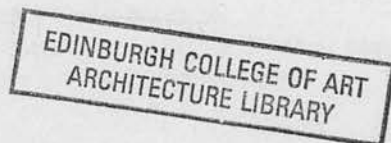
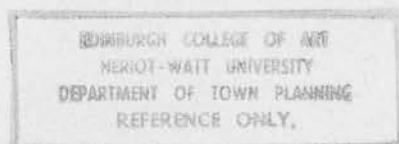


"Adolescents as future housing consumers: A study
of housing aspirations."

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Presented for the degree of Ph.D.

Heriot-Watt University.



June, 1981.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am most grateful to the following people who have given so much of their time and advice; James Gray, my tutor, who gave me the freedom to develop my ideas; Alison Ravetz, my friend and colleague, for her insight into the subject, encouragement and support; the Staff of the Computer Science Department and the Department of Psychology, University of Hull, for their time, knowledge and advice; The Headmasters of the following Comprehensive Schools, David Lister High, Kelvin Hall High, Sir Henry Cooper and Bransholme High, for allowing me the time to interview some of their pupils; to the Personnel Staff of Ideal-Standard, British Home Stores and Reckitt and Colman for arranging interviews with employees; the Heads of the Science, Catering and Building Departments, Hull College of Further Education, for allowing me the time to interview some of their day-release students. Anne, Laurie and Rupert Low, my Wife and Children who must have suffered a great deal at the expense of this research; The RIBA, who generously awarded me a research grant in 1974 enabling the research to be financed; the many Journalists without whom large parts of this research could not have been written; finally Mrs. Stanton who had the unenviable task of typing the thesis.

The research looks first at the process of urban growth, in an attempt to establish a residential framework. By then relating urban growth and the housing market to the physical situation enables one to determine the choice in housing.

The survey methodology establishes the use and nature of the questionnaire and the priority evaluation game which was developed to obtain the adolescents' housing priorities. The data collected from the survey of the adolescent sample is analysed enabling us to explore the attitudes of the future consumers. The research highlights the lack of information on housing preferences.

The findings illustrate what is referred to as "conventional wisdom". The desire is for owner-occupation and the detached or semi-detached house with a garden. And although the findings do not show a complete rejection of the city, they do indicate a widespread desire to move to suburban areas. This urge for suburban life is not limited to the middle class, it is representative of all social classes. If the results are indicative, the movement to suburban areas promises to continue through the next few decades. Once the move to suburbia has been made the pressure to stay there is very great.

We cannot continue to encourage home-ownership and a suburban way of life that is reinforced by the cultural norms and propagated by the media then deny access to our adolescents. We are in danger through our economic situation, of long term unemployment amongst adolescents, of creating a dangerous situation that could erupt if prolonged - a social explosion.

INTRODUCTION

Probably everyone, besides cherishing that dream of winning a £250,000 prize on the football pools, cherishes the thought of living in a detached house or bungalow. As a good second best, the more realistic hope of someday owning a semi-detached and short of this of being reasonably happy in a terraced house. The sad truth is that the more houses we build the less variety we are creating. Most people have less and less choice in housing; less choice of house size and type; less choice of environment and location, less choice of tenure and price. As Harvey summarises,

Many individual households may have little choice at all in where to live. The role of the various institutional groups in the housing market - the banks and building societies - are manifold. They often determine spatial patterns that best meet their own ends. Similarly successive governments, which see housing as a major component of social policy, are a very powerful influence on urban patterns. (1).

For the last two or three generations that mid-point has been Arcacia Avenue - the Englishman's ideal and easily mortgageable common-and-garden home. Just how relevant is Arcacia Avenue to a model of future housing in Britain?

How We Are Housed - The Statistics

The answer to the above question probably depends as much on one's perception of the immediate past as on one's ability to conceptualise the influences that might affect development in the future. But what are the facts? The facts presented here, such as they are, are as the official statistics (2) display them. The total housing stock has risen from just over fourteen-million dwellings at the end of the war, half of which were in bad repair or in need of maintenance and improvement, to a little over 20.5 million in 1977. These new dwellings built since the war represent the fastest rate of new construction ever. We do not know how many houses in the private

sector have been improved without a grant. However we do know that from 1959 until the 1969 Housing Act about 100,000 dwellings a year received some public subsidy on condition that they were brought up to modern standards, and since 1969 the average annual number of grants over eight years was 250,000. We can therefore assume that at least three-million homes have been improved in addition to the new stock. Thus, more than half the houses in the country are post-1945 or have been modernised. Of the other half, something over 20 per cent were between the wars and most of them are "modern". Further there are an estimated four-million pre-1914 dwellings which are unimproved, but not necessarily unfit.

If one looks at the condition of dwellings by counting deficiencies then between 1951 and 1973 the percentage of households who did not have sole or shared use of a fixed bath fell from 37.6 per cent. to 6 per cent. The number of dwellings lacking exclusive use of at least one basic amenity has, between 1971 and 1978, fallen from 2.8 million to 1.4 million. During the same period the number of households sharing a dwelling has fallen from 0.9 million to half a million and the number without exclusive use of an internal w.c. fell from 2.3 million to 1.2 million. Taking everything into account - unfit housing, lack of basic amenities, sharing accommodation, overcrowding - it is estimated that the numbers of "unsatisfactorily housed" fell from eleven-million in 1951 to 4.3 million in 1976 and will continue to fall. The National Dwelling and Housing Survey reported that there had been a "marked improvement" in housing standards over the last few years. However it revealed in 1977 there were still, "fifteen-million households unacceptable by today's standards".

Statistics tell us there is no housing shortage, but statistics hide what the public knows - much of the post-war housing is far from satisfactory. In reading Berry's "Housing - The Great British Failure" (3) the C.D.P's "Whatever Happened to Council Housing" (4) the Shelter periodical "Roof" (5) and "Community Action" (6) and numerous other

pamphlets and articles one gets a different picture than that created by the official statistics. They create the distinct impression that Britain's housing is getting worse, that the conditions of individuals and households are deteriorating and that the physical fabric is progressively decaying. That something like 15,000 families per year register as homeless in London alone or that 8,000 families are in temporary accommodation, or that there is a heavy concentration of worn-out housing amongst minority groups shows that we still have a long way to go. At the same time having looked at statistical progress since the war, an enormous amount has been done, and in theory we ought to be within sight of an end of the housing problem.

Statistics can also be re-interpreted. In the 1979 Public Expenditure White Paper, the section on "Progress and Plans" begins by talking about the emergence and slow growth of a "crude" surplus of dwellings over households. However Crofton (7) shows, by using two Government surveys - the E.H.C.S. (English House Condition Survey, 1976) and the N.D.H.S. (National Dwelling and Housing Survey, 1979) - that there is in reality still a crude shortage of available dwellings. By deducting the number of boarded up and derelict dwellings and newly and almost completed dwellings which were included in the Government's figures, and bearing in mind the number of vacant properties and second homes, Crofton arrives at a crude shortage of 1.9 per cent of the stock dwellings, as compared to the Government's crude surplus of 3.1 per cent. However, his figures show that this shortage is an improvement in the situation since 1971 when the estimated shortage of available dwellings was 3.1 per cent of the housing stock. Therefore, by concentrating on sub-groups like immigrants or the homeless or the inner city areas or the industrial north we still have a long way to go.

The Peculiarities of Housing

Housing is a consumer durable and like some other durables it can

be obtained either by renting or by buying. This creates two separate but related housing markets: renting and purchasing for owner-occupation. Ambrose (8) argues further that the housing market is also spatially divisive. Almost everywhere local authority housing for renting and private housing for owner-occupation exist on separate estates and within these two sectors there is often a further division. Frequently within private estates the standard two or three bedroom houses are separate from the more prestigious and more expensive detached house, and at the same time, though not so common, within local authority housing estates certain areas are used to house "problem families" or those in rent arrears.

At the same time housing is expensive relative to income. Owner-occupation has perhaps become less a matter of territoriality than of successful financial speculation. The consequences of this situation for those not on the first rung of the ladder of house purchase are clearly grave. On present trends a home which cost £4,340 in 1967 cost £14,450 by 1977 and during the same decade the average earnings rose from £1,200 to £4,200. While during 1978 alone, house prices rose by 25.9 per cent so that the average house price at mortgage approval stage was £18,101 (9). Clearly the growth in house values has far outstripped income rises. Corry makes the point that simply if property prices rise more than in proportion to incomes then,

...given the unequal distribution of property ownership, there will be an increase in the degree of income and wealth inequality(10).

A low income family, unable to escape the public sector for the haven of owner-occupation and affluence, have no option but to rent its accommodation. Even higher income families can only achieve owner-occupation by taking out a mortgage. This need in turn links the housing market to the sometimes volatile finance market. Housing is fixed in one position, it is not portable. Thus another market is set up to enable buyers and tenants to locate sellers and landlords. The action

process of transacting houses is long and often costly. And because people on average tend to move infrequently they have little chance to gain by experience of the process. Therefore the transacting process is assisted, increasing further the already considerable costs, by estate agents, surveyors and solicitors. Doling's study (11) on family life-cycle and housing change shows that the factor which allows young families to act in the housing market appears to be that of increased wealth and further that families in the latter stages of their life-cycle are less likely to move, but remain in the house which they purchased as a young expanding family. It does not seem that housing space once acquired is commonly foregone.

Population and Movement

The population in Britain has risen much more slowly - rising from fifty three-million in 1961 to just under fifty six-million in 1977. Certainly the baby boom of the 1950's and the 1960's affected Britain, upsetting the forecasts of the demographers and planners alike. Though birth rates now seem to be rising slightly, they have still dropped to some of the lowest levels on record. Thus, the total growth of population has turned into an actual decline. But this decline in the birth rate is less important than population movement. During the 1960's as now, there were, flows of people out of the big conurbation cities and into their wide spreading suburban rings. Between 1971 and 1977 Greater London lost 472,000 people, over six per cent of its population. Merseyside lost 92,000 or 5.6 per cent. Tyne and Wear lost 35,000 or nearly 3 per cent. Similarly Greater Manchester lost around 60,000 or over 6 per cent. What has now become apparent, because of the decline in the birth rate, is that the rest of the country is gaining. That applies both to the more heavily urbanised regions outside the conurbations, and to the less heavily urbanised regions. While, as we have seen, London lost 472,000 the south east outside London added over 300,000 or over

3 per cent, and similarly while Manchester and Merseyside had falling populations the rest of the north-west gained over 3 per cent. The biggest gains were made in places people don't associate with growth, namely East Anglia with an 8.6 per cent gain and the south-west with a 5.6 per cent gain.

Again, any movement in the birth rate is likely to be a less important component of housing demand than earlier and longer marriages. The age of marriage is going down and life expectancy is increasing. This results in the creation of more households, possibly earlier, and because the duration of marriage will lengthen this will lead to longer occupation of housing. Since, 1961 the population in private households in England and Wales has gone up by only about 7 per cent. But the number of potential households rose by 15 per cent, and of actual census defined households by about the same amount.

The children born during the late 1950's and early 1960's, the period of emphasis on growing prosperity, affluence, "double our standard of living in twenty-five years", and "you've never had it so good", will be coming into the housing market for houses in the 1980's. The long term forecast from the Henley Centre for forecasting estimates that over the next twenty-five years Britain will need less house building with annual completions dropping to less than 200,000 in the 1990's. This will create about four million more houses in 25 years time, giving a total of about 24 million. Housing standards are expected to continue to rise, households to decline from 2.8 to 2.2 persons and owner occupation is envisaged as continuing to expand to account for 65-70 per cent of all households by the end of the century. Few user attitude or preference surveys have been conducted and certainly no attempts have been made to measure and assess the preferences of adolescents - the "future consumers" - towards housing. What choice do they have given that the major percentage of the housing stock of the next century is already built? What are their aspirations as far as housing is

concerned?

Although housing research has been conducted in recent years, no attempts have been made to measure and assess the preferences of young people towards housing. The present study then is essentially concerned with identifying and understanding housing and environmental preferences among urban adolescents, from a cross-section of socio-economic backgrounds, soon to become housing consumers. There is also interest in discovering the characteristics and satisfaction of the present housing environments of the adolescents. The hypothesis presented is that there are no significant changes in the attitudes and aspirations of urban youth towards housing than is presently provided or catered for. The question to be answered is what happens to those who cannot achieve their dream?

We start by first looking at the city in an attempt to understand the process of urban growth and the shifts within it. We are doing this to establish a residential framework. By then relating urban growth and the housing market to the physical situation this allows us to determine the choice in housing. The residential framework shows us how we are housed at present. The survey methodology then establishes the use and nature of the questionnaire and the priority evaluation game which has been specially developed to obtain our adolescents' housing priorities. Thus through the survey of our adolescent sample, data is collected about hypothetical preferences, aspirations, and evaluation of existing housing environments. The results are then analysed to explore the attitudes of our future consumers. Finally the conclusions and implications of the findings are discussed in an attempt to determine the housing situation of our future consumers.

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Urban Growth

Though this description of urban growth is brief and simple it nevertheless serves as a meaningful framework for understanding the distribution of phenomena in the city and the process of growth and shifts within it. If therefore we take as our starting point the sort of industrial settlement that grew up in England during the nineteenth century, then during the early part of the century the city's growth rate suddenly accelerated. This urban growth was stimulated by migration from the country. The migrants were attracted to the towns because jobs were either better paid or thought to be so and there were more opportunities. There was increasing pressure on the central area from industry and the influx of under privileged migrants. Quinn (1) argues that employers tended to congregate at sites which were convenient to their raw materials, suppliers and transport lines. Their movement tended to induce the population to cluster about their work-places. As long as producers were tied to a limited number of sites, and unable to move far without incurring marked rises in costs, concentration of population and centralisation of production were most pronounced. The central area of the city thus became the focus of economic activity; as more firms were drawn in, greater specialisation became feasible, and profitable; and the centre was thus able to cater for a greater variety of tastes. At this stage we see the first segregation of residential areas determined by position in relation to factories, civic buildings and the prevailing winds. Mann's (2) observations of industrial towns in Northern England show that higher status neighbourhoods are found to the west of a town because the prevailing wind is from that direction. For long periods, then, population concentration was a feature of most urban growth.

On the one hand one has the upper-income groups who could escape the uncongenial environment of the expanding city centre, and on the other

hand one has the grid-iron rows of working class houses built for the rent-paying hands. Because of workplace - residence ties the working class houses are built in the left over space segregated by railways and canals and often crowded onto very small areas causing extremely high densities close to the workplaces in the centre.

During the nineteenth century the forces of urban growth were still dominantly centripetal, with peaks in building and growth occurring in the 1840's, the 1870's and the 1890's. The lack of cheap and rapid transport meant that the concentration of buildings on the smallest and most compact possible area was essential. This was the typical situation in a city without any developed form of mass transportation; reaching its extreme point around 1851 to 1861. But between 1875 to 1914 we see the steady rise in real incomes, based on industrial wealth, which lead to the emergence of the white-collar class. Their financial status made the cheap and efficient mass transportation available to them; first with the horse drawn carriage, then the electric tram and the suburban railway lines. Each new means of transport has had its repercussion on both the range and the pattern of residential development. Now freed from workplace-residence ties, it was the vast white-collar class who were the customers for the new suburban houses. We now have a reversal of the former urban pattern with the upper income groups now occupying the outer zone, the working class the inner zone and between them are placed the new white-collar class.

By the end of the nineteenth century transportation had produced a radical change in the form of most British cities. Because the forms of urban transportation, the electric tram and the suburban tain, both required appreciable investment in basic infrastructure they tended to be concentrated along central radial routes. Therefore the growth of the city tended to be a tentacular form alongside these routes and within walking distance of them. To a large degree up to 1939 mass transportation in most British cities remained largely radial. Nearly

four-fifths of Britain's population were living in areas which were classified as urban, so that unlike most other countries Britain experienced most of its rural depopulation in the nineteenth century. As a result the dominant feature of the urban growth trends of the twentieth century is that of decentralisation.

After 1919 the urban game of leapfrog begins. In the suburban migration the types of housing mentioned pass to other residential and commercial uses. The upper middle class together with the most successful professionals settle in large detached houses in the classy suburbs. Lowry (3) suggests technological obsolescence, depreciation and style depreciation as reasons why the upper middle class choose to leave their houses and build new ones. At the same time the white-collar class aided by mortgages, the bus companies and the private motor car leap still further opening up new housing options - the semi-detached suburbs (4). By the late 1930's home-ownership reached right down as far as the better paid manual workers. The inter-war speculative housing boom offered the white-collar workers and the artisans the chance to escape from the inner city terraces to the new suburbs, so long the prerogative of the middle class. What was being sought was greater privacy, more living space and often as not some means of social improvement.

Prior to 1919 private enterprise had been responsible for the construction of some 95 per cent of all dwellings. In 1918 Britain was faced with a serious shortage of houses due to little or no house building being undertaken during the war. Recognising that because of inflation and the shortage of skilled labour profitable housing could no longer be provided at rents the working class could afford the state intervened by providing the first of a series of national subsidies for housing. Therefore the Housing and Town and Country Planning Act of 1919, The Addison Act, began the series of experiments in state intervention to increase the supply of working class houses. As Bowley states,

Housing policy became a national issue. It was no longer the special interest of isolated groups of social reformers. It had graduated into the world of party politics. With the slogan "Houses fit for Heroes" it started its career as a pawn in the political game of bribing the electorate with vague promises of social reform. (5)

Between 1919 and 1939 one and a third million dwellings were built in the public sector. The inter-war council house estates have become a distinctive element - the low density blocks of houses arranged along streets following geometric layouts. The size of the estates reflecting the size of the town, the degree of need and in the 1930's the extent of the slum clearance programme.

The impact of urban land uses on the countryside of Britain before 1939 thus assumed alarming proportions, especially in the 1930's. Without any overall planning control a colossal redistribution of houses and factories to the periphery of the towns and cities took place. During the period 1919-1939 four million houses were built and most of them on agricultural land (6). This suburban development takes various forms. Much of the siting of housing, even the council housing was decided by the more or less casual availability of a piece of land or by its ease of purchase, rather than by the larger principles of good planning. Council housing estates, especially, and many private housing developments have constituted actual additions to existing towns and cities. Other developments have been merely strung out along existing roads in the form of a now notorious ribbon development - rows of semi-detached houses and bungalows. The new extensions of the urban network in many cities were made by bus. The bus service permitted a much freer spread of development which assumed a circular rather than tentacular form. The result was a much wider spread of rather low density suburban housing built at a generally uniform standard of about twelve to the residential acre. In many cities particularly in the north the pattern of extensions was dominated greatly by local authority housing schemes. In the 1930's Manchester from the start served its new housing estate in Wythenshawe by buses.

In the meantime the search for radically different forms of development, for the planned self-contained small sized town, grew out of the horror of the large city and the monotonous suburban sprawl. The principles of the Garden City Movement were adopted by the planning profession and had a strong following within political circles. The projects envisaged by the Garden City Movement and by many of the "decentrist" planners reflected this anti-urban feeling. There was a strong argument for the decentralised satellite town. However, there was instead a dilution of Garden City ideas into the movement towards the garden suburb. The two major processes then that dominated the course of developments in Britain during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were the growth of industry and the growth of cities.

Since the second world war significant changes have taken place in the structure and appearance of towns and cities, mainly because of developments in housing. During the war years the governmental machine for planning was being prepared and the machinery for intervention was being strengthened. Planning in the immediate post-war years was largely based on the Abercrombie ideas - a circular form of town with concentric rings of development including a green belt as a limit to suburban expansion. Certainly the destruction caused by the war provided an opportunity for some local urban renewal schemes - Coventry, Birmingham, Bristol and Plymouth. It was a period of prolific plan making. Every town had its comprehensive development plan incorporating all the symbols of progress which were made possible by the property developers. There was another revival of housing idealism, and in the country as a whole an admirable start was made. The expectation of improved living standards, a higher birth rate, the backlog of earlier deficiencies and the continued growth of the major conurbations all contributed to the need for new housing and new types of housing in new areas. There was an immediate shortage of an estimated 750,000 houses and emphasis was put on the local authorities to provide the necessary houses. Higher house standards were

recommended in the Dudley Report published in 1944. However, in order to meet house building targets council house standards were gradually reduced (7). Osborn (8) draws attention to the anomaly that a downward trend in house standards should have occurred during a marked rise in the real income of the classes of people housed. By the mid - 1950's an improved house building rate was achieved (9). At the same time the private sector began to expand, so that by 1959 the private sector became dominant. With standards of council houses being raised following the publication of the Parker Morris Report: "Homes for Today and Tomorrow", in 1961 there was a renewed upsurge in council house building, but the private sector still retained its predominance.

Of the approximately seven million new houses built since the war only 175,000 have been built in the New Towns since their appearance in 1946 following the New Town Act (10). They became models for the local authorities to copy - shop windows of British housing, layout and design. They have not stopped peripheral urban expansion nor have they put an end to dormitory town living because industry had not moved as readily as the large proportion of young and skilled people have. Two main sociological concepts have underlain not only New Town but post-war planning: The ideal of "neighbourhood units" carefully planned around schools and community facilities and that of "balanced communities". Although empirical research suggests that neither of these planning ideals has met with complete success in practice, the principles of neighbourhood planning have nevertheless shaped vast areas of post-war housing. The flatted estates of the late 1950's and the 1960's were brought about by the inconclusive debate on the need to save agricultural land and an architecturally fashionable solution to the needs for high density living. The nature of housing subsidies to local authorities encouraged the tower blocks of flats, imposing their bureaucratic anonymity. The problems of high rise housing were realised too late - barrack wastes such as Ladywood in Birmingham, Landsdowne Green in Lambeth or Hutchesontown -

Gorbals in Glasgow.

Post-war development has been the result of a substantial measure of planned intervention. At the same time there has been a growing public criticism of our council housing and a demand for greater public participation in planning. Perhaps it is too soon to assess the full impact of redevelopment schemes and new housing areas. However there is an awareness of the increasing number of post-war council estates that are "difficult to let" and of inter-war estates that are already classified as areas of multiple deprivation. Attention is being focused on the inner cities, the wholesale clearance of areas has been seen as not being the answer. The move towards a policy of gradual renewal - of selective demolition, rehabilitation and new building is a better approach.

Planning in Britain is undergoing a crises of self confidence. After years of certainty about the components of the city beautiful and good, the pedestal has disintegrated, and the planners, along with the architect, the engineer and the public health inspector, has fallen from grace to join the ranks of ordinary mortals, who have few delusions about the benefits of so much change. (11)

Towards a Residential Framework

The observer will notice as he moves through the city or town that its residential districts vary in their character. Some of the differences will be obvious, such as the density of housing, the type of housing and the upkeep of the houses. If the observer has looked at enough cities this will enable him to make comparisons which may in turn lead him to make generalisations about an urban residential framework. This is the aim here, to look at the available literature on the residential mosaic of the city and form a series of housing categories which will illustrate how people are housed today.

The study of the internal structure of cities is only one fact of an extremely diverse discipline, the current literature on the subject is vast. Mayer's article on the state of urban geography clearly illustrates the variety of approaches open to the urban geographer.

Urban geographers approach the study of cities in different ways. They may be directly concerned with the city as part of the fabric of settlement they may examine the forms and patterns of settlement as they are today, trace the evolution of the phenomena (or) forecast the changes to come. Or they may approach the city as an economic phenomenon with associated social and political attributes, by seeking to identify the function or functions underlying city growth or decline, or the role of the city in the larger area it serves. Actually most urban geographers combine these approaches. (12)

Since then techniques and writings available to us have proliferated, a definitive review is not our purpose here. However, in attempting to establish an urban residential framework there is a necessary prerequisite review of the zonal, sectoral and multiple nuclei models of urban structure. The review here is brief mainly because the classical ecological models have been discussed and criticised at length in the literature. (13), (14), (15).

The zonal or concentric model of residential structure is attributed to Burgess (16). Burgess, using data from Chicago, viewed the expansion of the city as an invasion and succession process with the inner zones expanding into outer zones as the city grows in area. Burgess recognised that it was an ideal concept intending that its application would be limited to the industrial cities of North America and therefore variations would be expected.

Hoyt (17) viewed the city as a basically circular structure on the Burgess model. By using rent as a variable to study the spatial form of residential areas, Hoyt generalised that rent areas in American cities tended to form to a pattern of sectors rather than concentric circles. The higher rent areas tended to be located in one or more sectors of the city. Thus as we have seen above, the typical high status area of an English city with a prevailing wind from the south-west might tend to be the west end. This west end area could approach very close to the heart of the city. The fact that high rent areas move outwards through time within specific sectors of the city is viewed in the context of filtering. (18). This holds that when new housing is provided for higher-income

groups in the expanding suburbs the housing vacated by these households moving outwards becomes available for lower-income groups. In this way filtering is an indirect process for meeting the housing demand of the lower-income groups. This helps to explain the present day twilight areas. The filter theory illustrates the movement of population through the housing stock. It is a competitive housing market's way of making use of a durable but deteriorating housing stock.

According to Harris and Ullman (19) cities tended to develop several separate centres possibly differentiated according to specific functions but roughly of equivalent importance. This multiple nuclei model attempted to develop a generalisation about city structure which was more related to reality than the other models. The theory of multiple nucleation if super-imposed on the sector and zonal approaches, would tend to produce a patterning of activities and locations within the city of almost unimaginable complexity.

More recently, Robson (20) in his study of Sunderland, based on a factorial ecology of census enumeration district data, points out that the classical models were mainly relevant to Sunderland's nineteenth century pattern and even for areas of twentieth century private housing. It is the appearance of the vast areas of local authority housing in Britain that completely invalidates the rings or sectors of the classical theory. Indeed by 1961, 40 per cent of all British towns of over 50,000 had 30 per cent of their population living in council houses. Robson states,

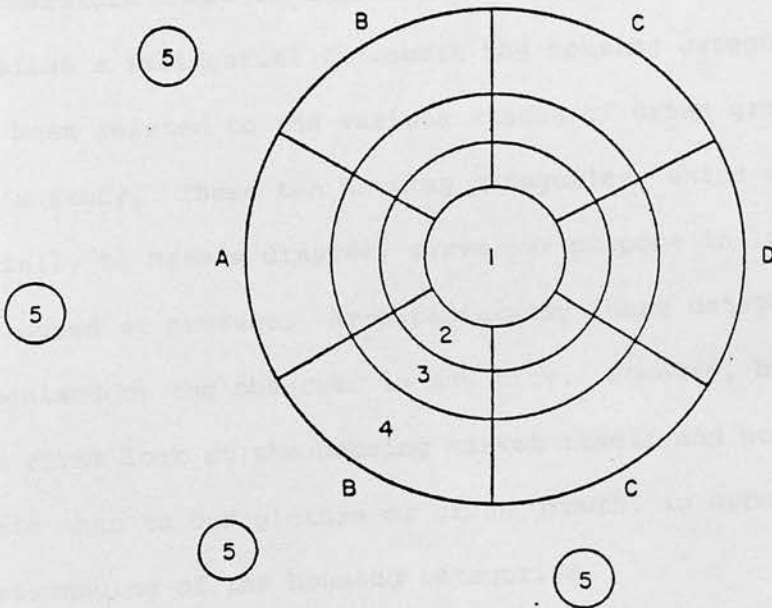
... the game of hunt-the-Chicago-model seems to be exhausted as far as the analysis of modern development in British urban areas is concerned (21).

Certainly the effects of council housing is considerable, as is shown by Jones (22) and Mabry (23). Davidson and Weir (24) observed that some of the "better" council house estates built in the early 1960's in Hull were on the north-west periphery of the city in areas otherwise represented by middle-class owner-occupied housing which lead them to deduce that,

... the patterns and changes we have described may be consequences of deliberate acts of policy rather than autonomous changes of value and expectations located within the class structure. (25)

Mann's (26) discussion was mainly based on Burgess's model, but he noted sectorial differences. From his observations in Huddersfield, Nottingham and Sheffield Mann suggested that higher status areas are found to the west of the city because the prevailing wind is from that direction and upwind of the industrial areas. He presented an overview of this pattern assuming a prevailing westerly wind, stating,

It is not claimed in any way that the following diagram depicts any town or city in this country. But if, by applying it to a city a better understanding of the ecological problems is gained, then the outline is justified. (27).



Schematic representations of the Location of Residential Areas in industrial cities of Northern England.

KEY: 1, City Centre; 2, Transitional Zone; 3, Small Terrace Houses in Sectors C and D, Larger Bye-Law Houses in Sector B, Large Old Houses in Sector A; 4, Post-1918 Residential Areas, post-1945 on the periphery; 5, Commuting distance villages—A. Middle-class Sector; B. Lower-middle-class Sector; C. Working-class and main Municipal Housing Sector; D. Industry and Lowest Working-class areas.
Source: Mann, 1965.

A review of recent literature shows no clear, simple residential framework, with perhaps the exception of Mann's study. The decentralisation of commercial and industrial activities and increasing intervention at all levels of Government in the housing market, has resulted in the spatial pattern of residential areas becoming more random and less systematic. Thus it would seem evident that the classical models may be too simplistic an explanation for the industrial cities of the 1970's. Even with the aid of recent sophisticated statistical and mathematical techniques comparative studies are needed before the techniques can be fully evaluated. Johnston (28) further points out that few detailed studies have been made of the residential structure of British cities and therefore there is a general lack of data. Thus, in order to establish a residential framework the housing categories (Chapter 3) have been related to the various stages of urban growth and draw on Mann's study. These ten housing categories, which can be related spatially to Mann's diagram, serve our purpose in looking at how people are housed at present. Architecturally these categories can easily be recognised by the observer in any city. However, before we do this we must first look at the housing market itself and how it is financed and relate that to our picture of urban growth, in order to obtain a clearer understanding of the housing categories.

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The Housing Market

In Britain the housing market consists of owner-occupier housing 52.5 per cent, council housing 30.9 per cent and privately-rented housing 16.5 per cent. Other categories, such as housing associations, housing co-operatives, trust housing and tied accommodation do not form a significant proportion. The two main categories, council housing and owner-occupied housing both, as we have seen effectively began in the 1920's.

In the housing market there are two key questions which must be asked. First, what real choices in housing are there? And second who controls housing? Housing is a scarce commodity to buy or to rent. Because housing is a scarce resource, that is fought over, income is a key factor in one's ability to choose a decent house. Therefore the best of housing will always be expensive and can be afforded only by the higher-income groups. There are also immense regional variations in housing with almost twice as much council house renting in Scotland as home-ownership, but high home-ownership in South-East England and Wales. The problem for people looking for somewhere to live is not choice but rather a complete lack of choice. The less you earn the greater the impact of the shortage. This shortage is illustrated in the number of homeless - 30,000 homeless families rehoused by local authorities in 1975 - rate of overcrowding, squatting and rising rents and prices.

Housing in Britain is big business. In 1975 over 300,000 houses were built and Building Societies alone loaned over £5,000 million in mortgages to home buyers. The housing shortage means that the owners of property, the developers, local authorities and the landlords and the lenders of money, the Banks and the Building Societies are in a position to control who gets a house and how.

The polarization between the new suburban communities of owner-occupied houses and the concentration of council housing has resulted

in,

... the development of a new form of publicly-sanctioned, publicly-subsidised apartheid ... (1)

These broad divisions in the housing market are accepted by both major political parties. The Conservative Party adopted a post-war policy to boost home-ownership,

... convinced that home-ownership eroded socialist zeal and led to wider electoral support for the Conservative cause.. (2)

The massive expansion of owner-occupation in the 1930's and 1950's can be seen as a direct response to the 'threat' of council housing. Their response has been to contain the growth of council housing and to promote owner-occupation as a more desirable free market form of housing tenure. The Conservatives have at best reluctantly supported council housing. Their philosophy has always been apparent that council housing should be let at full economic rents and that it should be reserved only for the needy with a means test. This was their reasoning behind the 1972 Housing Finance Act, which was in force for only a few months, in fact. Whereas the Labour Party has always been committed to council housing as the main solution to the housing problem. In 1959 almost one half of the working class supporters of the Labour Party lived in council houses. But the Labour Government has never succeeded in meeting the demand for council houses. At the same time the Labour Party has long accepted the view that it must be, "just as interested", (3) in private as in public building, and in Government acknowledges the electoral power of owner-occupiers by its financial concessions to them. During the last twenty years more and more members of the working class have begun to identify themselves with the middle classes with the result more voters have been able to purchase their own home.

Neither party achieves its declared goal - political excuses are easily found. Both political parties now show a whole-hearted support to home-ownership and a property owning democracy. Owner-occupation is now a governing ideology.

Home ownership is the most rewarding form of housing tenure. It satisfies a deep and natural desire on the part of the householder to have independent control of the home that shelters him and his family. It gives him the greatest possible security against price changes that threaten his ability to keep it. (4).

