		*	
Bedrooms too small	*		
Bedroom heating poor			11.8%
Electric costs	*	*	*
Play area too near			*
Need more for kids	*		
Difficult to clean windows	*		
Faulty building	*		
More ventilation	*		

A B C

The main things you like?

Here, most respondents wrote only one comment.

Modern	*		
Better than previous	*	*	
Privacy	*		
Secluded	*		
Like neighbourhood	*		
Neighbours good			*
Windows easy to clean			*
Bright		*	
Easy to clean		*	
Spacious	8.9%	11.1%	11.8%
Well designed	*		
Storage space	*		
Heating system	8.9%	16.7%	3.9%
Nice kitchen	*	*	
Large kitchen	6.7%	16.7%	*
Location of kitchen	*		
Bathroom			*
Inside toilet			*
Two inside toilets	*		*
Close to shops			*
Garden	29.4%		14.3%
Easy access	5.9%		
Open plan		16.7%	
Landing	5.9%	16.7%	
Storage			7.1%
Kitchen fittings	11.8%	16.7%	
Living room	5.9%		

Question 2

Enough Room Indoors?

Generally (Yes)	76.7	100.0	100.0
Living room (Yes)	86.7	77.8	88.2
Kitchen (Yes)	82.2	88.9	94.1
Dining Room (Yes)	81.5	80.0	97.1
Largest bedroom (Yes)	81.4	88.9	90.0
Second bedroom (Yes)	92.5	88.9	91.1
Third bedroom (Yes)	51.5	88.9	93.7
(No)	48.5		
Bathroom (Yes)	93.0	72.2	96.0
W.C. (Yes)	65.7	55.6	90.0
Hall (Yes)	87.2	88.2	100.0
Landing (Yes)	94.7	92.3	100.0

A large majority in all three Cases said there was enough room for washing, drying washing, getting meals ready, room for eating in kitchen, room for everyone to sit relaxing, enough room for entertaining friends. However, 23.7% of tenants in Case A said they did not have enough room for doing hobbies and 24.1% in Case A thought there was enough room for children playing indoors.

Question 3

Any other activity for which there is not enough space?

The only complaints were in Case A where one respondent complained the kitchen was too small and another complained of not having a drying area. One at Case B said there was not enough room for ironing and one at Case A complained of insufficient room for snooker!

Question 4

Any problems arranging furniture?

(Yes)	62.2	33.3	28.3
-------	------	------	------

The majority of complaints about arranging furniture in Case A were for the living room and a smaller number for the small bedroom. 60% of those who complained in Case B were also concerned with the living room. There were a handful of complaints from respondents in Case A about one room in the wrong place and a handful of complaints about doors wrongly positioned and rooms the wrong shape.

Question 5

Any rooms in the wrong place?

Yes	7.0	17.6	4.3
-----	-----	------	-----

The complaints at Case B were directed at the arrangement of the ground floor, living, dining and kitchen. One respondent had complaints about the position of a bedroom. One also complained about badly positioned storage in Case B.

Question 6

Do you have enough storage space?

Yes	64.4	58.8	90.0
No	35.6	41.2	10.0

Problems listed by respondents included:

Luggage	*	*	
Bed linen	21.1		25.0
Ironing board	*		
Food	*		
Washing machine		14.3	
Vacuum cleaner	15.8		
Brooms	10.5		
Clothes and coats	*	14.3	
Garden tools	*	14.3	
Fuel		14.3	
Large toys	*		
Kitchen utensils	16.7		
Ladders		25.0	*
Prams			*
Bicycles	*		
Painting materials	33.3		
Spare furniture		*	

	A	B	C
--	---	---	---

Question 7

Is it important to have a garden?

Yes	95.4	88.2	95.6
No	4.7	11.8	4.4

Are you satisfied with your garden?

Yes	79.1	72.2	91.5
No	20.9	27.8	8.5

The main complaints about the garden were on lack of privacy. 54.8% complained in Case A and 23.5% complained in Case B.

Question 8

This question only applied to a handful of tenants. Only one respondent (in Case A) said they wanted a garden when they did not have one.

Question 9

Do you have enough privacy?

Yes	65.9	61.1	91.5
No	34.1	38.9	8.5

The main complaints about lack of privacy were due to people being able to look in. Also 22% in Case B complained that passers-by could get too close to their houses. 28.9% in Case A and 22% in Case B also complained about children playing outside. 26.7% in Case A complained about neighbours being able to hear them.

