

SOCIAL POLICY AND HOUSING: REFLECTIONS OF SOCIAL VALUES

JAMILEH MANOOCHERI

**Development Planning Unit
University College London**

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I, Jamileh Manoochehri, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Jamileh Manoochehri

ABSTRACT

This thesis set out to find the correlation between social values and standards in social housing in two major milestones in the developments in state-provided housing. The new spirit of optimism after the Second World War was developed by the latter part of the 1960s into the influential Parker Morris report. Having been commissioned by a Conservative Government in 1959 it was made obligatory for social housing in 1967 by the Labour Party in government. The post-war years that heralded the inception of the welfare state in Britain and are often referred to as the Consensus years, are investigated here and found to be centered on a social democratic agenda. In contrast with the above period, the post-1979 years became identified with their embrace of a liberal agenda, formulated by neo-liberal thinkers and politicians. This period which has the hallmarks of what has been referred to as a neo-liberal consensus was identified by the state efforts to reverse the social democratic agenda of the post-war years. Substantial social policy changes can be identified in the two contrasting periods, manifested particularly in the adoption of the universalist approach to social policy in the former with the selectivist approach in the latter period. This thesis investigates the factors that led to changes in standards in social housing in the two periods by searching for correlations between policy changes from universalism to selectivism and the dominant social values of the time. A number of housing estates were selected and the space and environmental standards in them were compared to verify the changes in standards. The political Party manifestos, policy documents, committee papers and recommendations were analysed to find indications of the state's ideological stance at the given periods. The policy statements and social and housing policies were also analysed to find the correlation between the string of factors that lead from the state to the final built artefact in the form of social values, social policies, housing policies and social housing standards. In order to verify the findings of the research, semi-structured informal interviews were conducted with prominent actors in provision of social housing. In addition two housing estates were studied in detail as case studies of each period. The research found that the periods of ascendancy of social democratic ideology in the state, and social values based on the significance of the collective society and the equality of all citizens led to higher space standards in social housing, while the periods of ascendancy of neo-liberal ideology in the state, and social values based on the significance of individual action based on dominance of market relations led to a drop in social housing standards. A significant finding of this research was the importance of individual actors involved in the provision of social housing and their role in interpreting regulations in favour (or against) promoting higher or lower standards.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis examines the chain of connections that are social policies, housing policies and standards in social housing, and draws conclusions on their connection to the dominant social values of the time of their formulation and implementation. It seeks to contribute to the body of knowledge in the field by establishing a correlation between social values of the time and the rise and fall in standards in social housing.

The period under study covers the years after WWII up to 1997, incorporating the years of ascendancy of the welfare state as well as the market driven social policies of post-1979 years. The decades being studied are punctuated by a handful of significant shifts in housing policy and housing standards in the state-funded sector. The literature documents the shifts in the immediate aftermath of World War II, the 1950s, 1960s and 1980s in terms of changes in quantity and quality of social housing in the period (Merrett (1979), Malpass and Murie (1994)).

This thesis examines the connections from the ideological position of the state and social values, to social policies and housing policies as expressed in housing standards to find correlations between change of standards and state policies. It will examine whether social values are relevant to the adoption of the two most distinct approaches to social policy: universalist or selectivist (targeted). The research then tests whether each approach is associated with a rise or fall in standards, these two policy instruments being

the two opposing poles in social policy in terms of the distribution of resources from the 'public purse' – with a clear impact on housing standards.

The main theoretical proposition of the thesis is that the adoption of universalist or selectivist social policies emanates principally from social values, and that universalist policies lead to high social housing standards while selectivist policies lead to lower standards, contrary to arguments regarding a more efficient use of resources through targeting them.

The data available on the subject was distilled into the comparison between two contrasting periods: 1960s and 1980s. To discern the values of the time, the dominant paradigms as reflected in social and housing policies were investigated. Primary and secondary sources in the form of semi-structured interviews, archive material covering policy documents, Cabinet Papers and committee reports were reviewed. The findings of the research were augmented by examples of social housing of the period, with more detailed reference to two estates built to 1960s and 1980s standards respectively. The two estates taken as major case studies are included as examples of the standards of their time and demonstrating characteristics related to space standards, and environmental and communal facilities.

1.1 Research Field

The field of research straddles social policy and housing standards and its scope is twofold: state policies and their role in the development of social housing in Britain and the standards of housing produced. The time period under study is mainly focused on the latter part of the twentieth century. However, in order to find the background to a number of developments in the study period, reference is also made to significant events of relevance from earlier dates.

The timeline of state involvement in the provision of housing started in late 19th century. Local authorities took a dominant role in the development and

provision of mass-housing from early 20th century and this role became prominent by the 1960s. In the 1980s this process was reversed and in 1988, local authorities were excluded from the development of social housing. Their role was effectively passed on to Housing Associations.

When enjoying the greatest state support, social housing had grown to account for 29 per cent of the country's housing stock (ODPM, 2003). With such a massive presence, social housing became distinctive as a built form and at the same time it became a reflection of the planning laws, building regulations and subsidy regimes and budgets, covering design, planning, construction and land cost. Each of these aspects affected the quality of the housing produced in some way.

The changes in the quality of social housing occurred at certain times which appeared to relate to the detection or acknowledgment of severe need. During the periods investigated, although the demand for social housing of acceptable standard was constant, however, the state's policy towards finding a solution to the need for such housing varied at different times – sometimes even opposite.

In the study period, fluctuations are evident in the level of state intervention in the provision of public service. In the post war years (WWII), there was a jump in state intervention in some essential services, namely health, education and to various degrees, housing. During the latter half of the twentieth century, there were rises and sharp falls in this level of intervention. **The answer to the question of what drove these changes has been commonly given as economic and budgetary considerations. However, when the fate of housing is considered, the economic factors do not explain why certain periods produced higher space standards and similar periods, lower.**

Although there are always economic reasons for the level of public expenditure or welfare provision at any one time, these reasons are not sufficient in explaining the adoption of specific social policies, relating to standards of provision. Some scholars explain the problems prevailing in the

distribution of the proceeds of the public purse in terms of sexism and racism within the legislative and executive institutions (Clapham et al, 1990). However, none of these help explain why at certain times the state is more generous in its treatment of those who have the smallest share from the public purse and at other times less so, while the economic role of the state and any prevailing prejudices remain constant.

In a broad sense, the degree and manner of state intervention in the form of social policies and the influence of values constitutes the broad field of study.

One of the most notable events in social policy development in the mid-twentieth century was the creation of the welfare state. Its subsequent success meant that the debates that accompanied its inception became muted for a noticeable amount of time, but they weren't totally silent. The views for and against the welfare state were later conducted around two opposing approaches to social services: adoption of universalist policies or selectivist (targeted) ones. At the heart of this debate, have remained a number of issues regarding the validity and level of state intervention, the concepts of equality, entitlement and need, as opposed to exercising individual will, choice and freedom.

Two diametrically opposed views are prevalent in the debate about the role of social policies in forming the kind of society we live in: the proponents of the welfare system who believe in a prominent role for the state as the manager of the economy with responsibility for alleviating social problems and those arguing for limited state involvement and an increased role for the market. The former argue that the state is well-placed to ensure an acceptable standard of life in the society in order to prevent social problems and also argue that certain goods and services cannot be easily procured by all citizens – housing being one. The opponents of the welfare state argue that the involvement of the state in the provision of services and goods weakens the individuals' sense of responsibility to provide for him/herself and very importantly it will distort market relations. This is problematic as

they see market relations as the main tool of providing services (Murray, 1984; Hayek, 1944).

The post-war period in Britain coincided with what much of the literature refers to as years of consensus - when there was a level of acceptance between the two major political Parties about the need for social welfare. This period has been identified in this thesis as the period of social democratic consensus due to the dominance of social democratic ideas. During this period several milestones were reached in standards in social housing and the influential Parker Morris report (1961) was published and became even more influential than the earlier Tudor Walters (1918) and Dudley (1944) reports in calling for change in the quality of housing.

State intervention in the provision of housing was well-established by 1960s and by this time quantitatively, public rented accommodation accounted for more than a third of all dwellings in Britain. The Parker Morris standards produced higher quality dwellings and significantly were deemed by Sir Parker Morris to be universally applicable and not limited to social housing.

In contrast to this period, the decades after 1979 were dominated by a policy of the withdrawal of the state from social housing provision. The Parker Morris standards were dropped and between 1981 and 1993 there were no specific recommendations regarding space standards, for Housing Associations - which had replaced Local Authorities as the main providers of social housing - to follow. The period from 1979 till 1997 (the time scale of the study) is referred to as the period of neo-liberal consensus as it covers a period in which neo-liberal ideas and policies have been in ascendancy.

The study of housing built to Parker Morris standards and those built to the requirements set in the 1980s shows a variation in standards - mainly downward in terms of space standards - a point stressed in much of the literature, the report by HATC (2006) may be cited as the latest such example.

1. 2 Theoretical Field

The theoretical field of this research is concerned with the correlation between social values and social policies, and how these in turn relate to housing policies. Theoretically, these relations are linked to the issue of the role of the state in the balance of power between labour and capital in capitalist societies.

Theoretically, Marxist literature asserts that the state's social welfare policies are motivated by self-preservation. The state represents the interests of capital and responds to political pressure when its rule is threatened (Miliband, 1977; Gough, 1979; Offe, 2000). The policies that ameliorate the condition of the working class are seen in this context with Marxist authors asserting that social welfare policies only prolong the exploitation of labour by capital.

However, accepting the intervention of the state as a fact in countries like Britain, the main question concerns the level and form of this intervention. As the main points of divergence in the field of social policy are manifested in the adoption of universalist or selectivist policies, the circumstances that lead to the adoption of each fall within the theoretical field of this thesis.

Whether it is incumbent on the state to intervene via subsidies and regulation to moderate the inequalities resulting from the workings of the market, or to allow the market free reign - with every service being a commodity for which the market sets the price - are issues that are dealt with differently by the marketer or social democratic positions. The corollary of the two opposing tendencies or ideological positions has been the adoption of selectivist (targeted) policies or universalist ones, at different periods.

The underlying basis of the disparity between the two different ideological positions is in the interpretation of the role of the individual within the society: the citizen with a right and an 'entitlement' versus the customer who purchases a commodity and a service in the market. From one ideological

point of view the market is seen as an enabling agent and from another, as one creating inequality of access to necessary services.

Moreover, in the relations between capital and labour, the services that the state provides are partly indicative of what it deems to be the exchange value of labour. The literature attributes different motives for the state's concessions towards labour, among them political pressure, threat of unrest and the exchange value of labour, and its share of the public purse are variable and dependent on historical conditions. As mentioned earlier universalism and targeting are the two policy instruments within which these political and ideological positions are manifested. As the closest example to a universal service, the health service is one of the main pillars of the welfare state. Education and housing are the other major components of the welfare state which have been the scene of application of the above policies, to various degrees.

In relation to housing, the literature recognises a number of features common to the periods in which the state has intervened in housing provision in Britain. These include the exertion of political power by those in need (Swenarton, 1981), recognition of poor quality of housing as a cause of social and health problems (Gater, 1937), and the acceptance of the notion of citizenship (Marshall, 1950).

In general, changes in social and housing policy are seen as by-products of the political position of the government in power and the pressures that moderate its actions. The level of the state's intervention is part of the political direction that social policy is given and it is applied to various degrees. In terms of housing, historically, the state has used a number of means in order to alleviate the problem of shortage of housing of socially acceptable standards. Since the early involvement of the state in resolving the problem of housing for the poor in the 20th century, the measures it has taken have ranged from 'slum clearance', funding for the provision of low-cost housing, provision of state land on which to build low-cost housing and subsidies to housing providers or tenants who cannot afford market rates.