Tax reliefs, the option-mortgage scheme introduced in 1967 and the availability of mortgages has brought home ownership into the realm of possibility for increasing numbers of middle-income families. Inflation of house prices on the other hand has worked in the opposite direction. But the inflationary trends in house prices have in many ways had the effect of increasing the demands for owner-occupation. Many people have seen investment in a home as the best hedge easily available against inflation. Inflation has greatly facilitated the "filtering-up" process. Owner-occupiers have been able to sell their existing houses at the inflated price level and purchase better houses using the profit to provide the required deposit. Building Societies have willingly accommodated to the inflationary trends.

The Building Societies (5) are the dominant force in the housing market. About 90 per cent of homeowners get a mortgage from a Building Society, the remainder borrow from local authorities and insurance companies, with a very small percentage from banks and other sources. The Building Societies are also huge financial institutions with commercial interests which largely decide their housing and lending policies. They are, it must be remembered, as financial institutions second only to the banks. Most of the Building Societies are affiliated to the Building Societies Association, which recommends to its constituent members the interest rate which they should charge on their mortgage loans.

The advantage of owner-occupation are for those who can afford to buy and who pass the eligibility tests of the Building Societies. As well as income, eligibility for a mortgage depends on age, occupation and sex. The Societies prefer to lend to a man in his late twenties

in a white-collar occupation. Most young people buy their first home in their twenties - about 70 per cent of first-time buyers are under 30. (6). The percentage of loans to first-time buyers has been falling from 63 per cent of all mortgages in 1969 to 47 per cent in 1975. The average income of first-time buyers in 1975 was £3,753 compared with average earnings of £3,161 for all males and £2,896 for manual workers. Also the average mortgage loan to first-time buyers was £7,292 on a £9,549 property. The average income of previous owner-occupiers taking out a mortgage on moving house was £4,299 in 1975 and on average received a £7,409 advance on a £13,813 property. The profits from the sale of the previous house being used to put down the much larger deposit.

For a mortgage, the type of property also counts, because although pre-1919 houses account for one third of the housing stock fewer than one-in-five, 23 per cent of all Building Society mortgages are for these older properties. The Building Societies much prefer new or post-war suburban, detached or semi-detached houses, 54 per cent of all mortgages are given on this age of property.

It should be remembered that the Societies are "run as commercial enterprises not extensions of the welfare state" (7). Therefore, the Building Societies' lending pattern will reflect their need to retain their investors' confidence. But then there are plenty of new suburban houses to lend on and white-collar workers to lend to.

The Public Rented Sector - The Council Tenant.

With over a quarter of the population in council housing its function is different from what it was in the inter-war period. Under the 1957 Housing Act; Section 113, local authorities have a statutory duty to give preference in allocating dwellings to people living in slums or displaced under slum clearance procedures, overcrowded houses and to those who have large families, or who are living in unsatisfactory

conditions. Apart from this local authorities have autocracy in their allocation of dwellings. Each council runs its own priority system. Therefore as housing situations vary between different areas local authorities need to know and understand the housing position in their area if they are to devise appropriate policies.

Council tenants are shown as privileged and cosseted members of society. Once admitted to council housing tenants are virtually secure for life. Attention is drawn to the enormous sums of tax - and rate-payers money which is poured into support incompetent local councils to provide high quality subsidised housing at rents well below its "economic" costs. There are at the same time disadvantages in this form of tenure. The wide spread practice of "grading" tenants according to their suitability for particular standards of housing denies real choice of dwelling. The attitude of many local authorities towards tenants reflects bureaucratic and middle-class values, if not to say moralistic. Thus unmarried mothers, problem families, transients and cohabittees tend to be grouped together as "undesirable". A "clean" rent book is seen too often as being the essential qualification for eligibility to a new home. Once there restrictive tenancy regulations may forbid the keeping of pets or deny tenants the possibility of making changes to their houses. Where the greater proportion of the local housing stock is council owned an applicant who refuses a house on a peripheral estate or less desirable estate may in some cases be relegated on the waiting list. Further disadvantages may reflect on the council estates themselves which may suffer from poor maintenance or vandalism or be stigmatised because of their original tenants when they come from slum clearance areas.

As we have seen housing policy is not an isolated issue which can simply be taken out of politics. Conservative governments have been consistently hostile to council housing in whose view council housing, if provided at all, should be built to minimum standards and confined to those who cannot compete in the housing market. Whilst not openly

hostile to council housing recent Labour governments have increasingly encouraged owner-occupation. The result appears to be broadly similar policies. This form of tenure may be the one that in future will undergo the most change.

The Private Rented Sector - The Private Tenant

Until 1915 most housing to rent privately was provided by landlords as a business undertaking. Since then the private rented sector has declined rapidly - from nearly 90 per cent of the housing stock in 1919 to about 14 per cent today, even in 1951 the private rented sector still represented 45 per cent of the housing stock. Major factors in this decline have been the rapid expansion in house building for sale by private enterprise to meet the demand for owner-occupation, the greater availability of public rented housing, the operation of rent restrictions and also an increasing number of private landlords sold their houses once they gained vacant possession. More recently in some areas of rented accommodation houses were bought up by affluent owner-occupiers who were gradually "gentrifying" the area, thus reducing still further the pool of privately rented housing.

Ever since 1915, a series of Rent Restriction Acts have controlled rents up to our present system of regulated tenancies with registered "fair rents". The Labour Government's policy to overcome the shortage of rented accommodation as set out in the White Paper, "the Housing Programme, 1965 - 1970", in 1964, was an increase in public sector building rather than in a revival of private landlordism, which, they held, experience had shown could not overcome the shortage. The 1965 Rent Act revised the law relating to rent restriction and introduced a new principle to rent regulation for private unfurnished accommodation, that of "fair rents". The Rent Acts from 1920 onwards were consolidated into the 1968 Rent Act.

Despite the decline in private rented accommodation it still plays

a crucial part in the housing market. Many people setting up home, for the first time will rent accommodation in the private sector. Private rented accommodation is for many people a "stepping stone" to a council house or home ownership. In 1975, 37 per cent of home buyers and 80 per cent of new council tenants came from a private tenancy. But the private rented sector is the most depressed of all the housing sectors. Many of the poorest households live in accommodation where the low controlled rents were fixed many years ago, but the value they receive for their rent in standards and amenities is also often very low. Over 60 per cent of Britain's unfit housing is privately rented. It is the most exploited, overcrowded and often least secure in spite of the protection of the Rents Acts. Our present rent controls have produced the conversion of much property into semi-residential "hotel" type accommodation favouring short stay tenants, thus reducing still further the pool of rented accommodation. The private rented sector has declined rapidly and yet its importance far outweighs its size. There is little sign that the old landlord owned market of pre-1915 will ever return.

The Voluntary Sector - The "Third Arm"

A reasonably safe generalisation about British housing is that the range of choice open to a family in Britain seeking a modern house is more limited than is the case almost anywhere else in Europe. (8).

A White Paper (9) further explained that post-war housing has almost all been for owner-occupation or for letting by local authorities and that practically no provision had been made for that section of the population who were unable to afford to buy, or preferred to rent, but neither wanted or needed a council house. Successive Governments have simply used local authorities as the main instrument of public policy. The aim of the voluntary sector is to meet a limited band of the total market - young marrieds, the younger salaried people, executives, elderly people, migrant workers, ex-prisoners, the disabled and the family wanting

temporary accommodation in a new area before deciding on a house to buy.

Until the establishment of the Housing Corporation in 1964 the main source of finance for the voluntary sector was the local authorities. Thus voluntary bodies were dependent for their capital and subsidies on as it were a "rival" body. It was not until the 1974 Housing Act which superseded earlier legislation that the role of the Housing Corporation was extended giving it responsibility for promoting the whole of the voluntary housing movement. Only those housing associations which are registered with the Housing Corporation may apply for local finance from the Housing Corporation or from any other public source such as a local authority.

The terminology in the voluntary sector is confusing and is only briefly dealt with here. All voluntary bodies are referred to as Associations, but the cost-rent and co-ownership bodies are technically Societies. But then the term "housing society" does frequently occur in the names of the older Associations. The Associations have traditionally provided subsidized housing. The Societies operate without the benefit of a subsidy although the co-ownership Societies benefit from the option mortgage scheme. In a co-ownership scheme all the "members" are corporate owners of the whole scheme, each member having the right to one of the Society's houses.

The development of housing co-operatives by the recently formed Co-operative Housing Agency combines the advantages of owner-occupation and tenancy and allows democratic self-management. It is a sad reflection on the British housing situation that attention is focused on the debate between council tenancy and owner-occupation and that for any other alternatives a very strong case had to be made out. The co-operative may in the future develop as the alternative form of tenure.

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A Residential Framework

Perhaps we could say the most noticeable fact about cities in Britain is the remarkable degree of segregation of the social classes. Each town is almost a cluster of urban villages, everyone dominated by a particular social class, everyone with its own life styles, its own status symbols and its own type of house. In the housing market people are split up residentially into broad income groups because people who can afford a similar type of house usually have a similar income. Richardson (1) has pointed out the importance of Building Societies' lending policies on the level of housing consumption. Owner-occupiers who buy their houses with a Building Society mortgage are subject to a maximum borrowing limitation determined by a given multiple of their income. Even in the council house market there can be some segregation by income, because only the higher income groups can afford the rents of the newest estates or travel costs of the peripheral estates.

Weber suggests that any market situation will add to the emergence of struggles which may be deemed class struggles. Hence the struggle for housing leads to "housing classes". Rex and Moore (2) isolated seven housing classes which were distinguished in Birmingham, though they noted that this will vary with different empirical conditions. This pronounced class character of cities in Britain, adapting to itself the structures evolved for previous social divisions, accounts for the fragmentary nature of our cities when you view them as a whole. People move about the total structure using the pieces of it they need, moving daily for their material needs and every five years or so with changes in their fortune. Generally they are unconscious of their total urban environment.

The essence of much of the theory of consumer behaviour has been the element of choice with only one constraining factor, that of income.

Alonso (3) and Muth (4) have both applied essentially this model to the analysis of urban housing. While there are differences between the two authors' treatment of the subject both share the assumption that there is only one constraint, that of the household budget on household actions. The limitation is that both models contain no house type or location preferences on the part of the households, choice is the dominant force. Here I am attempting to relate the growth of the city and the housing market to the physical situation in order to determine the choice in housing. Thus the ten housing categories established in an attempt to illustrate the physical situation. The housing categories are as following:-

Inner city terraced housing.

Inner suburban housing.

Outer suburban housing

Inter-war public sector housing.

Inter-war private sector housing.

Public sector city centre redevelopment.

Post-war public sector housing.

Post-war private sector housing.

Post-war semi-rural housing.

Exurbanite housing.

Inner City Terraced Housing

Housing in this category comprises the older, densely settled inner city terraces, parts of which may date from before 1850, but most of the houses were built as a result of the 1850's housing bye-laws. It forms the lowest rung of the housing ladder by housing the urban poor, right at the bottom of the ladder.

By tradition the inner city area provides for a jumble of uses - industry, shopping, warehouses, garages and a multitude of small scale industries - besides housing. Potentially the inner city area is financially valuable for commercial development. It is prime commercial land. Therefore there is a conflict between inner city housing and the needs of commercial development. There is further pressure on these areas from the urban road networks required to service the central development areas. The already bad housing conditions are made worse and further threatened by the urban motorways. Most of this two-storeyed terraced housing is cramped front and rear, the houses themselves small often without inside lavatories or bathrooms, a form characteristic of much of the nineteenth century industrial housing built close to the old established city industries it once served.

There is a distinction to be drawn between slum and low-cost housing (5) within the inner city area. The slum is sufficiently unhealthy to be harmful both to its inhabitants and to the city at large. But the low-cost areas perform a vital function by housing those who want to or for economic reasons are willing to accept high density, lack of privacy, lack of modernity and other inconveniences. These low-income workers are vital to the servicing of the city.

Many of the terraces have been demolished since slum clearance was resumed in the mid-1950's, but there are still areas within all our inner cities (6) built by speculative builders during mid and late nineteenth century which are unfit and socially unacceptable - highly decayed with dampness and structural faults, areas of extreme housing

stress and social deprivation. However, local authority clearance programme condemn and blight areas often years in advance of clearance. This physical deterioration is accompanied by the decline in services; transport, cleansing, the provision of schools, clinics, playgrounds and shops. This form of "official vandalism" means that no money is lent or invested in the housing or the area. The practise of many Building Societies further aggravates urban decay and frustrates any possible improvement policies. Building Societies have always been unwilling to lend on older properties, particularly in the inner city, but now there is evidence that they zone certain areas or even whole inner city areas which are not scheduled for clearance - "red line districts" (7) where they refuse to grant mortgages. The once stable working-class population is gradually replaced by a more transient population - young people, single or married who are trying to set up home for the first time; the low income households; single parent families; large families; the unemployed and the elderly. Vandalism appears for the first time as houses become vacant, thus hastening the deterioration.

Many people would choose not to leave the inner city if it were not for the planning blight. Some of the housing stock is acceptable and can be improved. Where improvement grants have been made available houses have been brought up to standard - Housing Action Areas and General Improvement Areas have shown this to be possible. Planning policies could be used more positively to encourage private initiative that would help "unslum" (8) some of the inner city housing. As early as 1963, Cullingworth was advocating a move to rehabilitation and to total area improvements.

The problem is no longer one of old insanitary courts of back-to-back houses, of dangers to the public health, or of abject poverty. Rather it is one of sound old houses needing improvement and continued maintenance. The political problem is also changing: in the phraseology of stereo types, the impitied and unpitied landlord is being replaced by the upstanding owner-occupier. Dispossession of the owner-occupiers for the sake of redevelopment is quite a different matter from the dispossession of landlords in the interests of public health The problem is now one of raising the quality of housing in the city. This calls for a policy of

improvement, rehabilitation and conservation - of the neighbourhood as well as of individual houses. (9).

Inner city tenement housing



The photograph shows a dense urban residential area, likely tenement housing, with multiple stories and narrow windows.



The inner city area provides a wide range of services including shopping, recreation, culture and a multitude of small scale industries.



The photograph shows a street view with buildings and possibly a streetcar or tram.



The photograph shows a street scene with buildings and possibly a streetcar or tram.



The photograph shows a street view with buildings and possibly a streetcar or tram.



The photograph shows a street scene with buildings and possibly a streetcar or tram.

Inner city terraced housing



The grid-iron rows of working class houses built at high densities in left over space segregated by rail-ways, canals and now urban motor-ways.



The inner city areas provide for a jumble of uses besides housing — shopping, warehouses, garages and a multitude of small scale industries.



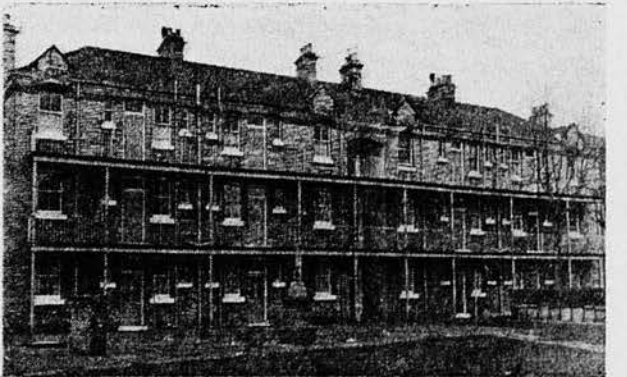
Unfit and socially unacceptable — highly decayed with dampness and structural faults.



Areas of extreme housing stress and multiple social deprivation.



The terraced housing is cramped front and rear, the houses themselves small, without inside lavatories or bathrooms.



Model housing for the working classes — erected 1862, Hull.



If housing is a resource can we afford to waste this low-rent housing?



"Unsluming" — rehabilitation work being carried out in a GIA.



The friendly and familiar corner shop — something never replaced in the new housing estates.

This category of housing is composed of highly subdivided housing much of which once comprised residential areas of high social standing which have subsequently declined. The inner suburbs are comprised of very different types of houses with a markedly different history from the previous category but somewhat akin to the following category of outer suburban housing.

Originally built as good Victorian terraced housing for the new white-collar class it has suffered invasion, progressive decay and falling social standing. Though some lack basic amenities, they are in relatively sound structural condition so as not to be defined as slums. Much of this housing has subsequently become twilight housing forming the grey areas of the city, which are described in the Deelish (10) and Halliwell studies (11). They meet the demand for housing from the low-income groups. The demand for this kind of housing in most cities can only be met by the subdivision and multi-occupancy of the larger houses in the twilight areas. A failure of our housing system has been to provide an adequate pool of low-rent housing available to low-income households new to the inner city area.

The twilight zones will include those who have bought their houses, some who occupy houses bought by the local authority pending demolition and some who have subdivided their houses into flats, bed-sits and furnished rooms. As in the case of the previous category, twilight housing is often included in Building Societies' "red line districts" partly because Building Societies refuse to grant mortgages on large, older property which could be converted to multiple occupancy. The progressive subdivision and overcrowding has created the neglect, decay and gross disrepair. These areas then become the "reception centres" for the population new to the city - the low-income groups. The households tend to be young and many Commonwealth immigrants and other ethnic

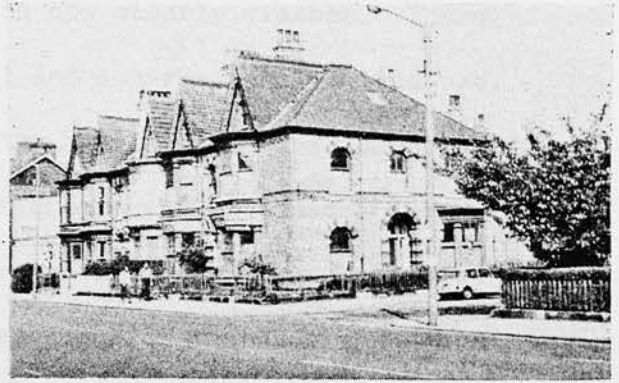
minorities are concentrated in this housing. Because families tend to be large overcrowding is common. Here also is found the "hotel accommodation" which is used by local authorities to provide temporary bed and breakfast accommodation for their homeless families.

In many parts of London there are examples of where landlords have "winkled out" (12) their tenants in order to modernise the property and then sell it and of the improvement grant mechanism being used by the more affluent middle-class to take over areas - "gentrifying" (13) the housing. Some of the two and three-storey Victorian houses form terraces that architecturally often make impressive series of terraces, especially when refurbished. Other cities will experience areas of the working class population being priced out of the city by the middle-class who "gentrify" that area which formerly provided low-rent housing, particularly as suburban living becomes more expensive and the inner city becomes more attractive to the middle class. Both this category and the previous category have traditionally provided low-rent housing whether in the form of handed-down upper class housing or surviving working class housing. These areas are threatened by official policy attempting to raise housing standards in an attempt to clear all housing deemed "unfit".

Inner suburban housing



Originally built as good Victorian and Edwardian terraced housing, it has suffered invasion, progressive decay and falling social standing.



Highly subdivided housing, much of which once comprised residential areas of high social standing.



The twilight zone — an area of bed-sits, furnished rooms, flats and "hotel accommodation".



These are the "reception areas" of the city, providing low-rent housing for those new to the city.



The twilight areas are often well served by good shopping areas.



The ubiquitous secondhand car sales.

This category of housing is more uniformly residential than any of the previous categories - the suburb is now clearly visible. There is a clear separation between residential and non-residential land use. The presence of gardens and trees gives the area a less stark appearance. Here too are often the Victorian parks which provide a valuable open area in the urban fabric. It is an upper income zone with a high rate of owner-occupation. There is a marked progression in house types built during the late Victorian to First World War period. From the tall three or four storeyed Victorian houses forming terraces, avenues or fine squares or large detached villas standing in their own grounds producing their own domestic landscape to the Edwardian terraces and the two-storeyed cottages influenced by the Garden City Movement before 1914.

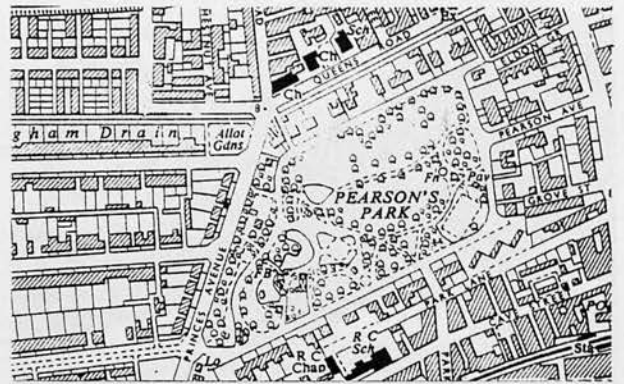
The Victorian housing was built during the last quarter of the nineteenth century usually for the upper middle class and as such formed a zone of high status which has like the previous housing category undergone preformed changes. The difference between this housing and the twilight housing is that far fewer houses have been subdivided, and those that have been subdivided are usually occupied by a population of a higher status - professional singles, young married couples and often a large body of students.

The suburban cottages of the Garden Suburbs arranged in varied terraces and clustered around narrow cul-de-sacs, with their landscape often mostly overgrown, achieve a sense of place and in every road are a contrast to the uniform grid pattern of the late Victorian and Edwardian speculative builder. Nevertheless these superior artisan houses are ever increasingly becoming attractive to the middle class,

.... in search of something which more closely relates in simple practical terms to the gradual evolution of the family. (14)

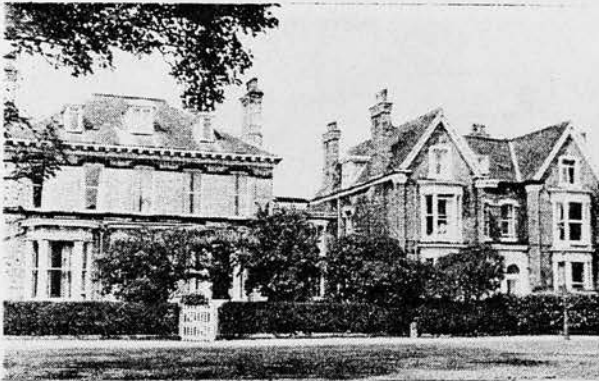
This was the start of the suburban tradition of family houses with gardens.

Outer suburban housing



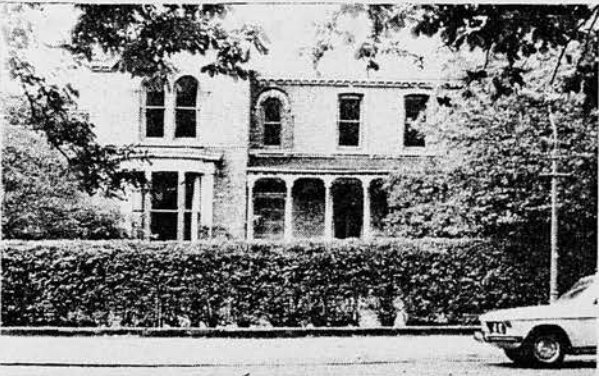
The public park usually enhanced property values and was frequently associated with the success of a fashionable housing area.

The idea of the park attracted the financial support of many a Victorian benefactor — here Pearson's Park, 1861, Hull.



Fashionable housing surrounding the park.

Tree-lined avenues.



There is a marked progression in house types built, from the large Victorian detached houses standing in their own grounds

.....to the two storey Edwardian terraces.



Fewer houses are subdivided but those that have been are occupied by a population of a higher social status than the previous category.



These areas are more uniformly residential than any of the previous housing categories.



The Hull Garden Village, 1908, an independent village owned by the Hull Garden Village Company which was largely the preserve of the manufacturing firm of Reckitts.



The pleasant tree lined streets of the Garden Suburb created a new informal suburban architecture.

The arrival of this category of housing, under the "Addison Act" of 1919, first marked housing as a major item of Government expenditure. The "Addison Act" seized upon the Tudor-Walters Report of 1918 which dealt with the type of accommodation required by the working classes. This was deemed to be the two storey, selfcontained cottage. The inter-war council house estates form a belt or zone prescribing the limits of the pre-1914 urban development. With the result, this category of housing which reflects Garden City ideals, is characterised by peripheral, low density estate development, usually consisting of no more than twelve houses to the acre erected in terraces or pairs. Though the estates vary in size and shape from area to area they were designed to include short cul-de-sacs and crescents to escape the depressing grid-iron system of streets. By the 1930's highly symmetrical patterns of road layouts were favoured. Despite the recommendations of the Tudor Walters Report many of the estates were and have remained devoid of social, commercial, recreational and educational facilities.

The estates form working class, planned, residential suburbs, the product of local authority overcrowding, and particularly after 1930, slum clearance schemes. This implies that for many of the residents the move to the suburbs was not their own choice but was the result of local authority policies. Wilmott most clearly highlights the characteristics of this type of suburb which his description of Dagenham aptly sums up,

.... The visitor to Dagenham does not need to be told that he has come to a council housing estate. It has the stamp - the two storey brick terraces, the geometric road terraces, the tame grass, the monotonous air (15).

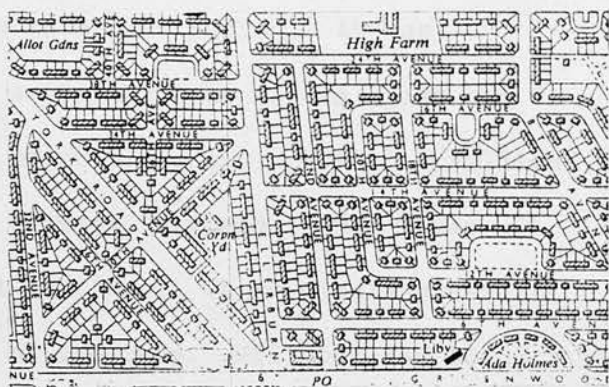
Although all inter-war council housing was intended for members of the working classes on the whole the houses were provided for those in secure employment. Some of the original tenants who moved to the new council estates are still there. However today, some 38 - 58 years later, some authorities are already experiencing difficulties in letting their

inter-war housing. Many local authorities in the past followed policies of grading tenants and allocating the lower standard inter-war housing to house "problem" families and those unwilling or unable to pay higher rents. In fact tenants who are generally among the poorest in the community. Such policies have only speeded the process of physical decay. Where estates have become stigmatized, physically decayed and are classified as "difficult to let" estates some councils have demolished them. However some estates have matured into as pleasant a residential environment as is found in the private sector. It is clear in many respects that inter-war council housing no longer provides an adequate standard of accommodation. Further rents are now far above the historic costs. In recent years local authorities have taken advantage of Government grants to carry out modernisation schemes in their inter-war property, or used the general improvement area grant mechanism for environmental improvements. But can rehabilitation techniques have any impact on communities that are fundamentally in conflict with an environment that is provided for them?

Inter-war public sector housing



Note how the 1960's council housing estate now defines the limits of the city as once did the inter-war estate shown in the foreground.



By the 1930's highly symmetrical patterns of road layouts were favoured.



The stark bareness and monotonous air of the inter-war council estate.



The stamp of the council housing estate — typical two-storey brick terraces.



Many of the inter-war council housing estates, except for a few shops, remain devoid of social, commercial, recreational and educational facilities.



A council estate modernisation and GIA. scheme.

This category of housing makes up the vast unplanned suburbs created by private enterprise during the inter-war period. It was probably the greatest volume of private expenditure on middle class and semi-middle class houses in the history of this country. Some 3.1 million houses were built in the private sector between 1919 and 1939. These home-owners represent one quarter of all families. These middle class suburbs are often seen as the archetype of suburbia. Willmott and Young see the semi-detached and pebble-dashed villas built since 1918 more than a symbol,

... they are the suburb ... (16).

The middle class estates were often laid out in an aimless fashion of curving roads sprouting cul-de-sacs in all directions, with long rows of uniformly built and identically, or nearly so, designed semi-detached and occasionally detached houses, with neat lawns and gardens. It was the semi-detached house which provided an acceptable and very popular density housing estates, devoid of industrial or commercial development have assumed the character of dormitories. As a result a restless monotony emerged in many of these inter-war housing estates. However town planning schemes of the 1920's and the 1930's of prescribed shops - the parades of shops with flats above were located along the important main roads.

Suburban areas are common recipients of attacks by social scientists and journalistic commentators for their appearance and their quality of life. Orwell in his "Coming up for Air" condemns suburbia and the suburban way of life, describing "Ellesmere Road" and a suburban estate as a ,

... Prison with the cells all in a row. A line of semi-detached torture chambers where the poor little five-to-ten pound-a-weeks quake and shiver ... (17).

Lewis Mumford said that the,

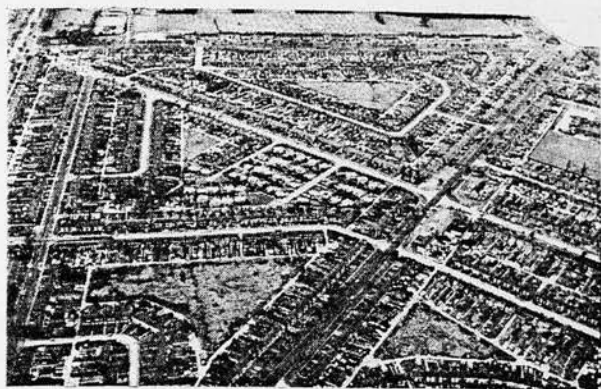
... suburb offers poor facilities for meeting, conversational, collective debates, and common action - it favours silent conformity, not rebellion or counterattack ... (18).

and F.J. Osborn found this,

... type of urban growth wasteful from the economic standpoint and disastrous socially ... (19).

However the failure of many writers to define clearly and to investigate the actual behaviour of people in the suburb has led to the growth and perpetuation of erroneous ideas. Perhaps the conformity is more strongly in the mind of the critic than in the actual dweller in the suburb. The inter-war speculative house in many cases provides better space standards to those being produced in the private sector today.

Inter-war private sector housing



Typical example of the sprawling low density private housing built in the late 1920's and 1930's



The ubiquitous semi-detached.



Note the presence of gardens and the tree lined road giving the whole a very different look to the stark bareness of the inter-war council housing estates



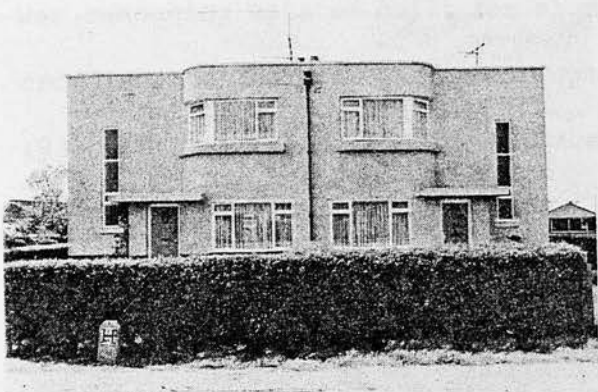
The inter-war growth in owner-occupation reached right down as far as the better paid manual workers. Typical example of late 1930's terraced housing



Shops sprang up at strategic road intersections



Substantial middle-class property with its fashionable design



1930's modernism



The inter-war housing sprawled out along the approach roads to all towns. The 1935 Restriction of Ribbon Development Act did little to stop the flow. Note how the inter-war housing is now outflanked by the new private suburban housing



Much of the late inter-war speculative house designs were carried on after the war well into the 1950's.



Suburbia was now serviced by the bus and the motor car which resulted in a much wider spread of rather low density suburban housing.

This category of inner city council housing consists of the inter-war rehousing estates built for slum clearance and the relief of overcrowding and the post-war redevelopment schemes. The Greenwood Act of 1930 did not intend that the replacement housing should be different in quality to that for general needs. However the 1930's effectively re-established private enterprise as the primary provider of houses but not for rent, most of it was for sale. By contrast council housing was second best. Subsidies were given on the basis of the number of people rehoused. Thus house designs maximised bedroom space at the expense of living space. The increased densities, the low standards of layout and density and their unattractive appearance made many of these 1930's flatted estates immediately less desirable. Many estates have become stigmatised almost from the start. They were populated originally by low-income families, often with a number of young children and coming from extremely bad housing conditions.

Some estates have matured, but in many others the opposite has happened. Subjected to the wear and tear of large numbers of children they have progressively deteriorated. After only 40 years some of these flatted estates have been demolished, others like the inter-war council housing built for general needs have been rehabilitated using the GIA mechanism. For many others their future is questionable, these 'cuts' estates of the 1930's face further cuts.

Again in the early 1950's attention was drawn to the problems of older housing and slum clearance. In 1955 local authorities were forced onto the open market for loans which at time of increased building costs and increased interest rates put great pressure on local authority housing finances. Their only recourse was to slum clearance subsidies which offered differential rates to encourage flats and high rise building. Again a factor which was to prove very significant in reducing

council housing standards as in the 1930's.