Question 10

Do you feel too cut off from other people?

12.8% in Case C complained they felt too cut off but there were no complaints in Case A and only one in Case B.

Question 11

Do you have any problems getting to your front door from the street?

Yes	2.3	16.7	6.4
-----	-----	------	-----

The problem at Case B appears to be largely due to, too long a distance from the nearest main road.

A B C

Question 12

How do you feel about the appearance of the approach to your house or flat?

Proud	25.6	22.2	76.5
Fairly happy	55.8	66.7	19.6
Neutral	11.6	5.6	3.9
Slightly unhappy	7.0	5.6	0.0
Ashamed	0.0	0.0	0.0

The high percentage of those in Case C who said they were proud is notable.

Question 13

What do you think of the outlook from your kitchen?

Like it a lot	17.8	16.7	60.0
Like it	40.0	16.7	32.0
Neutral	26.7	33.3	8.0
Dislike it	11.1	22.2	0.0
Dislike it a lot	4.4	11.1	0.0

The main reasons in Cases A and B were 'ugly buildings.'

What do you think of the outlook from your living room?

Like it a lot	11.1	16.7	54.9
Like it	35.6	22.2	33.3
Neutral	35.6	44.4	7.8
Dislike it	17.8	16.8	2.0
Dislike it a lot	0.0	0.0	2.0

The main positive reasons in all three Cases was 'being able to see the garden.'

Question 14

When you are indoors, are you often bothered by any of these different kinds of noise?

<u>Children outside</u>			
Not bothered	52.3	44.4	58.0
A little bothered	31.8	33.3	26.0
Greatly bothered	15.9	22.2	16.0

<u>Other people</u>			
Not bothered	82.1	94.4	92.5

<u>People in house</u>			
Not bothered	86.8	88.9	89.7

<u>People in other homes</u>			
Not bothered	59.0	83.3	84.2
A little bothered	33.3	16.7	7.9
Greatly bothered	7.7	0.0	7.9

	A	B	C
<u>Traffic</u>			
Not bothered	61.1	88.2	90.2
A little bothered	19.4	5.9	4.9
Greatly bothered	19.4	5.9	4.9

Question 15
Are you satisfied with the heating?

Yes	69.8	77.8	100.0
No	30.2	22.2	0.0

Question 16
Feelings about house or flat summed up?

Very satisfied	31.1	44.4	78.0
Satisfied	51.1	50.0	20.0
Neutral	17.8	5.6	0.0
Dissatisfied	0.0	0.0	2.0

Question 17
The main things you dislike about the estate?

Like it all	40.0	22.2	37.3
None	28.9	38.9	39.2

The rest listed some 16 different dislikes including: looks drab, poor area, too close to works, lacks privacy, lacks trees, noisy children, poorly maintained and so on.

The main points listed as things people liked about the estates included: being unusual (Case B, 11.1%); quiet (Case A, 8.9%); friendly people (Case A, 11.1%); (Case C, 17.6%); safe for children (Case B, 11.1%).

Question 18
How do you feel about the appearance of this estate?

Very attractive	9.5	33.3	54.9
Attractive	45.2	38.9	39.2
Neutral	42.9	27.8	2.0
Unattractive	2.4	0.0	2.0
Very unattractive	0.0	0.0	2.0

Only a very small number of respondents specified any reasons for their feelings.

Question 19

Do you find childrens play around here a problem?

Yes	52.4	83.3	54.2
No	47.6	16.7	45.8

It is significant that a majority in all three Cases saw childrens play as a problem, particularly in Case B, where the problem of the playground has been mentioned (page 142). The principal reasons given for these views centred on complaints about older children, playing too close to houses, being too noisy, doing damage on the estate with a similar response in all three Case Studies. Only at Case A did anyone complain about there being too many children. Respondants at Case B were concerned about too many restrictions on play and a number of respondants mentioned not enough play space on the estate in all three Cases. (50% in Case A, 45.5% in Case B and 40% in Case C).

A number of other detailed responses about not being able to let children out of sight, not being safe from traffic, largely reflected problems outside the scope of the design. The twelve respondants who mentioned traffic danger for children on the estate may have been referring to the road through the site.

Question 20

Would you say that this parking space is generally satisfactory?

Satisfactory	84.8	80.0	80.0
Unsatisfactory	15.2	20.0	20.0

The main problems in parking were security from theft, mentioned in all Cases. Also 80% of respondants to this question in Case B complained of the distance of the parking from the dwelling, which was not a problem in the other Cases.