In these measures, usually taken in social democratic administrations, the state effectively decommodifies housing by removing it from the usual demands of the market. While using the public purse to provide the assistance required, the state imposes its own requirements and standards on the stock being produced. These standards are partly dictated by the orthodoxies of the time, partly pressed by professional bodies and those involved in the construction industry. Space standards, construction standards and the environmental quality form aspects of standards or quality of the housing produced.

As mentioned in the Research Field, these standards show a variation at different periods in time. A significant portion of the literature relates the changes in standards seen in the key policy milestones (Tudor Walters Report of 1918 and the Dudley Committee report of 1944) to the effect of war on people's attitudes. While some literature attributes increases in the quality of housing to the political influence of those most in need of publicly funded housing on the policies that affect their standards, there appears to be other influences that affect the quality of low-cost housing standards.

The great break in housing standards that was seen in the sixties in the form of the Parker Morris report of 1961 became to be seen as ground breaking as it was delivered almost as a proclamation of the need for better housing for everyone in a modernizing society. The Parker Morris committee called for better quality public housing and for improvements in standards in all housing stock. Although published in 1961 while the Conservative Party was in government, the Parker Morris was also the product of a time when one of the most significant social policies in Britain had become established as popular and irreversible – the National Health Service with its **principle of universality and the welfare state**. The publication of the report also falls in the period identified as the period of social democratic consensus.

Although, as in higher education provided by the welfare state, eligibility for housing allowance was 'means-tested', higher space standards, improvements in amenities and the availability of the housing to the majority

of the population, was a distinct characteristic of public housing at this time. The universalist approach was visible in social policy at this time and it is argued that this was the reason for the improvements in standards. The social democratic period may be said to have started immediately after the war in 1945 but the first decade running well into the 1950s, was influenced by the needs for reconstruction. In the 1950s the state was pre-occupied with its undertaking of building large quantities of dwellings while reducing the space standards.

The Parker Morris report was an example of the universalist approach as it applied to the public and private sector covering the for-sale and for-let sector. No part of the population was excluded from the better, higher standards proposed. In 1967, in order to ensure compliance with this standard, albeit in an altered form, the government made financial assistance dependent on meeting the recommended standards. The decade and a half that followed produced social housing of space and amenity standards generally said to be higher than the previous decades. The literature states that the period when the Parker Morris standards ceased to be obligatory, in 1981, standards in new public housing began to drop. This period coincided with the dominance of the Conservative Party - and a new ideological era. The involvement of the state in the provision of public housing, especially new-built ones was diminished in this period in order to introduce the market mechanism in this provision.

The 1980s may be referred to as the era of selectivist policies. During this period of market driven social policy, the right of state housing tenants to buy their rented dwellings became enshrined in law. However, the entry of the once de-commodified housing into the market was seriously distorted because of the incentives on offer for the sale of state-owned housing and the intrinsic value of the housing units as real estate. In a way, the market set a new value for the housing stock according to their desirability. The status of social housing shifted from a respectable and common form of tenure to a significantly marginalized one from the 1980s onwards while the

state's method of dealing with social housing was based principally on targeted social and housing policies.

1.3 Research Questions

It is notable that in the periods when public expenditure increased to deal with the shortage of public housing, this did not necessarily result in higher space standards. At times the focus was on meeting the demand for additional dwelling units by building smaller units by cheaper methods of construction. A rise in standards appears to correspond to periods in which the resultant dwellings are not aimed at a residual sector of the society but for anyone in general. The main presumption of this period is the equal entitlement of citizens to socially acceptable standard of housing.

The relevant literature in themselves do not explain satisfactorily why policy changes and the shift in emphasis from universalism to targeting occurs when it does and why the space and environmental standards in public housing vary as the policies change from universalist to selectivist (targeted). The main argument offered in the literature is that at times of economic austerity the quality of housing is lowered and the provision of services is targeted to allow for more effective use of resources.

This thesis researches the conditions in which capital makes concessions and aims to find the correlation between the stated aims of social policy, housing policy and social housing standards. The research is concerned with the following questions:

- What are the main characteristics of the periods in which major changes occur in social housing policies?
- How can the differences in social policies adopted at major junctures be explained?
- What are the consequences of these changes in terms of housing standards?

1.4 Research Propositions

This thesis proposes that universalist social policies represent the concessions won by labour towards a better exchange value of labour. These concessions themselves are formed against the background of changing social values. They change the material conditions and relationships sufficiently to establish new norms and touch upon the definition of socially acceptable standards in public housing, of need, justice and entitlement.

The policy contexts in which the correlation between social values and housing standards is sought are universalism or selectivism (or targeting). In order to analyse the arguments behind the adoption of each policy, the more extensively developed aspects of welfare state, namely the National Health Service and education are considered briefly. A correlation is sought between policies and their outcome in the form of the quality of social housing in periods dominated by one or other policy. To do so, the thesis considers a number of hypotheses.

The first theoretical proposition is that the most important attributes that characterize the changes of policies are the principle of universalism - favoured at the time of the social democratic consensus - or selectivism. Policy texts of the two contrasting periods under study - 1945-1979 and 1979-1997 - were considered for the reflection of the position of policy makers and the acceptance of universalism. These were found to be summarized as the social democratic consensus in the 1960s and the neo-liberal ascendancy in the 1980s.

The second theoretical proposition is that the adoption of one or other approach is determined by the dominant social values of specific periods and expressed in general social policies and social housing policies. To test this hypothesis the broad thrust of social policies was studied in the two specific periods. In order to do so reference to certain concepts were deemed to be indicative of the above. A set of codes were

identified, such as the terms: equality, justice, citizenship as identifying the values associated with the social democratic approach. To find the correlation between the political orthodoxy as demonstrated in social values and housing policy, the content of documents and representative reports were studied.

The third theoretical proposition is that social housing policies based on universalist principles lead to higher space and environmental standards in social housing. In order to verify this hypothesis, the position of agents involved in the provision of social housing was relevant. The literature had shown (Reddin and Davies, 1978) that the values of those involved in the process of provision had an impact on the perceptions of the quality of state provided services. Architects involved in the design of two housing projects from the two periods under study were interviewed for their views on their role and to assess their understanding of their role in the standards of housing they had designed. Regarding the policy aspect of the housing provision, the views of a prominent official in the procurement of social housing – Housing Corporation – was recorded and reviewed.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

The fact that the research spans the diverse fields of ideology, social policy and housing standards over a long time span, led to the adoption of a cross-disciplinary approach and the mapping of the key theme of ‘social values’ within the above fields. The thesis sets out to show that the social values of the time played a part in entrenching or changing the status quo in social policy and housing policy and sought to test this in the standards in social housing of selected periods.

This thesis continues with six chapters:

Chronology of Milestones in Social Policy – This chapter gives a brief history of the development of policies and standards in social housing in the period under study and sets the background against which the hypotheses

have been formed. The chapter identifies the significant milestones in housing policy and quality of social housing of the corresponding period, namely the Tudor Walters Report, Dudley Report and Parker Morris Report as well as the effects of the later government policies, including the Housing Act of 1988. Social housing standards emanating from policies originating from the policies and guidelines reviewed are set out in tables and contrasted. The chapter is illustrated to help visualize the standards of the housing stock reviewed.

Social Policy, Housing and Social Values, A Review of Literature – This chapter reviews the debate related to social housing policies and changes in the quality of housing as explained in the literature. Included in the extended field of study are state intervention and social policy; correspondence between rise and fall in standards in state housing and the policies of the time; the so-called ‘welfare state’ and the social democratic consensus and the dominance of the marketer ideology in post-1980 years; and the way the above ideas were manifested in universalist or selectivist social policies. This chapter reviews the literature on ideology and social values as well as the writings on social policy, housing policy and housing standards.

The review of standards and the literature in chapters 2 and 3 finds limitations in the current explanations for changes in standards in social housing and tries to find a more coherent and convincing explanation in the following chapters.

The **Theoretical Propositions** are set out in chapter 4. It sets out the ideas related to state intervention, the relationship between the base and superstructure and how it might explain changes in attitude and social values in periods of change. Here, state intervention in social and housing policy forms the broad theoretical field. The degree and manner of this intervention associated with the exchange value of labour and its correlation with socially acceptable standards in social housing are also considered in this chapter.

The chapter re-examines the issues that are relevant to the question posed in the literature review querying the fact that at significant periods in the

development of housing standards in Britain, the explanation that budgetary concerns determine how high the standards in social housing may rise, does not provide a satisfactory answer for the degree of changes that occur.

The **Research Method and Data Collection** is described in chapter 5. In this chapter the paradigmatic issues that led to the choice of qualitative research methods and Critical Discourse Analysis as the most appropriate method of research are explained.

The qualitative research method was deemed the most appropriate one in order to ascertain or record social values. The text of policy documents and statements by those in policy making positions or influential thinkers were taken as the context within which expressions of social values could be found. A combination of primary and secondary data was used to test the hypothesis. These included: Statements by Ministers; Minutes of meetings and published interviews identifying the official view towards the relevant bills and Housing Acts; Party Political Manifestos; semi-structured Interviews with individuals involved in policy making and implementation related to social housing, the review of original material to record and compare standards on two housing estates deemed to be representative of each period under study, respectively – Alexandra Road Estate and Holly Street, Phase I, Hackney; comparison between this and primary data collated as representative of different decades in an extended period in the latter part of the twentieth century.

In the **Empirical Evidence**, chapter 6, the results of research in policy documents, government reports and government commissioned committees are reviewed and the selected methodology applied to their analysis.

To ascertain the effect of ideology or social values on standards, official documents and reports produced in two contrasted periods of 1960s and 1980s are analysed to contrast the universalist agenda with a selectivist one. Face-to-face semi-structured interviews with ‘actors’ in the provision of housing are also analysed.

The text of statements by policy makers, experts in the field of housing and the experts who were interviewed are analysed to check for inclusion of a number of pre-determined concepts. These concepts were identified in the literature as corresponding to one or another ideological position and their inclusion in the researched texts was used to ascertain their association with one or another ideological standpoint or social value. These positions were at times specifically expressed and at times inferred.

Two housing estates were selected as examples of the housing resulting from different policies within the periods under study – Alexandra Road Estate, built in compliance with the Parker Morris Report recommendations and Holly Street, Phase I, built in the early 1990s after the Parker Morris standards were no longer obligatory, under a new regime whereby private developers had a major stakeholder in the project. A spreadsheet was produced to illustrate any shift in standards commensurate to the change in policy in the two contrasting periods. The **final chapter** of the thesis presents the conclusions of the research.

The Appendices illustrate a selection of key drawings and data collected during the field study, covering housing estates from the 1950s to the millennium, drawings and photographs and a spreadsheet comparing floor areas of dwellings as well as their component parts, among others.

1.6 Conclusions

The conclusions set out the aspects of the propositions of the thesis that were substantiated by the data analysis. It found that housing standards in the two periods did show a shift in standards. However, the data collected were not enough for a categorical correlation between the change in policy and change in standards. Other elements were found to have an effect on the standards of social housing.

While propositions one and two appeared to be proved when the policy documents and changes in standards showed a correlation in keeping with

the political ideologies of the ruling political parties or tendencies, the case studies showed that there were other issues affecting housing standards – the actors/agents involved in the provision of social housing. The social values of the architects and client bodies involved appeared to play a critical role in the quality of the outcome.

It may be concluded that there are a set of declared standards and a set of built standards. The former is based on policy documents and proves the hypothesis that it reflects the values or ideology of its authors. The latter, appears to be ideologically-based too, although with variable tendencies. The local authority taken in the sample case study appeared to be playing a role in imposing space standards that were clearly no longer obligatory, by including them as guidelines. The fact that the above guidelines were based on the publications of the Greater London Council which had been abolished several years earlier, also indicates the significance of other actors in affecting standards. The architects as other actors in the process had a clear set of values which they wished to impose, with different levels of success. Although it is difficult to prove this with quantitative data, the qualitative data suggest that the social values of the actors played a significant part in altering standards in social housing. This was borne out mostly by the comments made by the architects of both estates, despite the fact that each functions under totally different circumstances with different standards.