Today although their location is central and convenient for city facilities the effects have proved disastrous. High rise flats particularly for families are unpopular and labelled as socially undesirable. They provided not cheap but more expensive houses certainly as far as heating is concerned, as Nicholas Taylor comments on heat,

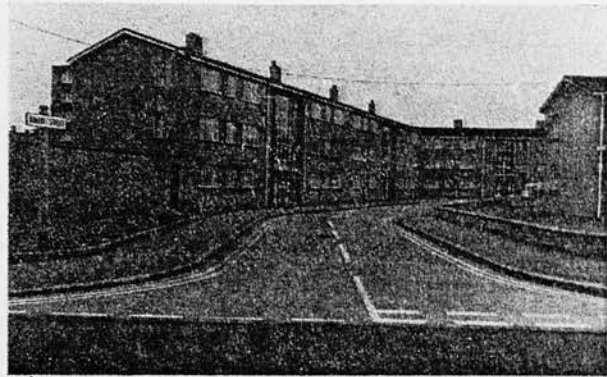
... which in a concrete wall has tended to congeal into grey dampness of fungus blotched walls ... (20).

problems are similar to those of the 1930's only compounded because of the scale. Many people in this housing category are similarly deprived to those in the first category, in that they have a better chance of being made redundant, being on the dole for a long time and forced to wait over six months for hospital treatment. Children are more likely to die in infancy, or when, after getting no nursery schooling, they finally get to school, being in larger classes in worse buildings. Finally they emerge onto the dole. These estates of often poorly designed and constructed homes for "underprivileged" groups will present increasing problems for a long way into the future.

Public sector city redevelopment



1930's council flats — the result of inner city slum clearance.



Mid-1950's slum clearance estate.



The answer to the cost problem, linked to speed in construction and saving of land, was seen to lie in the use of high rise industrialised building methods. The nature of subsidies to local authorities further encouraged high rise developments.



By the mid-1960's local authorities were under pressure to build at least a proportion of their houses by industrialised systems. But it was the building firms who benefited. Industrialised building provided 42 per cent of council houses by 1967.



Post-war inner city redevelopment area reflecting housing trends — high rise point blocks, maisonettes, high rise slab blocks and terraced housing.

This category of housing contains perhaps the greatest variety of housing which in turn reflects the changes in post-war architectural and planning thinking. The immediate post-war utopian vision was of socially mixed council estates built on garden city principles. Although the post-war years made considerable headway towards meeting the housing target in terms of quantity the interests of speed and economy were allowed to take almost total precedence at the expense of improved standards of planning. The substantial reduction in overall house size, with consequential savings in labour and materials, resulted in the average three bedroom house which in 1951 was still over 1,000 sq.ft. was by 1952 below 950 sq.ft. in size. The houses did go up - in both 1953 and 1954 council house building exceeded a quarter of a million something that has not happened before the war or since. By 1961 council house completions fell to 118,000.

By limiting different types of housing, mixed development resolved the pre-war polarisation between blocks of flats and suburban cottages. The mixed development estates mixed blocks of flats, maisonettes and terraced housing on the same site. The early 1960's witnessed the height of the mixed development, the years of the housing boom when the country had "never had it so good". To economise on the cost of land, densities were increased and the height of blocks rose. Between 1945 and 1964 less than a third of council building was in the form of flats, but from 1964 to 1972 it was well over half. By the mid-1960's there was a commitment to industrial systems. Councils were under pressure to build at least a proportion of their houses by system methods, as did architects and councillors who wanted to project a modern image. The high rise development during the 1960's was heavily influenced by the urban imagery of a generation earlier. Mounting critical comment concentrated on the inhuman scale and social isolation of the

tall blocks. There is now a recognition of the potential of the low rise small scale approach typified by the cottage estate tradition, as a result a less monumental more modest scale of housing has evolved. Today there is less faith in drastic action, in the wisdom of completely demolishing existing neighbourhoods for housing redevelopment, and in the possibility of creating rich and balanced communities in totally new surroundings.

While council housing has in many cases provided decent housing for working class families there is a growing awareness of the failures of council housing; the extreme examples of poor design and construction; lack of maintenance and insensitive management policies. Even the former Director of Housing at Newcastle admitted recently that some of the council housing built in the last twenty years is the worst quality housing to be built in Britain this century. (21). Sound insulation between houses is often extremely poor as is thermal insulation. Heating systems are too often expensive to run. The open space so often desired by tenants rehoused from the older housing in the inner city has been so misused and misallocated that its condition has become the most striking defect of new estates.

Cummulatively then these defects in houses, misuse of external open spaces, lack of shops and places of entertainment and the absence of social facilities in many cases have combined to produce social problems when magnified by the size of estates and aggravated by their isolation. Rehoused families found they had to travel greater distances to work, entertainment and other city centre amenities. Shops in post-war estates tend to be very inadequate in relation to demand. However these deficiencies it should be remembered are also found in the private sector suburban estates. But the difference is that it is the poorest sections of the population who have become increasingly concentrated in public sector housing, especially those in the bottom three income groups - the poorest 30 per cent of the population. If no action is

taken to rescue deteriorating council housing estates, slums in the making, many of them will become unacceptable to the majority of tenants. Houses in such estates will either stand empty or be reserved for the poorest tenants. Just as we are faced with the problems of the inner city and twilight housing today, this category of housing will increasingly present problems in the future. There is a need for action if local authorities are not to consider demolition of houses before they have completed their expected life.

Post-war public sector housing



The 1949 Housing Act gave local authorities wider responsibilities for all the housing needs in their area and removed the phrase "for the working classes", in relation to council housing. Council housing was for everyone.



"Prefabs" were the first experiments in industrialised building. They were to provide temporary housing to help the post-war housing shortage — 30 years later shrinking numbers still remain.



The idea of large neighbourhood units emerged from the planning ideas of the 1930's, large scale zoning of land usage and the garden city idea of residential development.



Typical 1950's council housing estate on the periphery of the city.



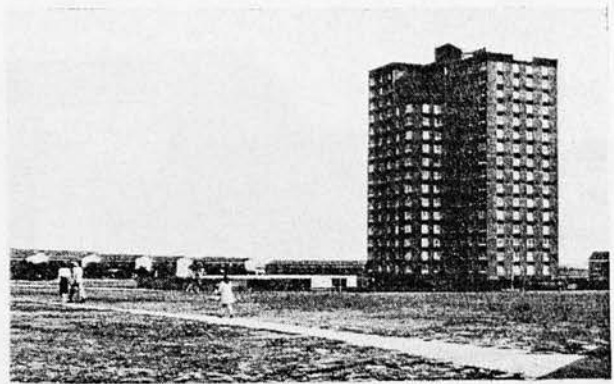
Some early 1950's houses were based on pre-war Swedish examples.



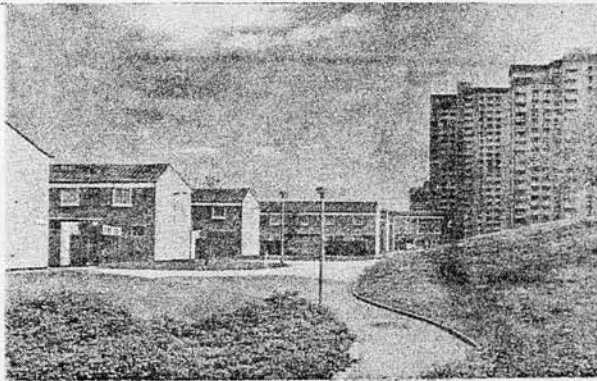
Many early 1950's estates in appearance resemble the 1930's cottage image. To economise on time pre-war designs were often built.



1950's mixed development.



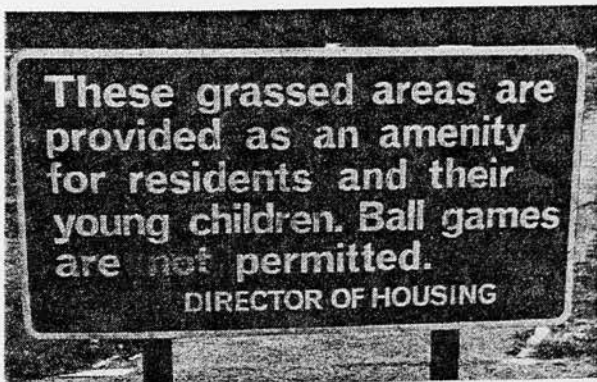
The mixed development estates literally "mixed" blocks of flats, maisonettes and terraced housing on the same site.



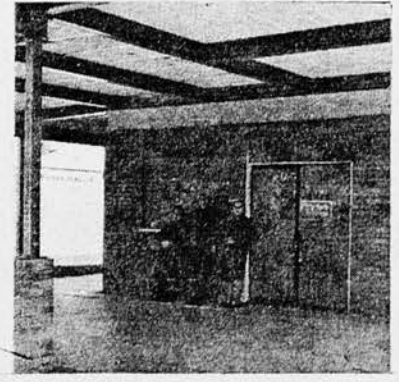
The early 1960's witnessed the golden age of mixed development.



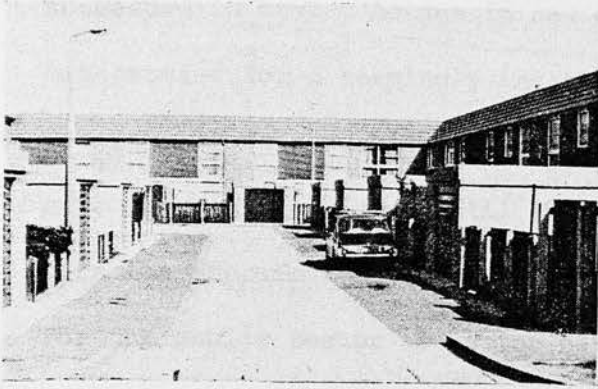
The early 1960's when the country had "never had it so good" — still the air of monotony and the stark bareness of the council estate.



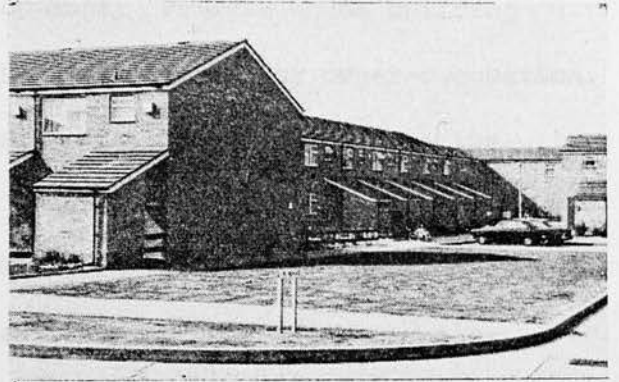
Enforcing the bureaucratic attitude adopted by housing management to managing council housing estates.



The district rent office, often the only point of contact between the local authority and the tenants — here fortified against vandalism.



The effects of steadily mounting post-war prosperity on housing were very much in evidence; standards of space, storage and heating were increased in accordance with the recommendations of the Parker Morris Report of 1961. Greater provisions were made for the motor car as car ownership steadily increased.



Recent housing estates show a return to a domestic scale, enhanced by a traditional appearance with pitched roofs.



Housing layout of the late 1960's early 1970's.

This category of housing houses the new suburbanites, who have succeeded in buying houses in new developments. Private house building has catered for a seemingly insatiable post-war demand for owner-occupation. The rate of construction of private housing has, however, not been the same over this period. Until 1957 less than one-third of houses built were for the owner-occupier but since 1957 for every seven houses completed for the public sector about ten have been built for the owner-occupier. The bulk of this private house building has been achieved by peripheral development, only limited sites being available for infilling. The suburbanites face increasingly long journeys to work and into shopping and entertainment centres. This is the price they are willing to pay for the advantages of living in or near to the country. It is the less affluent members of the suburban community who lack a car who may face real hardship in a society where the dominant assumption is that everyone has a car.

These new convenient and comfortable homes may be an improvement on their equivalents built in the inter-war period in matters like built-in central heating, insulation or garage space but they are not in the form of land and house space. The rising cost of land during the 1960's drove the price of new housing up, but this was cushioned by building more houses to the acre. Other developers faced with increasing costs, slow sales of smaller houses and tighter control on mortgage lending switched to building medium and expensively priced property. As a result there is a new archetypal suburbia of the 1960's and the 1970's which is very distinctive from that of the equivalent houses built a decade before and from that of the 1930's. Houses occur far less often in the traditional semi-detached or detached form but more in the form of terraces (often referred to as "town houses" in the estate agents description). The pocket size front gardens, open directly to the

pavement, are without wall or hedge - a form imported from North America.

It is curious that suburbanites probably regard themselves as superior to the average council tenant and yet their housing may well be built to standards lower than that set down by the Parker Morris standards for local authority housing. Ray Thomas (22) points out that one reason why the standard of amenities has not increased significantly over the last few decades is that the market of owner occupation has been extended to members of low income groups. Most of the new owner-occupiers have been satisfied enough to have a home of their own. As a result the standard of accommodation of new houses in the private sector has been determined by the need to sell to members of relatively low income groups. It is here the developers in order to overcome rising costs have had to save space and sacrifice finishes or equipment. Thus it is the less affluent house-owner who has paid the greatest price.

Suburbia is basically devoted to rearing children and yet inside the home may well have a single cramped living room for all the communal purposes of the family. Therefore at a time when the number of children per family appeared to be rising dramatically and the amount of household appliances and possessions were also increasing the available space to accommodate them in the home was actually falling.

The areas of recent population growth then are all suburban in character in both the private and public housing sectors. They generally lack any other urban facilities, nearly all being more distant from the centres of entertainment, employment, shopping and cultural and educational facilities than the residential areas of the inter-war period. Further the new owner-occupiers have been housed in homes that are smaller than their equivalents in the 1930's and when one considers the rise in standards and the increase in family possessions and that these homes will last a minimum of 60 years, this means they may well be functionally obsolescent long before the end of the century. As Peter Hall, Ray Thomas and Roy Drewett state,

If it were not for their green-field sites, many of the 850 square feet bungaloid developments in exurbia could easily be confused with being the equivalent of late nineteenth century industrial slums with their poor architecture, repetitive and unimaginative designs and totally inadequate space standards for a consumer society about to enter the last quarter of the twentieth century. (23).

Post-war private sector housing



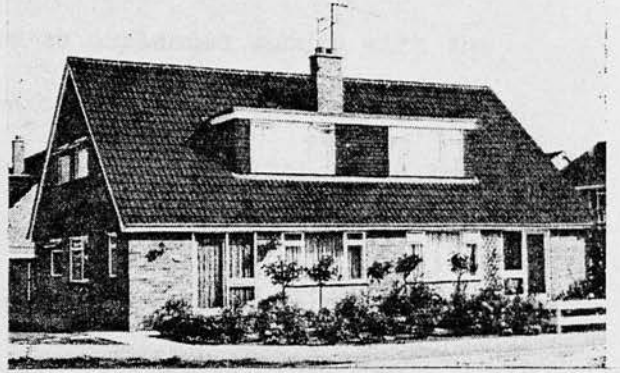
Private sector housing of the 1950's.



Suburbia lacks any other urban facilities — shopping, employment, recreation or cultural.



Often poor architecture, repetitive and unimaginative designs.



Investment in a home is seen by many as the best available hedge against inflation.



The ubiquitous neo-Georgian fashion of the 1970's. Note also the open front gardens without wall or hedge.



They may well be functionally obsolescent long before the end of the century.

This category of housing contains a variety of housing types, built at different times since the last war, but most since the early 1960's. There is a basic similarity between this housing category and the previous category. Although the housing ranges from the detached house to the terraced units, the largest proportion of houses are three bedroomed semi-detached. The house types are uniformly built and identically designed with the standard semi-detached houses laid out to look detached giving an external appearance which can be found in any of the new private sector suburbs.

This category is prevalent in the small villages and towns within commuting distance of the city, and forms an unplanned suburb with the village only growing through the addition of these low density suburbs around the edge - forming an almost "reluctant suburb" (24). The low density, openness and rural qualities of such developments makes them attractive to the new migrants. The present open surroundings of the housing always threatened by the possibility of further development. This group, like other exurbanites, has been quick to seize on the implications of increased public participation in planning to protect this open and semi-rural character from further development.

Typically the homeowners will have moved from an older dwelling in one of the major conurbations. They, typically, earn an above average income otherwise they would not be able to afford the new dwelling at higher standards and they have migrated in an outward direction from the city. They still migrate daily back to their place of work in the city - a price they, like the suburbanites, are willing to pay for living in the country. Many of them are in the "married with young children at home" stage of the life cycle and therefore their needs are based on those of the nuclear unit. This housing contains the desirable qualities for family living - an owner-occupied house, in

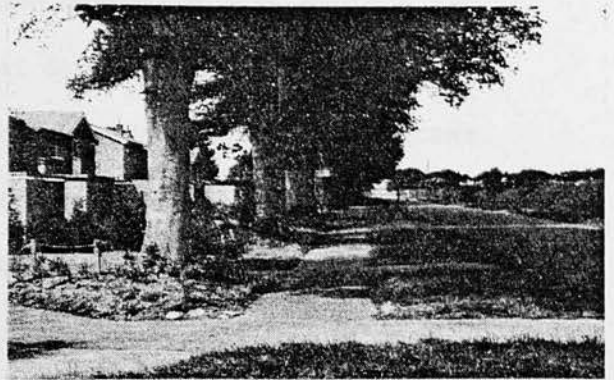
a pleasant, low-density environment on relatively cheaper land. Watson (25) has suggested the term "spiralists" to describe this group who have been regarded as being socially, economically and geographically mobile. However this picture of the behaviour of the young newcomers has not emerged from the study carried out by Ambrose (26) who shows they wish to remain longer in one place. Further available evidence (27) suggests that the majority of the population do not move very often, and of those who do not many move very far.

This category, therefore, remains "rural" in name only because the population filling the villages and small towns around the city, where development has been allowed, is urban in terms of its origins, life style and place of work. It can be argued that families seeking new homes are forced by the nature of the housing market to the periphery of the city and into the surrounding villages and small towns, unless their incomes are above average.

Post-war semi-rural housing



The village only grows through the addition of these low density suburbs around the edge.



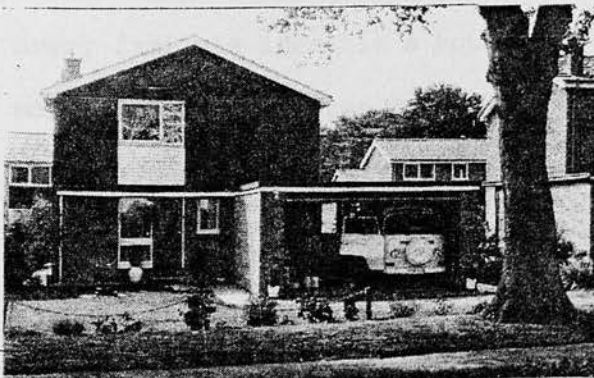
They have been quick to seize on the implications of increased public participation in planning to protect this open and semi-rural character from further development.



The archetypal suburb of the 1970's.



It is "rural" in name only, its population is urban in terms of its origins, life-style and place of work.



Commuting to work — a price they are willing to pay for living in the country.



This housing contains the desirable qualities for family living - an owner-occupied house, in a pleasant low density environment.

The main characteristics of this category of housing are that its houses are more widely spaced and generally more various and more expensive. This form of residential development has been termed exurbia (28). Although a recent phenomenon, exurbia is not as recent as the previous category of housing. Its development started in the 1920's and 1930's. Architecturally each house is different in style and nearly always sitting in large neat and well maintained grounds. This housing represents to the majority of people the most attractive type of housing. To achieve exurbia and the exurbanite way of life is to achieve the "dream" or "unlimited dream".

Exurbia, which can aptly be described as unplanned suburbia, is located beyond the existing suburbs often in the outskirts of small villages surrounding the cities. The features which separate this type of residential development from previous suburban categories, are its distance from the city and from the city's suburban areas, its high cost exclusiveness and its extreme low density. These pleasantly situated houses of course create a very large capital appreciation.

Thomas in his book "Suburbia" (29) links the nineteenth century growth of the upper and middle class suburbs very much to the Romantic view of town and country. This hypothetical "search for Arcadia" where every family's ideal is a house and garden in the country - though never more than five minutes from the town, has persisted into the twentieth century. But whereas the development of the mass suburb bears little resemblance to that envisaged by the Romantic writers, the exurbanite housing still provides some of the Romantic view of town and country living.

The exurbanites essentially use the countryside as a way of life rather than a way of work. As a group they are in socio-economic terms higher, and in material terms richer, than average. Most are employed

in professional or managerial occupations. They have the capital to afford a house of "character" and isolation, and often own two or three cars, allowing the husband to commute and rendering the wife independent. Peter Hall (30) states that by establishing a civilised British version of "apartheid", planning has preserved their status quo. This group has probably gained more and lost less than any other, and it has been quick to seize on the implications of increased public participation in planning so as to cement its position in any planning conflicts. These then are areas of high social status being seen as possessing a way of life to which many would aspire.

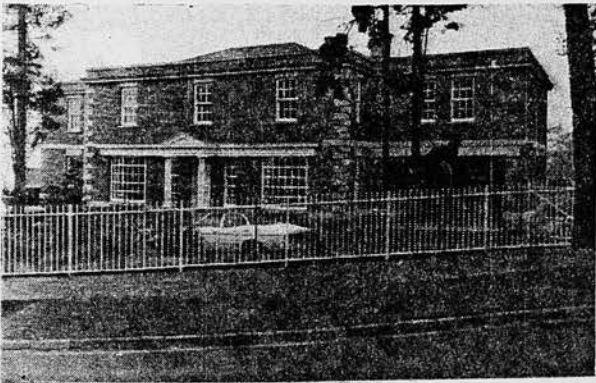
Exurbanite housing



Architecturally each house is different in style and nearly always sitting in large, neat and well maintained grounds of its own.



Exurbia offers a house of "character" and isolation.



These pleasantly situated houses, of course, create a very large capital appreciation.



These are areas of high social status being seen as possessing a way of life to which many would aspire.

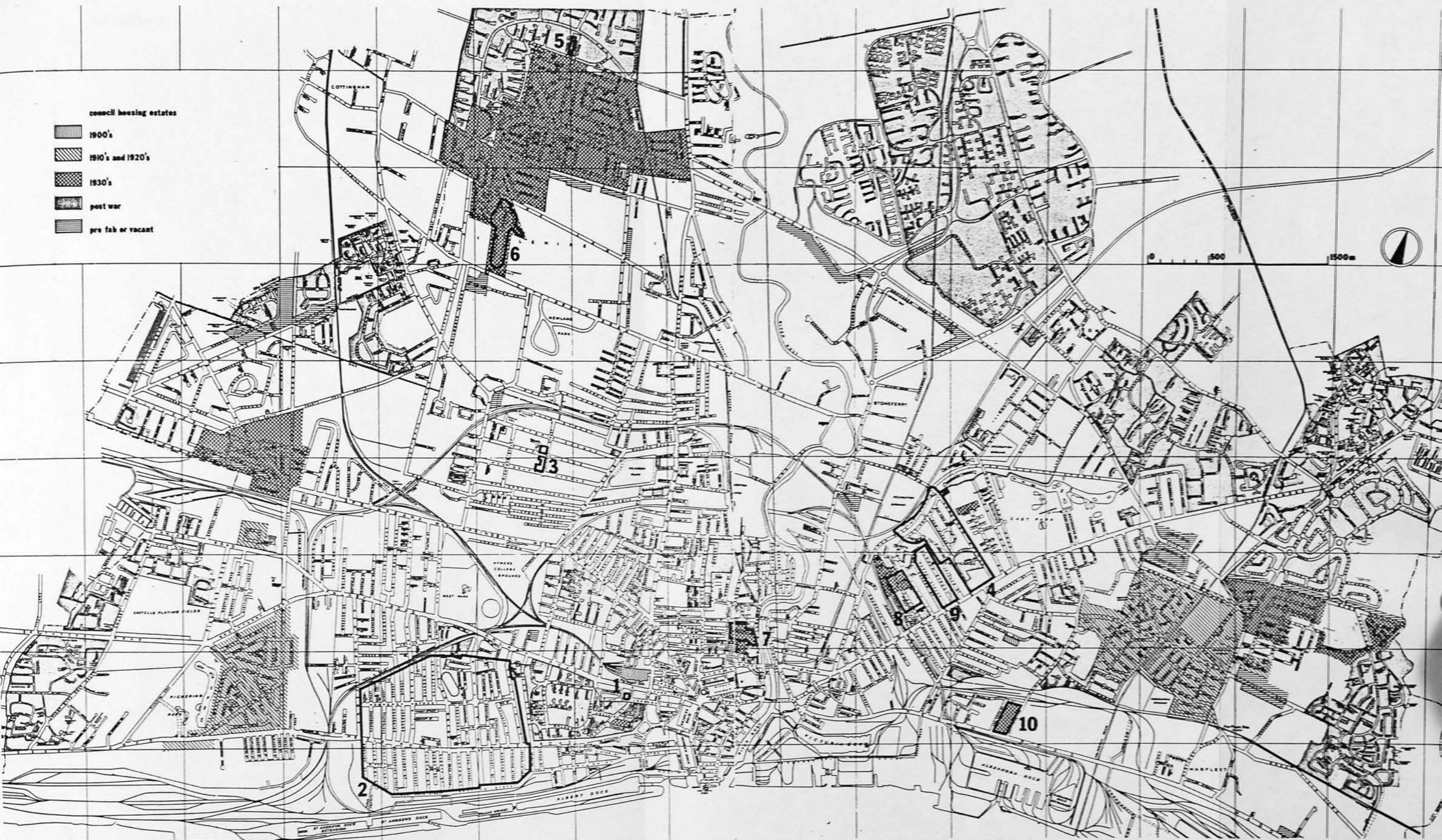
The City of Hull

Hull, situated on the junction of the rivers Hull and Humber,, is a city of about 275,000. It is largely a working-class city.. Until the last few years, Hull has been seen as being isolated from the rest of northern England, but is now linked to the national motorway network.. Perhaps most obviously to the outsider is Hull's association with the fishing industry and its associated industries. Hoggart talks of,,

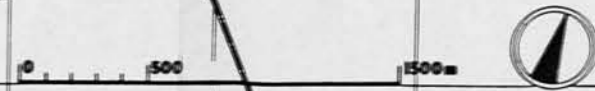
the large area in Hull which has a permanent pall of cooking fishmeat over it, seeping through the packed houses.. ((31))..

Although important, the fishing industry and its associated industries account for only about 2 per cent of the total workforce.. The most remarkable feature of the city in terms of its industrial structure,, is its diversity. There is a very wide range manufacturing and service industries. However, the area has suffered in the economic recession and the unemployment rate has reached serious proportions with over 10 per cent of the male workforce unemployed at the time in the city.. Hull itself fits into the residential pattern described with the illustrations used in the housing categories drawn from Hull..

But in one respect of our housing model Hull does differ quite considerably from the rest of England and Wales,, ((though reflects Scotland)) and that is the housing market. Hull,, since before the Second World War has pursued a policy of municipalisation of its housing stock so that today council housing represents over 50 per cent of the total housing stock. At the same time the voluntary housing sector has been resisted and is virtually unrepresented. The owner-occupier sector only represents about 34 per cent of the market. The results of this policy will become clear in the adolescents' responses to the questionnaire.. By now establishing a survey methodology and formulating our questionnaire this then allows us to look at the attitude of the adolescents towards their existing environment and housing and to attempt to determine their housing aspirations.



- council housing estates**
- 1900's
 - 1910's and 1920's
 - 1930's
 - post war
 - pre fab or vacant



- Key**
- 1 Model dwellings of 1862 in Midland Street
 - 2 Terraced housing 1860-1914
 - 3 G. Gilbert Scott houses in Salisbury Street, the Avenues
 - 4 The Garden Village 1907
 - 5 Tarrans' 'sunshine' homes 1936
 - 6 Quadrant. 1930s housing now a GIA
 - 7 New George Street GIA
 - 8 Barnsley Street GIA
 - 9 Durham Street GIA
 - 10 Newtown Court GIA

THE CITY OF HULL

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Survey Methodology

We've got National Housing Surveys; we've got Regional Housing Surveys; more recently we've had the Ministry's House Condition Survey nationally; we've got the conurbation Housing Surveys for London, West Midlands, South East Lancashire, Tyneside and West Yorkshire. In fact, we've got more information on housing conditions than we've ever had before, but what we do lack is adequate data on demand and aspirations, on the relative demand for owner-occupation or renting, on demand for new versus old, on the demand for central city versus suburban locations, demand for Parket Morris housing compared with housing of higher or lower standards, and on such matters as second dwellings. (1)

The need for user research arose when, as societies grew more complex, designers became increasingly remote from users of their products.

Initially the stimulus for user research was not from the designers but from administrators who wanted evidence on whether policy aims were being fulfilled. Rather than using conventional market research techniques, user research has arrived at the establishment of a set of criteria for a design which will provide the most suitable product for satisfaction of user needs. In this country, user research has been of three types. Firstly, studies of user response to a particular design; secondly, area studies where design improvements are being or have been undertaken, and thirdly strategic studies of needs and priorities amongst users. (2).

The idea of interdisciplinary co-operation in the built environment is no means novel. Social scientists seriously turn out research that they feel should aid designers, and designers on their part, when not undertaking the same research themselves, state what kinds of knowledge they should have handed to them. Therefore how can research conducted on present social phenomena be useful to the built environment of the future? If designers feel the need for information about the usefulness and possible success of their designs, how then can the designer prepare for the future built environment and yet successfully anticipate public reaction to it? This task is easier said than done. The major obstacle is the virtual lack of precedent for the kinds of social research needed

to link social with physical variables. The aim here is to briefly illustrate the value of the survey as a research technique in the design of residential environments and to develop a few approaches that appear potentially fruitful for study in this area. It is not my purpose here to add in any way to what already has become an extensive literature on the techniques of carrying out surveys. (3).

Architecture lacks well defined boundaries, it has no ideologies, it has few tools and techniques that it can call its own. As a result in carrying out research one turns to other disciplines such as sociology, psychology and political science in search of methods and concepts. However where other disciplines have accepted survey techniques architects nevertheless frequently regard them with the utmost suspicion, despite the fact that they have become an established part of architectural education. Although this may be part of a wider problem which Vere Hole (4) has identified as the use of unsatisfactory models of society by architects, particularly concerning society, the individual and the physical environment. This is reinforced in a D.O.E. Survey (5) which concluded that many architects exhibited a very secure sense of what they knew to be the likes and dislikes of local authority residents. So, accepting then that the survey technique has been borrowed from the field of social investigation the interview survey begins as the application of the notion discussed by John Madge when he stated simply,

...if you want to find out something about a person, surely the best way is to ask him. (6).

The aim of the interview survey is to provide explicit quantifiable data. Ravetz (7) very rightly reminds us of several important points. Firstly, this data only becomes evidence once it has been interpreted; secondly, that the questionnaire is not an irrelevancy but is of basic importance; thirdly, the selection of the questions is in the hands of the researcher, and fourthly the data collected reflects only the researchers interests and field of study but his understanding of the

particular environment. But perhaps the major point to note is that the evidence depends on the researchers experience, knowledge and insight. Therefore the primary research instrument - namely the questionnaire - is of major importance and should not be relegated to an appendix. The evidence gained from surveys must be considered as contributions to our range of knowledge about human behaviour within the built environment.

Ravetz (8) poses the question as to whether the survey could help bring about the dialogue necessary for the operation of public participation. My view here is that if just some of the adolescents, as a result of taking part in the study, begin to think about their environment, to question and discuss it, then I feel at least something will have been achieved. Although it may be argued that the only person to really gain is the researcher. While his gain by itself may only slightly expand the corpus of social scientific knowledge, he has certainly helped to equip himself for the more precise methods of enquiry, and ultimately for the task of applying his learning to the solution of practical problems of social change. Ravetz concludes;

For all its shortcomings, it (the survey) is a useful research tool and one of the few available means of communication between the designers and users; and if used systematically and with critical awareness, it can make a valuable contribution to the corpus of information about human response to the built environment. (9).

A Question of Preferences

What do people think about aspects of their housing and its environment? What are their preferences? People cannot be expected to be consistently rational in their preferences. Even though their feelings about their environment are usually based to some degree on observation and experience, most people have not seen or lived in various types of environments. However within the context of the interview survey it is possible to set up hypothetical situations in which people can get involved. A game situation offers this fruitful approach. Using a game, people can be forced to make a limited number of choices among elements

whose relative importance one is attempting to judge. One wants to see if many people make the same choices in order to gain the same goal. Results that arise may often be obvious, but it is only by playing the game does this observation arise. In short, in a realm where opinion may be inadequate, the same situation may provide an added source of needed data. Therefore the interview survey consists of three distinct parts :-

1. The questionnaire
2. The House Image Game
3. Priority Examination Game.

1. The Questionnaire.

The choice of Hull for the study was, of course, primarily determined by the simple fact that it is the city in which I lived and worked at the time of the study. Nevertheless in one particular respect it was appropriate, because Hull is a large city which is not part of a larger conurbation. The problems of urban analysis in a conurbation are of a different and more complex order, and there was advantage in carrying out the study in a city without these characteristics, and yet of such a size as to rank as an important city.