Question 21

Does traffic or parking on the estate cause any problems?

The only significant response to this question was in Case A where six respondants complained of cars being too near the houses and a further twelve of 'other problems.'

Question 22

Cleanliness of the estate?

Satisfied	61.9	72.2	91.5
Dissatisfied	38.1	27.8	8.5

Reasons given in Case A included 'no co-operation from tenants', 'generally dirty' and 'council neglect.'

	A	B	C
<u>Getting repairs done outside?</u>			
Satisfied	73.0	94.4	81.6
Dissatisfied	27.0	5.6	18.4
<u>Getting complaints attended to?</u>			
Satisfied	82.9	83.3	90.6
Dissatisfied	17.1	16.7	9.4
<u>Getting rid of everyday rubbish?</u>			
Satisfied	95.0	94.4	100.0
Dissatisfied	5.0	5.6	0.0
<u>Clothes washing and drying?</u>			
Satisfied	89.7	100.0	100.0
Dissatisfied	10.3	0.0	0.0

Question 23

How would you sum up your feelings about the estate outside your home?

Very satisfied	47.0	11.1	46.8
Satisfied	48.8	55.6	40.4
Neutral	37.2	27.8	6.4
Dissatisfied	9.3	0.0	4.3
Very dissatisfied	0.0	5.6	2.1

Question 24

Would you say that this is a convenient place to live generally?

Yes	97.7	100.0	100.0
No	2.3	0.0	0.0

Question 24A

Did you know tenants were involved in design?

Yes	79.5	100.0	97.9
No	20.5	0.0	2.1

Did this make any difference to your feelings?

Yes	18.2	22.2	25.0
No	81.8	77.8	75.0

Question 25

How do you feel about the area outside the estate?

Like it very much	7.1	0.0	11.6
Like it	16.7	33.3	34.9
Neutral	42.9	50.0	34.9
Dislike it	28.6	5.6	11.6
Dislike it very much	4.8	11.1	7.0

The only significant reason given for dislike of the area was from Case A respondents, ten of whom thought the area dangerous.

A B C

Question 26

Is there anything else important you want to say?

A number wrote in comments, some of which have been referred to in the text.

Question 27

Taking everything into account, how would you sum up your feelings about living here generally?

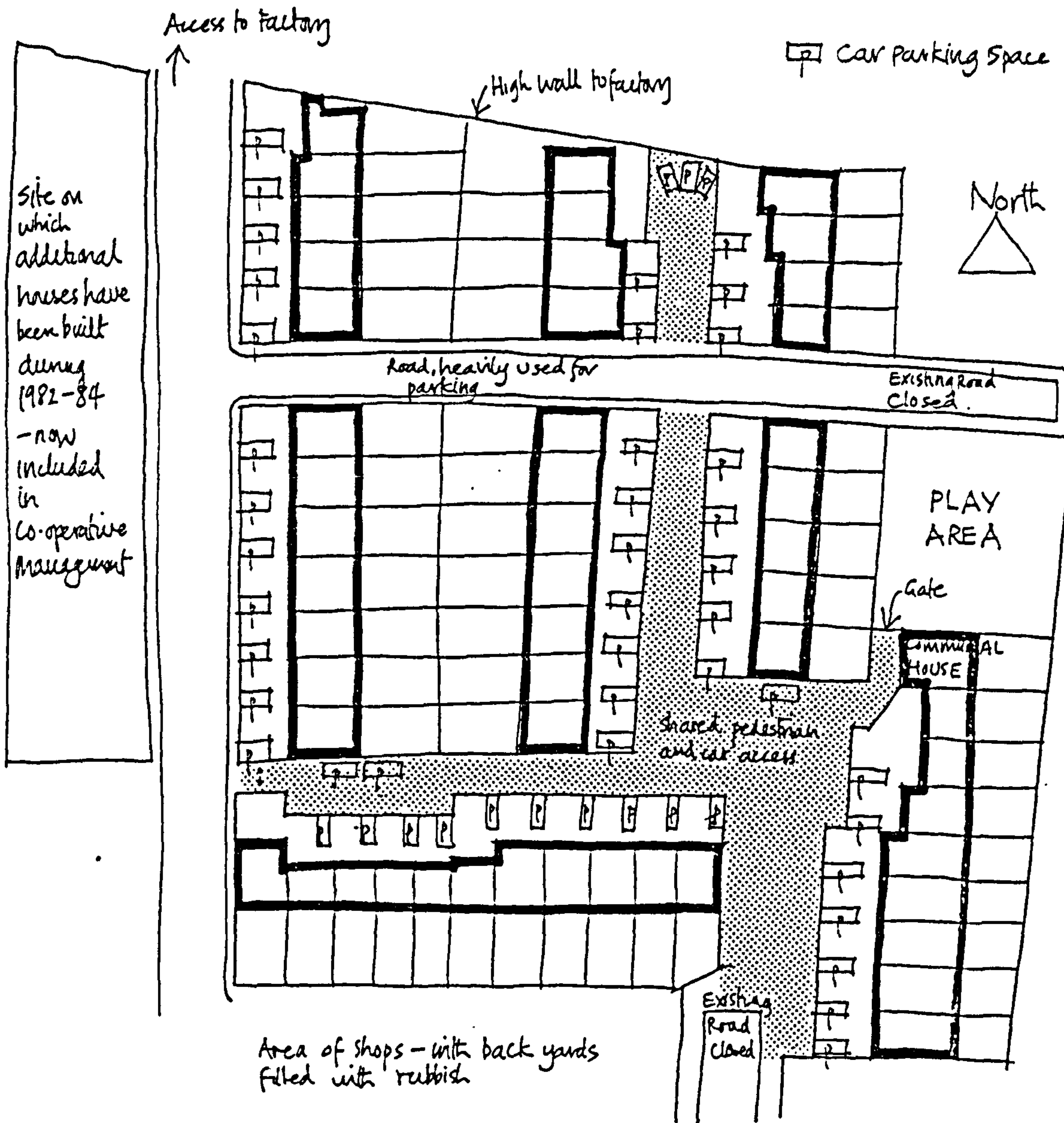
Very satisfied	9.5	22.2	56.2
Satisfied	71.4	61.1	37.5
Neutral	16.7	16.7	4.2
Dissatisfied	2.4	0.0	2.1
Very dissatisfied	0.0	0.0	0.0