This thesis makes a contribution to the body of knowledge in finding that:

- Social housing policies and their social consequences are founded on the values and dominant ideologies of the time of their formulation and implementation and affect standards in social housing;
- while the policies bear the hallmark of the values of policy-makers the actors involved in the provision of social housing intervene to make their own mark, based on their own ideology and social values.

Chapter 2

Chronology of Milestones in Housing Policy

This chapter investigates the rich history of social housing in Britain from the early life of council housing to set up a timeline of events and significant changes in the standards of housing in the state sector. It considers a large amount of data in the form of reports and research as well as historical material regarding these changes. In the chapter the changes are mapped out up against the social context of the time in order to find evidence concerning the hypothesis presented in chapter 1. While some reference is made to the worldwide interest in action to alleviate problems of access to housing, the focus is on policies and changes in housing quality and quantity in Britain, covering critical Acts of Parliament, recommendations and policies.

2.1 Social Housing in Britain Before 1945

2.1.1 Social Housing and the Transition from the 19th into 20th Century

The first housing policies of the 20th century emerged out of the sanitation policies of the earlier century, but only after regulation seemed to have become absolutely necessary for the maintenance of order and averting the risk of widespread disease and social disintegration.

The migration from agricultural land to the cities, following the industrial revolution, had led to the population in urban areas growing well beyond the capacity of the existing housing provision as well as the infrastructure of roads, sewage system and services. Engels described the living conditions of the poor in large cities in England during this period as '*a portrait of squalor and deprivation*' (Engels, 1945, p.33).

The various Acts of Parliament that were passed during this period were concerned mainly with sanitary conditions in order to prevent the spread of disease from the slums. Among these Acts were: The Public Health Act of 1848, the Common Lodging Houses Act and Labouring Classes Lodging Houses Act of 1851 introduced by Lord Shaftesbury, the Torrens' Act of 1868 and 1879 – allowing individual insanitary houses to be dealt with, Acts of 1875 and 1879 known as Cross' Acts which gave authority to local authorities to clear and reconstruct unhealthy areas, Housing of the Working Classes Act of 1890 giving powers to local authorities to carry out improvement schemes, clear unhealthy areas and deal with small unhealthy areas and to build new houses for the working classes, the Housing Acts of 1894, 1900 and 1903 and the Housing, Town Planning etc. (sic.) Act 1909, which besides amending earlier powers, introduced for the first time powers relating to the town planning of land in the course of development or likely to be used for building purposes (Gater, 1937, p.2).

Out of the above, the 1851 Acts, '*commonly known as Lord Shaftesbury's Acts*'– namely the Common Lodging Houses Act and the Labouring Classes Lodging Houses Act, concerned with inspection and provision of lodging houses (ibid) may be said to be the first housing legislation.

Semi-charitable work known as 5% philanthropy by industrialists such as George Peabody in 1862 and others like Edward Cecil Guinness and The Rothschild Foundation (founded in 1904 with 4% philanthropy) was augmented by the Metropolitan Board of Works (MBW) which was itself later replaced by the London County Council. MBW did not build any dwellings itself. It sold cleared sites to 'dwelling companies' for the building of working

class houses. Gater (1937) observes that in order to maximise profits *'dwellings were erected to accommodate considerably more than the minimum number prescribed'* (ibid, p.3). This increase in density inevitably meant that space standards were lowered further.

The play between quantity and quality is one that kept resurfacing in the review of changes in standards. In deciding on these, generally, two factors appear to be at work, factors that are evident in the provision of social housing later in the century as well. These related to the assessment of who should benefit from the state-provision of housing and what is deemed to be an acceptable standard for housing the working class. Commenting on the level of affordability of the housing produced at the time, John Honeyman at the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) criticised attempts *'to praise the LCC... for erecting artisans' dwellings, while they do absolutely nothing towards providing suitable dwellings for the poorest class'* (Honeyman, 1900, p.273).

The statements made at the time reflect the value judgments that were at play in selecting the recipients of state assistance. Charles Booth's (1902) explanation of the conditions is indicative of this: *'At any rate, the cost was too great, the rents too high and, in addition, the regulations to be observed under the new conditions, demanded more orderliness of behaviour than suited the old residents. The result is that the new buildings are occupied by a different class'* and that *'the inhabitants of the demolished dwellings have overrun the neighbouring poor streets, or have sought new homes further and further afield, as section after section was turned adrift'*. The poor were talked about in terms of 'other', of a problem to be avoided or solved. Octavia Hill's approach was a similar one.

The pictures that various authors paint of the living conditions of the poor leading up to the 20th century, to some extent mirror the equivalent processes nearly a century on. As the congestion in the cities increased along with the accompanying squalor, those who could afford to leave the central areas of the town left for new lower-density suburbs while the poor

crowded into the vacated dwellings. Open spaces such as gardens and orchards were then built on adding to the congestion and the strain on essential services (Gauldie, 1974).

For much of the history of social housing in the twentieth century too, the structure of local government remained more or less as it had been since 1871, when the Parliament had begun to assert some authority over the local councils through the Local Government Board, and charged them with duties rather than powers. In 1894, urban and rural district councils were formed to take over from the old urban and rural sanitary authorities and with the Housing of the Working Classes Act of 1890 opened the way for slum clearance and in the period from 1912 until the outbreak of war in 1914, 10,000 houses and flats were provided (Malpass and Murie, 1994, p.29).

In 1914, through the efforts of MPs on both sides of the House of Commons, the Housing (no.2) Act was passed on 10th August, less than a week after the declaration of war (Swenarton, 1981, p.48). Swenarton attributes the passing of the Act to the fear that the outbreak of war would lead to a suspension of building and therefore to widespread unemployment in the building trades. The treasury had thereby agreed: in view of the high cost of materials that 10 per cent of the capital cost of building under the Act would be covered by a Treasury grant (Housing Journal, 1915; cited in Swenarton, 1981). This Act was effective for only one year. In May 1915 a coalition government was formed with Lloyd George in the new post of Minister of Munitions. During his time as Minister, the rights of munitions workers were curtailed, strikes were made illegal, unions were made to accept dilution of skilled trades and workers were effectively tied to their places of employment by the system of '*leaving certificates*' (Swenarton, 1981, p.50). However, it was an appointee of Lloyd George, Christopher Addison, the Under Secretary for Labour Affairs, who became a key figure influencing housing standards for at least another decade. Addison declared: '*The Ministry of Munitions as a manufacturing and employment agency was in a unique position. Never before had the State assumed such extensive responsibilities for directing*

and originating production... It provided a new kind of opportunity' and suggested that *'...use ought to be made of the exceptional situation to secure a better and more humane standard of working conditions'* (Addison cited in Swenarton, 1981, p.50).

In terms of the quality of the resultant housing, the early efforts to respond to shortage of housing were influenced by the garden-city movement. However, in 1915, the Treasury curbed any avoidable expenditure stating: *'in view of the supreme importance of restricting capital expenditure at the present moment ...the erection of houses... on Garden City lines must be abandoned'* (PRO T132, 1915, cited in Swenarton 1981, p. 51).

Following the onset of the war, the shortage of housing added to the hardship of the lives of the workers and the poor, and the country started experiencing protests forcing the government into action. In 1915 the 'May strikes' of the engineering workers led to the commissioning of an enquiry by Lloyd George, which concluded that *'the most important of all causes of industrial unrest, lay in the soaring price and inequitable distribution of food'*. The Industrial Unrest Commission, meanwhile identified *'the want of sufficient housing accommodation'* as the cause and recommended that even if the government was not prepared to meet the shortage by building, *'announcements should be made of policy as regards housing'* (July- August 1915; PRO T161/68 s5222/2, cited in Swenarton, 1981).

Aware of the potential political fallout of the conditions, in July 1917, W. Hayes Fisher, the President of the Local Government Board in England appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Sir John Tudor Walters, tasked with considering *'questions of building construction in connection with the provision of dwellings for the working classes in England and Wales [and Scotland], and report upon methods of securing economy and despatch in the provision of such dwellings (Cd. 9191, 1918)*.

The committee included the renowned architect Raymond Unwin and the report, when published, drew on his influence as architectural advisor. The report (which came to be known as the Tudor Walters Report), advocated

garden-city standards of house design, layout, circulation and the environment – aspects previously limited to a fortunate minority – for working class housing. In internal layout and equipment, density and planning, the recommendations were well above the best municipal housing of the previous years. (Whitham, 1982).

Swenarton identifies the motive behind the commissioning of the report to have been the government's fear of the *'consequences of the demobilised forces who would return from the trenches after the end of the war'* (Swenarton, 1981).

During much of the period discussed, there came to be a general acceptance of the need for the state to intervene to improve the worst housing and to counter the effects of overcrowding which posed a serious health threat to the rich and poor alike. The call for the production of 'homes for heroes', in the latter years of the war, signified a national acceptance of the need to invest in the improvement of the lives of those with little material share of the wealth of the country, but whose class had paid with their lives in the war. This approach is relevant to the way in the mid-century, the social democratic states sought to improve the conditions of the life of their citizens.

2.1.2 Social Housing in the First Third of the 20th Century – The Tudor Walters Report

Sir John Tudor Walters' committee considered the social and political conditions in the country and observed that following the war, there was a shortage of housing for all sections of the working class, and the problem the Boards were facing was that: *'the war has ceased for the well-paid as much as the ill-paid sections. This fact must materially affect the types of houses which it is most economical to build, and the standard of accommodation and equipment which should be provided'* (Cd. 9191, 1918, p.8). It pointed out a number of significant issues: *'The general standard of accommodation and equipment demanded in their dwellings by the working classes has been*

rising for some time; and there is every prospect that the influence of war conditions will considerably increase the force and extent of this demand for an improved standard' (ibid). The committee was conscious of the opposite pressures of increase in quantity on the quality of housing: *'The scarcity ... is not of the smallest type of house, barely reaching the minimum desirable standard of pre-war days, but rather of good houses adequate in size, equipment and amenity, to afford satisfactory family dwellings'* (ibid).

The publication of the Tudor Walters Report in 1918 led to the radicalisation of the government's housing policy and may be seen as a measure aimed at obtaining *'an insurance against Bolshevism and Revolution'* (Swenarton, 1981), and the movement that had already started with the resistance of the poorly housed in 1911, when the Admiralty torpedo workers rejected tenement houses offered to them in Greenock (Whitham, 1982, p.9).

Against this background, on the day following the Armistice, the Prime Minister Lloyd George announced a general election and pledged himself to secure *'habitations fit for the heroes who have won the war'*, (The Times, 13 Nov. 1918, cited in Gilbert, 1970). At this time, through the Tudor Walters Report, the Addison Housing and Town Planning, Etc. (sic.) Act, 1919 was born.

The ever-present conflict between the ideology of a market-led policy or a state-controlled one was played out in different tendencies and policies. The 'Royal Commission on the Housing of the Industrial Population of Scotland, Rural and Urban' Cd 8731 (HMSO, 1917) concluded: *'whatever its cause, the disorganisation flowing from the war makes an immediate revival impossible. There is, in our view, only one alternative: the State itself, through the local authorities, is alone in a position to assume responsibility...the local authorities must be placed under an unmistakable obligation to maintain a continuous and systematic survey of their housing accommodation [and] – failing provision by any other agencies – to undertake themselves – with financial assistance from the State- the necessary building schemes'* (cited in Whitham, 1982). According to

Whitham, a minority of the commissioners dissented: while acknowledging the need for state involvement, they wished to see it in a '*clearly residual role*'. A number of organisations played their part in affecting change, one such organisation was the Workmen's National Housing Council (WNC).