Again because of the constraints of time and resources I was forced to use a self administered questionnaire in order to obtain a sufficiently large sample adolescent population. In doing so one has to accept the limitations the self-administered questionnaire poses. It has to be simple and straightforward, avoiding any vagueness or ambiguity. There is little or no opportunity to probe deeply the given answer. Thus questions tend to be standard and tried. Finally there is no opportunity for the interviewer to describe the respondent's house and neighbourhood, his attitude to the survey or the way he reacted to different questions. This may not be essential in all cases but it can provide valuable background material. The form of questionnaire may be seen as inflexible

but in this case given the scale of the survey together with the constraints it was felt to be the most appropriate method.

Broadly the survey aims to measure preferences toward housing environments among adolescents from a cross-section of socio-economic backgrounds living in Hull and between the ages of sixteen and twenty. The questionnaire itself falls loosely into four sections (see Appendix 1). Nineteen questions concerning basic background information all followed by eighteen questions dealing with future housing preferences.

The first section sets out to discover the characteristics of our adolescent sample. This is simple and straightforward statistical information covering age, length of residence in Hull, father's occupation, form of tenure, house type etc.

The second section attempts to determine the relative extent of satisfaction with first the city and second their neighbourhood. Satisfaction of the city is seen as indirect measure of general quality of the city as a place in which to live. They were then asked to state "why" they felt the way they did about the city. The adolescents were asked next to describe what especially they "liked" and also "disliked" about their present neighbourhood and to indicate what statements from a given list were applicable to their neighbourhood. Finally there was an attempt to determine satisfaction with the present provision of housing in Hull.

The questionnaire now concentrated on the aspirations of our adolescents - our future housing consumers. All questions were framed in terms of what the respondents felt they might prefer ten years hence rather than in the present or near future. They were reminded of the probability of having a family and the associated responsibilities by that time. The third section through a limited set of questions explores the broad environmental preferences. Respondents were asked to indicate which region of the country they would most like to live and work in, and two the size of town preferred, ranging from the city to a rural location.

then to indicate preference for suburban or inner city location, and finally to identify environmental statements from a given list they would regard as important in selecting a suitable neighbourhood in which to live.

The final section attempts to determine the desired house itself - would they like to own or rent, which type of house would they prefer, what qualities would they look for in selecting their house, and then whether they thought they could financially achieve their aspired to house and neighbourhood. Next - they were asked their attitude to their parents' house and its immediate neighbourhood - would they aspire to this their present housing situation and if not why not then in order to determine if there was any degree of familiar attachment that might affect locational choice they were asked when they would like to live in relation to their parents. These final questions sought to explore attitudes to desired family size, using communal facilities and anticipated changes in house in the future.

Questionnaire Piloting

The self-administered questionnaire was piloted in draft form before being used for the main survey. Because this questionnaire was of a traditional form the pilot was used as a dummy run. This enabled one to identify any difficulties in understanding questions or instructions, and to assess the likely length of time taken to complete the questionnaire. A sample group of twenty-five was used. No detailed analysis of the responses was undertaken. As a result of the questionnaire pilot some questions and instructions were slightly restructured when there was some ambiguity or certain words were not fully understood, but overall format remained substantially unchanged.

2. The House Image Game.

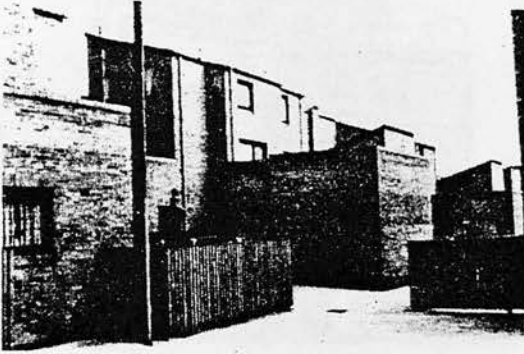
The questionnaire, up to this point, has been of the traditional

social survey type, a self-administered structured collection of questions - factual, attitudinal and behavioural - suitable for numerical analysis. The house image game and the priority evaluation game have been developed in an attempt to get at different views not easily tapped in traditional questioning.

The house image game consists of a collection of photographs representing a broad range of house types. Some of the seven dwellings pictured are traditional nineteenth-century terraced houses, speculative built semi-detached houses and local authority terraced houses. A respondent's response to the appearance of a particular house type will be determined by what he has seen and is familiar with and also by those visual characteristics that he associates with the house in which he hopes to live. By making decisions about the vision array presented to him, the player is indicating the visual qualities that he desires in a home. The respondents were asked to rank the pictures in order of his preference, from one to seven. The respondents were further asked to describe the particular characteristics of their first choice and the reason for disliking their seventh choice. The game was repeated, but this time using a collection of photographs of housing projects that had received high acclaim from architects and had influenced housing design.

Gaming

Gaming procedures are by no means novel, having been first used for simple descriptive purposes by Wilson (10) and Sanoff (11). There is a growing body of evidence (12) (13) to suggest that game situations may provide a source of much needed insight into matters of preferences. The priority evaluation game developed by Hoinville (14) is a technique for measuring a community's environmental preferences in financial terms. It forces people to trade-off various advantages and disadvantages against one another. This technique has been further used by Rowley and Tipple (15) in a continuing study of housing and travel preferences of coloured



A



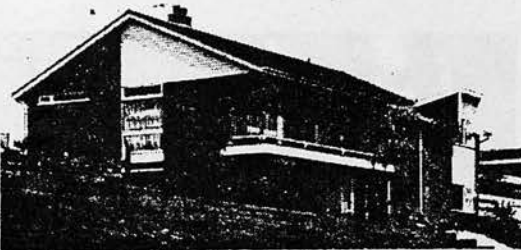
B



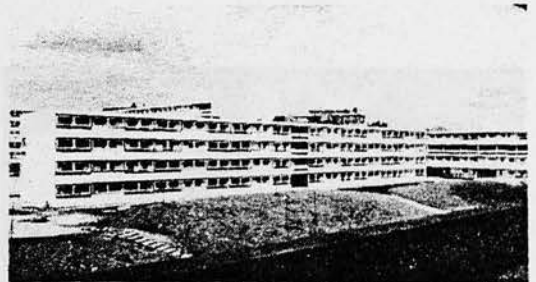
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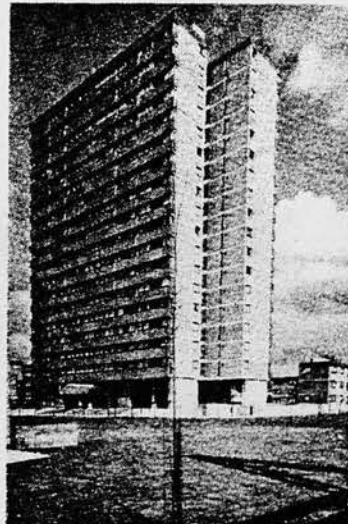
D



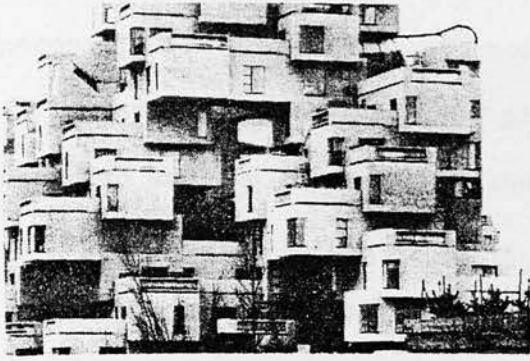
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F



G



A



B



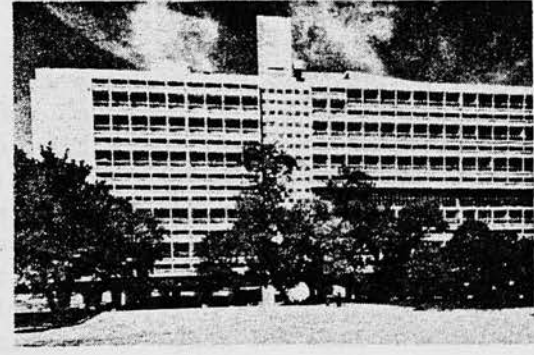
C



D



E



F



G

immigrants and British residents in Sheffield.

A brief consideration of the problems of design and technique is necessary for an adequate appreciation of the gaming situation. Given unlimited resources, community preferences and priorities can be measured and the demands expressed can be catered for by the planners. However, this is naturally never the case, because resources are limited and preferences are rarely clear-cut. Therefore, choices have to be made and priorities expressed. For example, a person may wish to live in a quiet street rather than in a noisy one. In behavioural situations, however, there is a trade-off of preferences against alternative preferences, such as the convenience of the noisier location in respect of shopping facilities. The simple direct questioning method gives no indication of these implicit trade-offs between the several preferences that may occur in the final choice of residential location. The priority evaluator was developed by Hoinville in an attempt to measure the compromises, or trade-offs, that are an essential feature of the planning process and to assign weights to the public's preferences. Hoinville sees it as enabling people to play the planners' game.

Perhaps the main value and advantage of the priority evaluation approach is its flexibility. It can examine the preference structure at a micro level in order to establish differences between different types of person, different types of situation, large and small changes in individual variables, and so on. It is a method which can be used to yield aggregate community values but, more important, it can be used to examine how these aggregates are formed. This makes it possible, for example, to see the variation in preferences between a slight reduction in traffic in the shopping centre and a full reduction; or again between a moderately quiet environment and a very quiet environment. We can see how the new generations have values different from their fathers; or establish the relationship between income and preferences. We can also find out how much people who possess a particular amenity value it in relation to those who do not have it. (16).

Other advantages of the priority evaluation game is that the use of illustrations of environmental variations reminds people of similar experiences; it confronts them with the complex choice and trade-off situations which are inevitable in the planning process. It further asks people to express their choices in terms that reflect the resource

allocation and investment decisions which have to be made.

The Gaming Procedures

Hoinville told respondents to think of themselves as moving to another house. In this study the priority evaluator consisted of a board divided into eight columns. The house available is described pictorially for them in terms of a number of variables such as the level of environmental noise, pedestrian safety, ease of shopping, the time taken to get to work, to an evening recreational centre or to the open countryside. Each variable consists of a panel of three labelled illustrations representing various levels of high or low quality planning in the aspect of the variable concerned. The worst situation is at the top, the three pictures form a rising scale to the best situation at the bottom of the panel. Against each picture is a "price" which represents the cost of providing that situation, over and above the cost of providing the worst situation. Thus the worst situation is always costed at zero. Respondents are given an additional sum of money which they can distribute among the variables in order to "buy" improvements to their new homes' situation. In this way respondents can buy varying levels of improvement to some aspects of their environment, and at varying costs at the same expense of poorer quality in other aspects.

3. The Priority Evaluation Game

The priority evaluation game developed and used here utilises gaming procedures to study the housing preferences of adolescents. The further developments that have been made here in gaming procedures are the use of photographs in the priority evaluator and allowing the respondents to weight the priorities themselves. The priority evaluator consists of two sheets containing eight vertical panels, each representing one aspect of the housing environment. The eight aspects were:

- (a) Density of housing.

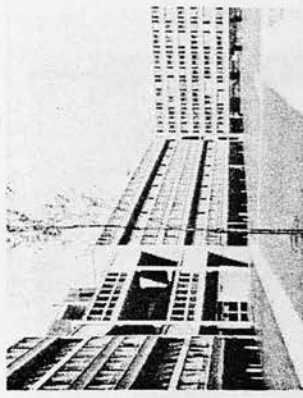
- (b) Appearance of neighbourhood.
- (c) House type.
- (d) Individuality and choice.
- (e) Distance to work.
- (f) Location of the house.
- (h) Distance to the nearest place for shopping.
- (i) Transport.

The eight panels can be found overleaf. Each panel consisted of three labelled photographs representing various levels of planning in the aspect of the housing environment concerned. The photographs used were arrived at by using the Osgood (17) semantic differential scale which measures the meaning of an object to an individual. In this technique the respondents were shown a series of sets of twelve slides and asked to rate the given concept of each set on a five point bi-polar rating scale. The centre point of the scale indicates an indifferent response, and the position from the centre point indicates emphasis and direction of the meaning intended by the respondent. Any concept can be rated using this technique. In this study respondents were asked to rate or describe sets of slides of housing on such adjective pairs related to density: high-low or appearance of neighbourhood: pleasant-unpleasant. The study used to establish the photographs in the priority evaluator was carried out by a random sample of sixty respondents between the ages of sixteen and twenty.

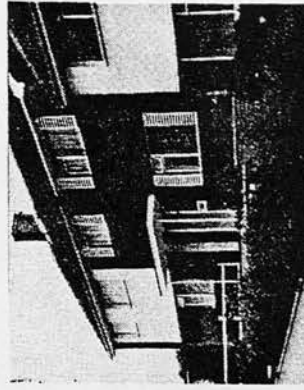
How The Game Was Introduced

The respondents were asked to look carefully at the priority evaluator then to select their house type, its surroundings and its ideal location in relation to work and shopping and so on. In doing this they had a total of sixteen points to spend. They were allowed to buy only one situation per column. Once they had made their selection they had to allocate their points according to the importance they placed on each choice. They had to spend all their sixteen points. Having made their

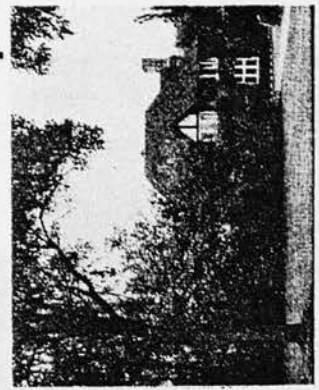
INDIVIDUALITY AND CHOICE



**no choice in housing,
no individuality**



**limited choice,
some individuality**

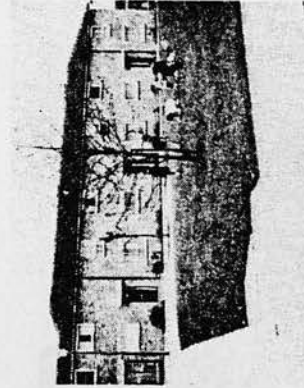


**freedom to choose,
complete individuality**

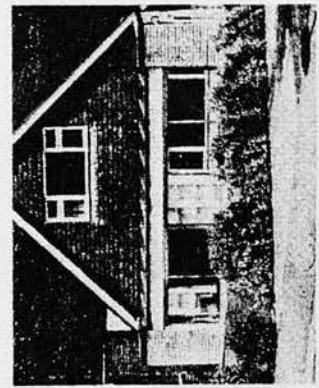
HOUSE TYPE



flat

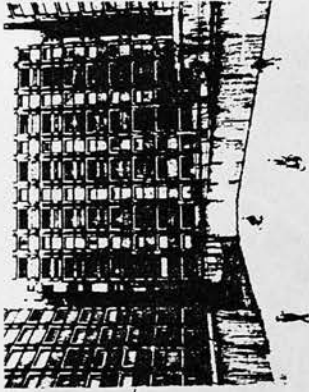


terraced house

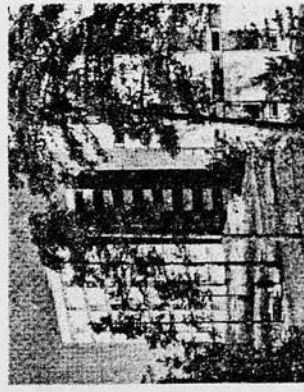


**detached or semi-
detached house**

APPEARANCE OF NEIGHBOURHOOD



**hemmed in, no greenery,
noisy, all the same**



greenery, more open



**open, quiet, plenty of
greenery, clean**

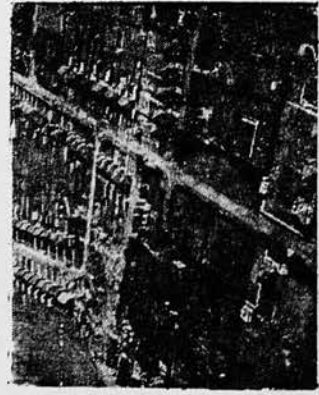
DENSITY OF HOUSING



high density



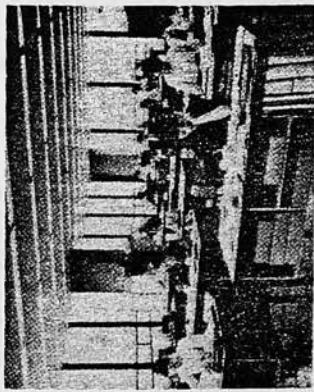
medium density



low density

SHEET 4

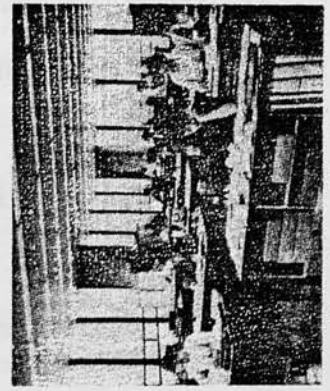
DISTANCE TO WORK



over 5 miles



up to 3 miles

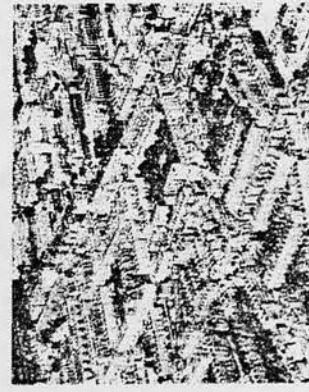


under 1 mile

LOCATION OF THE HOUSE



suburban

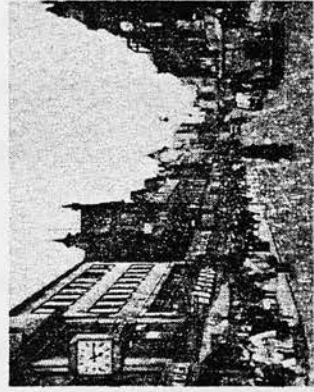


in the city

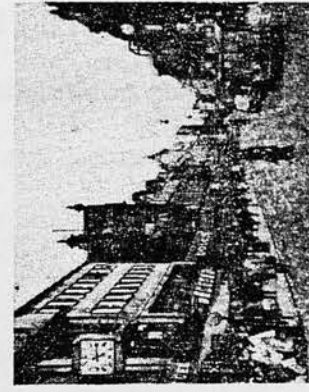


in the country

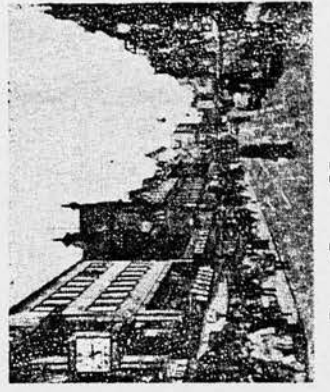
DISTANCE TO THE NEAREST PLACE FOR SHOPPING



over 5 miles

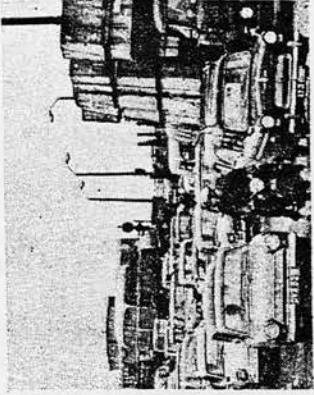


up to 3 miles

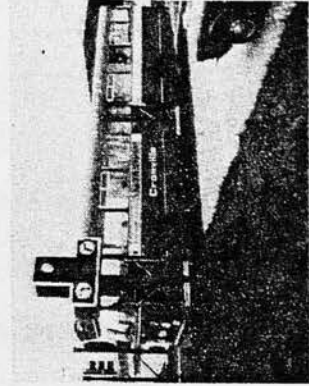


under 1 mile

TRANSPORT



as at present



improved public transport



rapid transit system

choice and allocated points, this was recorded by them on the sheet provided.

Priority Evaluator Piloting

For the priority evaluator a more detailed pilot was involved. Again because the priority evaluator was self-administered the pilot enabled one to identify the difficulties in understanding the instructions and to assess the likely length taken to complete the game. Again no detailed analysis of responses was undertaken, but as a result of the pilot the final version of the instructions was arrived at. However, because of the possibility of the instructions being misunderstood the author was always present during the main survey to clarify any ambiguity.

Who Was Interviewed? And How?

Many older people think that the young are more different than they have ever been in the past, more at odds with society, more a cause of anxiety. Extended mass education, high wages and a consumer society have made young people more influential as a separate group and more conscious of their separate identity. Despite the impression sometimes created by the popular press and the media, and despite middle-class and middle-aged complaints about adolescents, according to a Gallup Poll survey published in 1966, only one in 500 teenagers is actually delinquent, one in three attend evening classes, and not more than one in twelve are really restless and continually changing jobs. Indeed as the authors of the Latey Committee Report on "The Age of Majority" observed in 1967, what is most surprising about the younger generation, and in this they are presumably not much different from their predecessors, is their conformity. More recently a 1979 Market and Opinion Research International Poll (18) revealed that young people were

satisfied with their present lives, sanguine about the future, highly conservative and anxious to preserve traditional standards (19).

The conformity of adolescents is reinforced,

in a stampede back to conformity, the country's young have apparently bridged the generation gap, become docile - even staid and stuffy - and embraced such lately despised concepts as the work ethic, marriage and religion. Most young people emerge from the survey as generally benign and content. (20).

This research sets out to look at one aspect of this group which has not been questioned, namely their attitude to their existing housing and their preferences as future housing consumers. Do their attitudes in fact differ?

Although Abrams (21) for his study on teenage consumer spending defined adolescents as "anyone between fifteen and twenty-four who is unmarried", there is no consensus of opinion as to the age range. Therefore, all the evidence here is drawn from adolescents between the ages of sixteen and twenty and unmarried living in Hull. This age range conveniently starts at the end of the age of compulsory education and goes up to the brink of their entry into womanhood and manhood. The transformation that occurs within the age range was illustrated in their attitude to the questionnaire. At the younger end some questions produced giggles, other questions puzzled them. At the other end of the scale the questions were only too pressing for some who were approaching marriage or were faced with the problem of saving a deposit for a house.

It is not possible to undertake a complete survey of the entire city adolescent population. The findings reported were based on sample data, therefore caution should be used in generalising these samples to entire populations. For the purpose of this research, however, the precision can be achieved through the sampling process is generally adequate, since the instrument itself is relatively correct. A total of 261 adolescents generously gave up one to one and a half hours of their time to answer the self-administered questionnaire which the researcher explained was intended to "help us find out how they felt about where they lived now and what they would want in ten years time". Twenty of the questionnaires were incomplete and were rejected. The survey had to be

self-administered to obtain a significant sample. The survey was carried out during 1977.

In brief, the selection process attempted to obtain a cross-section socially and economically of adolescents in the age group. In such a very complex area as class, length in full time education may be a most appropriate guide as to class in this particular sub-group. Therefore in order to obtain a cross-section the sample was drawn from -

- (a) those receiving full time education
- (b) those in employment receiving further education on a day release basis
- (c) those in employment having received no further education.

The sample receiving full time education, 44.8 per cent, was drawn from four comprehensive schools in the city; the sample in employment receiving further education, 32.4 per cent, was drawn from various departments with the Hull College of Further Education and the sample in full employment, 22.8 per cent was drawn from Hull based factories. A conscious attempt was made at the same time to obtain an equal number of males and females in the sample.

Data Processing

The completed questionnaires were coded and checked in detail in the normal way. After the data had been punched onto cards, they were submitted to detailed computer edit check, and all errors arising were corrected. The tables quoted in this research were all produced by computer analysis using the statistical package for the social services. The work was carried out in the Computer Science Department of the University of Hull.

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The Results

In attempting to interview a large proportion of the selected "population" a total of 241 successful interviews were carried out. In the selected age range the sample somewhat over represented adolescents age 17 and rather under represented those age 19 and 20, at the same time an effort was made to obtain equal numbers of male and female, 47 per cent and 53 per cent respectively. The sample was representative of Hull with 80 per cent of the sample having lived in Hull for 15 years or more and of the remainder 43 per cent had previously lived in the Hull region of Humberside.

The Existing Situation

Social ranking is not always correlated with income or occupation. It can depend on vaguer criteria associated with an individual's "way of life", his social habits, manners, and his pattern of consumption. The complexity of the present-day pattern of stratification means that the traditional way of looking at the division of society simply in terms of two or three major classes provides an inadequate picture of the situation. Occupation is, nevertheless, very closely linked to a large number of other factors, including income, educational background and residence. These are very practical reasons for choosing occupational criteria to establish social stratification; namely, adolescents in many cases simply do not know the answers to many questions or are relectant to provide the information concerning their parents. When many wives still do not know how much their husband earns it would appear inappropriate to ask adolescents to give their father's income. Therefore, occupational criteria are used to establish social ranking. But again the resulting ranking scales are not always entirely satisfactory, ignoring the more subtle distinctions

of status. Again because many adolescents did not know exactly what their father's did the Registrar General's fivefold occupation scale was used.

It will be seen from the table below that a large percentage were assigned to Social Class III which means that in such a large grouping there are considerable idfferences between the levels of occupational skills represented within the group, as well as a wide range of types of job. Further the sample over represented social classes I and V. The larger percentage in social class I could be accounted for by the number of adolescents in the sample who were still at school. Hull being traditionally regarded as a "blue collar" city it is to be expected that there would be a higher percentage in social class V.

Table 1

Social Class by father's occupation (percentage)			
Social Class	Occupation	Sample	Census 1961
Social Class I	Professional and Managerial	11.6	4
Social Class II	Intermediate non-manual	19.2	15
Social Class III	Skilled manual and routine non-manual	38.4	51
Social Class IV	Semi-skilled	14.3	21
Social Class V	Unskilled	16.5	9
		100	100

Most women work because they want or need the money. Some also work because of the inherent interest of the job. Others work because only by having a job outside the home do they have status in society. The anonymity of present day life has brought a sense of isolation. While nationally 49 per cent of married women work, 58 per cent of our adolescents' mothers worked outside the home.

Although no information on income was obtained, the table below shows that incomes in the region are lower than the national average.

Table 2

Personal incomes before tax by range of income 1977/78 (percentages)							
	£810-	£1000-	£2000-	£3000-	£4000-	£5000-	£10000
U.K.	2.5	17.7	20.8	17.7	14.6	23.9	2.8
Yorkshire and Humberside	2.9	20.5	19.6	18.3	15.3	21.5	1.9

Tenure, House type and Age of Housing

The extent of owner-occupation varies between the different regions of England, from 45 per cent in the northern region to 61 per cent in the south-west and between England and Wales, 55 per cent and 58 per cent respectively. The most striking contrast is with Scotland when the proportion is only 33 per cent. It will be seen from the table below that while regional and national tenure patterns are similar there is a striking contrast with Hull. Our sample falls somewhere between the two. Thus, while the sample is over represented by owner-occupiers when compared to Hull it is also over represented by council house renting when compared nationally. The higher rate of owner-occupation among the sample compared to Hull would be accounted for by the larger proportion of middleclass.

Table 3

Tenure of dwelling 1978 (percentages)				
Tenure	U.K.	Yorkshire/Humberside	Hull	Sample
Owner-occupation	54	54	33	44.5
Rent local Authority	32	33	53	48.5
Rent private/housing association/others	14	13	14	7

Adolescents this direct relationship between social class and form of tenure can clearly be seen below. Our sample reflected the national pattern with the highest percentage of owner-occupiers among the middle-class and the highest percentage of local authority renting among the working-class.

Table 4

Tenure by social class 1978 (percentages)

Social Class	Owner-occupier		Rent private		Rent local authority	
	U.K.	Sample	U.K.	Sample	U.K.	Sample
Social Class I	82	77	11	3.8	7	19.2
Social Class II	61	65.1	16	11.6	22	23.3
Social Class III	51	41.9	11	4.6	38	53.5
Social Class IV	37	25	14	6.3	49	68.7
Social Class V	26	18.9	14	8.1	61	73

Table 5

Housing stock by housing type (percentages)

	Detached	Semi-detached	Terraced	Flats/Maisonettes
U.K.	17	33	28	22
Sample	9.6	41.9	44.8	3.7

Table 6

Age distribution of dwellings 1978 (percentages)

	Pre-1918	1919-1944	1945-1970	Post 1970
U.K.	30	22	36	12
Yorkshire/Humberside	31	23	35	11
Sample *	11.7	22.8	56.8	8.7

* It is inevitable that answers to this type of question will produce only estimations.

Compared to other cities Hull has relatively few blocks of high rise flats or maisonettes. This is mainly due to poor soil bearing conditions and the resulting foundation problems. Thus while 44 per cent of all local authority housing in Britain is over 2 storeys the vast proportion of Hull's housing stock is 2 storey terraced and semi-detached. The sample, as the table above illustrates is certainly more representative of Hull than the rest of the country; but it does remind us that there are still many regional variations in all aspects of our housing stock. We should not keep looking for a national uniformity.

As the table above shows the sample over represented post-war housing and certainly under represented pre-1918 housing. The omission of the

pre-1918 housing suggests that the sample has failed to indicate significant numbers of adolescents living in the inner city. Traditionally the inner city is an area of high adolescent unemployment - a transient area, an area of short-life accommodation. Since the sample did not cover unemployed adolescents this would account for some of the low numbers. Though the clearance programme has probable been the greatest contributing factor. As we have already established just over half of Hull's housing stock is council housing and over three quarters of that has been built since the war. Thus the post-war clearance programme has been responsible for rehousing families from the inner city to the peripheral council housing estates particularly the large 1950's and 1960's estates to the east of the city. This is illustrated in the table below.

Table 7

Sectors of the city in which the adolescents lived (percentages)			
Central/inner city	East	West	North
6.2	44.8	27.4	21.6

N=241

From these findings it would appear that the survey did in fact give a broad representation of adolescents from varying backgrounds.

REFERENCES

All statistics used in this Chapter are from the following publications:

A.W. Evans, "The Five Per Cent Sample Survey of Building Society Mortgages", In CSO Studies in Official Statistics No. 26, DOE, Housing and Construction Statistics, Nos. 28, 29 and 31 and Building Societies Association Bulletin No. 22 April, 1980.

Satisfaction with the city as a whole

Satisfaction is being used here as an indirect measure of the general quality of the city and that dissatisfaction suggests that certain factors which make the city "livable" maybe missing from the city. In a question of this kind there can be doubt as to whether the respondents were distinguishing between an attitude of satisfaction with the city and their neighbourhood and an attitude of satisfaction with life as a whole. Detailed examination of responses to why the respondents felt the way they did about the city and the detailed responses to the likes and dislikes of their neighbourhood are sufficiently different to suggest that the adolescents did indeed discriminate between their attitudes toward the city and their neighbourhood. However, some of the detailed responses to satisfaction with the city, particularly of those who were dissatisfied, reflect maybe also a dissatisfaction with life in general. The use of words like "dead end", "dull" and "boring" suggest more dissatisfaction with life rather than the city. This is not surprising since adolescence is a difficult period in life for young people and that frustration and boredom is sometimes taken out on their environment in acts of vandalism.

19.5 per cent of the sample said that they felt dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with living in Hull. Another 27 per cent took a neutral stand on the question. This leaves 43.5 per cent or just over half of the adolescents expressed positive satisfaction about Hull as a place to live. From the open-ended replies of the neutral respondents, which are so similar to those who expressed dissatisfaction with Hull, there is a basis for believing that a majority of the neutral cases are negative in their implications.

Further insight on the general evaluation of the city is available from the open-ended question on satisfaction of the city. The replies are set out below.

Table 8

Reasons for satisfaction with Hull as a place to live

	No	per cent
Good shopping centre, entertainment facilities	49	38
I am satisfied because I have lived in Hull all my life and I cannot compare it with anywhere else.	24	18.6
Friendly	12	9.3
Clean and pleasant	10	7.8
Not crowded	6	4.6
All friends and relatives live in Hull	5	3.9
Near to the coast and the country	2	1.5
Open spaces	1	0.8
It is home, I feel secure	1	0.8
No reason given for being satisfied	19	14.7

N = 129 100

Table 9

Reasons for dissatisfaction with Hull as a place to live

	No	per cent
Lack of entertainment facilities for teenagers	20	42.5
Isolated, depressing, backwater, lacking opportunities	16	34
Noisy, pollution	3	6.4
Unfriendly city	2	4.3
Poor housing	2	4.3
Dirty, dull and violent city	2	4.3
Flat	1	2.1
Don't like cities	1	2.1

N = 47 100

Of those respondents who expressed satisfaction about Hull as a place to live 33.3 per cent could give no positive reason as to why they felt the way they did about Hull other than they had "lived in Hull all their lives" or were "satisfied" but did not express any significant reason for their satisfaction. Of the 66.7 per cent, some two thirds, who could say why they were satisfied, 38 per cent felt that satisfaction was due to the fact that Hull was a good shopping centre with adequate entertainment facilities for most people. In fact 15 per cent of the total sample felt that they had no experience of any other city with which they could compare Hull. In general it would suggest few adolescents have experience of other cities or parts of the country. 80 per cent of the sample had

lived for 15 years and over in Hull. This implies that they have to make decisions about their future housing and the access to housing based only on the experience of their own town or city.