APPENDIX VIII

Site Plans and Dwelling Mix Data for the Three Case Study Projects

N.B. Each plan is drawn, approximately to the same scale.

CASE A London Site Plan



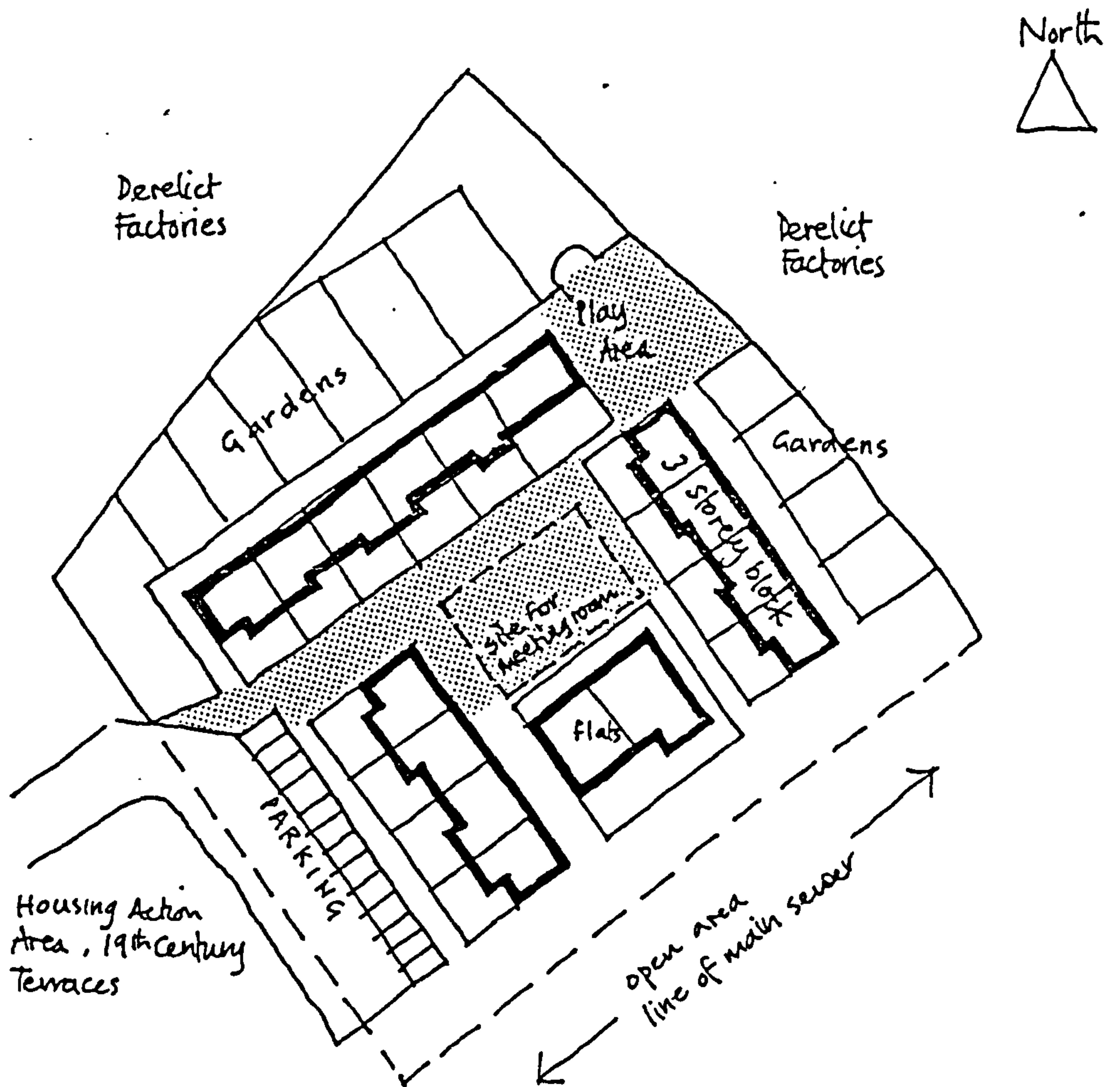
54 Dwellings

265 bed spaces per hectare

No. of bedrooms	1	1	3	3	3	4	
No of persons	2	2	4	4	5	7	
Average area of dwelling	46.2	47.5	79.1	79	88	118	metres ²
No. of each type	3	3	6	3	28	11	54
Total Nos. persons	6	6	24	12	140	77	<u>265</u>