It had been Local Government Board (LGB) policy that the type of housing to be built after the war should be essentially the same as that provided by local authorities before 1914. However, before 1918 this view came under criticism especially from the Workmen's National Housing Council (WNHC) which argued that it was essential '*to resist schemes that aim at building down to the poverty standard of the ill-paid and unorganised classes*' and called for '*a complete reformation of housing accommodation of the people*' (Swenarton, 1981), where housing estates would be '*pleasant to the eye*', equipped with communal facilities, private gardens, a bath and a supply of hot and cold water (ibid). It argued all through the war that '*the state should provide the financial assistance to enable local authorities to build a much higher standard of housing for the skilled working man*' (ibid). By June 1917 the WNHC was demanding a minimum of three bedrooms per house, a separate bathroom with hot and cold water, and the enforcement of the minimum space standards defined by the Departmental and Advisory Committees (ibid, p.91).

The Tudor Walters report reflected many of the issues discussed in the housing debates of 1918-1919, and covered four main areas:

- general recommendations as to housing policy and administration, and the type and class of house to be built,
- layout of housing schemes and site planning and development,
- the standard of accommodation within the house and the internal planning of the house and principles of design,
- the cost and availability of building materials, and the possibilities of economies presented by standardisation and the use of new materials.

Meanwhile, in 1918 and 1919, the government set up a number of state bodies to report on the housing problem and propose solutions to it. In the Report of the Standards of Fitness for Habitation Sub-committee of the Central Housing Advisory Committee, the Ministry of Construction criticized the 1919 Manual of Unfit Houses for suggesting a standard for a fit house but did not make it enforceable by law. Enforcement powers by the local authorities were critical to making improvements to the quality of the housing and the built environment.

As the economic and political conditions changed, so did the government's response to the shortage and standard of housing for the poor. In 1920, as Swenarton points out, while the end of the economic boom meant the resources needed by the housing programme became available it *'removed the political imperative operating on the government to proceed with the housing programme'*. With an increase in the number of people out of work, the power of labour as perceived by the government weakened (Swenarton, 1981, p.129). The permanent official responsible for housing at the Treasury, writing in a memorandum dated 8th July 1921, signalled the move away from the higher standards, declaring: *'a fair proportion of the population lived in jerry-built houses before the war, and we cannot afford better-built homes now, still less the luxury of semi-detached garden suburb villas. We can only get back to cheap houses of the pre-war type under private enterprise and any move of the State should I submit be directed to fostering such enterprise'* (PRO T 161/132, 1921, cited in Swenarton, 1981, p.129).

Whereas labour had succeeded in setting a new agenda in terms of its entitlement to quality housing, before and during the war, it had lost its leverage after the war. The social acceptance of higher standard housing for working people came to be targeted by the press barons. Adhering to the promises made before the Armistice began to be portrayed as extravagance by the press led by Lord Beaverbrook and Northcliffe. In time Addison was removed from the Ministry of Health. In July 1921, Sir Alfred Mond, the new Minister for Health replacing Addison made a statement to the House of

Commons explaining the new position that the government would not be able to incur the required costs of better standards: *'It is the intention of the Government to keep the housing problem closely under review. They fully recognise the importance of that problem from the point of view of the health and social conditions of the people but it is impossible to incur greater commitments than our finances will allow* (PRO CAB 24/126 CP, 1921).

The Tudor Walters report became a precedent to which subsequent reformers would refer to some extent, both in terms of scale and quality of social (municipal) housing. As Swenarton points out *'in the years 1918-21, the notion of high quality public housing – as set out by the Tudor Walters Report – acquired an authority that subsequent attacks and smears could not entirely obliterate'* (Swenarton, 1981).

2.1.3 Post-Tudor Walters Report - Policy Changes

The General Election in November 1922 removed the Government of Conservative and Liberal coalition led by Lloyd George and brought in a Conservative administration led by the Conservative leader Bonar Law. The new Government set to revive the private sector in housing. The Housing Act of 1923, also referred to as the Chamberlain Act introduced a fixed-rate subsidy of £6 per year for 20 years for each house, with a bias in favour of private building. Local Authorities would pass on the subsidy to the builder, only building themselves if they could show that private builders could not meet local needs.

The Conservative government was replaced in January 1924 by the first Labour government which remained in office for only ten months. In its short time in office it passed the Housing (Financial Provisions) Act of 1924, commonly known as the Wheatley Act - named after John Wheatley, the Minister of Health. This Act established the role of local authorities in providing housing to let. Having introduced a fixed-rate subsidy – so much per house for so many years – remained in place with variations, until the late 1960s. However, this form of subsidy provided no safeguards against

lowering of standards by local authorities. The reduction of space standards in the 1923 Housing Act was accompanied with lower standards in layout and environmental standards. By the middle of the twenties, the architects' panels were discontinued and the late 1920s and early 1930s witnessed the design of social housing dropping in design quality. Whitham (1982), however, argues that the council houses of this time were still better built and better laid out than those by private builders. During the 1920s, demand for council housing rose, partly because council housing was subsidised but also because it was good housing and for most people the only good housing they could access (ibid). During this period, the question of provision of housing for the worst-housed and hence to slum clearance gained prominence, potentially changing the focus of housing policy to a targeted one. The radical housing movement depended for its success on massive supply rather than a targeted one – which slum clearance was. A move was made away from the Garden City idea and to a different building typology (ibid).

Once policy became focused on slum clearance, blocks of flats similar to tenements of the late nineteenth century grew in number. These dwellings lacked the environmental standards of the earlier council housing. In order to compensate for this and to pacify the tenants, local authorities offered improved domestic equipment. One example is the housing of Ossulston Street in St Pancras, electric power circuits, central boiler houses for heating and hot water supply and lifts were provided. In an anticipation of policies a variation of which was to follow 70 years on - the original proposal for Ossulston Street also contained a 'mixed development', with penthouse studio flats on top floors, to be let at high rents. These were to be served by separate entrances and lifts and an underground car park was also proposed. These elements were all omitted and the reduced scheme was opened by Neville Chamberlain in 1929 (Whitham, 1982).

When in 1929, the second Labour Government came to power, its Minister of Health, Arthur Greenwood adopted a policy of provision of general needs

housing as the Wheatley Act, as well as slum clearance. Greenwood's Housing Act of 1930 required all authorities with a population of more than 20,000 to prepare a five-year plan for dealing with their slums. In 1931, the state moved away from general needs housing provision, a move that is attributed by Whitham (1982) to an economic crisis. In 1933, the Housing (Financial Provisions) Act of that year, charged the local authorities mainly with slum clearance. The ethos of good quality housing provision was replaced with a '*return to the sanitary policy of the nineteenth century*' (Bowley, 1945).

The housing estates built under the 1930 Act, many of which were subsequently called ghettos, were different from other council housing in that its estates were far from places of employment, smaller, narrow-fronted, with narrow road verges, no trees and generally less well-built. The expenditure in the 1930s compared to the previous decade's fell by 40 per cent. Whitham (1982) also points out that these houses were held in low esteem by established council residents and were accepted reluctantly by prospective tenants.

A number of features stand out in social housing in the first third of the 20th century. The recognition of the need for state action to deal with social housing is the most significant. The needs and expectations of the people with low income were intense and the state's policies appeared to be responsive to these. The Garden City Movement left an indelible mark on the need to improve design quality in social housing. There was a switch between the role of the public and private sector in the provision of housing. There was also a distinction made between general needs housing and targeted housing provision, with the Labour Party favouring the former and the Conservative Party the latter. Although some of the literature attributed economic reasons for changes of policy, this wasn't totally consistent with the changes in housing policy observed.

With the outbreak of the war in 1939, house building ceased. In 1944, the Minister of Health had requested his Central Housing Advisory Committee to

consider the general question of the design of dwellings. A Sub-Committee, under the Chairmanship of Lord Dudley, was appointed *‘to make recommendations as to the design, planning, layout, standards of construction, and equipment of dwellings for the people throughout the country’* (HMSO, 1944). The sub-committee’s reported findings, were adopted by the main Committee, and were published under the title ‘Design of Dwellings’. The recommendations made in the report form the basis of much of the Housing Manual 1944 that was published subsequently. Housing Manual 1944 (and technical appendices) in turn was intended for the guidance of local authorities and others concerned and was prepared jointly by the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Works.

With the publication of the Housing Manual, a ‘Standards Committee’, was appointed by the Minister of Works *‘to study the application of standards in building, with the particular object of ensuring economical use of materials in the post-war period, together with simplified and speedier procedure of construction, and wherever possible, improved quality and design’* (HMSO, 1944).

2.2 Emergence of a Social Democratic Consensus: 1945-1964

The Dudley Report of 1944 signalled a new point in the debate about the state’s role in the provision of housing. The question of who the recipients of such provision should be was not isolated in the history of social and housing policy.

2.2.1 Universalism versus Selectivism

The Housing Manual of 1944 made the Ministry’s aspirations clear: *‘The adoption of standards will enable important economies to be made in the purchase of essential supplies for housing, and will generally lead to greater speed and efficiency in construction’* (HMSO, 1944). The manual made recommendations regarding many aspects of the built environment. It

considered Site Planning and Housing: *‘Where big authorities must build a very large number of new houses, it may be possible to plan a new self-contained community based on a new centre of employment. In such a community due regard must be paid to industrial, social, educational, and recreational centres and their relations to the new development as well as to accommodation for the different classes of people who make up a well-balanced residential neighbourhood’* (ibid, para. 16-19). The concern about a well-balanced neighbourhood has resonance with other rhetoric suggesting a notion of harmony. The report also paid attention to the way dwellings were occupied by considering the number of people living on the estate. It redefined density from the number of dwellings per acre to the *‘number of persons for whom accommodation is to be provided’* and assumed that a *“two-bedroom house is intended to provide for four persons and a three-bedroom house for five persons”* (ibid). Much attention was paid to the quality of the environment and there was a recommendation for *‘improving thermal and acoustic insulation within buildings and the across party walls and floors – measures that affect the quality of the inhabitants’* lives significantly (ibid).

The authors tried to pre-empt any financial arguments against their recommendations. The report made it clear that the higher insulation standards should not add significantly to the financial burden, and predicted that while *‘in the present state of science and technique some of these measures involve some additional expenditure as compared with normal pre-war methods, in other cases there should be no increase and possibly there may even be a saving’*. The insistence on adhering to the principles of better quality made a difference in that the reduction of standards was not seen as the first option to be considered. Furthermore, the report declared that *‘the demand for improved standards in the material environment of the people is very general today’* and continued to say that the Dudley Sub-Committee had demonstrated this tendency in *‘matters of accommodation and equipment’* and this was broadened further into matters of structure as well (ibid).

In this sense, the Dudley Report followed a similar approach to the Tudor Walters Report. It made recommendations about house design in terms of minimum room sizes and adequate circulation space. By adopting these recommendations as the minima to be achieved if houses were to qualify for subsidy, the central government was able to raise standards and exert its influence over local authorities, leaving them free to have their own schemes designed within this framework. Whereas *'Tudor Walters Report set the standards for local authority housing between the wars, it was the Dudley Report that provided local authorities with guidance as to the minimum acceptable 'standards after the Second World War'* (Malpass and Murie, 1994, p.74). In this sense the Dudley Report was an influential document.

With regard to space standards, the Dudley Committee recommended a minimum of 900 square feet (83.6 sq. m.) for a 3-bedroomed house a standard that was on average exceeded during the whole of the period of the Labour Government up to 1951. With regards to cost, the council houses of the 1940s were more expensive than those built in the 1930s, partly because of inflation and partly because of improved standards. According to Cullingworth (1966), however, only a quarter of the increased cost was attributed to higher standards. The dwellings built to these standards were spacious council houses, averaging over 1000 square feet (92.9 sq.m.) compared with 800 square feet (74.3 sq.m.) in 1939, and just over 900 square feet (83.6 sq.m.) in the 1950s.