It is appropriate at this point looking at work carried out by Burgess (1) on stereotypes and urban images related to Hull which can give us an insight into the image given by the inhabitants of the city compared to the image held by people with no direct experience of the city. Using an adjectival checklist Burgess ranked the responses of inhabitants to establish attributes which were considered most characteristic of the city. The image described by the inhabitants is diverse. It contains traditional elements of the city - docks (81 per cent), ships (65 per cent) and fishing (58 per cent) but these were not the most characteristic. The city was described as friendly (74 per cent) and considered a good shopping centre (85 per cent) and these correspond with the responses of the adolescents. The emphasis upon trees and parks (74 per cent) and the description of Hull as a garden city (52 per cent) is not reflected by the adolescents, however it is emphasised when we look at the "likes" of their neighbourhood.

Of those who expressed dissatisfaction with Hull as a place to live, 42.5 per cent, said that dissatisfaction was due to the lack of entertainment facilities for teenagers. Certainly many adolescents are now much more affluent than ever was the case in the past. What is more their income unlike that of adult workers, is normally relatively "free" unless they are married, and while affluence has increased so also have various opportunities and outlets for spending. Advertising has concentrated, since the early sixties, on the exploitation of the lucrative teenage market creating a "youth orientated" society. They rely on mass entertainment and when this is lacking and adolescents can no longer provide their own, there is dissatisfaction

Table 10

Reasons for feeling neutral with Hull as a place to live.

	No.	per cent
No strong feelings about the city, it has its good points and it has its bad points.	24	37
I am neutral because I have lived in Hull all my life and cannot compare it with anywhere else.	12	18.5
Lack of entertainment facilities for teenagers.	12	18.5
I am satisfied for the moment, but I do not wish to remain in Hull.	7	10.8
Isolated, dull, dead-end.	5	7.7
Noisy, dirty city.	2	3.07
Prefer previous place lived in.	2	3.07
Lack of employment opportunities.	1	1.5
	N = 65	100

The responses of the neutral respondents, and those who were dissatisfied, create an image of Hull that closely resembles the stereotype of Hull formed by people with no experience of the city as described by Burgess. They suggest attributes which are associated with any industrial northern town - "isolated", "unemployment", "poor housing", "dull", and "Pollution" - they are words used in the description of these cities since the mid 19th century. Again this dissatisfaction may reflect rather an dissatisfaction with life as a whole.

A slightly larger percentage of males (56.1 per cent) than females (51.1 per cent) were either satisfied or very satisfied with the city, but at the same time a larger percentage of males (21.1 per cent) than females (18.1 per cent) were either dissatisfied or very dissatisfied. A larger percentage of females (30.7 per cent) than males (22.8 per cent) had a neutral attitude towards the city. However, since the neutral responses are negative in their implications, it would suggest that in fact females are less satisfied with the city. From these attempts at estimating the level of expressed satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the total city environment, the main conclusion has been that only just over half of the adolescents were generally satisfied with their city.

The Neighbourhood - Likes and Dislikes

The term "neighbourhood" identifies areas of varying dimension for different people. No attempt was being made to define the extent of respondents neighbourhoods. What was of interest were the answers to open ended questions - "what things do you particularly like about living in your area?" and "what things do you particularly dislike about living in your area?"

The questions elicited answers which were far more specific than the question on why they felt the way they did about living in Hull. There was more critical observation and keener perception of things at the neighbourhood level. Neighbourhoods received frequent praise because of "friendly neighbours", or the "nearness to shopping and other amenities" or being "a quiet neighbourhood". Favourable locations and attributes of neighbourhoods within the city could also be identified - "nearness to parks", "nearness to open countryside", and equally disadvantages "distance from entertainment", other likes that were mentioned were of the kind which are impossible to predict - "quiet", "friendly neighbours", "clean". The emphasis on "trees" and "parks" and "open spaces" corresponds to the findings of Burgess and add to the image of Hull, lessening the stereotype picture of the northern city. The dislikes are to be expected in that again they reflect the northern industrial city with all its unfavourable connotations - "slum housing", "derelict land", "industrial" and "vandalism". But by far the most serious disadvantage is the lack of entertainment facilities for adolescents. However, this is a complaint common to residential areas throughout the county.

There were more specific responses to the "like" questions than specific responses to the "dislike" question. Within the sample, 76 per cent of the adolescents found at least one thing to dislike about their neighbourhood as a whole, while 88 per cent found something to like about their neighbourhood.

Table 11

Attitudes towards the neighbourhood - the likes.

	No.	Per cent
Quiet neighbourhood	49	20.4
Convenient for shopping/amenities	43	17.9
Friendly neighbours.	41	17.1
Nearness to countryside.	28	11.8
Clean.	9	3.7
Houses not crowded together.	9	3.7
Park nearby/trees.	8	3.3
Open spaces.	7	2.9
Good public transport service.	6	2.4
Pleasant area.	6	2.4
Convenient for city centre.	4	1.6
Fresh air.	2	0.8
No reason given.	29	12
	N = 241	100

Table 12

Attitudes towards the neighbourhood - the dislikes

	No.	Per cent
Lack of entertainment for teenagers, without having to go into city centre.	66	27.3
Too many roads.	58	24.5
Noise/traffic/children.	25	10.4
Houses all the same, no character, appearance.	13	5.4
Derelict land, slum housing, physical deterioration of housing.	13	5.4
Unfriendly, snobbish neighbours.	11	4.5
Inconvenient public transport service.	10	4.1
Rough area, vandalism, violence.	9	3.8
Industrial area.	7	2.9
Lack of recreation facilities.	6	2.4
Lack of privacy, gardens, open space.	6	2.4
Industrial pollution, smell.	4	1.6
Too quiet	3	1.2
Not enough for children, lack of playgrounds.	3	1.2
No community atmosphere.	2	0.8
Lack of car parking.	2	0.8
Difficult to find.	2	0.8
Students moving in.	1	0.4
	N = 241	100

The response to the structured statements on the neighbourhood, ranked below, correspond to the findings of the open-ended questions on "dislikes" and "likes" of the neighbourhood.

Table 13

Environmental statements on the existing neighbourhood in which the respondents live.

Agree			Disagree	
No.	Per cent		No.	Per cent
182	75.5	Poor for teenagers	59	24.5
159	66.0	Inconvenient for entertainment facilities.	82	34.0
144	59.7	Expensive rates, cost of housing.	97	40.3
129	53.5	No character, all houses look alike.	112	46.3
102	43.3	Inconvenient for work.	139	56.7
98	40.6	Not select, too many council houses.	143	59.4
88	36.5	Noisy, noise from traffic, children.	153	63.5
80	33.1	Lack of privacy.	161	66.9
79	32.7	Too crowded, built-up.	162	67.3
57	23.6	Not fresh, not airy.	184	76.4
50	20.7	Inconvenient for secondary schools	191	79.3
44	18.2	Unfriendly.	197	81.8
35	14.5	Smokey, dirty.	206	85.5
25	10.3	Inconvenient for shopping.	216	89.7
24	9.9	Inconvenient for public transport	217	90.1
10	4.1	Inconvenient for primary schools	231	95.9

N = 241

The nature of the physical environment is difficult to formalise. Since the sample represented a cross section of Hull adolescents it would appear, from the tables above, that residential areas within Hull are seen favourably by the respondents. Generally neighbourhoods were seen as being convenient for primary schools (95.9 per cent) and shopping (89.7 per cent) with good public transport (90 per cent) friendly (81.8 per cent) and clean (85.5 per cent). This, however, does not mean satisfaction with their neighbourhood.

Satisfaction of Housing in Hull

About 42.7 per cent of the adolescents, very nearly half the sample, expressed dissatisfaction of the housing built in Hull. The table below gives further insight into reasons for this high rate of dissatisfaction.

Table 14

Reasons for dissatisfaction of housing in Hull

	No.	Per cent
All houses look alike, monotonous and ugly, no character.	49	47.5
Too much slum housing still remaining.	17	16.5
Not enough housing being built for sale, particularly difficult for first-time buyers.	10	9.7
Bad workmanship/maintenance, houses built too quickly.	8	7.7
New Council houses are the slums of the future.	4	3.8
Too many people still on the housing waiting list.	4	3.8
Too much council housing.	2	2
Windswept, crowded council housing estates.	2	2
Housing segregated from employment.	2	2
Don't like council housing estates.	1	1
Houses are getting smaller.	1	1
People not consulted.	1	1
Housing allocated according to class.	1	1
Waste land surrounding estates.	1	1
	N = 103	100

The two main reasons for dissatisfaction amongst adolescents appear to be a dislike of the council housing being built and the slum housing still awaiting clearance. Of the segment of the sample expressing dissatisfaction, 47.5 per cent were critical of the council housing using terms such as - "little boxes", "lego houses", "rabbit hutches", "characterless" and that "they all look alike" - all are commonly used in the criticism of recent council housing in Britain.

These attitudes can be explained by a brief insight into housing in Hull and the role of the local authority's housing policy (2). Hull has a total commitment to municipalisation of housing - of an estimated housing stock of 90,000 dwellings over 53 per cent is local authority owned - which has discouraged the voluntary housing movement, and disregards comprehensive rehabilitation using GIA, and HAA mechanisms. Between 1920 - 1939 Hull built 11,000 council houses. By municipalisation of housing and slum clearance the local authority has effectively created peripheral ring of large council housing estates. The largest of these

peripheral estates, begun in 1966 and now nearing completion, has a projected population of 45,000, nearly one in six of the population of Hull. Hull like Nottingham, Leeds and Sheffield is a member of the Yorkshire Design Group. But Hull unlike its other partners uses YDG house designs solely on all council housing. The result is a characterless utilitarian form of housing, readily identifiable as council housing. It is this form of housing that is clearly rejected as being unsatisfactory by the adolescents. Other common criticisms of council housing can be found "slums of the future", "bad workmanship", "bad maintenance" and "crowded council housing estates". All add to the picture of the malaise of British council housing.

In 1955, Hull resumed its slum clearance programme, with a target date of 1971 for the demolition of 28,000 dwellings. In the period January 1955 to December, 1972, the total number of dwellings demolished was actually 13,926. A new programme for the demolition of the remaining 13,800 dwellings was established, for the period 1972 - 1981, a yearly average of 1,534 demolitions. However, again there was considerable slippage in the programme and a re-appraisal of the programme in 1978 to a revised clearance programme commitment to 1985. The long delays in the representation and subsequent demolition of properties earmarked for clearance has had a very serious 'blighting' effect. Hull has only declared one GIA. Quite clearly this clearance programme is a major factor in the dissatisfaction of housing in Hull by the adolescents.

Compared to the rest of the country Hull's percentage of housing for owner-occupation (approximately 30 per cent) is very low. This naturally creates even greater problems for the would be first-time buyers. Therefore it is to be expected that part of the sample would express the need for more housing for sale.

The central issue here has been the consideration of the adolescents' attitude to the city, their neighbourhood and the provision of housing in Hull. In as much as satisfaction is an important element, the extent

of satisfaction or lack of it should be due to the quality of the city and the neighbourhood presently being experienced by the adolescents.

Only just over half of the adolescent sample expressed satisfaction with the city as a place to live. Questions on the neighbourhood elicited far more specific answers. From these the neighbourhood would appear to be rated as being successful. However this does not imply satisfaction. The housing being provided in Hull gave rise to dissatisfaction with almost half of the sample expressing dissatisfaction.

What has emerged is an apparent level of general dissatisfaction with the city and the housing provided. But is this typical? Because of the lack of research into the attitudes of adolescents towards their environment and housing there is no way of knowing whether this is typical or not. Certainly there is a need for further investigation into adolescents' attitudes.

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Regions of the Country and City Size desired by Adolescents

At the time of the interviews 82.6 percent of the entire sample of adolescents had never lived anywhere other than Hull. A very large segment of this sample can be said not to have had much opportunity to experience living in a variety of urban environments, therefore amongst this segment, it would be unexpected if there was any substantial desire for anything radically different from the present experience. This supposition is partly borne out by the tables below, with 37.8 per cent wishing to remain in Humberside and 30.3 per cent preferring to live in a city of between 100,000 and 500,000 - Hull itself is in this range.

Regions such as the north-east and the north-west are traditionally regarded as depressed areas with high-rates of unemployment and therefore remain unattractive as could be expected. Whereas London and the south-east which has traditionally been attractive to adolescents has a low rate of desirability in comparison to the south-west and Scotland, which itself has a rate of unemployment. The rest of the county and Northern Ireland would appear not to hold much attraction for these adolescents.

Table 15

Desired regions of the country in which to live and work

	No.	Per cent
Humberside	91	37.8
South-west	35	14.5
Scotland	31	12.9
London and the south-east	25	10.4
Wales	17	7.0
East Anglia	16	6.6
North-west	13	5.4
North-east	7	2.9
Midlands	6	2.5
Northern Ireland	0	0
	N = 241	100

However what is interesting is if we compare those who wish to remain in Humberside and those who do not, with the social class groups, we find a direct relationship. Obviously those in social classes I and II

and to a lesser extent III have the education and skills to enable them to be mobile. It is they who wish to leave and can, as the table below illustrates.

Table 16

Relationship between those wishing to remain in Humberside and social class.

Social Class	No.	Per cent
Social Class I	4	15.3
Social Class II	14	32.5
Social Class III	33	38.3
Social Class IV	16	50.0
Social Class V	19	51.3

N = 86

A third of the adolescents selected a city of between 100,000 and 500,000 and a further 24 per cent selected a town of between 10,000 and 50,000 as desirable as a place to live and work in. However 29.1 per cent, nearly a third selected to live in the country or a village of less than 1,000 certainly a far less urban environment than their present environment. Yet Britain is one of the most urbanised countries in the world. It is difficult to argue a case that there is an anti-urban element in British society. It may be possible to argue that rural interests have been so pre-eminently dominant that the cultural attachment to rural ideas has continued to exert a profound influence on our attitudes far longer than can be justified by the economic significance of the rural areas (1). Certainly, as an aspiration, the attraction of a rural way of life is a compelling one. But most people living in the country are no longer country dwellers in the traditional manner. Few work on the land or in associated industries, most rural dwellers commute daily to the cities with the exception of the crofting communities of Scotland and the farmers in remoter areas such as the Pennines and central Wales one cannot in Britain really distinguish as rural from an urban habit of life.

Table 17

Desired size of town by adolescents		
Size of town	No.	Per cent
City of 100,000 - 500,000	73	30.3
Town of 10,000 - 50,000	58	24
In the country	37	17.4
Village less than 1,000	33	13.7
Town under 10,000	18	7.5
Large city of 500,000 or more	12	5
Large town 50,000 - 100,000	10	4.1
	N = 241	100

The large city and the large town were unattractive to the adolescents.

Desired City Sector and Neighbourhood Preferences

Given that two-thirds of the sample had already selected an urban environment in which to live, it is interesting then to observe that when required to live in a city three-quarters would prefer to live in a sub-urban area or periphery of the city.

Table 18

Desired city sector		
	No.	Per cent
City central area	21	8.7
Outside the central area	39	16.2
Suburban area	90	37.3
Outermost fringes	91	37.8
	N = 241	100

But are these figures so surprising? The flight from the central areas of the major cities is established, all the conurbations are losing population. For example the 1966 sample census showed that immigrants into Bristol within the year before the census accounted for only 3.4 per cent of all the city's inhabitants but the neighbouring rural district authority, in fact the exurb, the proportion was four times as great at 12.5 per cent. This is not a case of overspill from the city but net growth on the periphery.

In Britain the myth of suburbia has never received the same level of prominence nor the same volume of discussion as in America. Nevertheless there still exists a clearly held set of ideas regarding what contributes

the suburban way of life. This stylized view is often derogatory conjuring up a picture of conformity, respectability and political conservatism represented by neat rows of semi-detached or detached houses all nearly identical. But the suburban way of life is a complex mixture of fact and fantasy. As Donaldson perceptively comments.

The curious thing is that much of the criticism which has been levelled against the suburb has been written by commentators whose thinking is far more powerfully influenced by this same myth than is that of the normally non-ideologically orientated home owners. (2)

Conformity is perhaps more in the mind of the critic. Since perhaps the suburban dweller does not believe that the suburbs are depressing because of uniformity in house design and estate layout. Certainly the speed at which variety is introduced into suburban estates suggests that this production of variety through alterations is an important aspect of suburban life.

Both Gans (3) and Berger (4) have demonstrated that social class is more significant variable in the determination of the style of life adopted by an individual than suburban residence. In Britain, therefore, the popular image of the suburb more correctly should be seen as a middle class style of living than as a suburban style. This would appear to be the case amongst the adolescent sample when the results are related to social class. There is a greater desire for a suburban environment amongst social classes I, II and III.

Table 19

Relationship between desired city sector and social class. (Percentages)

	Social class I	II	III	IV	V	Others
City	19.8	11.6	22	37	43.3	17.6
Suburban	80.8	88.4	78	63	56.7	82.4

N = 241

However this style of life is not universal. There is not just one type of suburb nor just one type of suburban way of life. Certainly this

questions Webber's notion that the whole concept of urban neighbourhoods is irrelevant. Webber's predications of the homogenous city would appear to be in the distant future. While the suburban migration has been predominantly one of middle class this has been together with the local authority rehousing of urban working class.

What is not so easily answered, but interesting, is that there is a greater desire for suburbia amongst males while there is a greater desire for the city amongst females.

Table 20

Relationship between desired city sector and sex. (Percentages)

	Male	Female
City	15.8	33
Suburban	84.2	67

This preference among females for inner city or town living probably reflects a realistic assessment of the perceived advantages of an inner area. These may be seen as being of greater importance to women - better shopping choice, better job opportunities for women and better transport services. Inner areas offer well established communities, suburbia on the other hand offers women often only isolation and loneliness. Pahl in a recent study (5) into how teenagers viewed their expectations for the future, found that overall girls had a remarkably clear headed view of their future compared to boys. Pahl speculated that perhaps working class life equipped girls better than boys to deal with hard times. From his evidence the suggestion that teenage magazines befuddled the girls' minds with romantic dreams was hard to substantiate. Many in fact "had a cruelly correct perception of what life would present". Pahl's study serves, perhaps, to show that adolescents, and certainly females in particular, answer this type of questioning with realism rather than just wishful thinking.

Since, two-thirds of the adolescents saw themselves owning a motor car this would appear to allow relative independence to the desired house location. Despite this adequate "public transport facilities" were still rated as being very important, together with "good shopping facilities" and convenient for primary schools". This corresponds remarkably with the rating of the adolescents' existing neighbourhoods. However, the neighbourhood must also be "clean" and have "plenty of fresh air", which would appear to reinforce the desire for the suburban or quasi-rural location.

A survey commissioned by the National Economic Development Office (6) reported attitudes to environment, and similarly great importance was attached to a "semi-rural" environment - the "fresh air" and "cleanliness" which was provided by suburban estates. This was contrasted with the dirty, noisy and unpleasant image of the inner city. This is strangely reminiscent of the advantages seen by the residents for moving from the East End of London to the peripheral council housing estates in the early 1950's.

The house is not the only attraction. Greenleigh being 'in the country' has for many residents other advantages over Bethnal Green, 'everything seems quieter here, more calmer' said Mrs. Vince. 'The fresh air hits you when you come out of the station'. Many people value the air and fields even more for the children than for themselves. (7)

Even in 1973 a study on Runcorn found similar comments from residents as important motives for moving out from Liverpool, "more the fresh air than anything" and "everything's clean and modern" (8). The commonest complaints from the adolescents on both the city and the neighbourhood was the lack of entertainment facilities and facilities specifically for teenagers. Yet these two factors were rated lower in the desired neighbourhood. The perceived advantages of the inner city - better shopping, indoor entertainment, facilities for teenagers and better transport - do not override the suburban environment. Once the move to the suburbs has been made the pressures to stay there are very great.

Table 21

Environmental statements on the desired neighbourhood

Important			Unimportant	
No.	Per cent		No.	Per cent
233	96.6	Clean.	8	3.4
216	89.6	Good shopping facilities.	25	10.4
216	89.6	Plenty of fresh air.	25	10.4
214	88.7	Good public transport.	27	11.3
212	87.9	Convenient for primary schools	29	12.1
211	87.5	Reasonable rates/cost of housing	30	12.5
207	85.8	Friendly people	34	14.2
186	77.1	Open/uncrowded	55	22.9
182	75.5	Attractive housing	59	24.5
181	75.1	Good for teenagers	60	24.9
172	71.3	Good entertainment facilities	69	28.7
168	69.7	Convenient for secondary schools	73	30.3
159	65.9	Convenient for work	82	34.1
152	63	Quiet	89	37
151	62.6	Plenty of privacy	90	37.4
96	39.8	Good class of people	145	60.2

N = 241

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Desired House Type

A review of the research literature reveals little on the house aspirations of house buyers, and no definitive description of the first-time buyers or their house aspirations. And certainly as has become apparent in this study there is no information on the aspirations of adolescents - the future housing consumers. What research literature is available does allow, even though limited, a comparison between the adolescent sample and the present house buyer. It is an anomaly that the majority of our housing research literature applies to the local authority sector which accounts for around 32 per cent of the housing stock and for the desired tenure of just under 10 per cent of our sample.

The table below shows that by far the largest proportion of adolescents 60.6 per cent felt that a detached house was their ideal and 36.9 per cent felt a semi-detached house was their ideal. A recent survey carried out for the Alliance Building Society amongst its customers (1) showed that, similarly, by far the largest proportion 63 per cent, felt that a detached house was their ideal, and for 56 per cent a semi-detached was considered second best. While over 80 per cent definitely did not want a town or terraced house, flat or a maisonette.

Table 22

Desired house type	No.	Per cent
Detached	146	60.6
Semi-detached	89	36.9
Terraced	4	1.7
Flat	1	0.4
Flat maisonette	1	0.4
Flat tower block	0	0
	N = 241	100

However the tables below allow a comparison between our future consumers

and the distribution of mortgages given by the Building Societies, by age and type of dwelling. (2).

Table 23

Distribution of mortgages by type of dwelling (per cent) 1979

	All buyers	First-time buyers
Bungalow	10	7
Detached house	21	8
Semi-detached house	33	32
Terraced house	28	41
Purpose built flat	6	9
Converted flat	2	3
	100	100

Table 24

Distribution of mortgages by age and type of dwelling, 1979

	Percentage of total number of mortgages granted					Total
	pre 1919	1919-1939	194)-1960	post 1960	New	
Bungalow	0	1	1	5	3	10
Detached	3	3	1	7	7	21
Semi-detached	4	9	4	12	4	33
Terraced	14	5	1	6	3	28
Purpose built flat	1	1	0	3	1	6
Converted flat	2	0	0	0	0	2
	24	19	7	32	17	100

It will be seen that only 8 per cent of first time borrowers achieved a detached house, whereas 41 per cent achieved a terraced house and 32 per cent managed to buy a semi-detached house. Almost a quarter of houses purchased by Building Society borrowers were built prior to 1919, and only 17 per cent were new. The pre-1919 dwellings are predominantly terraced, while nearly half of inter-war houses were semi-detached and new houses included a high proportion of dwellings which are detached. It should be remembered that the terminology used in these tables can cover a wide range. For example, terraced houses can range from luxury town houses in Chelsea to very moderate dwellings associated with 19th century bye-law housing, while detached houses can range from huge

mansions to small cottages.

There are substantial regional variations in respect of the types of dwellings mortgaged to Building Societies, reflecting variations in the composition of the housing stock in the various regions. It is perhaps worth noting that the interpretation of preferences for a particular type of accommodation is complicated to some extent by the difficulty of establishing the precise meaning attached to the work "bungalow". The word is used to describe detached and semi-detached dwellings. It is not used in this survey but is used widely without definition by other commentators on housing. The Alliance survey (3) identified some of these regional variations. For example, a quarter or more buyers in Wales, London, the Home Counties, the North and central England wanted semi-detached houses, whereas bungalows were declared the ideal purchase by buyers in Scotland and the South-west. In London flats, town or terraced houses and maisonettes were more often sought after. Cottages were sought by the highest proportion of buyers living in central England and again the south-west. However, more than 50 per cent of purchasers in all areas ideally wanted detached houses. Our adolescent sample reflect this desire for the detached house. The General Household Survey (4) showed also that house preferences were clearly related to age. Bungalows, for example, were favoured by only 21 per cent of under 25's where 60 per cent of over 60's expressed preference for a bungalow.

Criteria for Selecting the Desired House

Nearly a half, 47.3 per cent, gave some indication of location as part of their criteria for choosing their home, 6 per cent gave only location. Living in the depths of the countryside is a pleasant dream but few are willing to sacrifice the amenities of suburban life. The need to be within reach of amenities including libraries, recreational and entertainment facilities means that the idea of a truly rural setting has to be rejected. The Alliance survey showed that while most people wanted

their home to be convenient for work, 80 per cent, shops, 69 per cent and schools 59 per cent and a high percentage 73 per cent still longed to be within the reach of the countryside. The countryside dream is fulfilled by suburbia.

Many comments on the location are not specific - "nice, quiet area" or "friendly neighbours" while others are reminiscent of the estate agent's description "good situation" or "pleasant surroundings". Similarly, the Building Research Establishment report "What is a satisfactory house?". (5), gives some indication of the relative importance given to environmental features. Environmental items were generally regarded as desirable with respondents again mentioning items such as "quiet surroundings", "clean air" and "convenient for shops etc.," Thus, if we compare the comments below with the desired neighbourhood there is a consistent similarity in the results.

Table 25

Criteria for choosing a house - the neighbourhood		
	No.	Per cent
Good area/good situation	27	23.7
Nice quiet area	21	18.4
Near shops/amenities/schools	16	14.1
Near to the country/in the country	12	10.5
Clean area	11	9.6
Friendly neighbours/the neighbourhood	8	7.1
Pleasant surroundings	7	6.2
Privacy/not crowded	6	5.2
Suburban	3	2.6
Away from traffic/main roads	3	2.6
	N = 114	100

A survey of house-buyers in the North-west by Traynor (6) showed that in choosing the location of the house the respondents exhibited a relative independence due to the ownership of a motor car. Almost all the respondents seemed to accept quite inadequate public transport facilities as inevitable. The respondents assumed that, due to the use of a motor car, all facilities

would be within reach. Two-thirds, 65.6 per cent of our sample saw themselves owning a motor car. The adolescents' responses correspond to the findings of what limited research literature exists.

The only form of research, particularly of the sixties, is the "user" research which was still concerned with issues such as the number of day rooms required, whether families wanted to eat in the kitchen, and the need for a second w.c. A few academic studies, often in rather inaccessible sources were published in the sixties but these in general concentrated on local authority high rise flats, similarly user's reactions to appearance was ignored until the 1972 Department of the Environment study (7) and again this dealt only with local authority housing estates. The report from the Building Research Establishment (8) on the householders' views on housing standards suggested that each of the respondents had his own "received standard" - his own idea of what is required of a house for someone in his circumstances. So what do our adolescents require of a house? What does the house represent to the future consumers

Again with reference to the Alliance survey we find very specific features stated as highly desirable - garden (90 per cent), garage (83 per cent) separate lounge/dining room (70 per cent), hall (68 per cent) and extra space (57 per cent). Our results give no consensus, but rather a wide range of desired features seen as important. They range from the specific, such as 3 or 4 bedrooms to the more ambiguous "appearance" or "atmosphere". "Having character" tends to mean that the house has some individuality and the estate as a whole does not look "like a council estate or new town" with all houses looking alike. The house is thought to be a fairly good guide to the income of the owner and, therefore, to his social status. In general the attitude of residents to the external appearance of the house contrasts strongly with the harsh criticism often meted out by architects and in architectural reviews of private housing developments. Wates (9), however, found that "appearance" to most people meant landscape and layout first and architecture second.

Table 26

Criteria for choosing a house - the house	No.
Roomy/spacious/big/plenty of space.	89
Garden	88
Attractive/pleasant looking/character/ individuality	40
Well built/good condition/sound	30
Modern	18
Garage	14
Central heating	12
Plenty of windows	9
3/4 bedrooms	7
Room for expansion/DIY potential	5
2 bedrooms	5
Old house	5
Well insulated	
No features given	8

N = 241

This table perhaps reflects more realistically BRE'S point that everyone has his own "received standard" - what is required of a house for someone in his circumstances. Perhaps we should not expect a consensus of opinion. The only agreement appears to be on the need for a "garden" and a "roomy" house.

While "do-it-yourself (DIY) potential" was not rated as high in either the Alliance survey (39 per cent) nor our sample we have witnessed nevertheless during the 1970's a massive growth in DIY. This has been due to the move towards a "home-centred" society - more time at home - together with the rise in the cost of carrying out repairs and improvements. By 1978 £1 billion were spent on DIY products.

Desired Form of Tenure

Cullingworth suggests,

that there is little demand for alternative forms of tenure as such, but rather a series of perceived problems relating either to the management of or the access to the traditional tenures. (10).

The increasing "power duopoly" of the Building Societies and public authorities, and the "managerialism" confronts these adolescents seeking entry to the "housing system". Tucker (11), I think, is being realistic

when he comments that it is unusual to come across council tenants who would not prefer to be owner-occupiers. Some of this demand for owner-occupation reflects a dissatisfaction with the management of council houses and the limited rights accorded to tenants. Though the tenants charter for tenants is an attempt to overcome some of these problems. And more often the desire is for a house away from council housing estates. Buying a council house may be regarded not so much as a step up as a sideways shuffle. And yet in 1977 when the Greater London Council offered two hundred council houses for sale which had been rejected by tenants because of their bad state of repairs or that they were old, 11,000 applications to buy were received. They were eventually sold by ballot.

Tucker further points out that it would be wild to support that all those who wish to buy are seeking an escape from council housing because its social rating is low but more simply property appreciates and many are not to renting council housing but to renting. This is reflected in the adolescents' reasons for wishing to "buy", as can be seen below. Walls have been built and suggested between private housing and a council housing estate not because of the need for social segregation but on the need to maintain property values. In 1955 Cardiff city council (13) agreed to build a six feet wall between a council estate at Llanishen and a double row of privately owned houses. And in 1963 Gillingham Council (14) approved a plan to divide a road with garages at Ramham, Kent, so that private houses at one end should be separated from council property at the other.

The relative disadvantage of tenants living in privately rented accommodation has been documented in other studies and is well recognised. However, the decline of such accommodation has meant that council housing is taking its place as the sector accounting for the largest number of deprived families. As Townsend reports,

there were signs of the evolution of different grades or strata

of housing in the council sector, to which people may be allocated on social and not only financial grounds. (15).

It would appear that renting is desirable by only a small percentage, 10.3 per cent, of the adolescents. Of the few who did give reasons for renting, renting was seen as being cheaper and some were renting because they did not want the responsibility of a mortgage or having to carry out repairs.

Table 27

Reasons for adolescents renting	
	No.
Don't want to have a mortgage/mortgage repayments too high	5
Cheaper/rents unlikely to rise much	5
All housing should be state owned/propping up the 'capitalist' system	2
Repairs carried out for you	4
No reasons stated	9

N = 25

The "bargain" of home ownership is now so impressed on the minds of the public that the would-be house buyer is well aware that if he can possibly get on to the owner-occupier ladder he will do so. Once entry has been gained to the owner-occupier sector, real costs fall and the greater the rate of inflation is the greater the extent of the fall. The popular image of the owner-occupier sector is that of a young couple buying a newly built house on a mortgage. Therefore the fact that an overwhelming 89.7 per cent of the adolescent sample would prefer to buy their future home is to be expected. From the table below showing the adolescents existing tenure cross-tabulated with their desired form of tenure it will be seen that the major shift to owner-occupation is by those at present in local authority housing. Although the number in the private rented sector is very small the major shift here again is to owner-occupation.

Table 28

Adolescents existing tenure cross-tabulated with desired form of tenure (percentages)

	Rent local authority	Rent private	Own	
Own	8.4	0.9	90.7	N = 107
Rent private	17.6	0	82.3	N = 17
Rent local authority	9.4	0.9	89.7	N = 117

While over a third of those who wished to buy their home saw owner-occupation as an investment or security, the crux of the matter is not entirely a financial one. It will be seen that a quarter saw owning as an achievement or simply that owning or possession was an end in itself - "nice to call it your own".