CASE B LEEDS

Site Plan

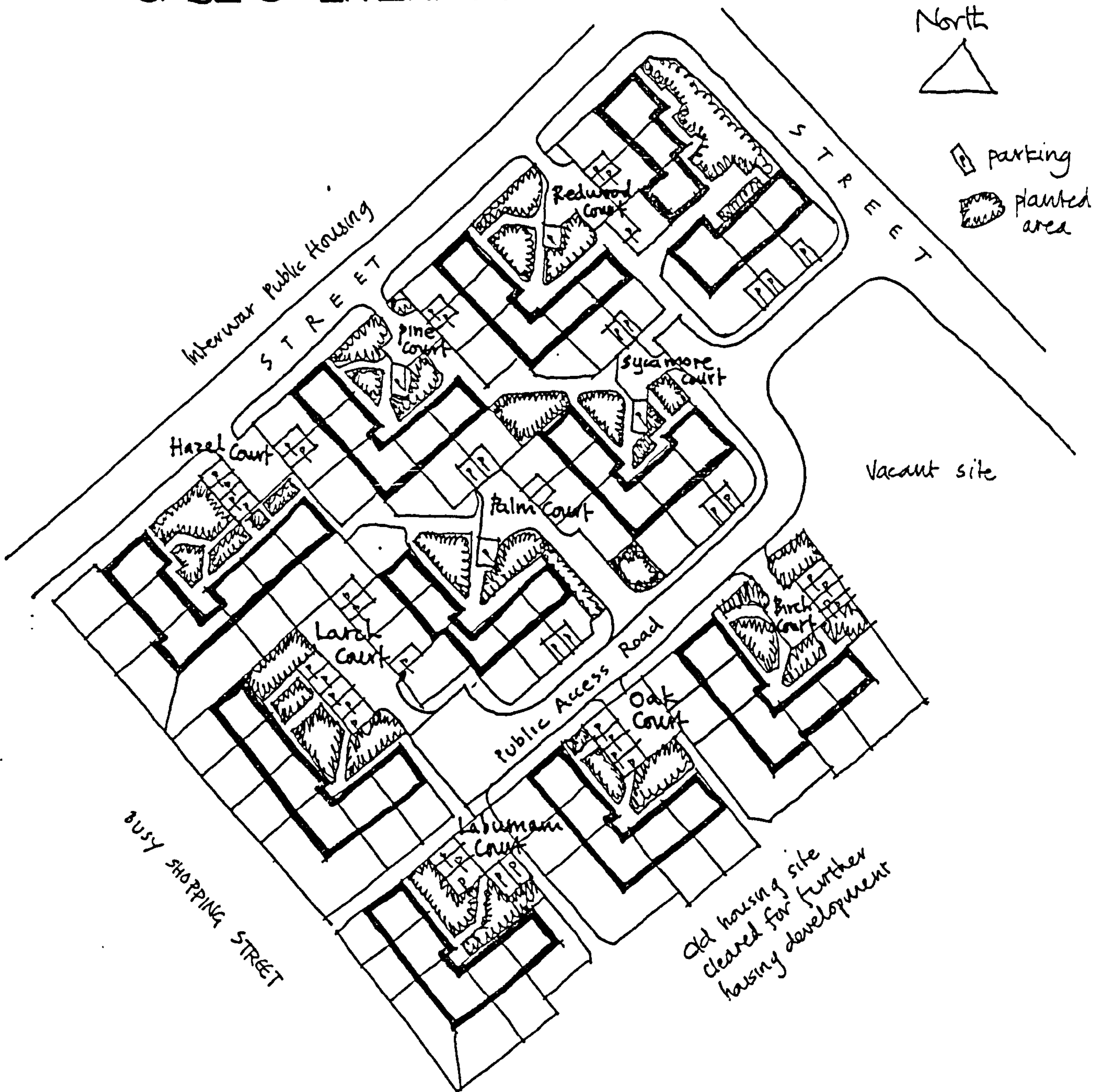


18 Dwellings

No of bedrooms	2	2	2	2	3	4	4	
No of persons	3	3	3	4	5	6	7	
Average area of dwelling	65	61	65.5	78	88	102	118	m ²
No. of each type	2	3	1	3	5	3	1	18
Total Numbers of persons	6	9	3	12	25	18	7	80

CASE C LIVERPOOL

Site Plan



61 Dwellings
229 b/s per hectare

No of bedrooms	1	2	2	3	4	
No of persons	2	3	4	5	7	
Average Area of dwelling	48	63	77	86	115	m ²
No of each type	6	10	6	34	5	61
Total No. of persons	12	30	24	170	35	271

APPENDIX IX

Cost and Other Data Used in the Rank Correlation Test
(Figure 8, Page 166)

Cost Information

The architects for all three Case Study projects supplied cost data including final contract sums, professional fees and site works. They also supplied a copy of the T.C.2 Form which showed the cost figures after tenders had been received. The T.C.2 Form was used in all public sector housing projects to seek financial approval from the Department of the Environment.

T.C.2 Forms were also available for the ten D.O.E. Cases used for comparison purposes. It was decided to make a comparison of the tender cost figures rather than final costs, as final costs figures were not available for the D.O.E. Cases. A cost per bed space figure was then calculated and these were adjusted to take account of regional variations and inflation. The regional variations were calculated on the basis of figures supplied in a Department of the Environment Paper, 'The Housing Cost Yardstick 1967-1983' (HB6A, May 