As seen repeatedly, in the earlier decades and later, during the forties, there were debates about whether it was better to improve the quality of the individual dwellings or increase the number of dwellings so as to reach a greater number of tenants. In defence of the emphasis on quality during the difficult period of post-war reconstruction, in 1946 the Labour Minister of Health, Aneurin Bevan, is quoted as saying, *'while we shall be judged for a year or two by the number of houses we build, we shall be judged in ten years' time by the type of houses be build'* (Foot, 1973, p.82).

Accounts by Swenarton demonstrated that only when the ideological ground for improving the quality of working class housing was right, i.e. an acknowledgment of the significance of this class for the good of the whole society – the land of heroes – that the standards were raised. Whitham also demonstrated the way targeted policies such as slum clearance led to the lowering of standards and the creation of unpopular ghettos in the 1920s and 1930s.

The idea of council housing being at the service of satisfying general needs was the starting point of the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1919 and shared by Liberal-dominated coalition, and Labour governments alike, an approach that was continued in the Housing Acts of 1924, 1946 and 1949, and the Housing Rent Subsidies act of 1975 all of which aimed to achieve this objective. Council housing, in the view of Labour, at this point was not intended solely for the poor, the underprivileged or the population of traditional working-class areas.

There was a period of so-called consensus which extended from the Second World War till the 1970s during which the principles of social democracy were dominant. In Britain, the Labour Party's promotion of the welfare state was accompanied with popular support for the welfare state and its continuation by the Conservative party albeit as a more diluted version. In 1945 the Labour Party came to power with a manifesto drawing heavily on universalism. In it the party promised: *'Housing will be one of the greatest and one of the earliest tests of a Government's real determination to put the nation first. Labour's pledge is firm and direct - it will proceed with a housing programme with the maximum practical speed until every family in this island has a good standard of accommodation'* (cited in Sullivan, 1996). The idea of council housing becoming a general needs standard remained one promoted to state policy in different periods and mainly by Labour governments. The notion of a universalist housing policy became rather strong after the Second World War.

The restrictions by law on local authorities, to provide housing for working class people was replaced in 1949 by *'a more comprehensive, universalist policy'* and subsequent legislation *'placed a duty on local authorities to give reasonable preference to persons occupying insanitary or overcrowded houses, or who had large families, or who were living under generally unsatisfactory housing conditions – those people, in fact, who could prove housing need'* (Burke, G, 1981, p.17).

In 1945 in Attlee's Labour government, Aneurin Bevan was Minister of Health. In his 1949 Act, as Minister responsible for housing, he removed the restrictions on local authorities to the provision of houses for the working class only. Instead they could attempt to meet the varied needs of the whole community: *'We should try', he said, 'to introduce in our modern villages and towns what was always the lovely feature of English and Welsh villages, where the doctor, the grocer, the butcher and the...labourer all lived in the same street. I believe that is essential for the full life of a citizen...to see the living tapestry of a mixed community'* (Foot, 1973).

William Beveridge, the Liberal politician, in his foreword to *The Rehousing of Britain* by Madge (1945), re-iterated his commitment to raising housing standards as a means of redressing social inequalities. He recognised the provision of good housing for all as the most important task facing the Government, and gave three reasons why this was so: *'First, variations in housing standards represent the greatest inequalities between different sections of the community and afford, therefore, the greatest scope for raising the standard of living. Second, expenditure of our energies and our money on getting good housing is the most practical immediate contribution that we can make towards winning full employment, by the radical route of social demand. There is no question that for years to come we can use all the man-power that can be spared from other essential tasks in bringing about the revolutionary progress that is needed in the housing of the people. Third, good housing- far better housing than we have at present- is the indispensable foundation for health, efficiency and education. It is a waste of*

money to build hospitals to cure disease if families are forced to live in houses that breed disease. It is a waste of money to build schools for children who must return every night to squalid, crowded, unhealthy homes” (Madge, 1945).

Beveridge’s argument was for a new better society where human and financial resources do not go to waste through lack of forward planning and vision. In this Beveridge was not alone. He was representing a *‘left-of-centre’ political stance of his Party and had himself been a major part of the war-time coalition government who had established the basis of the welfare state, a position ‘consistent with the leftward shift of the electorate’* (Knight, 2006). This shift was not confined to the electorate but some of the political establishment as well. As Gladstone (1993) points out: *‘Beveridge, Bevan and Butler [were] respectively Liberal, Labour and Conservative, yet each [was] responsible for three key features of the welfare state settlement’,* referring to health, housing and education, respectively.

Beveridge’s recommendations were heeded partially. Housing was, until 1951, the responsibility of the Ministry of Health and post-war housing policy was a product of Bevan’s beliefs. Labour had promised in its manifesto: *‘Housing will be one of the greatest and one of the earliest tests of a government’s real determination to put the nation first. Labour’s pledge is firm and direct- it will proceed with a housing programme with the maximum practical speed until every family in this island has a good standard of accommodation’* (Labour Party 1945 Manifesto, cited in Sullivan, 1996). In the details of how the welfare state should be developed the ideological battles were fought both between the parties and within them.

While at times of shortage, as in the aftermath of the war, there was a tendency to give greater priority to quantity over the quality of housing a number of key figures in government resisted this tendency. Bevan the Minister in charge of housing argued that the new council housing should be of a high standard. Consequently, a space standard of 900 (83.6 sq. m.) square feet, as opposed to the pre-war standard of 750 square feet (69.7 sq.

m.) was adopted (Sullivan, 1996). The Minister's view was not only that working class people should have good housing but also that council housing should be of such a standard as to be attractive as a form of housing tenure to all social classes (Sullivan, 1996).

Here the universalist view is consistent with an attention and commitment to quality and high standards. Some contemporaries of Bevan, however, opposed his insistence on quality for mass social housing. According to Sullivan (1996), Bevan's "*position opened up an ideological gap between the Government and the Conservative Opposition*", and "*Churchill's parliamentary troops could neither understand nor appreciate Bevan's allergic political reaction to private speculative building. Nor could they support his insistence on high-quality builds*". The argument for and against universal and high standards in housing was an ideological one, and straddled the conventional political divide. Within the Labour party, Dalton, who was to become the minister in charge of housing in 1951, accused Bevan of being a 'tremendous Tory' for insisting on high standards of housing rather than going for building volume and initiated reduced standards in 1952 which were taken up by his Conservative successor (Seldon, 1981, p.254). Bevan's account of the resistance in Government towards industrial insurance is a telling one: '*It is a form of torture unknown to the ancients, to be compelled on the last Wednesday of every month to convert the leaders of the Labour party afresh to the most elementary principles of the Party; to be compelled to fight every inch of the way to recapture territory occupied by Beveridge ... Now I can sympathise with that fellow Sisyphus and his bloody boulder*' (Cited in Foot 1982, p.259).

In 1951, the Conservative government sanctioned a lowering of standards in social housing. A different ideology was trying to achieve ascendancy. The decline in standards started with Circular 38/51 of April 1951. The Circular prompted reductions in circulations space whilst maintaining living space standards. Within three years the average area of a 5 bed space house had fallen by 11 sq. m. (Merrett, 1979). By 1959 the average floor areas for a

new 3 bedroom house had fallen to 897sq.ft. (83.3 sq. m.) (Malpass, 1944, p.75). In the 1950s the market was being presented as the major mechanism by which to solve the housing problem. In this period, the principal measure of success became the number of dwellings to be built and politicians were acutely sensitive to the rate of new house building (Bullock, 2005).

Under Macmillan the Conservative housing minister, the government built 319,000 houses in 1953 and 348,000 in 1954, against the promised 300,000 houses per annum to which they had committed the Conservative government. This was achieved as the result of Macmillan's decision to relax the standards set by the Labour housing minister, Dalton, in 1951. During his tenure, the rigorous standards set by Bevan were also lowered (Sullivan, 1996). In January 1954, having reached the total target a year ahead of time, Conservatives hit a great electoral success, one as effective as that of 1980s when they championed the sale of council houses.

2.3 Consolidation of the Social Democratic Consensus: 1964-1979

The debates that accompanied policy changes about the extent of state involvement in the provision of social services and importantly, housing, began to define the role of the state more and more in favour of general needs, as time went on.

2.3.1 Social Values, Universalism and Social Policies

The rise of the social democratic consensus, which coincided with the dominance of social democratic governments in much of the developed world, signalled a shift in power and hence in the social attitudes as well as in the political climate of the time.

The term Butskellism was coined pejoratively by the Economist in 1954 to emphasise the difficulty of distinguishing between the economic policies of the Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer R.A. (Rab) Butler and Hugh Gaitskell his opposite number in the Labour Party. Seldon (1991), defines

five main aspects in this consensus: *'an acceptance of the right of trade unions to consultation by government; the mixed economy, the welfare state; and a commitment to equality, an attempt to mitigate the worst aspects of inequality'* (Seldon, 1991, cited in Gladstone 1995). Others have defined the consensus differently. Kavanagh & Morris (1989) described the consensus as: *'a set of parameters which hounded the site of policy options regarded by senior politicians and civil servants as administratively practicable, economically affordable and politically acceptable'* Deakin (1988) believes that while there was some policy convergence between 1951 and 1976, there was *'far less homogeneity in views and policies than is usually believed'* (Deakin, 1988, cited in Gladstone, 1995) and Pimlott disputes the existence of a consensus. What was clear, however, was a predominance of certain ideas that coincided with a wish for bettering the standards of living in the country as a whole.

Ideological debates were rife during this time. Near the end of its time in Government in the early 1950s the Labour Party suffered disputes on the course to follow, especially regarding the NHS and defence expenditure – a dispute that led to the resignation of three ministers in 1950, including Minister of Health, Aneurin Bevan. Sullivan (1992) suggests that the dispute *'was effectively about choices between the democratic socialist policies (as represented by the Bevanite wing of the party) and the new politics of social democracy which were adopted by Gaitskell and others (and which) accepted that the pace and nature of social policy development would be determined by political decisions about the economy'* (Sullivan, 1992 cited in Gladstone, 1995, p.11).

The history of the state's involvement in the development of social policy is explained by Glennerster (1995) in terms of the different views on the relationship between the state and the individual subjects. He maintains that social policy came to reflect the view of the *'state as an organic entity, more than the sum of its individual subjects'* – one which would *'foster a sense of national unity, of belonging and allegiance and as such would support*

traditional forms of family life and the established Christian religion' (Glennister, 1995). The Education Act of 1944, put through by Butler, in charge of Conservative Party's home policy during the Second World War reflected this approach. At the time Karl Mannheim of the LSE, was one of the ideologues who were asked to work on Conservative reconstruction policy (Harris, 1986). The ideological or theoretical input of academics like Mannheim, were crucial in the tone and direction of the policies. A study commissioned by the government envisaged the state engendering a powerful moral order on the society, centred on Christianity. On the practical side, it proposed compulsory day release for young workers to acquire proper attitudes to citizenship, and the public schools would be taken over by the Board of Education to reduce the class division in society (Harris, 1986).

Among the individuals that provided an ideological and theoretical backbone to the debate during the reconstruction after the war and later Maynard Keynes (1883-1946) and Fredrick Hayek (1899-1992). They defined the dynamics of social and economic change albeit in opposite directions, and had a direct influence on contemporary politicians - Hayek with his endorsement of the market and Keynes with his promotion of state regulation in economy. Significantly, both saw their role as that of intellectual pathfinders, and both referred to their philosophical position in trying to persuade politicians.

Keynes argued for government to regulate the economy to control unemployment. For him the economy was a tool to solve social problems. He had said: *'to make a bogey of the economic problem is, in my judgment, grievously to misunderstand the nature of the tasks ahead of us....The real problems of the future are first of all the maintenance of peace, of international cooperation and amity, and beyond that the profound moral and social problems of how to organise material abundance to yield up the fruits of a good life'* (Keynes, 1941-6). Keynes' views found ascendancy after the Second World War and the idea of *'Interventionist government'* on the model offered by Maynard Keynes achieved worldwide significance with the Bretton

Woods agreement on the post-war financial order and the creation of the International Monetary Fund in 1945. By the 1960s and 1970s, the 'regulatory state' had risen to prominence in the West (Hoover, 2003). As these views gained ground, a new agenda emerged, the by-product of which would raise the status of the wage-earners to something new.