Table 29

Reasons for adolescents buying

	No.	Per cent
Sense of the house belonging to you/nice to call it your own/once its paid its your own/its mine/achievement/independence	54	25.1
Investment/appreciates in value	37	17.1
Freedom to make alterations/decorate to suit your taste/modernise	37	17.1
Security	35	16.2
Don't want to pay rent all my life when I can buy/ doesn't cost any more than renting	28	12.9
Choice of where to live/able to move easily	5	2.3
No one can move you/you can't be evicted	4	1.9
Something to sell/less problems	3	1.4
Owning is a part of every married couples dream	3	1.4
Leave it to your children when you die	3	1.4
Private houses have character	2	0.9
No reasons given	5	2.3
	N = 2.6	100

The house is seen as being an investment. The tax relief on the mortgage and the appreciation in value of the house can be seen almost as a form of saving. It is seen as more worthwhile to pay a mortgage installment

than to pay rent and higher income tax. Many home-buyers set out to obtain the largest mortgages they can afford. On moving owner-occupiers finance a major part of their new purchase with the cash proceeds of the previous sale, and they obtain tax relief or option mortgage subsidy on their new loan. Again there is no question that once entry has been gained to the owner-occupier sector there is a real benefit whether as a hedge against inflation, as an investment or because of the ease of movement to another owner-occupier house the advantages of owner-occupation are fully realised by the adolescents.

If the provision of subsidised council housing is a social necessity forced on us by the technological development of the modern conurbation, the provision of houses for sale to the potential owner-occupier is a response to a deep call of human nature. (16).

Perceived Achievement

What is the probability of the adolescents achieving their desired house? As may be expected 48.2 per cent, almost half, did not know whether or not they would be financially able to achieve their house aspirations. However, 20.7 per cent of the sample were quite sure that they would not be able to achieve their hopes. It will be seen from the table below that it is low income combined with inflation and rising prices that are the main reasons preventing adolescents realising their aspirations.

Table 30

Assumption of adolescents attaining their desired house type in the desired neighbourhood in ten years time		
Attainment	No.	Per cent
Yes	75	31.1
No	50	20.7
Don't know	116	48.2
N = 241		100

Table 31

Reasons for not achieving house aspirations

	No.	Per cent
Low income/won't earn enough/cannot afford it	16	32
Rising prices/interest rates	13	26
Inflation	11	22
What I want is too expensive	6	12
Too few houses available/too many people after too few houses	3	6
Won't be able to live in the country	1	2
	N = 50	100

It is difficult to bridge the gulf between an adolescents' unquestioned security now and the problems he or she may soon have to face. For adolescents at school housing is an unfamiliar subject. A sample questionnaire carried out by the Tyneside Education Project, based at the Tyneside Housing Aid Centre (17) amongst pupils at a local comprehensive, a borstal, a local authority home and a sixth form general studies class, showed a widespread ignorance about basic housing rights. They equally received a disproportionately large number of requests for help with housing from young adults between 18 and 30. The problems faced are highlighted by a DHSS spokesman in Newcastle alarmed that they were less and less able to identify hardship.

We're seeing more and more young married couples with children under five. There's no work, they have families and commitments, possibly they live in highrise flats with high fuel bills, they've got HP, they can't keep up, they've got married on the dole. (18).

Since nearly 90 per cent of the sample desired owner-occupation and at present the owner-occupier sector represents only 54 per cent of the housing market, a large percentage of adolescents will never achieve their aspirations. Several surveys (19) have shown that well over 70 per cent of households would like to own their own homes. Demand for owner-occupation is particularly strong among the younger age groups. Even if the owner-occupier sector does expand to 75 per cent of the housing market as is estimated by the end of the century many adolescents dreams will

remain dreams.

But who are the first time buyers? A review of the research literature reveals little definitive description of first-time buyers. The statistics (20) below show only the characteristics of the first-time buyer, and consequently the situation facing the would be adolescent buyers 45 per cent of all Building Society loans in 1979 went to first-time buyers and about half of first-time buyers comprise new households. But the proportion of loans received by first-time buyers shows a marked downward trend (21). First-time buyers tend to be younger than existing owners, so naturally they tend to have lower earnings, 50 per cent had an annual income of less than £6,000. Over a third, 36 per cent of first-time buyers were under the age of 25, and 6 per cent were under 21. While 22 per cent of all first-time buyers paid deposits of under £1,000, in Yorkshire and Humberside 36 per cent of first-time buyers were able to pay a deposit of under £1,000. This is because first-time buyer average house prices in the region are the lowest in the country, as it has the highest proportion of low-income borrowers.

The Alliance Building Society survey (22) illustrates the biographical characteristics of first-time buyers. In the main they are men in their early twenties, doing professional jobs, married with few children and whose wives go out to work full time. The figure of 65 per cent of first-time buyers having professional jobs is high when compared with the "Local and National Housing Surveys, 1971 census", where 59 per cent of the men had manual occupations 18 per cent of first-time buyers were single or engaged. 29 per cent, almost a third, of first-time buyers had difficulty obtaining a mortgage. When they did manage to buy their first house Alliance found few bought the house they had hoped for i.e. modern, detached or semi-detached house with 3 bedrooms, 2 reception rooms, a garden and a garage costing up to £15,000 and not on an estate. Instead, they bought terraced semi-detached houses on a modern estate. Only 40 per

cent said they were satisfied with their house when they decided to buy it and this dropped to 32 per cent after a year. Thus, even those of our adolescent sample who do manage to buy their house a large percentage will not really achieve their aspirations. But they will be at least on the first rung of the housing ladder.

Townsend (23) however, shows the scale of those who will never ever achieve any aspirations - those who will never escape the cycle of deprivation.

By the state's own definition, therefore, there were between 15 and 17½ million in a population of some 55½ million who were in or near poverty. (24).

Relationship to Parents

The largest proportion of adolescents, 44.4 per cent, did not want to live in the same type of house or area as their parents. The reasons, listed below, for disliking the parents' house or area appear to fall into two categories. The first category is straightforward dislikes of the house or the neighbourhood - "the area is dirty", "I don't like the house" or "it's too small". The second category illustrates a desire for social mobility. The adolescents' perceived desire to "better themselves", the rejection of council housing and renting and the wish to become owner occupiers - "I'd like to better my parents, as indeed they want me to", "It's a council estate - every house is the same", "I want to own" and "my parents could have bought their council house twice over". The desire for owner-occupation is clearly shown; where 44.4 per cent of adolescents parents were owner-occupiers 89.7 per cent of adolescents sought owner-occupation. And when 48.5 per cent were council tenants only 9.5 per cent of adolescents sought to rent council housing.

Table 32

Reasons for not wishing to live in the same housing and neighbourhood as parents.

	No.	Per cent
Don't like house/terraced houses/houses all the same/want modern house	22	20.6
Don't like area/dirty/clearance area	12	11.2
House too small	8	7.5
Too crowded	6	5.6
Want to live in the country/outside the city	6	5.6
Too isolated/don't know anyone/don't see anybody	4	3.8
Don't want to live in a council house	16	15.0
Want to own/my parents rent	14	13.0
Want to better myself/have different tastes from my parents	9	8.4
No reason given	10	9.3
	N = 107	100

Most people do not want to live with their parents. But do they want to live near them and if so how near? Answers to these questions

were being sought here. It will be seen from the table below that while almost half wished to live in the same town as their parents over a third would prefer to move completely away from their parents. No longer did anyone want to live in the same street and only 19.9 per cent even in the same neighbourhood.

Table 33

Desired relationship to parents		
	No.	Per cent
In the same street	0	0
In the same neighbourhood	48	19.9
In another part of town	102	42.3
In another town or part of the country	91	37.8
	N = 241	100

As we have already seen however, there is a relationship between social class and the desired region the adolescents wished to live and work in. As Jackson states,

The working class family is less mobile, less "national" than others. Their jobs, opportunities and aspirations make them stick to the local scene (25)

Again this is shown markedly below, in the relationship between social class and kinship. While none of the adolescents wished to live in the same street as their parents a much larger percentage of working class adolescents wished to live in the same neighbourhood as their parents than middle class adolescents. And correspondingly fewer working class adolescents wished to move to another town or part of the country. Working class families are bound more to their neighbourhood, to wider kin and to other working class families in a way. That is simply not the case for members of the middle class, as can be seen below where half of the adolescents in social Class I would prefer to move to another town.

Table 34

Desired relationship to parents by Social Class (percentages)

Social class	In the same neighbourhood	In another part of town	In another town or part of the country
Social class I	19.2	30.7	50.1
Social Class II	13.9	41.9	44.2
Social class III	10.5	48.8	40.7
Social class IV	28.1	43.8	28.1
Social class V	37.8	37.8	24.4

This class difference is to be expected. As Willmott and Young show in their study in Woodford (26) most middle class couples did not expect to live near the older generation. Other things were uppermost in their minds, namely most took it for granted that the husband's job was the first consideration of all.

A man's got to be where his work is, and his wife's got to go where her husband's livelihood is. You just can't stay near your parents if your job pulls in another direction. (27).

Thus, the differences in proximity to parents illustrated between Woodford and Bethnal Green are similarly reflected in this adolescent sample. And if we now look at male and female relationship to parents we find differences again.

As willmott and Young (28) observed in the 1950's in Bethnal Green the daughters' attachment to her mother was no longer such a compelling necessity due to a more stable economy. Families can be planned. The perpetual pregnancies and "nappy years" are now a much smaller proportion of women's lives. But she may, if she cannot get any respite find the five to ten years of bringing up her children exacting and exasperating. Irrespective of social class she may be hard put to avoid the loneliness and frustration of being confined day in, day out in her home. But from the age of thirty onwards it is generally possible for the mother to return to work. And it should be remembered that 58 per cent of our adolescents' mothers worked outside the home.

Table 35

Desired proximity to parents by sex (percentage)

	in the same neighbourhood	in another part of town	in another town or part of the country
Female	22.8	42.5	34.6
Male	16.6	42.1	41.2

N = 241

It would appear from these results that there is a tendency for slightly more working class daughters to wish to live near their parents. And more daughters, 32.2 per cent, than sons, 25.4 per cent, would be prepared to live in the same house type and neighbourhood as their parents. This suggests the retention of links with "mum" and a degree of contact between members of the old and new generations. This relationship, however, does not reflect the classic ties documented by Willmott and Young (29) or Kerr (30), over twenty years ago of married couples who went on living "up the street" or "round the corner". And yet there is a special emotional bond between mother and daughter, irrespective of class. It is only the nature of the relationship that changes. Thirty years of rehousing has meant the emergence of new values. The creation of a more "house-centred" society, and significant respect for privacy and pride in one's home and children. "On the estate" may now be more appropriate.

Family size

The period in Britain since 1945 has been characterised by high marriage rates and earlier ages at marriage. Whereas in 1931, for example, 572 of every 1,000 women in the age group 20 to 39 were married, by 1961 it had reached 808. According to demographers (31) this is practically as high as it be expected to go. There are a number of easily discernable social and economic factors which may help to account for the earlier age at marriage. Undoubtedly the equalisation in the numbers of spinsters

and batchelors at relevant combination of ages is part responsible for the increase. Compared with fifty years ago male emigration, male war loses and male infant mortality are much lower. In fact there is now an excess of males in the younger age groups.

While similar proportions, however, of men and women marry today from all social classes, age at marriage varies considerably according to educational and occupational background. The age of marriage is comparatively low in social class V and comparatively high in social class I where continuing in education results in the postponement of marriage. The reasons for the younger age of working class marriages centre on the fact that as a group they are much better off than they have ever been (32). Many of the former economic barriers to early marriage have been removed. Certainly there is a more than ever favourable climate for young parents wanting families, with less sentimental attitudes towards pregnancy and childbirth, improved hospital facilities for confinement and for those who can afford them the availability of washing machines, cheaper baby foods, launderettes and so on.

Therefore if more people are now marrying than ever before and more children are being born in the early years of marriage it would be natural to assume a growing birthrate. But in fact this does not imply an increase in the average size of completed families. The marked rise in the birth immediately following the second world war was not sustained during the 1950's. Despite the signs of another upward movement during the mid - 1960's it appears that the average family size is now stabilizing at between two and three children. It would appear that more couples want to achieve the "ideal" two children family so widely popularized in advertisements and on television. Certainly this "ideal" is reflected in the adolescent sample, with an average family size of 2.2. It will be seen from the table below that on average females preferred larger families than males. Kensall (35) has demonstrated a new trend that has appeared since the end of the war. It is among professional classes that increases

in family size are most noticeable. This trend, however, was not apparent among our sample. Though at their age too much weight should not be put on the figures. It is merely interesting that two children are seen as the "ideal" family. The small family is socially accepted.

Table 36

Preferred family size (percentages)

Family size	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Male	13.1	3.5	57.8	16.6	6.6	0.8	0.8
Female	5.5	0.7	66.0	18.1	9.4	0	0.7

N = 241

Future Changes

It has by now become obvious from our adolescent sample that there is no major shift in housing preferences. Some 48.5 per cent did envisage changes in the design of housing in the near future. But even then there were no radical changes foreseen and certainly no evidence of alternative life styles. At the same time 46.5 per cent were willing to use communal facilities in their desired residential area. But certainly no indication that communal living was a serious housing choice.

It will be seen from the table below the major change envisaged was that house space standards would be reduced. In fact this reflects what has been going on for some time. It is the increase in the demand for owner-occupation that has led to the reduction in space standards. The space standards of new houses in the private sector has been increasingly determined by the need to sell to more members of relatively lower income groups. As a result the developer to overcome rising costs has saved space. Similarly, with the abolition of Parker Morris standards under the Conservative Government we will witness reductions in space standards in the public sector. Thus, in a consumer society we are now producing housing, in both the private and public sectors, with totally inadequate space

standards to last well into the next century. However, it may be false to assume or even expect that standards should continue to rise. Given that the majority of housing for the next century is already built there is no evidence that standards will rise. We have always assumed that increased technological development automatically increases standards this now, maybe, should be questioned.

The survey was carried out after the "save it" energy programme following the 1973 energy crisis. So a certain number of design suggestions relating to energy problems were to be expected. However, given the implications of the energy problem and the extent of the "save it" campaign, it seems, I feel, to have had little effect on our adolescents. Replies were vague not really indicating effects on the design - "solar energy" "energy saving" and "more insulation". Certainly no indication of the necessity to save energy in the future.

Table 37

Envisaged changes in house design	
	No.
Houses will get smaller/more "box-like"	33
Solar energy/more energy conservation/new energy sources.	24
Use of cheaper building materials/new building materials/ modern technology.	12
More high rise flats.	11
More insulation.	8
Houses will become more difficult to get.	4
Houses will get cheaper.	4
Senser building form.	3
Increasing use of coal again.	3
More conservative designs.	3
More efficient use of fuels.	2
Bigger houses.	2
More communal living.	1
No reasons given.	8

N = 117

It has been suggested that the capital energy requirement for housing is comparatively unimportant. In a study by Gaitner and Smith (34)

they concluded that while a compact urban form with high density housing development will certainly yield reduced transport costs and probably reduced operational costs, however the capital energy requirement is by no means insignificant. This would lend support to the few who saw "denser building forms" and "more high rise flats". There was a belief that technology would produce cheaper building methods and materials - an implicit belief in technology always providing a solution. Given the technical problems now being encountered due to the 1960's industrialised house building programme great care not to repeat such errors must be taken.

One of the few market research surveys into the design of houses has been for "Higher Income Housing that Sells" (35) since smaller building firms tend to copy the market leaders, even when their problems are totally different, and design features filter down the market the results are worth noting here. The overall impression is one of conservatism. Although cavity-fill insulation was well liked in theory there were doubts about its efficiency in practice. The pay back period was felt to be very long and people might not stay in the house long enough for the saving in heating. There were similar feelings towards solar heating. There were doubts as to whether the British climate would be suitable and it was thought to be expensive and unproven. Double glazing was felt not to be absolutely essential. This lends support to the view that there are no major changes in house design envisaged and questions the financial viability of some ways of saving energy. It will only be rising energy costs that will modify designs.

Since, however, theoretical studies and practical demonstrations show that energy conservation measures can produce savings in the amount of energy needed to heat, light and ventilate houses, much can be achieved by design. Increasing the areas of south facing windows will let interiors benefit from solar gain. Conversely, north facing windows on balance lose more heat than they gain, and should be as small as possible. The fact

that terraced dwellings are a more economic proposition than detached or semi-detached houses, as only two of their four walls are exposed to the external environment, is very much contrary to the aspirations of the adolescents.

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House Image Game.

In the hope that visual cues in a series of photographs representing a range of house types might stimulate useful reactions about desirable and undesirable aspects of housing, the adolescents were shown the seven photographs and asked to rank them in order of preference. Then further to describe the particular characteristics of their first choice and the reasons for disliking their seventh choice. The order of preferences should hold no surprises for us if our results to date have been accurate. This is infact the case. It will be seen from the results that the first two preferences represent the speculative builder and the owner-occupier sector; the third choice represents pre-1919 housing and a mixture of owner-occupier and private renting sectors, and the rest represent the public renting sector.

The speculative builder is not renowned for the design qualities of his housing estates. The unanimous view of the architectural and planning professions is that speculative housing is mediocre and at worst "environmental disasters". This comment from the architectural press is common,

Our experience only reinforces the annual complaint of the DOE housing awards committee about the low standard of entries from the private sector. (1)

While much of speculative housing is an anathema to architects the investment value is so often conveniently forgotten, but not by the buyer. In 1968 a detached, neo-Georgian house won the House of the Year Award at the Ideal Home Exhibition. In the early 1970's such a standard neo-Georgian house in Middlesbrough, for example, cost £14,000 but by the late 1970's it fetched £29,000. Similar price rises for this house type were common throughout the country. (2). Equally now there are those who consider we are settling into a sterile, repetitious period of domestic architecture in which everything conforms to a plebeian norm of "neo-vernacular" or "vernacular fakery". As the neo-Georgian was successful so too will be the "neo-vernacular".

61.8 per cent of the adolescents put the detached speculative built house as their first choice. The table below shows the selected qualities that adolescents identified in their first choice. While a few saw it as their "dream house", that "had everything" for the majority the fact that it was "detached", "modern" and had a "garden" was all that was required. Also, that it appeared "spacious" with "plenty of open space" around it were equally highly rated. The features are of course everything that council housing is not. If one compares the features mentioned with those the adolescents identified they would look for in choosing a house, they are similar.

The overwhelming desire for the "house with the garden" is not new. In 1945 a mass observation survey reported, "... it's every woman's ambition to have a nice house and a garden for her children". (3) Ten years later in 1955 as the post-war clearance programme was starting and high flats were being advocated Margaret Willis reported to a RIBA symposium on high flats,

Although these high flats can provide advantages in the way of better air, view, greater quiet and privacy for the people of the upper floors, nevertheless about two-thirds said that ideally they would like a "little house and a garden" and an even greater proportion of the people on the lower floors said the same. (4).

It would seem that the desire for the "house with a garden" has not changed in the intervening period. The resulting local authority has been already well documented.

Table 38

Desirable characteristics of the first choice.

	No.
Detached	58
Plenty of open space/spacious	55
Attractive/pleasant/nice surroundings	51
Garden	39
Modern	34
Large house	25
Privacy/secluded	25
Nice/well designed house	16
Select/expensive/luxurious	15
Clean	15
Individuality	15
Quiet	9
In the country/in Suburbia	8
A dream house/has everything	6
Plenty of windows	6
Fresh air	5
Views	5
Garage	4

N = 149

The public sector housing equally has been discredited but for different reasons. Industrialised building has presented numerous problems to the residents - condensation and noise transmission. The long term maintenance costs of public sector housing could be horrific. Equally the advocacy of high rise flats and maisonettes have created serious social problems. With the failure of high rise flats there has been an acceleration in the number of schemes that contrive to give the appearance of moderate density while at the same time packing people in. This low rise high density housing was the final choice of 57.6 per cent of the adolescents. No one is fooled. They can see the over crowding and minimal gardens that result. This form presented undesirable features. The housing appeared "too crowded" and "hemmed in", "dirty", "old" and "drab" and there were "no gardens" or "greenery". Seen as council housing it was labelled as "all the same" with "no character". A few saw the houses as "modern slums" and in an industrial area.



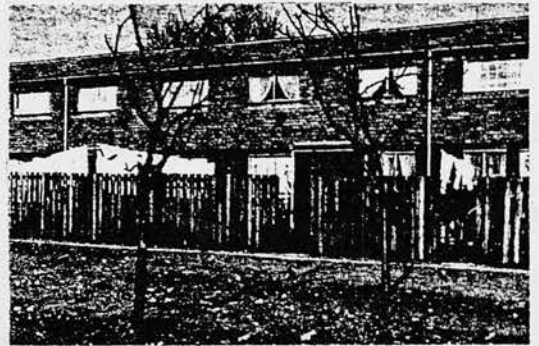
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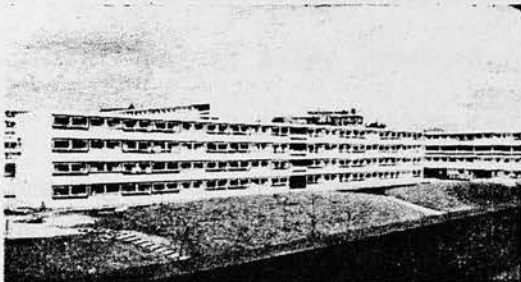
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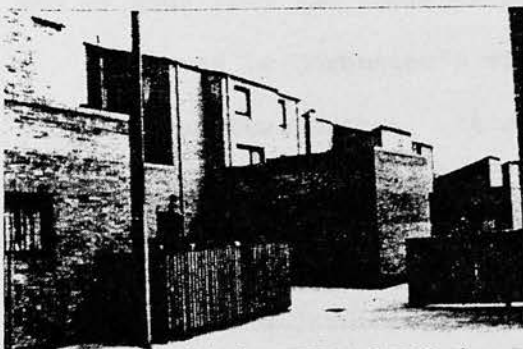
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Table 39

Undesirable characteristics of the seventh choice

	No.
Too crowded/hemmed in/too cramped too close together	54
Dirty	39
Old/dull/drab/untidy	33
No gardens/no greenery	26
Houses all the same/no character	24
Look like slums/modern slums	23
Ugly/don't like the look of them	16
Looks like a prison/rabbit butches/the back of a factory	14
Small houses	10
Lack of privacy	9
Industrial area/inner city area	4

N = 139

The results again clearly show the desire for the detached house and a rejection of council housing - the dullness, the repetition, the tame grass and the monotonous air. Council housing represents an aesthetic and form of tenure that has become an embarrassment.

The second game illustrated post-war housing where the architectural profession was fully involved. Here are housing projects which won acclaim from the profession - some influenced the thinking of a whole generation of architects. It is I think significant to note that a few respondents were forced to admit that they did not really like any of the housing, but reluctantly were forced to select what came closest to their ideal house. Their first choice came closest to the detached or semi-detached house. 61.4 per cent selected this as their first choice. The results merely serve to reinforce the findings of the first game, as can be seen from the table below.

It was Le Corbusier's vision of the vertical garden city that captured the imagination. It was his Unite d'habitation, illustrated here, that inspired the architecturally fashionable solution of the collective tower blocks of flats. It represents the machine made environment, standardised and technically perfected. This new

architecture was to transform almost the entire city into visual open space, providing sunlight, pure air, green foliage and views. Except in the L.C.C.'s Alton West and a handful of other estates there is no trace of the garden in the vertical cities. Technology was assigned the key role in modern housing, and yet architects of the modern movement failed to master technology. In adopting a more modern technology architects consented to the destruction of craftsmanship in the building industry and abandoned traditional building construction. This has led to failures, particularly in the use of concrete as an external finish. Concrete caught on, in the past, because it seemed to be a cheap and very plastic material. In reality we have innumerable buildings with drab, grey begrimed, streaky, cracked concrete finishes.

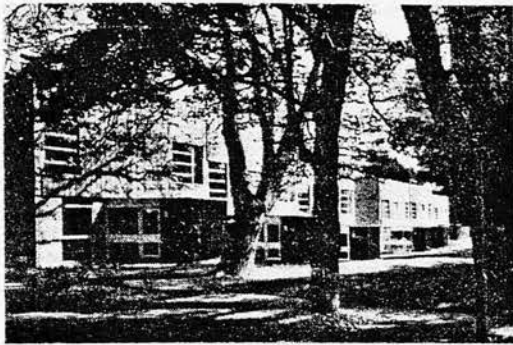
Table 40

Desirable characteristics of the first choice

	No.
Garden/greenery/trees	49
Attractive/pleasant/nice surroundings/area	44
Plenty of open space/spacious	32
Nice/pleasant looking/attractive to look at	29
Quiet/peaceful area	19
Modern	15
Clean	13
Don't really like any of them, but it's the best of them	13
Privacy/secluded	12
Good for children/family	9
Looks like houses/houses not flats	8
Not overcrowded	7
In the country/in suburbia	6
Fresh air	3
Friendly	3
No reason given	4

N = 148

In materials and form of construction, as with architectural style, recent housing development in the public sector demonstrates that expensive lessons have been learnt. It is a simple fact, rarely admitted by all those who are ideologically committed to industrialised building systems, that



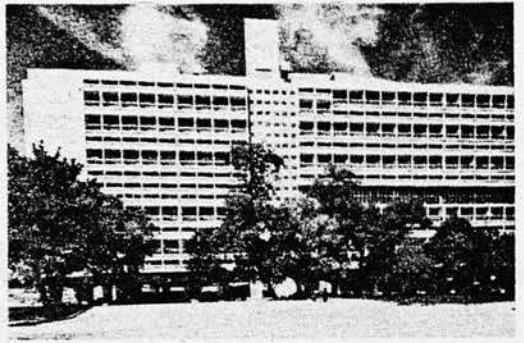
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prefabricated developments, from Thamesmead to Habitat in Montreal, have almost invariably cost more to build than comparable, conventionally built systems. The dichotomy between the real world and the world of modern fantasy is really depolarable. Perhaps the attitude of the adolescents tabulated below is best summed up in this quote from Nicholas Taylor,

...most of what passed in the mid-sixties for "good housing design" at high densities was in fact a fundamental violation of the lives of those families who had to live in it - and council tenants clearly had little choice almost all the most renowned high-density housing schemes were dangerous rubbish, precisely because they were conceived of merely as "housing" and not as part of the fabric of a total living community. (5)

And again,

Not only do the flatted estates impose a bureaucratic anonymity which violates the individuality of family life - no pets, no washing lines, no trellises, no colour wash, and all the doors painted uniformly olive-green - but they have gone on to deny fundamentally the changes and chances of a rapidly improving standard of living, which is at last making it financially possible for most people to breathe the freedom of doing their own thing. (6).

Table 41

Undesirable characteristics of the seventh choice

	No.
Density too high/too crowded together/ all on top of one another	61
Ugly/unattractive/horrible/a mess	51
Looks like boxes/"lego" houses/rabbit hutches etc.,	43
No privacy	16
Looks unsafe/dangerous	11
No gardens	8
Don't like the design	8
Untidy	6
Too much concrete	4
Too modern	4
No reasons given	3

N = 161

Priority Evaluation Game

Up to this point, with the exception of the house image games, the collection of information concerning the adolescents has been obtained

by means of a social survey. Summarising then, the survey results identify a conformity amongst adolescents, with aspirations that probably reflect those of their parents' generation. They show an almost consistent pattern - our adolescents would choose to live in a detached house with a garden, which they would own, located preferably in the country or suburbia. It is of course inevitable that answers to the type of questions being put to the adolescents will produce a mixture of realism and some wishful thinking.

Clearly it is possible to postulate constraints that would influence our future consumers' preferences ; it would, however, be less easy to determine which would be operative. As well as the traditional income constraint, which will govern all their aspirations, the Building Societies' lending policies are equally constricting. While other preferences could be related to the need to be near to certain facilities or relatives. Thus preferences can become blurred with constraints - such as the need to be near elderly parents. We have already established that some of these constraints will govern our adolescents' future decisions - the desire to live in the same neighbourhood as their parents. This game, however, is aimed at an "ideal".

There is obviously a hierarchy of importance attached to the aspirations of our adolescents. To explore the role of choice in the decision making process the priority evaluation game effectively allows the adolescents to choose the nature of the housing they aspire to. This simple game is aimed at establishing the order of importance. In a strict sense, the priority evaluation game is not properly a game; since there is no competition involved. The adolescents were being asked to trade one aspect of their housing aspirations against another in order to establish a priority for housing. This was done by stating that they had a total of 16 points to spend in order to buy that desired situation, and at the same time to allocate their points according to the importance they placed on it in relation to their overall aspirations. There are clearly

numerous aspects, but I have concentrated on eight of them here in the priority evaluation game. (a) distance to work, (b) location of the house, (c) distance to the nearest place for shopping, (d) transport, (e) density of housing, (f) appearance of neighbourhood, (g) house type, (h) individuality and choice.

In theoretical and empirical analyses of housing demand (7) great emphasis has been placed on the importance of choice and the role of the journey to work as a determinant of residential location. Much previously published research tends to use an "economic model", But these "models" do not relate to the location, the appearance of the neighbourhood environment or the dwelling type itself. Clearly from the results the housetype itself is of paramount importance. Again the priorities should hold no real surprise for us if the findings to date have indeed been accurate. There appears to be an overwhelming response in favour of the detached house or semi-detached house, certainly compared to the flat or terraced house. The housetype then is seen as the centre of all aspirations. The appearance of the location is equally important - the clean and quiet neighbourhood with openness and plenty of greenery. These two factors govern the next priority, choice and individuality. Similarly density and location are inter-related. The low density of rural location or at second best suburbia is sought. At the same time despite the assumed car-ownership an improved public transport service is seen as necessary to link the housing to the desired shopping facilities near at hand. It is now that all other considerations have been established - housetype appearance and location that the journey to work is important. The place of work appears to be held at a distance from the home. The priority evaluation game equally identifies what is unpopular or undesirable - namely the high density of the inner city together with flats and terraced housing which offer limited choice or individuality. What is being rejected is "urbanity".

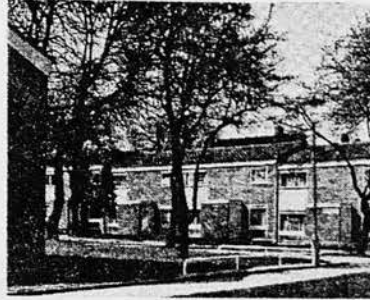
ORDER OF PRIORITY

1



detached or semi-detached house

2



open, quiet, plenty of greenery, clean

3



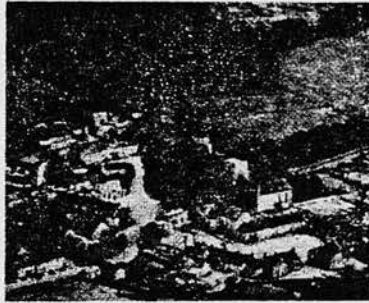
freedom to choose, complete individuality

4



low density

5



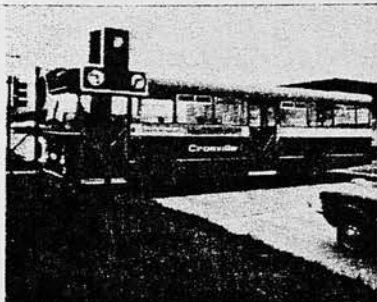
in the country

6



suburban

7



improved public transport

8



under 1 mile

9



medium density

10



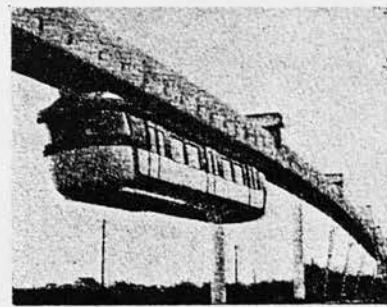
up to 3 miles

11



up to 3 miles

12



rapid transit system

13



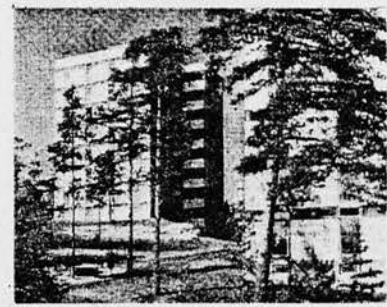
under 1 mile

14



limited choice,
some individuality

15



greenery, more open

16



over 5 miles

17



in the city

18



as at present

19



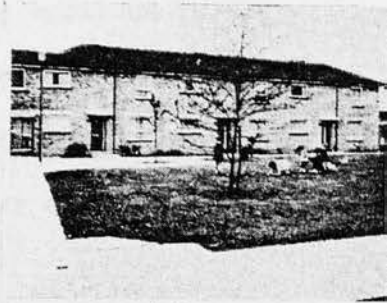
over 5 miles

20



flat

21



terraced house

22



hemmed in, no greenery, high density
noisy, all the same

23



24



no choice in housing,
no individuality

We should in concluding remember that it is a retrograde point of view that fails to recognise that these aspirations, similar as they are, are a consequence of making the benefits of our society available to more people. The monotonous regularity of the detached or the semi-detached suburban housing that can apparently so easily appal us is not the product of an inner desire for uniformity so much as the fact that the construction is a consideration of moderate cost housing. This suburban housing is no more or less a pressure for inner conformity than the rows of 19th century by-law housing.