1983). Inflation adjustments were made on the basis of figures in the above mentioned Paper and figures published in 'Housing and Construction Statistics', Department of the Environment, H.M.S.O., published quarterly. The costs were adjusted to 1979 figures, first quarter.

Table of adjusted cost per bed space

	£
DOE 009	6406
DOE 206	5693
DOE 077	5540
DOE 207	5420
Case C	4260
DOE 208	3805
DOE 013	3774
DOE 097	3677
Case B	3572
DOE 039	3426
Case A	3211
DOE 017	2457
DOE 019	N/A

In view of the considerable difficulty experienced in producing comparable cost figures it was not felt that too much can be read into the above list. For instance, Case A received extra amounts of money for site works, and final costs were substantially higher than those at T.C.2 stage. Despite the apparently wide spread of costs, from £6406 to £2457, there were no substantial differences in quality or standard between any of the schemes. It was not possible in this work to resolve the many difficulties that became apparent in trying to obtain comparative cost data. For instance, the average figures, shown in the D.O.E. Housing and Construction statistics were substantially lower than the costs found in numerous examples examined in the D.O.E. H.A.K. survey and in the literature. In such a small sample, fluctuations, due to tendering differences, and other factors, could seriously distort any results. However, every possible effort was made to adjust the figures fairly and the above order was used in the rank correlation test.