There were other influential thinkers who supported state intervention to modify relations. Among these was Marshall who called for state intervention albeit as a means of further strengthening the system. Marshall justified his call for intervention within the dynamics of the capitalist system: the transformation of the *'wage-earning classes from a mere labour force, or instrument of production, into a body of consumers for whose custom industries compete by studying their tastes, catering for their wants and stimulating their appetites'* (Marshall, 1981, p.60). The argument in favour of the system was made in its promotion of the society of individuals and the assertion that whereas *'the nineteenth century was the age of laissez-faire individualism'*, the twentieth century after the Second World War was the age of the *'mass society'* and the *'integrity of the whole person was to be respected and it was only this kind of individualism of the whole person that can resist the assault of the mass society against the individual personality'* (ibid, p.62). Marshall's support for state intervention was based on achieving an acceptable balance. For him, even though *'inequality is an essential structural feature ...in a democratic-welfare-capitalist society'*, poverty was seen as a disease (Marshall, 1981, p.117), hence the need for social policy to make changes.

Hayek was influential in the Conservative Party policy making during the time of Thatcher's premiership as well and it was in the 1980s when he exerted his greatest influence especially on policies in Britain. In the aftermath of WWII, it had been the less radical and more pragmatic group of young Conservative MPs called the Tory Reform Group who saw a role for social policy but not like the extensive role the Mannheim group was suggesting. This group as well as Conservative backbenchers and rank and

file, had opposed Beveridge. The criticism levelled against Beveridge by the Conservatives was based on the fact that his policies were costly and not targeted on the really poor (Jones, 1979, p.79). The fact that the political mood of the time, reflected a different momentum is expressed by Glennerster(1995): *'nothing coherent could be set against Beveridge and to oppose his report in 1945 would have been political suicide. The consequence was that the Conservatives lost the 1945 social policy debates as well as the election'*.

In 1945 the Labour Party might be said to have succeeded articulating the political will of the majority. As far as housing was concerned, the shortage of housing was a major issue, so much so that the number of houses each party would commit to building became an arena in which the parties challenged each other (Jones, 1979). Despite these, there were noticeable areas of concurrence or consensus between the two parties. After the 'hungry thirties', full employment became a pillar of Labour Party policy. This, together with a commitment to nationalization, a controlled economy and a commitment to the principles of social justice characterized the party's position. Pearce and Stewart (1996) assert that for the Conservatives the acceptance of consensus was less easy but none the less necessary. In an acceptance of the concept of consensus they point out that *'the experience of the war years had shown the population's growing awareness of their plight, not against Germany as such, but against injustices that had marred so many lives in the years up to 1939'* (ibid). Most of the electorate did expect a land fit for heroes and waited in anticipation for jobs, housing, health and greater equality and justice. These had become common values of most people in the country.

Pearce and Stewart (1996) list the areas of consensus as: *'Keynesian full employment was a necessary goal of the two parties' election manifestoes from 1951 to 1964, and a visible commitment to the mixed economy.'* They also observed that while the Labour Party was committed to the public ownership of basic utilities and state managing the economy, *'mindful of the*

political costs of taking a contrary standpoint’, the Conservatives were willing to embrace these new ideas of post-war Britain; and *‘the expectations of the population and the commitment of Labour to social justice gave the country the welfare state in all its manifestations’*. Underpinning the concept of consensus in domestic policy was the idea that the state, the government has a role as a ‘problem-solver’ (ibid).

Many radical politicians did not agree with the common ground. Prime Minister Thatcher claimed in 1981 that consensus was, *‘the process of abandoning all beliefs, principles, values and policies...avoiding the very issues that have got to be solved merely to get people to come to an agreement on the way ahead.’* Those who disapprove of this consensus refer to the policies of the Conservative governments of 1951 and 1964 as having followed Labour policies – just as the reverse has been the case with the charge leveled at New Labour since coming to power in 1997 for having veered too far into the Conservative Party's natural political position on the right.

The political parties’ priorities as set out in their manifestoes reflected the main ideas and the mood of the time. The Conservative Manifesto of 1951 promised: *‘We seek to create an industrial system that is not only efficient but human’* and *‘Housing is the first of the social services. It is also one of the keys to increased productivity. Work, family life, health and education are all undermined by overcrowded homes. Therefore a Conservative and Unionist Government will give housing a priority second only to national defence. Our target remains 300,000 a year’* (cited in Pearce & Stewart, 1996, p.465). Economically, the share of the state was relatively small. In 1951, only 20 per cent of industry and commerce were in state hands. The Conservatives denationalised iron and steel and road haulage (although not until May 1953) but retained the other publicly owned utilities and services and as Pearce and Stewart (1996) observe *‘with the exception of the above, the rest of the administration’s policies could just as easily have come from a Labour government as a Tory one’*. In the details of policies, however,

noticeable differences remained. While the Conservative government was in power, in the 1950s, a major shift occurred in the approach to the provision of housing. After an initial increase in council building had delivered the target, the government proceeded to relax controls on private building. There were plans to encourage the sale of council houses but they were dropped and taken up again in the 1960s. The publication of the White Paper on the future of housing policy was the clearest break with the policies of the 1945-50 (MHLG, 1953, cited in Glennerster, 1995). Significantly, it said that local authorities' true role, once the shortages caused by the war were over, should be a residual one, limited to clearing and replacing unfit or slum property. Private landlords would be the normal suppliers of rented property and hence rents would have to rise. Controlled rents would have to be revised, council rents raised and a free market introduced in stages (Glennerster, 1995, p.82). As soon as the idea of the prominence of the market gained momentum, the process of residualisation of council housing began.

With some of the most significant changes in policy, the ideological influence on the policies had come partly from the intelligentsia and economists. In the aftermath of WWII there had been John Maynard Keynes whose name was synonymous with the government's use of fiscal techniques to control the economy, especially on the demand side, and thus full employment. On the other there was William Beveridge whose influence gave rise to a commitment to the provision of social welfare to the country's citizens as well as control of essential sectors of the economy (Pearce & Stewart, 1996).

In opposition to this stance, the ideology of the freedom of the market tried to change the focus from the state in charge of providing equal opportunity for the welfare of all its citizens to directing limited resources to resolving critical problems, such as replacing the worst housing, and halting the effective albeit partial decommmodification of housing. The 1957 Act which decontrolled new tenancies was an instrument in encouraging privatisation. The government argued that if a free market in housing was desirable and long-

term, private landlords had to be able to charge rents that would give them an adequate return. Although this mainly affected the private sector, its ramifications were felt indirectly on council housing as well. The effect of the Act was rising rents. As a result 6 million private landlord dwellings, mostly let to poor people, had their rents rise. In London the rents rose by almost 60% between 1957 and 1959 (Glennerster, 1995). Following an outcry, the government backed down partially - it delayed full decontrol for three years and weakened the eviction powers. In the 1959 election manifesto the Conservative Party, promised not to use the powers to decontrol further in the next Parliament. However, while in force, the effects of rent decontrol were severe. When a tenant, or tenant family moved, the dwelling became decontrolled. This meant that the landlords would gain enormously as the property rose in value to reflect its new rental income. There was an irresistible incentive to free rented property. Landlords used various methods to make their tenants leave. The scandal of the evictor landlord, Rachman, broke near the end of Macmillan's Premiership at the same time as one relating to the private life of the Minister of War. The Milner Holland committee of inquiry was appointed to investigate and was sitting when the 1964 election took place (ibid). Inevitably, the issue of rent and security of tenure were among the issues of concern during the 1964 election campaign. The Conservative and Labour Parties had distinct housing policies at this time, with one favouring a completely free housing market and the other a nationalised or 'municipalised' one. The ideological difference between the two parties was clearly recognisable at this point and in this field. The Labour Party won the 1964 election.

2.3.2 Housing, Universalism and the Parker Morris Report

The 1960s were an important period in the development of new ideas, the most significant indication being the Parker Morris Report. Health, Education and Social Security were high-profile aspects of the welfare state. At specific periods housing joined them as an aspect worth prioritising. Overall, the welfare state was an ambitious project that relied on massive state

intervention and with its introduction *'Britain set up one of the most comprehensive and powerful planning systems in the world'* (Hall, 1973, p.40).

In terms of housing provision, in the years coming up to the expansion of the welfare state, the marked decline in standards in the 1950s was producing a counter-reaction. In 1959 a new design committee was set up under the chairmanship of Sir Parker Morris. The report of the committee was published in 1961 under the title of *Homes for Today and Tomorrow*. It cited the increase in living standards since 1944 as the main reason for revising the specification of new housing. The Report's main proposals dealt with space (including storage space) and heating within the home. The Committee criticised current practice *'Homes are being built at the present time which not only are too small to provide adequately for family life but also are too small to hold the possessions in which so much of the new affluence is expressed'* (cited in Malpass & Murie, 1994, p.75).

The Parker Morris committee took account of new living patterns and expectations. It was forward looking and made this clear. Very importantly, it considered its report to be *'applicable to private enterprise and public authority housing alike'* (HMSO, 1961, p.1). The committee saw its task as that of up-dating earlier recommendations to suit the new conditions: *'Since the end of the war, the country has undergone a social and economic revolution, and the pattern of living is still changing fast'* (ibid). It mentioned full employment, the National Health Service, family income supplemented by having more than one member in employment, household goods and other possessions becoming more common place. The report was clear about what changes it would wish to see: *'The major changes required can be summed up in two words – space and heating'* (ibid, p.2), also *'additional floor space takes first priority in the evidence, and this call cannot and must not be ignored, for a good house or flat can never be made out of premises which are too small'* (ibid, p.2.)

The Committee made its recommendation with economic concerns in mind: *'additional space is comparatively cheap, for the cost is not loaded with heavy overheads such as plumbing and equipment, and so may amount to much less than the average cost per square foot'* The long-term view is taken: *'additional space is also an important long-term investment, for if a house or flat is large enough it can usually be brought up-to-date as it gets older; but if there is not enough space improvements can be impossible, or at least unduly expensive. Homes are being built at the present time which not only are too small to provide adequately for family life but also are too small to hold the possessions in which so much of the new affluence is expressed. Moreover, many of them have steep stairs and mean halls and landings. Such places cannot be expected to meet the needs of their occupiers today, still less to hold their value in the long term.'* (ibid, p.4). The report made clear its intention to improve on the Dudley Committee (1944) recommendations. It identified as a problem, the practice within which the Dudley Committees recommended room and dwelling sizes had led to lack of variety in internal design of the housing standards reviewed in 1951.

To safeguard the quality of dwellings from this problem the Parker Morris committee took the position that: *'rooms grow from the needs and provide for the needs of the occupants'* (HMSO, p.4). It recommended minimum overall floor areas for dwellings related to each size of family and stressed that these *'should not be taken as maxima; they are nothing of the sort'* (ibid, p.5). In conclusion of its 1st Chapter, the report tried to anticipate the tendencies in the future by suggesting *'And where for reasons of economic stability there may have to be a choice between standards and numbers built, we think that in future it should not be the standards that are sacrificed'* and *'the homes of the country are one of its most important assets – assets which must be built to a standard at which they are likely to give reasonable satisfaction and therefore hold their value over the years'* (ibid, p.6). Space Standards recommended by the committee are shown later in this chapter.

The Parker Morris report came to reflect the values or ideology of a period in British social history when universalist ideas were in ascendancy. While in the aesthetics, the modernist paradigm was reflected in the Modernist style, in social and housing policy it came to be reflected in the idea of the entitlement of everyone to a good measure of the share of the social wealth. This was critical in the quality of the housing that was produced during this time.