Though not central to our study the advantages of the priority evaluation game can be assessed favourably. I would further suggest that there could be a lot more research developed on the priority evaluation game itself.

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3. See Mass Observation, "Britain and her Birth-Rate", Murray, London 1945, p.136.
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6. Ibid, p.81.
7. See W. Alonso, "Location and Land Use", Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Boston, 1964, and R.F. Muth, "Cities and Housing" University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1969 and C. Jones, "Housing: The Element of Choice", in "Urban Studies", 16, 1979, pp.197 - 204.

CONCLUSIONS

There has been much speculation concerning what people might or should desire. This research then has been concerned with one section of our society, namely adolescents - the future housing consumers. The findings which are discussed here first, prove "conventional wisdom". The implications of this "conventional wisdom" are then traced out in three sections.

Adolescents.

The central issue here is the self-interest of owner-occupation, whether there are indeed any alternatives and how this self-interest is projected.

Housing design and the crisis within Architecture.

Attention is drawn to the notable failure of crash public housing programmes to do much to solve the continuing housing crisis. There is cause for embarrassment in the quality of much local authority housing. The Housing market and housing policy.

The main issue discussed here is the 1980 Housing Act. The sale of council houses may be a measure of historic importance and have a major influence on the future of our adolescents.

These sections are then discussed against the background of the late 1970's, the present recession and the growing unemployment amongst adolescents. Finally, at a time when new housing is now at a virtual standstill it is an opportune time for the Architectural profession to take a long hard look at the whole housing issue. It requires a far better understanding by the profession of the political and economic background.

Conventional Wisdom

The findings illustrate what I have called "conventional wisdom" by this I mean knowledge held but not necessarily proven. The study indicates that the desire for owner-occupation and a detached house, or

at second best a semi-detached house is ubiquitous and certainly not in the process of change. Housing in the form of terraced houses, maisonettes or flats is not popular. The adolescents are especially keen to have a house with a garden of its own.

Although the study does not show a total rejection of the inner city it does indicate a widespread desire to move to particular suburban areas and in some cases "the country". It clearly shows that the adolescents attach tremendous importance to what can loosely be described as a "semi-rural" environment. Semi-rural is equated with having fresh air and a clean environment, and the importance attached to these two factors in general overrides consideration of convenience for shopping, schools, entertainment and particularly work. By contrast, the inner city areas seem dirty and noisy. Despite the tremendous criticism of suburbia by social scientists, the architectural profession and popular writers it is nevertheless still considered a most desirable environment by the majority of our adolescent population. This would indicate the movement to suburbia promises to continue through the next few decades. Once the move to the suburbs has been made the pressure to stay there is clearly very great. Although they would move to the suburbs the majority would prefer to remain in their home region.

The adolescents came from a cross-section of socio-economic backgrounds yet they all tended to be "middle-class" in many of their attitudes and aspirations. Goldthorpe (1) shows that what has happened is that more and more sons and daughters of workers are becoming middle class. The proportion of the working class in the population is shrinking, and in the cause of this change the nature of the middle class and of the working class is changing.

Several of the results have implications for the design of housing related to open space and appearance. Very few adolescents were able to list specifically what they wanted of the house - number and type

of rooms they wanted. This may in fact reflect that on the whole levels of satisfaction, certainly with post-war housing, are considerably higher with respect to interiors than to external aspects. Thus the quality of the housing environment is a matter of major concern to the adolescents. The problem is the genuine differences between architects and the users as to how the house and its environment should look. Appearance came across as by far the most important factor. But good appearance was associated with spaciousness and increased openness. Pleasant surroundings referred to the desire for gardens, trees and greenery. Density appeared through factors such as feelings of "being hemmed in" and "overcrowded". A factor which architects often consider important but received little or no mention was traffic noise, whereas there were factors which are important but outside the architects' control, friendliness and cleanliness. There appears to be no major shift in housing preferences, simply a reinforcement of current patterns.

What has now been established as "conventional wisdom" is, however, held and simply expressed by others, as can be seen in this quote by Tom Baron, Managing Director of Whelmar, a house building subsidiary of Christian Salvesen,

Owner-occupation is about freedom, it is about the dream of suburbia. It is the choice of the consumer as to what he buys, where he buys it and at how much. It is the desire for human scale in housing in a safe and desirable location. (2)

As the private housing sector realises that it is in the "desire business" so market research will play a greater role in establishing aspirations as the market research report, "Designing Higher Income Housing that Sells", shows.

This report aims to give guidance to building companies on those aspects of new houses which are important to buyers in the higher income groups. The report sets out how houses should be designed to have maximum appeal to these buyers and how the properties can best be marketed and advertised to potential customers. (3).

The proving of "conventional wisdom" reveals a conservative generation anxious to preserve traditional standards. A review of the literature on adolescence shows that much research has been influential in the movement to define adolescence in Britain as a time of "problems", and there is nothing in modern society more alienating than to be described as a "problem". Research by tradition has concerned itself with the social problems of adolescence. Research funds are more easily available for the study of say juvenile delinquency than the everyday aspirations of young people. Thus, this conformity and the reasons for it are as Smith states,

Conformity to legal and moral norms is still the pattern of behaviour among the youth in Britain today, and this conformity is secured not mainly under the threat of constraints, for tolerations of deviation is greater than it has ever been, but because the young have internalised a conscience which respects tradition, and which aids them in the maximum exploration of their future rewards. (4).

The survey may in fact have posed more questions in the minds of the adolescents than they answered. The results show an acceptance of the existing housing system. There were no flamboyant aspirations. Adolescents may not reject the values of our industrial society in the same style as the dropouts of the sixties. The current unemployment situation may make them less ready to drop out of society into which it might be more difficult to drop back. Their criticism, however, may be as deeply felt and while more muted possibly more widespread.

Despite the plea from Cullingworth (5) for more research into housing aspirations this remains today still largely ignored and unfulfilled. Again a review of the literature reveals few academic studies, often in rather inaccessible sources, and limited. Thus the views of the most important people involved, the actual and potential users of the housing have been prevented from taking their place among the influences on architects' and planners' decisions during the 1960's and 1970's. Much

of the research refers to studies carried out during the 1950's and early 1960's. Therefore, in the study of housing aspirations more needs to be done not just among this age group but of the general population. The housing market is complex and not understood. There is a general ignorance of information which needs to be overcome.

The Self interest of Owner-occupation.

Housing policy is now firmly wedded to the continued expansion of home ownership. The role of owner-occupation within housing policy and the whole of the housing system is one of major importance. Allocation in the owner-occupier sector is based on the ability of the household to buy rather than in the relation to their need for housing. Owner occupiers are encouraged to overhouse themselves and attract an undue share of the countries investment resources. So that the demand for owner occupation is a reflection of the enormous economic advantages it brings. The right to buy allows the right to dispose of it on the open market for whatever price it will fetch, the proceeds of the sale being retained.

What we may call the "self-interest" of owner occupation is shown by the adolescents. Clearly the emergence of home ownership itself as a form of investment is seen by the adolescents. Thus in a re-sale dominated owner occupier market it is in no-one's interest for house prices to stabilise or fall, except probably our would be first time buyer before he buys. The appreciating house has now become an accepted part of the domestic economy of the suburban family. As a form of tenure Pawley (6) argues that owner occupation has no substantive advantages or disadvantages over rental. Particularly now mortgage repayments are accepted as a more or less continuous expenditure no sooner paid off on one dwelling than assumed on another. However, this view overlooks the desire "to own" expressed by the adolescents or as Crossman (7) said,

....The provision of houses for sale to the potential owner occupier is a response to a deep call of human nature.

But equally Pawley's assumed continuous "trading up" is questionable. Jones (8) highlights a dichotomy between the behaviour of high and low income households in the housing market. He suggests that "trading up" is probably a luxury of the higher income groups who regard their home as an asset. But owner occupation was regarded as an asset by the adolescents irrespective of social class.

It may be, however, that owner-occupation is not in the best interest of some adolescents. Despite the popular ideology of home-ownership, and the property-owning democracy, that "everybody gains" it is not only those who cannot obtain their own home who lose. It can also be the low-income home-owners at the bottom of the scale who lose out in the face of rising maintenance costs, declining asset values and vulnerability to mortgage failure. There is evidence (9) that already the expansion of owner-occupation among low-income households is causing serious problems. In the first half of 1977 a fifth of all homeless families outside London came directly from owner-occupation, and a further large but unknown proportion came from owner-occupation via a stay with relatives or friends. Karn (10) makes two very important points. First, by forcing people with unstable and low incomes into owner occupation it is likely to be a source of instability in the owner-occupier housing sector, especially during a period of recession. And second; a growing body of economic opinion, both right and left wing, sees owner-occupation as a factor which fuels inflation.

The Alternative

The search for viable "alternative forms" of tenure has been largely stimulated by the decline of the private rented sector. Cullingworth maintains that,

....there is little demand for alternative forms of tenure as such; but rather a series of perceived problems relating either to the management of or the access to the traditional tenures.(11)

The demand for owner-occupation reflects the financial advantages of owner-occupation and a dissatisfaction with the management of council houses, the limited rights accorded to tenants and the appearance of council housing itself. The voluntary housing movement is seen as an answer to the polarisation between the public sector for renting and the private sector for buying. Yet because it is voluntary, its effectiveness depends in the last resort on the energy and capacity of those engaged in it, for their efforts can not be commanded, in the way in which those of authorities are by virtue of statutory obligation. However, the housing associations meet specific needs which neither sector can easily meet, such as those of young people, migrant workers and single parent families. Unfortunately housing associations are treated on very similar lines to local authorities, (12) so that what started off as an alternative in fact is finishing up as more of the same. An increasing interest in alternative forms of tenure and dissatisfaction with the present housing system has led to a statutory provision enabling housing co-operatives to be set up. They are as yet unknown and really unproved. As the Housing Corporation have commented,

....no one expects co-operative housing to be an easy concept to promote but there is great interest in it and enormous enthusiasm for what is for many almost a new life style. (13).

The drop outs from society during the late 1960's who created a counter culture were also in search of alternative life styles. They were, however, mainly young and were often from middle class backgrounds. Certainly their solutions give little or no comfort to the victims of the current housing situation.

The Projection of Owner-occupation.

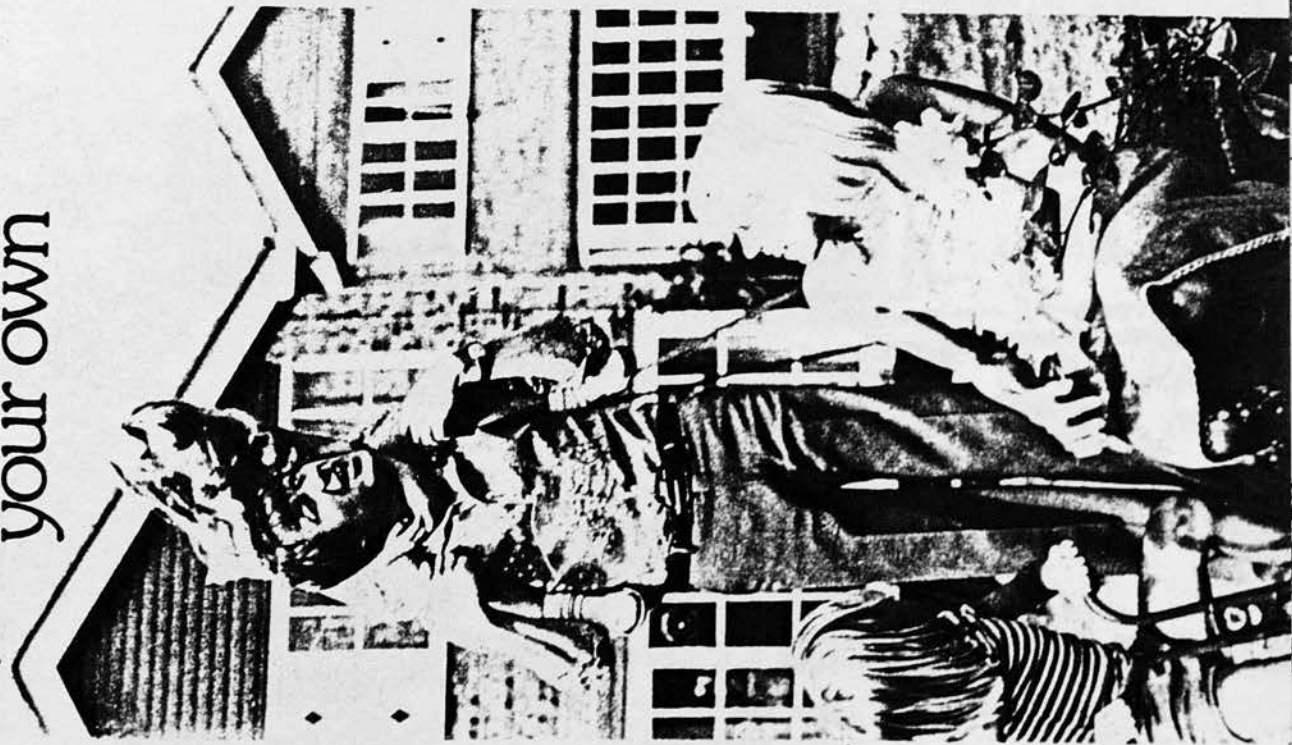
How is the "self-interest" of owner-occupation projected? In a capitalist society we must look at the use of advertising to show its influence on the aspiration of our adolescents as future consumers of housing. Berger (14) in his book, "Ways of Seeing", reminds us that in

the cities in which we live we see hundreds of publicity images every-day of our lives. No other kind of image confronts us so frequently. And yet we are so accustomed to being confronted by the advertising images that we are scarcely aware of their total impact. The images created are of the future, which become so familiar, that we consciously do not notice it.

Thus if we now look at the images created by the Building Societies, Banks and Insurance Companies it should be no surprise to see the future illustrated by the ubiquitous detached suburban house. Here then is a reinforcement of "conventional wisdom". The aspirations of our adolescent would be consumers are visually and accurately portrayed. The detached house is "pleasantly situated" in "nice surroundings" the "good appearance" is associated with "spaciousness", increased "openness" and brightness. There are pleasant "gardens", "greenery" and "trees". There is even the suggestion of trading up from the inner city terraced house to the detached house on the edge of the country. Once the vision of the house has been set this becomes the setting for television and magazine advertisements. The message is compounded.

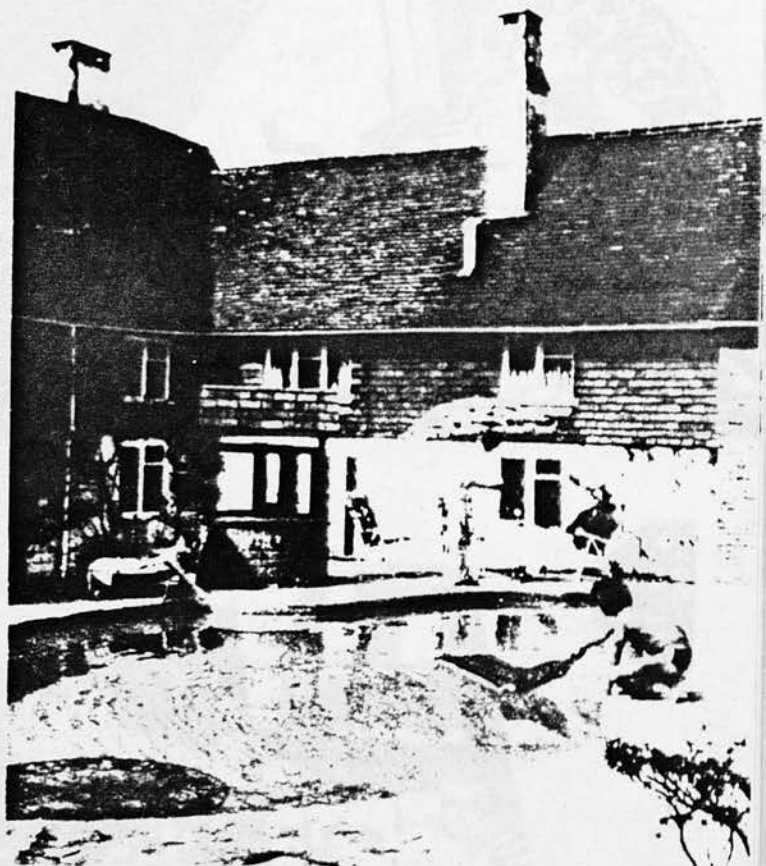
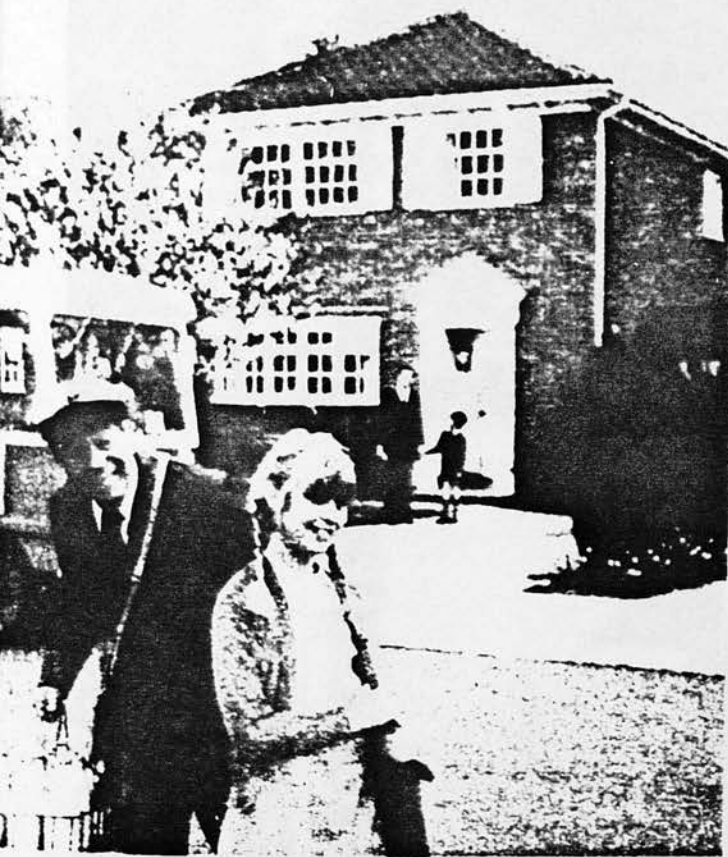
The emergence of the house as an investment is furthered by the Banks' encouragement to take out a loan to extend one's home, thereby improving its value. Similarly an overwhelming emphasis is being laid upon investment plans of various kinds by the Building Societies, with reference to the house as, "a safe home for your money. (15) From this we can see a change in the function of the Building Societies themselves as they increasingly attach importance to medium and long term investment as opposed to the traditional dependence on short term deposits made by small savers. This is the persuasion of "self-interest" of owner occupation. There is a danger among the low-income and unemployed adolescents if the gap between publicity, with the future it promises, and the actual achievement of these young people is bridged by daydreams. As the aspirations between classes have narrowed there is a growing danger that

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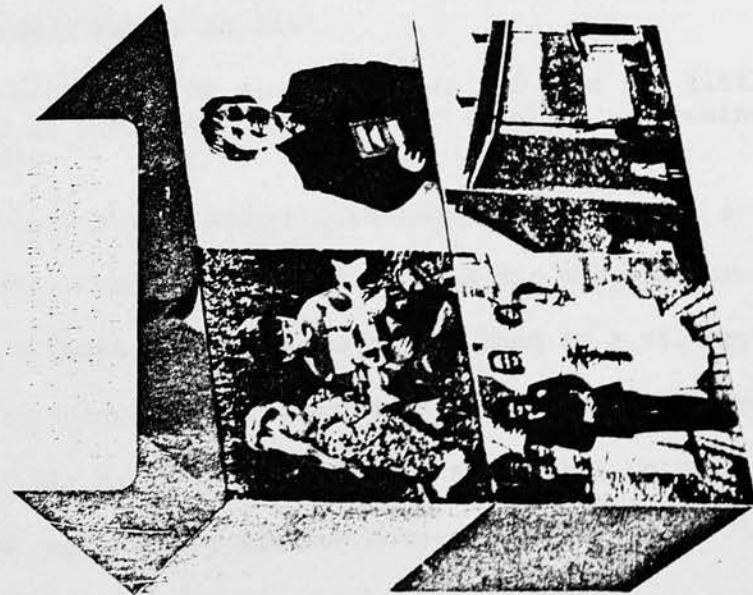
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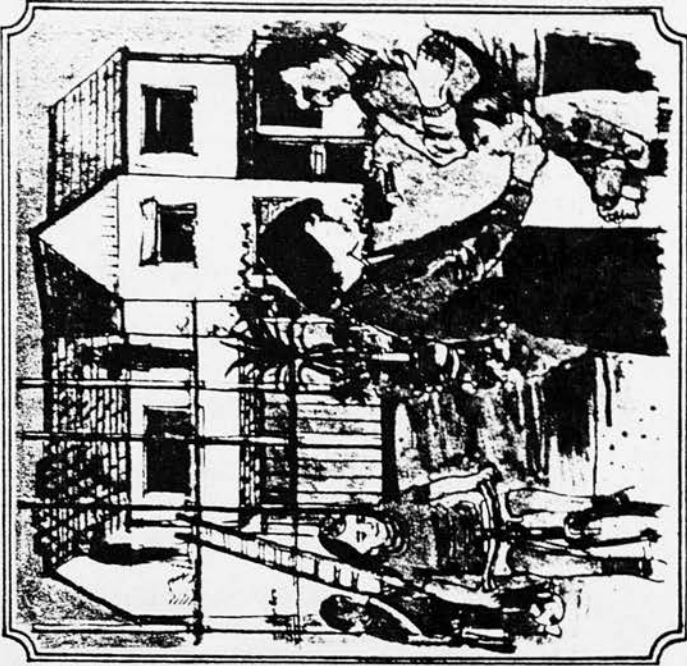
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the non-achievement of these aspirations could lead to frustration and resentment.

Housing Design and the Crisis within Architecture.

There is now a growing awareness that some of our most critical problems relate to the nature of council housing stock. It is a simplistic view that the main problem with council housing is that it is visually unappealing. Problems relating to the management of council housing, tenants' lack of freedom and control all contribute to the total problem of council housing. And yet it is the "unpopular aesthetics" of council housing that were most commented on by the adolescents. Certainly public sector housing has significantly weakened the link between low incomes and poor housing in Britain, and contributed to raising the standard of the housing stock. However, the quality of public-sector housing has varied greatly. Certain periods have produced particularly low quality and unpopular housing. Council housing provides good accommodation; and it is structurally sound; much has been built to Parker Morris space standards and all have the full range of basic amenities. They are "satisfactorily housed", to use the Government's phrase. And yet the occupants do not consider themselves to be satisfactorily housed.

Council housing is the one sector of housing that the architectural profession has been involved almost solely since 1945. This involvement was endorsed by the Dudley Report in 1944,

"Design is the function of the architect. In the past too little use has been made of trained architects in the design of housing estates" (16)

Architects like other specialists form professions which exercise a unique kind of control over their own work. Unlike unions for example, professions owe their autonomy to a grant of confidence rather than to a victory in a struggle. Perhaps that confidence has been questioned. So what went wrong? All surveys of the early 1950's (17) had shown that between 90 and 95 per cent of the population preferred houses and gardens to flats.

The Dudley Report (18) had drawn attention also to the preference for houses with gardens. The immediate post-war period shows a sense of similar ideologies between the Government, architectural profession and the public. There was a sense of common purpose. Council housing of the Bevin era was to excellent standards.

Architects became bond with suburban densities and forms. High densities found support from the avant garde in the architectural world, who insisted that such building gave cities the qualities of urbanity. The architects argued that lower densities and houses with gardens lacked this urbanity, and in their view made cities and towns suburban (19). Thus there was, stylistically and formally, a trend away from the plain semi-detached Bevin houses. The argument that building upwards in the city would safeguard food production prevailed, despite the fact that the Government's own research department demonstrated that houses with gardens at a density of not more than twelve per acre produced more valuable food per acre than did average agricultural land (20). Central Government took a strong line in favour of high density even if it was expensive (21). High rise housing was an architectural fashion in the guise of efficiency, economy and the "grand vision", the disasters of the functional style and the "ville radieuse" can be seen only too clearly. We see that the results of council housing are very far indeed from the aspirations of ordinary people.

It must be admitted that few architects protested. The Royal Institute of British Architects, the professional body, remained largely silent during the 1950's and the 1960's when most of the high rise and large industrialised council housing estates were being constructed. (22). I agree with Darke (23) when she suggests that architects address their buildings not to the public in general or the users in particular but to fellow architects. She goes on to maintain that whatever their stated intentions architects aim of achieving a "discussable aesthetic" in their buildings, which is remote from the aesthetic evaluations of the public.

It is discussed in a mystifying way, with specialised jargon to repel the uninitiated. This has been done through the professions extensive involvement in the public housing sector. A major gap still exists between providers and consumers - between architects who concentrate on the functional, manifest aspects of design and consumers for whom latent, symbolic aspects may be more important.

Council housing continues and will continue to cause concern. In addition to the more spectacular building failures - such as condensation in industrialised housing systems, other problems including failure of window joinery, failure of gas warm air heaters and small heaters, and replacement of on-peak electrical heating systems continue to involve local authorities in considerable expenditure. Some of these failures, however, result from the Government policy of low capital cost design brought about by strict control of cost limits. Although we can hope that painful lessons have been learnt. Our housing solutions have in themselves created new problems. Thus the cures have created new diseases an "iatrogenic" form of architecture that may be likened to "iatrogenic" disease, that is illness which would not have come about unless sound and professionally recommended treatment has been applied. (24). Architects have been seen to have clearly failed in their self-appointed role of social engineer.

At the heart of this failure was the attempt by architects to bring about upward class mobility, from tightly packed slums into a bright and beautiful middle-class technological world. It was done in a way which, however much based in genuine concern and sincerity, was ultimately patronising, authoritarian and insensitive. Given the methods of local authority housing allocation departments it was cold-bloodedly callous - for there was no effective choice for people on a housing list. (25).

Housing Policy and the Housing Market.

The sale of council houses is one subject which raises strong passions, and it would not be difficult to write at length on the subject. It is thirty years since a Conservative Party Conference imposed on a

rather reluctant party leadership the target of building 300,000 houses a year. Not only was this target achieved and indeed exceeded for much of the 1960's, but the same 300,000 figure was still in use in the 1970's. There are now over 6 million council houses and flats in Britain.

Attempts to sell off council houses are not new. The Conservatives first proposed it in the late 1920's and have pursued this policy ever since. The sale of council houses is based on ideological reasons. Those who demand the sale of council houses believe in a "property-owning democracy" (26) and that nearly all housing should be provided by the private sector of the housing market. The Conservatives are not alone in their desire to sell council houses. They are supported by the Liberals who see selling council houses as a key part of their housing policy, and the property lobby, the Building Societies and the professionals involved in the private housing market who are making the same demand as part of their campaign to get 70 - 80 per cent of housing into owner-occupation. Inevitably it can only be through selling council houses that this desired level of owner-occupation could be achieved. Our survey showed that nearly 90 per cent desired owner-occupation.

All evidence points to the fact that it will be the better quality council houses which will be sold. Murie's (27) study in Birmingham shows that the estates with the greatest proportion of houses were the most popular with tenants and that sales were concentrated on these estates. Further it was older houses which were sold. Since 1960, 45 per cent of all sales have been of houses built before 1939. Very few council flats have ever been sold. Only four have been sold in Birmingham and other local authorities who have sold council houses in the past have never offered flats for sale because of the anticipated low demand and legal difficulties over responsibility for common areas and structural repairs. The sale of council houses could lead in the larger term to greater division because the better houses and estates will be "creamed off" leaving councils with the worst estates. This will

mean that council housing will increasingly become "housing for the poor". Thus segregation of the poor in council housing estates could lead to a sharpening of class differences.

The aspiration of the adolescents to "own their home" in the private sector is as clear as their rejection of council housing. This popular rejection of council housing is due largely to the lack of choice over the kind of house and location and the lack of freedom and control over the home itself. Council tenants are regarded as inferior to owner-occupiers. This is shown in a survey carried out in the London Borough of Southwark (28) where 62 per cent preferred to be owner occupiers but only 13 per cent were interested in buying any council properties. Tenants wanted owner occupation because they identified owning a house with having a garden.

Government policies now exist to encourage home ownership which can only worsen inequalities between low income families and well off families. The transfer of land and houses from the public into the private sector means the allocation of housing based solely on the ability to pay. Low income families certainly have far less to gain from any expansion of owner occupation. Again in Birmingham (29) it has been shown that the typical council house buyer is a long established, middle-aged tenant with a fairly large growing family, above average wages and often with more than one earner. An identical picture emerges in Manchester (30) more interestingly, the typical council house buyers are generally better off than those who obtain local authority mortgage loans for the purchase of private property. The sale of council houses does not do much to extend owner-occupation to groups who could not have gained access through the private market. (31)

At the same time house building in both the private and public sectors is at its lowest level since 1924. The National Economic Development Office (32) has forecast a fall in council house building to a low of 45,000 a year and is predicting that private house building will

be unable to fill the gap. Thus from estimates at present available there could be as much as 100,000 new houses short every year until 1985 - half a million. Therefore, the result of the sale of council houses and the decline in house building can only mean an increase in the number of homeless, a lengthening of council house waiting lists, an increase in house prices because of the housing shortage, and an increase in involuntary sharing with more young people delaying their marriages. It will be our adolescent population who will be hardest hit.

The envisaged shortfall in house building must fall to the private sector. But even here there are problems. The resources must exist to enable the private sector to respond to the demand. There must be an agreed strategy that provides sufficient housing land in areas of demand, where people wish to live, where they can obtain work or from where they can travel to work. But County Structure Plans show that in areas of high demand the strategy is to cut back on housing growth, ostensibly in order both to preserve agricultural land and the environment and also force housing development back into the inner cities. This policy reflects nothing more than the outcome of public participation exercises which have resulted in the "haves" - those who already live in the country areas, using their votes to prevent the "have nots" from being able to buy a house there. With fewer houses being built in 1980 than in any year since the early 1950's Britain appears to be facing a housing crisis and no one in a position of responsibility seems to be doing anything about it. It is estimated that Britain will be short of 500,000 houses by the mid- 1980's. Yet housing has a central position in the life of the individual and society.

From looking at each sector of the housing market it can be seen that owner-occupation has been growing steadily over the last thirty years partly because of the encouragement of successive Governments. The adolescent sample reflects this encouragement towards owner-occupation. At the same time, home-ownership has become a more expensive sector to enter. It is estimated that a quarter of all households in Britain cannot afford the

repayments needed to take on a mortgage and therefore must rely on other sectors of the housing market. (33). The private rental sector has been in decline for years and now there is an onslaught on the public rented sector. Solutions such as council house sales, shared ownership and short-hold lettings have still to be proven. They are solutions which can only deflect from the crisis in real housing. Overall the future is bleak with lack of access to any form of housing for ordinary people. While our adolescents will find it difficult achieving owner occupation, those younger stand little chance of having a home of their own.

Retrospective and Prospective.

The study must be looked at in relation to the changing situation of the 1970's. A Middle East crisis turned into an oil crisis which led rapidly to an economic crisis. This chain of events created a world in which the resources for technological progress could no longer be taken for granted by those countries that most wanted it. The result has been a fundamental shift in the world's economic balance but we must look at the resulting factors which will directly affect our adolescents, inflation, unemployment and the sale of council houses which is embodied in the 1980 Housing Act. As the recession deepens unemployment rises affecting our adolescents, particularly the semi-skilled and unskilled.

The two million out of work represents an unemployment rate of 8.4 per cent. And if the numbers not registered are taken into account Government officials accept that a further 300,000 could be added to the total. Inevitably it is the depression of the 1930's to which we look, to draw parallels with the problems facing the unemployed to-day. Like the 1930's, the south (with 5.6 per cent unemployed) had done much better than the north (with almost 12 per cent) in the latest recession. The distribution of the unemployed has recreated an almost identical ranking of the regions as in the 1930's and further a hierarchy of victims. The skilled have suffered less than the unskilled, married women proportionately

have been laid off in much greater numbers than men, and the over-fifties have found it far more difficult than the under forties to find jobs once made redundant.