Size of Scheme

Table of number of dwellings

1.	Case B	18
2.	DOE 207	20
3.	DOE 206	21
4.	DOE 039	28
5.	DOE 009	40
6.	DOE 208	46
7.	Case A	54
8.	Case C	61
9.	DOE 019	130
10.	DOE 077	151
11.	DOE 097	163
12.	DOE 013	189
13.	DOE 017	268

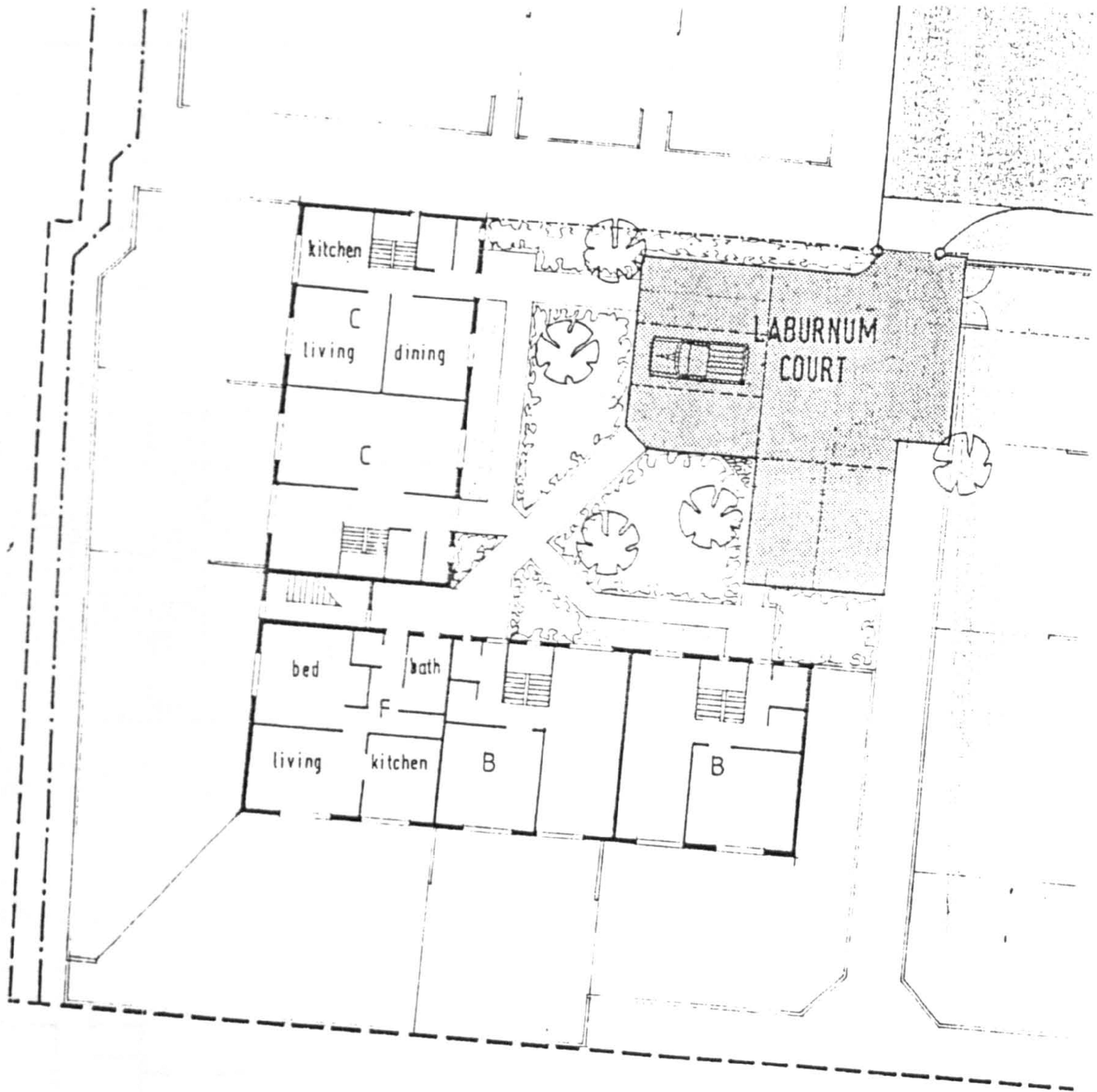
A random pattern was found by correlating both smallest to largest and largest to smallest, with satisfaction. Figure 8 (page 166) shows the plot for smallest to largest.