2.4 Rise and Domination of a Neo-Liberal Consensus: 1980-1997

The General Election of 1979 was a watershed in the politics of Britain. The Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher came to power with a promise of radical change and this change was significantly ideological. She gave prominence to and turned the country into a crucible for testing the ideas of Hayek and Friedman of a reduced state and increasing market freedom. The age of Neo-liberal Consensus began this way and for nearly two and a half decades dominated not only Britain but was almost worldwide. This consensus was identified with de-regulation, dismantling of the welfare state as much as possible, providing flexibility in the job market through unemployment and significantly allowing market supply and demand to determine the level of social services.

2.4.1 Social Values, Selectivism and Social Policies

While in power, the Conservative Party commenced the process of the marginalisation of council housing through its promotion of the private market, and used taxation –or its removal - to do this. In 1963 the tax on owner occupiers was abolished but they continued to get tax relief on the money they borrowed. The capital gains to be made by a landlord selling his property to an owner-occupier became irresistible. In the 1950s and 1960s alone, around 2 million private landlord properties were sold to owner occupiers (Holmans, 1987).

In practice, due to IMF demands in late 1976, major spending cuts had been undertaken under the Labour Government and the idea of a smaller state was gaining ground before 1979. Various instruments started to be used to promote the market and (purportedly) to reduce public expenditure. In the 1970s the Labour Party was also taking seriously the idea of the promotion of home-ownership. This shift in attitudes was also becoming visible in the electorate. Later in the decade, with the adoption of monetarism by the Callaghan administration and in response to the Green Paper, Housing Policy: A Consultative Document (Department of the Environment, 1977a), Labour abandoned the policy.

Furthermore, council housing became a target of public expenditure cuts, and public sector house building fell from 173,800 starts in 1975 to 80,100 in 1979, its lowest level since the 1930s and insufficient to satisfy even welfare needs (Pearce and Stewart, 1996). Improvements also fell – from a peak of 188,000 in 1973 (under the Heath Conservative government) to 111,000 in 1979, and in addition many councils reduced their repairs and maintenance expenditure causing delays in getting repairs done, and frustration to tenants (ibid, p.121).

In 1979, the Conservative Party led by Margaret Thatcher came to power with a massive majority. Among the Party's promises had been the promotion of owner-occupation and the retreat of the state from main arenas of economy and social provision. If every decade marked the inception of what was to come in the following one, the 1970s may be said to have been the years when the idea of the withdrawal of the state and the rise of the market as a mechanism of control started gaining momentum. The ideas of free-marketers began to be seen in the policies promoted by politicians and most significantly embraced by the Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher.

At this time de-regulation and selectivism were deemed to be the most appropriate approaches in social policy. The argument for selectivism was applied to most arenas of social and civic life. The depth of the government's aversion towards regulation was such that it questioned the need for

institutions such as the International Criminal Court created in 2002 as Douglas Hurd was reported to have done (Young, 2002). As indicated in the Conservative Party's publication *The Next Move Forward* (1987), the government in the eighties was adamant: *'Municipal monopoly must be replaced by choice in renting'*. A process of privatisation of council housing started by which the tenants could elect to transfer the management of their estate from the local authority to another body. This was coupled with the policy of giving generous incentives to tenants to purchase their dwelling.

Under the 1980 Housing Act, the government gave council tenants with a three year history of tenancy a right to buy their homes at generous discounts. These ranged from a third to half the value of the property and in some cases in later years (1989) there were discounts of 70 per cent given. With such incentives there was a massive surge in the process of the sale of council houses, reaching close to a quarter of a million a year by 1982. Between 1979 and 1987, more than a sixth of the total stock of council houses was sold and between 1979 and 1994 the share of the total housing stock owned by local councils fell from nearly a third to little more than a fifth. Sales began to slow down as most of those who had the capacity to buy, and some that really did not, had bought their houses. This left behind in local authority and housing association tenure mostly the poorest groups in society. In 1974 just under half the tenants in social housing were in the bottom 40 per cent of the income distribution; by 1991 the proportion was three-quarters with only 40 per cent of them in employment (Glennister, 1995). The Government policies had started a process of complete change in the demographic make-up of those in social rented housing.

2.4.2 Post Parker Morris: Housing and Selectivism

In the 1980s, central government removed the councils' subsidies which were used in order to keep down the level of council house rents. This led to the councils having to raise their rents and bringing them closer to the 'fair rent levels' which applied to private and housing associations tenants.

Those who could not afford the rent and proved they had low income were entitled to claim housing benefit from the Department of Social Security (Glennnerster, 1995). In the late 1980s the government housing policy had to change again in order to take account of effect of their earlier policies on the housing stock. Glennnerster points out that by 1987 there was little to be gained from the sale of council houses to individuals as a method of further reducing the size of the council sector, especially as by now the remaining tenants were too poor to purchase their dwellings. The Government's solution to overcoming this slow-down in the privatisation of council housing was to give the tenants who were unhappy with their councils, the right to transfer the ownership of their house to private landlords or housing associations. In order to facilitate this, a central government agency would take over failing estates, improve them and then sell them off to the private sector. Moreover, if the enterprise was to be attractive to the private sector it was important to give landlords the right to let at free market rents.

As the Conservative Party manifesto had promised, the 1988 Housing Act, removed rent control in the private sector. Central government could designate an area of public housing and create a Housing Action Trust to manage the houses, eventually disposing of them. The notion that individual tenants could get a landlord to take over their house was dropped as impractical and replaced by an arrangement which put the onus on private landlords or housing associations. They were given the right to bid to take over an estate or part of it and the tenants had a right to vote on the proposal and veto it, under some complex voting rules, and in addition, under the 1989 Local Government and Housing Act local councils lost their right to subsidize council rents out of local revenue (Glennnerster, 1995). The philosophy behind these measures was that of giving more '*market power to tenants*'. As a result of the 1988 Act gradually housing associations of varied kinds and sizes came to be the new main providers of social housing. The legacy of the 1980s and much of the 1990s remained the worsening social problems on the most deprived estates and a lowering of standards in social housing.

At times of shortage of housing, the effort to raise quality becomes an uphill one. The provision of greater numbers of units becomes such a priority that the issue of quality comes to be viewed as a luxury. There is a pattern in the 1930s, 1950s, 1970s and post 1980s.

Consecutive governments have repeatedly acknowledged that there is still a shortage of housing in Britain. Reportedly, *'taking all the concealments into account, in the United Kingdom there was a substantial shortage of housing by 1994, approaching 3 million'* (Balchin, 1994). Also in 2003, dealing with the issue of the cost of housing for those who wish to purchase their homes, the Bank of England reported that the *"chronic shortage" of new homes will keep prices in London and the south-east high, predicting a cumulative shortage of half a million homes in the region by 2021 unless the decline in new house building is reversed'* (Denny and Collinson 2003).

The social policies that set the scene for housing policies during the various decades in the twentieth century had determined the standards of housing available to those who needed it. This had varied from the idea of entitlement of everyone in need to a state-provided home of socially acceptable standard, to one where the worst housing and the poorest tenants (to-be) would be targeted and the others were to take their chances in the market. In this respect the notion of acceptable standards is an important, although variable one. The social values of the time may be assessed by what constitutes acceptable housing standards at any one time.

As consumerism becomes more embedded in economic and social existence of the society, and the living patterns change, the space requirements need to be updated to suit, although this is not always the case. These considerations have been applicable in almost every decade when major changes of attitude and policy have been visible, most notably in the aftermath of the two world wars as well as the 1960s and 1980s.

The 1960s and 1970s are pivotal periods in time as in 1960s Britain *'a measure of prosperity reached more and more families, the instinct to accumulate more material objects also spread down the social scale, and*

houses which were formerly required merely to provide minimum shelter took on new roles for the storage and display of possessions' (Burnett, 1986, p.284). Burnett (1986) raises the important point that *'the desire for increased space also followed as a result of the greater time spent in the home and the greater interest taken in it'*. This issue is as relevant today as it was in the 1960s as it relates the social values that define a socially acceptable or desirable life-style to the material living conditions of the people.

Norton and Novy (1991) observed that the post 1980s policies involved *'increasing inequalities in housing and a wider divergence between minimum standards, or housing rights, and those standards experienced by the average household, or those at the top end of the market'* and found that the housing market reflected inequality of income and of economic position; and generally reflected social inequality.

2.5 Housing Standards – Contrasting Decades

The main difference between the standards of social housing produced in the 1960s and 1980s may be reduced to the point that whereas in the 1960s the main orthodoxy was that of trying to achieve higher space standards (as high as the housing Cost Yardstick would allow), in the 1980s not only was there no commitment to increasing space standards, but the state withdrew from determining these standards purportedly allowing the market to set them. During the years under study a number of changes occurred in the role of the home – one of these was the number of hours we are expected to spend in the home. A brief review of the changes in the average number of working hours the population works, shows that they fell from 53 hours a week at the beginning of the century to 42 in the 1960s, and 36 (41.5 for men only, including overtime) by 1983. Much of the increased leisure time implicit in these statistics was to be spent at home (Burnett, 1986). This change would be expected to be accompanied with a greater focus on the

space needed to support the additional hours spent at home. However, despite the fact that time spent at home has been on the increase and the idea of the home as a live-work environment has been gaining ground, the space standards of the 1980s have not kept up with the uses they were meant to satisfy and the increased demand on them. In fact the 1980s showed a decline in space standards.

The move away from state provision of social housing and the introduction of an effective privatisation of housing for the lower income families in the 1980s was accompanied with a marginalisation and ultimately with a serious shortage of dwellings for this kind of tenure. The government's position during the premiership of Margaret Thatcher and later that of John Major was mainly that of encouraging the market to meet the demand for so-called affordable housing and an acknowledgment of the need to meet the shortage of housing. In 1993, the scale of the shortage of housing was expressed in the government's announcement that *'an extra 4.4 million houses and flats would be needed in England over the next twenty years for the rapidly growing number of people who want a home of their own'* while the number of households was projected to grow to almost 23 million by 2011 (Journal of Social Policy, 24, 4.1, 551-569). At this time the cause for this shortage was attributed in the main to demographic changes and supported by further reports that *'more people in Britain live alone than ever before and the number is forecast to be nearly 8 million by the end of the century'* (Journal of Social Policy, vol. 22, para.4.2, p.247). In its last few months in office, in 1996, the Conservative government declared that 4 million houses would be built by 2006 in order to meet the shortfall of housing in the country. Most of these developments were based on the method of procurement devised and promoted by the government – the private public finance initiative and the like – where the capital would be provided by private companies who effectively became the clients as well as the contractors, with the local authorities being given a rather marginal role.

The period in which the Conservative Party was in power was characterised by a distinct lack of state focus on social housing needs and housing quality. While some studies were being carried out in academic institutions on the standards in social housing (Radif, Traynor, Lawrence among others, reviewed later in this chapter), there was little official acknowledgment of the need for state intervention or for the need for improvements in the existing regulations and practice of provision of social housing.

Housing had benefitted from the ideals of the welfare state and the universalist agenda, with the share of council housing having risen continuously up to the late 1970s. As far as social housing is concerned, though, post 1979 years were times of a significant shift. After the 1980 and 1988 Acts, the momentum for the enlargement of the private sector became unstoppable. Subsidies, easier mortgages, favourable changes in tax policy, all encouraged people to move away from their council tenancy and purchase their homes. By the 1990s the government had increased and altered the incentive for owner-occupation to a great extent and encouraged many families to purchase a house, albeit unsustainably in the long-term. Families and individuals saw this as an opportunity to spread their own costs and risks over time and to exercise some form of choice over the location of their home. This factor went hand in hand with the potential of the property to turn into a long-term investment as real state, and eroded public support for state housing. Those who were left unable to join this new independence had little public sympathy, at least in any sustained way that wins elections (Balchin, 1994).