The one major difference, however, between today's unemployed and the 1930's are the high numbers of school leavers on the dôle, and it must be this fact that is of most concern to us here. Although a school leaver between the wars would not have been eligible for benefits most, in fact, found it far easier to find work than today's school leaver. They left school earlier but more important there were more unskilled routine jobs available for them, and apprenticeships were available because of the cheap labour they provided.

As the recession deepens fewer and fewer workers and areas can escape. The south-east may look as though it is doing well with only 5.6 per cent unemployed but that means that even in the south-east there are 421,300 people out of work. They include the skilled as well as the unskilled and the young as well as the old. Already there are estimates of three million unemployed by 1982. Just as worrying is the migration that will presumably begin developing now as in the 1930's when Durham lost one per cent of its population and South Wales lost eight per cent. It will be the semi- and unskilled adolescents who will be expected to move. But from the survey it is this very group which is most reluctant and unprepared to leave their home region. Further these unemployed and low-income adolescents will have to rely on the public and private rented sectors of housing. And this is made more difficult because certainly the public rented sector mitigates against mobility. Councils tend to look after their own, adopting an almost parochial out-look.

The present Conservative Government onslaught on public sector housing clearly shows the Government has little grasp of the role council housing plays in the total housing market. To attack public housing in Britain is therefore, to attack rental housing as a whole. The alternatives to owner-occupation are being cut back drastically and although nearly 90 per cent

of our sample aspired to owner-occupation only 31 per cent felt that they might achieve those aspirations. These dangers are real if the Government see this as the way of achieving a major shift of economic power into the hands of the individual. It is in effect a programme to extend the area of the bourgeoisie. But society has a duty to ensure that the advantages of the many are not bought at the cost of greater hardship for the few. Thus owner-occupation if allowed to continue to grow will create a growing social and economic inequality, but at the same time it cannot be arrested without serious economic and political complications.

A disturbing problem of the eighties will be the impact of our adolescent population - the sixties baby boom. Now grown up, they will be seeking to set up homes for the first time with as we have established fixed aspirations. More now households will be created. The demand for a better standard of living will continue to have a major impact on the economy. Who will provide them with a home. We cannot predict what response there will be to the political tensions that these changes will generate. But as the system becomes more regressive housing struggles will be seen as a more class based and political in their origins. There is a danger of our society becoming divided between the fortunate skilled and the unfortunate unskilled which will be polarised through growing unemployment. We cannot continue to encourage house-ownership and a suburban way of life that is reinforced by the cultural norms and propagated in all forms of media, but then slam down the gates in front of our adolescents if they lack the relevant qualifications. We are in danger of creating through our present economic situation, of long term unemployment amongst adolescents trapped in large council house estates and inner city areas, a dangerous situation that could erupt if prolonged - a social explosion. This fear is further reinforced in a recent study (34) carried out in the London Borough of Hackney. The report warns that the rundown inner city districts could well disintegrate further and by withdrawing funds from the inner city we are storing up trouble for ourselves

in the future. Unless action is taken violence and vandalism could
escalate. My fear is that this violence could come from the trapped and
frustrated adolescents. "... if our cities fail, then so does our
society". (35.)

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The Self-administered Questionnaire

Schedule 1. Questionnaire

I am carrying out a study about young people's attitudes towards housing and would like your help. If you could help me by answering the questions below, I would like to thank you for your contribution to the study. All the questions are completely confidential and anonymous.

PLEASE READ THROUGH EACH QUESTION CAREFULLY
 MAKE SURE YOU UNDERSTAND WHAT IS BEING ASKED

Q1A. What area of Hull do you live in? _____

Q2. Age _____ years Male

Female

Q3. How long have you lived in the Hull area? _____ years

Q4. If you have not lived in the Hull area all your life where did you live before? _____

Q5A. What is your father's occupation? _____

Q5B. What is your mother's occupation? _____

Q5C. What is your present or previous occupation? _____

Q6A. How do you own your home? Own the house

Rent privately you live in?

Rent from council

Q6B. What type of housing do you live in?

Semi-detached

Semi-detached

Terraced

Flat

Flat/Flatshare

Flat/Tower block

HOUSING PREFERENCES OF FUTURE CONSUMERS

Schedule 1 Questionnaire

I am carrying out a study about young peoples' attitudes towards housing and wonder if you could help me by answering the questions below. I would like to emphasise that your answers to the questions are completely confidential and anonymous.

**PLEASE READ THROUGH EACH QUESTION CAREFULLY
MAKE SURE YOU UNDERSTAND WHAT IS BEING ASKED**

Q1A. What area of Hull do you live in? _____

Q1B. Age _____ years

Q1C. Male

Female

Q2A. How long have you lived in the Hull area? _____ years

Q2B. If you have not lived in the Hull area all your life where did you live before? _____

Q3A. What is your father's occupation? _____

Q3B. What is your mother's occupation? _____

Q3C. What is your planned or present occupation? _____

Q4A. Does your family Own the house
Rent private you
Rent local authority live in?

Q4B. What type of house do you live in?

Detached

Semi-detached

Terraced

Flat

Flat/Maisonette

Flat/Tower Block

Q4C. Approximately when was your house built? _____

DON'T KNOW

Q4D. Do your parents own a car? YES

NO

Q4E. Do you own a car? YES

NO

Q5A. Would you please indicate which of the five statements is closest to how you feel about living in Hull, all things considered.

Very Satisfied

Satisfied

Neutral

Dissatisfied

Very dissatisfied

Q5B. Why do you feel the way you do about living in Hull ?

Q6A. What things do you particularly LIKE about living in your area?

Q6B. What things do you particularly DISLIKE about living in your area?

Q7. Rate whether or not these environmental factors apply to the area in which you live.

	TRUE	NOT TRUE
Inconvenient for shopping	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inconvenient for public transport	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inconvenient for entertainment facilities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inconvenient for primary schools	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Poor for teenagers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Smokey/dirty	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inconvenient for secondary schools	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inconvenient for work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
No character/all houses look alike	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Unfriendly	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Noisy/noise from traffic/children	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Not fresh/not airy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Not select/too many council houses	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lack of privacy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Too crowded/built-up	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Expensive rates/cost of housing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Q8A. Are you satisfied with the housing that is built at present in Hull?

YES

NO

DON'T KNOW

Q8B. If 'NO' why not?

IN ALL OF THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS WOULD YOU PLEASE INDICATE WHAT YOU WOULD PREFER IN TEN YEARS TIME RATHER THAN AT PRESENT OR IN THE NEAR FUTURE

Remember the probability of being married and having a family by this time, and the responsibilities associated.

Q9A. If you had complete freedom, which part of the country would you most like to live and work in?

- Scotland
- Humberside
- North-west
- North-east
- Midlands
- East Anglia
- London and the South-east
- South-west
- Wales
- Northern Ireland

Q9B. If you had complete freedom to choose the size of town in which you would like to live, which of these town sizes would be your first choice?

- Large city of 500,000 or more eg. Birmingham
- City of 100,000-500,000 eg. Hull
- Large town of 50,000-100,000 eg. Scunthorpe
- Town of 10,000-50,000 eg. Beverley
- Town under 10,000 eg. Hornsea
- Village less than 1,000
- In the country

Q10. If you had to live in a city where would you prefer to live?

- Central city area
- Outside the central area
- Suburban area
- Outermost fringes

Q11. Rate the importance of the environmental factors you might consider in choosing an area in which to live.

	IMPORTANT	NOT SO IMPORTANT
Good shopping facilities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Good public transport	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Good entertainment facilities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Convenient for primary schools	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Good for teenagers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Clean	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Convenient for secondary schools	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Convenient for work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Attractive housing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Friendly people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Quiet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Plenty of fresh air	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Good class of people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Plenty of privacy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Open/uncrowded	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Reasonable rates/cost of house	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Q12A. What type of house would you like to live in?

- Detached
- Semi-detached
- Terraced
- Flat
- Flat/maisonette
- Flat/tower block

Q12B. What are some qualities you would look for in a house if you were seeking a place to live?

Q13A. Would you prefer to rent or buy your future home?

- Rent local authority
- Rent private
- Own

Q13B. If you said 'RENT' why do you want to rent your home?

Q13C. If you said 'OWN' why do you want to own your own home?

Q14A. Would you like to live in the same type of house and area as your parents?

- YES
- NO
- DON'T KNOW

Q14B. If 'NO' why not?

Q14C. Where would you like to live in relation to your parents?

In the same street

In the same neighbourhood

In another part of the town

In another part of country, or
another town

Q15A. Do you think it will be financially possible for you to obtain the type of housing in the neighbourhood you desire in ten years time?

YES

NO

DON'T KNOW

Q15B. If 'NO' why not?

Q16. Do you see yourself owning a car? YES

NO

DON'T KNOW

Q17. How many children would you prefer to have? _____

Q18A. Would you be willing to live in housing where there were communal childcare facilities/laundry/leisure or hobbies facilities?

YES

NO

DON'T KNOW

Q18B. Do you think the design of houses will change to any great extent during the next ten years due to situations such as the energy crisis?

YES

NO

DON'T KNOW

Q18C. If 'YES' in what way will the design change?

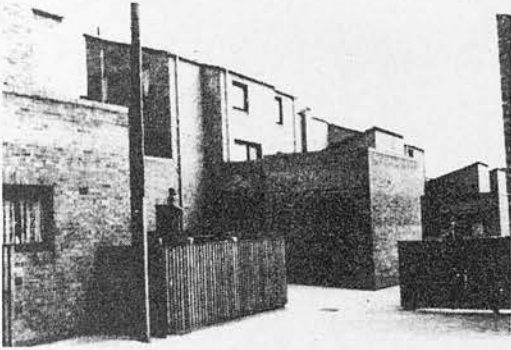
Schedule 2 Picture image game

**AGAIN INDICATE WHAT YOU WOULD PREFER IN TEN YEARS TIME
RATHER THAN AT PRESENT OR IN THE NEAR FUTURE**

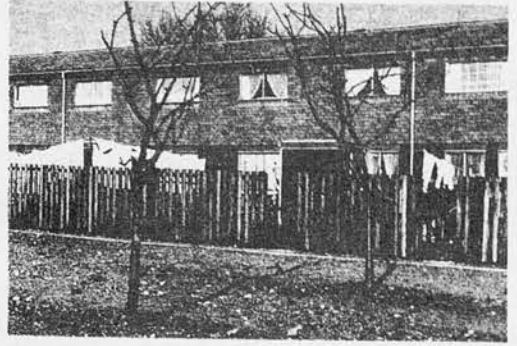
**WILL YOU PLEASE NOW LOOK CAREFULLY AT SHEET 1
AND LIST THE HOUSES IN ORDER OF PREFERENCE**

Describe the particular characteristics of your first choice

And give the reasons for disliking your seventh choice



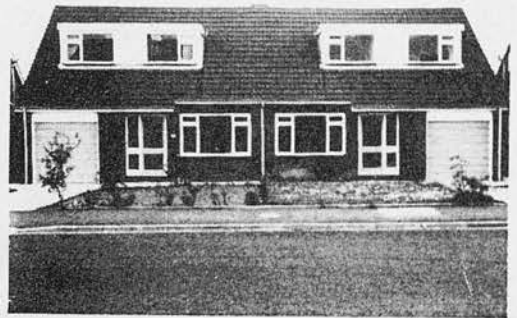
A



B



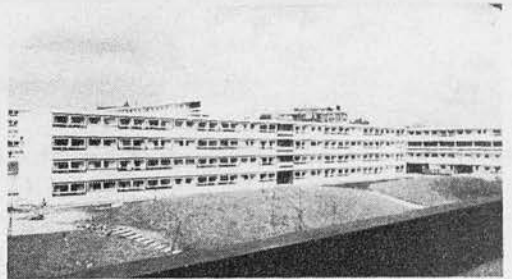
C



D



E



F



G

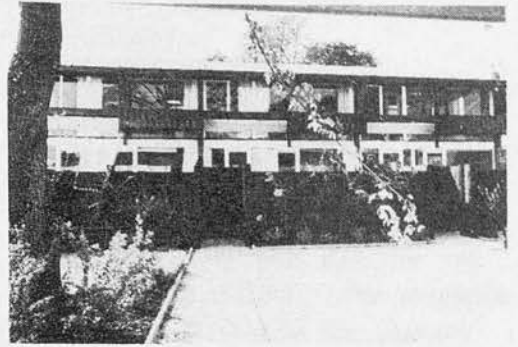
**NOW LOOK CAREFULLY AT SHEET 2 AND AGAIN LIST
THE HOUSES IN ORDER OF PREFERENCE**

Describe the particular characteristics of your first choice

And give the reasons for disliking your seventh choice



A



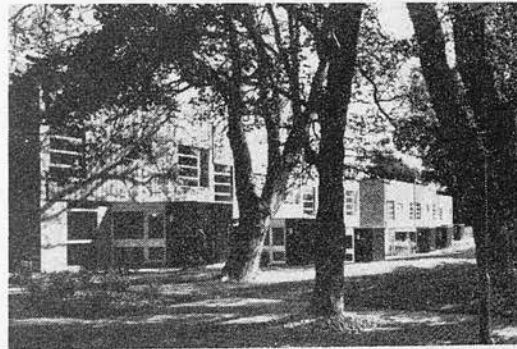
B



C



D



E



F



G

**AGAIN INDICATE WHAT YOU WOULD PREFER IN TEN YEARS TIME
RATHER THAN AT PRESENT OR IN THE NEAR FUTURE**

I want you to look carefully at sheets 3 and 4 together. As you can see there are 8 columns of pictures. What I want you to do is to select your house, its ideal location and surroundings, and to do this you have a total of 16 points to spend. You can buy only one situation per column. Once you have made each choice then allocate the number of points according to the importance you place on that choice. For example if you thought the most important aspect above all for you was to live in the country then you might give it 5 points, whereas if the least important aspect was transport, you might want an improved public transport system but only give it 1 point, and so on until you have spent all your 16 points.

Remember you can buy only one situation per column, and you must spend all your 16 points. Once you have made your choice and are quite happy, mark the number of points you are giving each situation you have chosen in the appropriate box below.

SHEET 3

DENSITY OF HOUSING	APPEARANCE OF NEIGHBOURHOOD	HOUSE TYPE	CHOICE AND INDIVIDUALITY
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

SHEET 4

DISTANCE TO WORK	LOCATION OF THE HOUSE	DISTANCE TO THE NEAREST PLACE FOR SHOPPING	TRANSPORT
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

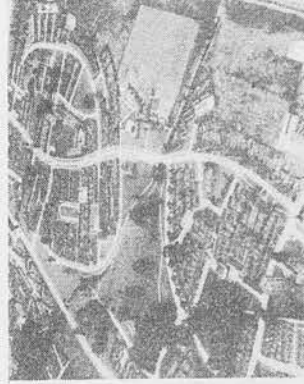
THANK YOU

DENSITY OF HOUSING



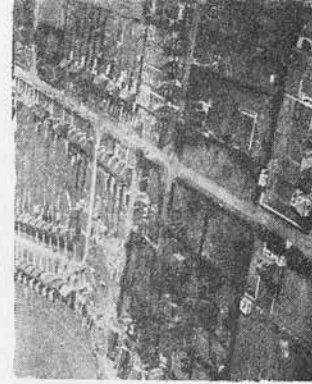
0

high density



1

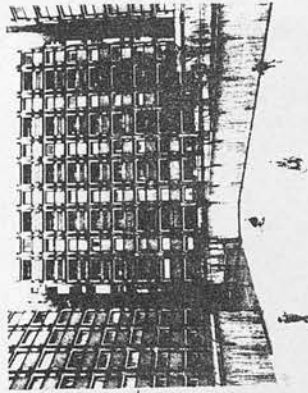
medium density



2

low density

APPEARANCE OF NEIGHBOURHOOD



0

hemmed in, no greenery, noisy, all the same



1

greenery, more open



2

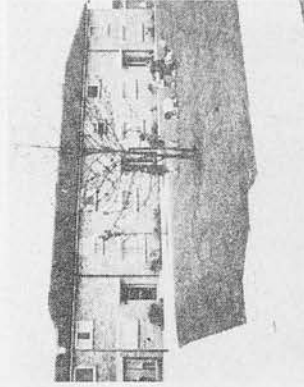
open, quiet, plenty of greenery, clean

HOUSE TYPE



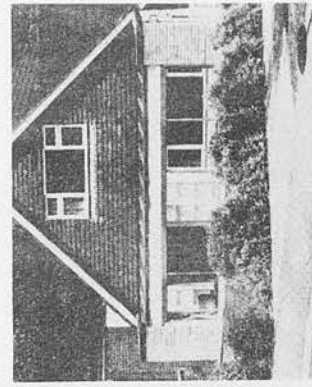
0

flat



1

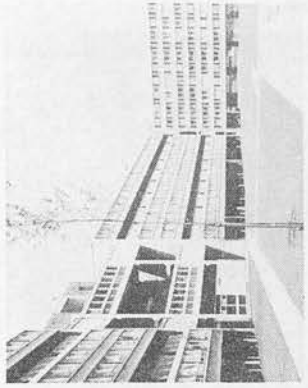
terraced house



2

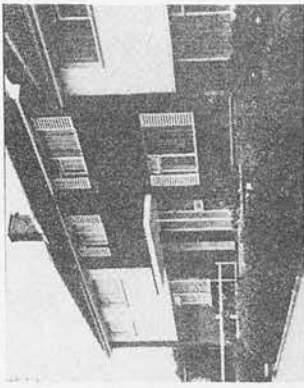
detached or semi-detached house

INDIVIDUALITY AND CHOICE



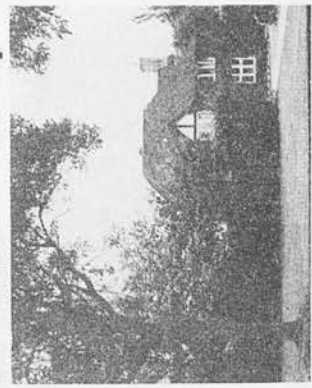
0

no choice in housing, no individuality



1

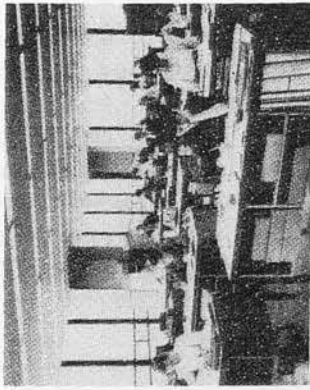
limited choice, some individuality



2

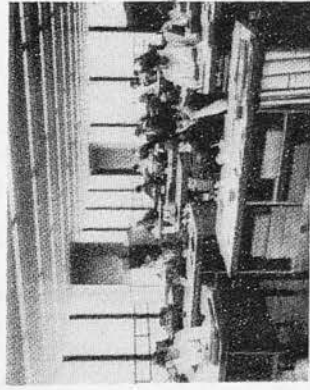
freedom to choose, complete individuality

DISTANCE TO WORK



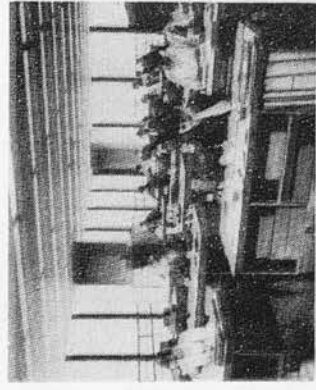
0

over 5 miles



1

up to 3 miles



2

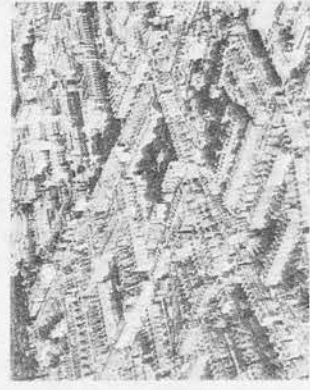
under 1 mile

LOCATION OF THE HOUSE



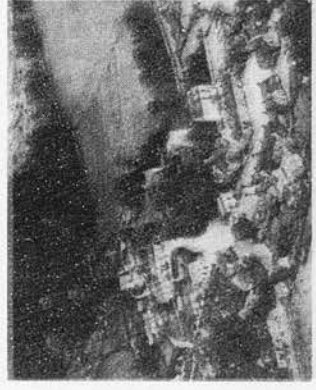
0

suburban



1

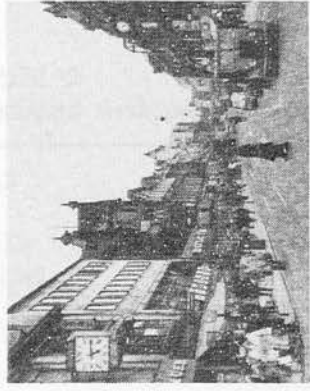
in the city



2

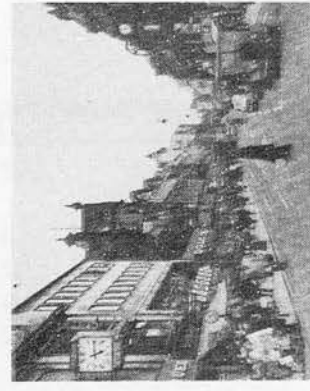
in the country

DISTANCE TO THE NEAREST PLACE FOR SHOPPING



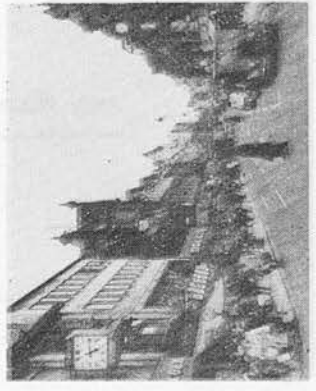
0

over 5 miles



1

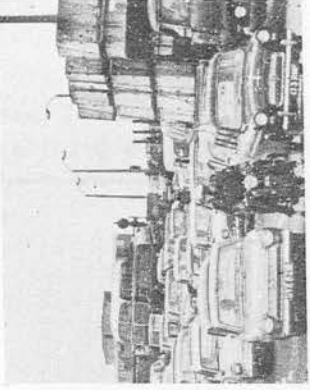
up to 3 miles



2

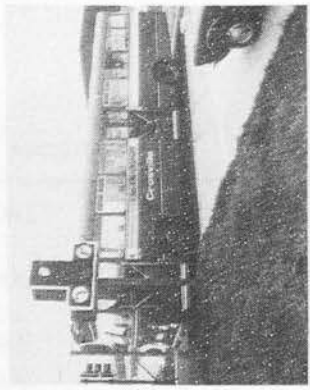
under 1 mile

TRANSPORT



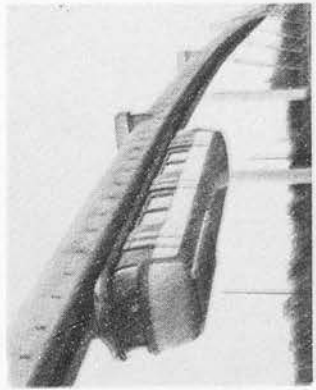
0

as at present



1

improved public transport



2

rapid transit system

Tabulated Results

Table I
Breakdown of adolescent age range

Age	No.	Per cent
16	45	18.7
17	93	38.6
18	63	26.1
19	14	5.8
20	26	10.8
N = 241		100

Table 2
Numbers and percentages of adolescents belonging to each sex

Sex	No.	Per cent
Male	114	47.3
Female	127	52.7
N = 241		100

Table 3
Length of residence in Hull

Years	No.	Per cent
0 - 5	19	7.9
6 - 10	13	5.4
11 - 15	16	6.6
15 +	193	80.1
N = 241		100

Table 4
Places of residence by adolescents other than Hull

Place	No.	Per cent
Humberside	18	42.8
London and South East	6	14.3
Midlands	5	11.9
Scotland	5	11.9
North East	4	9.5
North West	2	4.8
East Anglia	1	2.4
Wales	1	2.4
N = 42		100

Table 5 *

Numbers and percentages of adolescents belonging to each of the Registrar General's Social Classes

Social Class	No.	Per cent
Social Class I (Professional etc)	26	10.8
Social Class II (Intermediate non-manual)	43	17.8
Social Class III (Skilled manual)	86	35.7
Social Class IV (Semi-skilled manual)	32	13.3
Social Class V (Unskilled manual)	37	15.4
Others *	17	7.0
N = 241		100

* This includes adolescents whose fathers were retired, deceased or who gave inadequate descriptions of their father's occupation.

* Table 5 was based on the father's occupation for all the adolescent sample. The occupations were classified according to the Registrar General's Social Class groupings.

Table 6

Social Class of adolescent's mother by occupation

Social Class	No.	Per cent
Social Class I (Professional etc)	1	0.4
Social Class II (Intermediate non-manual)	33	13.7
Social Class III (Skilled manual)	58	24.1
Social Class IV (Semi-skilled manual)	18	7.6
Social Class V (Unskilled manual)	29	12.2
Others *	101	42.0
N = 241		100

* Adolescent's mothers not working outside the home.

Table 7

Social Class of adolescents in full-time education by planned/desired occupation

Social Class	No.	Per cent
Social Class I (Professional etc)	15	13.9
Social Class II (Intermediate non-manual)	46	43.6
Social Class III (Skilled manual)	9	8.33
Occupation unknown at present	38	35.2
N = 108		100

Table 8
Social Class of adolescents not in full-time education by present occupation.

Social Class	No.	Per cent
Social Class I (Professional etc)	2	1.5
Social Class II (Intermediate non-manual)	53	39.9
Social Class III (Skilled manual)	41	30.8
Social Class IV (Semi-skilled manual)	0	0
Social Class V (Unskilled manual)	35	26.3
Inadequate description of occupation/ not specified	2	1.5
N = 133		100

Table 9
Housing tenure

Tenure	No.	Per cent
Owner-occupation	107	44.4
Private renting	17	7.1
Local authority renting	117	48.5
Others	0	0
N = 241		100

Table 10
House type

Type	No.	Per cent
Detached	23	9.6
Semi-detached	101	41.9
Terraced	108	44.8
Flat	1	0.4
Flat/maisonette	1	0.4
Flat/tower block	7	2.9
N = 241		100

Table 11
Age of house

Age	No.	Per cent
Pre - 1919	24	10
Inter-war	47	20
Post-war	135	56
Unknown/not specified	34	14
N = 241		100

Table 12
 Number and percentage of car ownership amongst adolescents' parents

Car Ownership	No.	Per cent
Yes	154	63.9
No	87	36.1
N = 241		100

Table 13
 Adolescent satisfaction with Hull as a place to live

Rate of satisfaction	No.	Per cent
Very satisfied	24	10
Satisfied	105	43.5
Neutral	65	27
Dissatisfied	40	19.5
Very dissatisfied	7	3
N = 241		100

Table 14
 Adolescent satisfaction with housing built in Hull

Rate of satisfaction	No.	Per cent
Satisfied	54	22.4
Dissatisfied	103	42.7
Don't know	84	34.9
N = 241		100

Table 15

Environment statements on the existing neighbourhood in which the adolescents live.

Agree			Disagree	
No.	Per cent		No.	Per cent
182	75.5	Poor for teenagers	59	24.5
159	66.0	Inconvenient for entertainment facilities	82	34.0
144	59.7	Expensive rates, cost of housing	97	40.3
129	53.5	No character, all houses look alike	112	46.3
102	43.3	Inconvenient for work	139	56.7
98	40.6	Not select, too many council houses	143	59.4
88	36.5	Noisy, noise from traffic, children	153	63.5
80	33.1	Lack of privacy	161	66.9
79	32.7	Too crowded, built-up	162	67.3
57	23.6	Not fresh, not airy	184	76.4
50	20.7	Inconvenient for secondary schools	191	79.3
44	18.2	Unfriendly	197	81.8
35	14.5	Smokey, dirty	206	85.5
25	10.3	Inconvenient for shopping	216	89.7
24	9.9	Inconvenient for public transport	217	90.1
10	4.1	Inconvenient for primary schools	231	95.9

Table 16

Desired part of the country in which adolescents would most like to live and work in.

	No.	Per cent
Humberside	91	37.8
South-west	35	14.5
Scotland	31	12.9
London and South-East	25	10.4
Wales	17	7.0
East Anglia	16	6.6
North-West	13	5.4
North-East	7	2.9
Midlands	6	2.5
Northern Ireland	0	0
	N = 241	100

Table 17

Desired size of town by adolescents

Size of town	No.	Per cent
City of 100,000 - 500,000	73	30.3
Town of 10,000 - 50,000	58	24
In the country	37	15.4
Village less than 1,000	33	13.7
Town under 10,000	18	7.5
Large city of 500,000 or more	12	5
Large town 50,000 - 100,000	10	4.1
	N = 241	100

Table 18

Desired city area

Area	No.	Per cent
City central area	21	8.7
Outside the central area	39	16.2
Suburban area	90	37.3
Outermost fringes	91	37.8
	N = 241	100

Table 19

Environmental factors desired in selecting a neighbourhood in which to live

Important			Not important	
No.	Per cent		No.	Per cent
233	96.6	Clean	8	3.4
216	89.6	Good shopping facilities	25	10.4
216	89.6	Plenty of fresh air	25	10.4
214	88.7	Good public transport	27	11.3
212	87.9	Convenient for primary school	29	12.1
211	87.5	Reasonable rates/cost of housing	30	12.5
207	85.8	Friendly people	34	14.2
186	77.1	Open/uncrowded	55	22.9
182	75.5	Attractive housing	59	24.5
181	75.1	Good for teenagers	60	24.9
172	71.3	Good entertainment facilities	69	28.7
168	69.7	Convenient for secondary schools	73	30.3
159	65.9	Convenient for work	82	34.4
152	63.0	Quiet	89	37.0
151	62.6	Plenty of privacy	90	37.4
96	39.8	Good class of people	145	60.2

Table 20
Desired house type by adolescents

House type	No.	Per cent
Detached house	146	60.6
Semi-detached	89	36.9
Terraced house	4	1.7
Flat	1	0.4
Flat maisonette	1	0.4
Flat tower block	0	0
N = 241		100

Table 21
Desired tenure

Tenure	No.	Per cent
Owner-occupation	216	89.7
Rent local authority	23	9.5
Rent private	2	0.8
Other	0	0
N = 241		100

Table 22
Desire by adolescents to live in the same type of house and neighbourhood as their parents

	No.	Per cent
Yes	70	29.0
No	107	44.4
Don't know	64	26.6
N = 241		100

Table 23
Desired relationship to parents

	No.	Per cent
In the same street	0	0
In the same neighbourhood	48	19.9
In another part of town	102	42.3
In another part of the country or another town	91	37.8
N = 241		100

Table 24

Assumption of adolescents attaining their desired house type in the desired neighbourhood in ten years time

Attainment	No.	Per cent
Yes	75	31.1
No	50	20.7
Don't know	116	48.2
N = 241		100

Table 25

Future possible car-ownership by adolescent

Attainment	No.	Per cent
Yes	158	65.6
No	35	14.5
Don't know	48	19.9
N = 241		100

Table 26

Desired number of children

	No.	Per cent
0	23	9.5
1	5	2.1
2	150	62.3
3	41	17.0
4	19	7.9
5	1	0.4
6	2	0.8
N = 241		100

Table 27

Desire by adolescents for communal facilities - childcare, laundry, leisure or hobbies - in housing

	No.	Per cent
Yes	112	46.5
No	65	27.0
Don't know	64	26.5
N = 241		100

Table 28

Assumption that the design of houses will change during the next ten years due to situations such as the energy crisis

Change	No.	Per cent
Yes	117	48.5
No	77	32.0
Don't know	47	19.5
	N = 241	100

Table 29

Priority Evaluation Game - Total Points Allocated to each Category

	Total Points
Housetype.	656
Appearance of neighbourhood	598
Individuality and choice.	570
Location of Home.	562
Density of housing.	557
Distance to the nearest place for shopping	369
Transport	358
Distance to work	279

N = 241

Table 30

Priority Evaluation Game - Points allocated to each desired situation.

	Points
Detached or semi-detached house	598
Open, quiet, plenty of greenery, clean appearance	490
Freedom to choose, complete individuality	468
Low density housing	263
Location of house in the country.	263
Location of house suburban	241
Improved public transport.	221
Distance to the nearest place for shopping, under 1 mile	219
Medium density housing	177
Distance to work up to 3 miles	124
Distance to the nearest place for shopping up to 3 miles	107
Rapid transit system	
Distance to work under 1 mile	
Limited choice, some individuality	
Greenery, more open appearance	
Distance to work over 5 miles	
Location of house in the city	
Transport as at present	44
Distance to the nearest place for shopping over 5 miles	43
House type, flat	30
House type, terraced house	28
Appearance of neighbourhood, hemmed in, no greenery, noisy, all the same	26
Density of housing high	17
Individuality and choice, no choice in housing	16

N = 241

✓	EDINBURGH COLLEGE OF ART HERIOT WATT UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENT OF TOWN PLANNING
ACCESSION No.	231787
CLASS	REF
SUPPLIER
PRICE