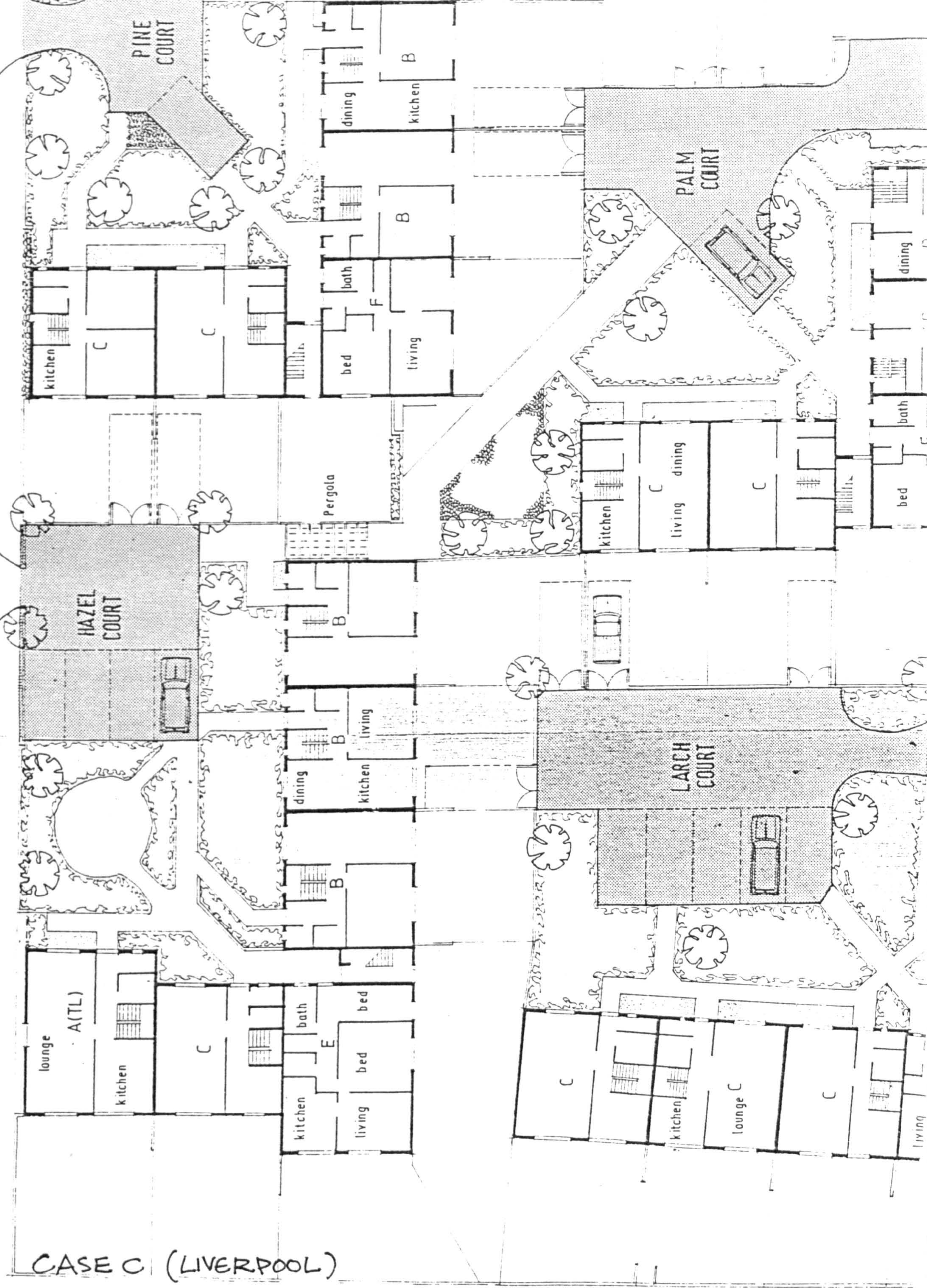
Density

		Persons per hectare
1.	-	-
2.	DOE 013	132
3.	DOE 097	173
4.	DOE 039	185
5.	DOE 017	198
6.	DOE 019	204
7.	DOE 077	216
8.	Case C	229
9.	DOE 009	248
10.	DOE 207	258
11.	DOE 208	261
12.	Case A	265
13.	DOE 206	266

Density was correlated with satisfaction by ranking lowest to highest and vice versa and no pattern emerged for either. Figure 8 (page 166) shows the lowest to highest density ranking.

Case C Plans of typical courtyards showing house plans, this page and page 325.





CASE C (LIVERPOOL)