Balchin (1994) described the prevailing conditions in the 1980s and early 1990s: *'high interest rates, overvalued sterling and massive cuts in key areas of public expenditure in real (and absolute terms) hastened de-industrialisation, helped to create record unemployment and exacerbated inequalities in the society'* and that *'in housing, social divisiveness was exhibited by those on council waiting lists having to wait longer – perhaps forever – for new or rehabilitated homes (the appallingly low level of house*

building and the selling-off of council housing disadvantaging those most in need); council tenants having to pay higher rents for residualised housing; housing association tenants paying even more for very modest accommodation; and owner-occupiers enjoying an increasing amount of regressive tax relief and exemption’.

The promotion of the market as the mechanism for providing for housing needs was accompanied with the idea of choice. In order to justify the dominance of the market, it was argued that people would be given greater choice this way. This argument never explored the fact that for choice to be real there have to be attainable options. The only choice that the market offered those with little financial resources was to take what others did not want. Balchin (1994) highlights the paradox of pursuing policies that marginalise social housing under the pretext of giving people choice (of home-ownership) by suggesting that *‘the right to rent’* is just as legitimate as *‘the right to buy’* (ibid, Balchin, 1994, p.284). The effect of the policies adopted post 1979 was a complete residualisation of social housing in Britain, a process which could not but affect standards in this sector. Having been all but removed from the development process, local authorities ended up ‘managing’ what was left of their stock after the sales and with the increasing number of people in need of the small number of dwellings available at low rents, soon had to rent from the private sector to house those on their waiting lists.

In the 1980s, councils’ new-building programmes fell below the rate of their sales of dwellings and the social rented sector began a severe decline. No council buildings were built after this time and the increase in sales - both to sitting tenants and to independent landlords - started the large-scale break-up of council-owned housing. Voluntary sector housing associations, for the first time, became the major agencies for the new building of social rented housing (Norton & Novy, 1991, p.202).

The diminishing of the role of council housing had the political effect of removing local democracy in the form of local authorities from the equation

of housing provision and replacing it with Housing Associations which were funded by the Housing Corporation. The relationship between Housing Associations and the Local Authorities has been a changing one over the 20th century. They have been distinct in terms of their historical origins and the governance. However, as Pawson points out, *'they have become increasingly similar in terms of their tenants' characteristics and in their role as instruments of central government housing policy'* (Pawson, 2006, p.768) and the most important feature of British social housing today is its correspondence with income distribution. Their tenants are drawn from the lower incomes. Given that almost one-fifth of UK households were *'at risk of poverty'* in 1999 in terms of receiving incomes below 60% of the UK median value (Dennis & Guio, 2003) the concentration of those on the lowest incomes in social housing had the potential of creating ghettos of poverty. The policy of stock transfers - a process in which tenants were encouraged to vote for the management of their estates to be transferred to Housing Associations - further entrenched the marginalisation of local authorities.

Minimum standards and entitlements that were enshrined in Housing Acts in the 1980s had more to do with legal obligation placed upon local housing authorities (Housing Act 1985, Part II, 8). They were responsible for assessing the housing conditions and needs in their district *'with respect to the provision of further accommodation'* (Norton & Novy, 1991, p.204). However the duty to propose and provide new housing was removed from the local authorities. Housing Associations were taking up that aspect of the former role of the local authorities. The resultant shortage of low-cost rented housing started to coincide with lower standards in new buildings. During the 1980s, low incomes, combined with low savings, made house purchase an unrealistic option for most applicants. By 1991, 31% of applicants surveyed were owner-occupiers. Three-quarters of these had paid off their mortgage and were full owners of their house. These were mainly elderly - 77% aged 55 or over (ibid). By 1991, households seeking social rented housing were affected by supply and access in the owner-occupied and private rented

sectors with the private rented being small, declining, increasingly expensive and insecure (ibid).

In 1987, a calculation of affordability problems employing various assumptions about incomes and relating these to average local house prices showed that the proportion of households which could not afford to buy, compared with 1982/3, had increased considerably with the proportion unable to buy more than doubling in five counties in the south and rising by over 70% in another seven (Bramley, 1988).

As far as the standards are concerned Norton & Novy make the point that by the 1990s, the social rented sector was not the only source of housing for low income groups, but that it was *'the only source of high standard dwellings for low income households'* (Norton & Novy, 1991, p.211). Norton and Novy's verdict is an important indication of the perception of housing standards in the period of de-regulation and the emergence of the market-driven policy towards housing.

As quantitatively, the situation with state provided housing had also worsened: *'In England, new council building declined from around 105,000 units in 1976 to 67,000 in 1980. In London, the decline was even more marked – the sales of council dwellings between 1979 and 1989 had exceeded one million leaving some 4.5 million council dwellings in England'* (Norton & Novy, 1991, p.211) - the general decline of council housing was not compensated for by the growth in housing association provision over the same period leaving a general shortfall and worsening of the situation. Over the decades, the actual number of new dwellings completed by housing associations in Britain fell significantly, from 24,193 in 1977 to 9,848 in 1986; while they represented only 17% of all public sector completions in 1977, it was 35% in 1986. In that period the supply of rented accommodation declined by some 100,000 dwellings each year, giving social rented housing a more clearly welfare, role (ibid). With projections of a rise in new household formation and in those with one or no wage-earners, the role of social housing became even more residual and marginalized.

In Britain, over the period 1961-86, there was a substantial increase in the number of local authority-owned dwellings. This was especially the case from 1961-80, when the total of these dwellings grew from about 4.5 million to 6.8 million (from 26% of all dwellings in Britain to 32%). Most of these extra dwellings were occupied by low income households. Over this same period, from 1961-86, there had been an increase of about one-third in the total number of dwellings in Britain, while the owner-occupied sector grew from about seven million dwellings in 1961, to over 14 million in 1986 - from 43% of all dwellings to 63% (ibid).

Michael Harloe sees the changes in approach toward social housing as a function of the form of capitalist system that dominates at the time – such as liberal capitalism borne out of the industrial revolution, revived post-WWI and eroded by 1929-30; welfare capitalism or Fordism of the inter-war years which came to dominance after 1945; and weakening after 1960s; and its breakdown in the economic instability of post-1970s (Harloe, 1995). While Harloe links the function of the state to changes at a strategic level, at the day-to-day level it is also true that the outcome of the policies affects people differently.

At the same time the assertion that the improvements in the housing conditions of low-income people, was politically motivated also holds true (Merrett, 1979; Swenarton, 1981; Whitham, 1982; Orbach, 1977). However, the pressures that forced the changes and the long-term effect that the improvements had on entrenchment of certain social values became engines of more positive change. The universalist ideology both represented and encouraged a more equal distribution of social goods and services.

Sims (1993) points out that *'as the 1960s progressed, the differences in style between public and private sectors all but disappeared'*. And that many private houses were in fact smaller and less well equipped than their local authority equivalents, while houses in both sectors *'began to reflect the uniformity and simple lines of the modern house'* (cited in Carmona, 2001, p.23).

2.6 Recent Reports and Recommendations on Housing Standards

For nearly two decades (during the 1980s and 90s) the state showed little interest in carrying out studies on standards in social housing. There was a shift in this neglect in the current decade. In December 2005 the Greater London Authority (GLA), under the Mayor Ken Livingstone, commissioned a number of reviews, one of which led to the study by the consultancy – HATC Ltd. In its brief, the GLA noted growing concern that internal spaces in dwellings were getting smaller and that fewer family size housing was being provided. It expressed its *'concern that internal space within both family and non-family homes may also be reducing. This has implications for both accessibility and for sustainability and for quality of life including health'* (GLA, 2006, p.5).

The GLA brief also stated that there is a relationship between size of units and affordability and the fact that *'Government targets have focused on unit output rather than the quality of provision'* (HATC, 2006, p.5). The study listed space standards and dwelling mix, comparing standards in Britain with those in Europe as well as considering market requirements in terms of 'homebuyers' and 'stakeholders'. Tracing the changes in space standards the executive summary found that the approach towards minimum space standards had become more sophisticated *'progressing through number of rooms, minimum floor space for rooms and the dwelling as a whole, to functional/activity based requirements'* (HATC, 2006, P.7).

The space provided in private and public sector housing is said to have 'ebbed and flowed' and the fact that space standards have not been made a general requirement in all sectors through the Building Regulations or the planning system, is cited as a relevant cause (HATC, 2006).

Other significant findings of the report listed in the Executive Summary concern: the poor match between the demographic make-up of London and the accommodation being provided – a trend towards provision of flats (80% of dwelling produced); a decrease of 10% and 5% in the provision of three

and four-bedroom accommodation, respectively; and the provision of one and two-bedroom accommodation having increased to around 25% and 60% of total production, respectively (HATC, 2006). The report also found that space standards in the UK fell well below the European average and that *'the differences between space standards in public and private provision were greater in the UK than elsewhere in Europe'* (HATC, 2006, p.8).

The argument that markets determine what the developers produce is brought under question by the report's finding *'that there is a mismatch between homebuyers' preferences and what the market is providing'*, with a preference for houses rather than flats, as well as larger space and greater flexibility in the dwellings (ibid).

The state's vehicles for implementing policies related to space standards were invariably funding conditions within social housing. In 1980s the National House Building Council introduced space standards in its requirements. While they remained in force, they applied to both private and public housing developments (HATC, 2006). After the Parker Morris recommendations were abandoned as obligatory standards for social housing, there was no other enforceable standard in social housing and by extension in private developments. The Building Research Establishment's Housing Design Handbook published in 1993 and the National Housing Federation's Guide to Standards & Quality published in 1998 were used by housing associations as a guide to space standards and internal layout during this period. The GLC housing standards were another set of standards used after 1988.

The London Plan of February 2004 and the Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act of 2004 signalled a change in the general trends as it tried to re-introduce standards in social housing. The introduction of Lifetime Home standards by the Greater London Authority as a requirement for new developments was the first space standard to be introduced in more than two decades.

The HATC report (2006) made recommendations for a set of ‘base-line standards’ which included: *minimum floor areas for cooking, eating and living areas; minimum floor areas for bedrooms (in compliance with the Housing Act of 1985 regarding overcrowding); aggregate bedroom floor areas to be achieved in a dwelling, but allowing flexibility in the distribution of space; and minimum floor area requirements for internal storage*’.

With regard to regulation and housing standards, despite a number of reports published by bodies such as the National Housing Federation with proposals for space standards in social housing, as far as this sector is concerned the most determining policy document from the Central Government remains the 1988 Housing Act. The thrust of this policy was the promotion of the private sector in the provision of ‘affordable’ housing and it continued to be pursued after the 1997 General Election and the formation of the New Labour Government. The role of social housing became a progressively marginal one.

2.6.1 Recommendations of Tudor Walters, Dudley and Parker Morris Committees Compared

This section reviews the quantitative aspects of space standards in social housing. The literature referred to includes other academic research, the Tudor Walters report of 1918, the 1944 Housing Manual, the 1949 Housing Manual, Ministry of Housing and Local Government publication of 1958, the Parker Morris recommendations, the standards adopted by the Greater London Council (while in existence), the Lifetime Homes standards compiled by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation and the National Housing Federation recommendations, the London Plan of 2004 and the HATC report of 2006. The choice is based on the need to have points of comparison within space standards that were obligatory to some extent during certain years within the study periods.

The Tudor Walters Report (1918) offered ‘Desirable Minimum Sizes of Rooms’ as shown below. The report was clear that the sizes proposed

should be considered as minima and cautioned against the tendency to reduce the space standards in order to save costs: *‘we wish to point out generally that it is not a sound economical [proposition] to reduce the cost of buildings by cutting down unduly the size of rooms, because the smaller the rooms the higher must be the cost per cubic foot of the space provided’* (Cd. 9191, p.29). The text refers to the report by the Royal Commission on Housing in Scotland calling for 500 cubic feet of space per adult and asks that it is important that when considering the smaller bedrooms it is more important to have the full cubic space for each occupant (ibid, p. 35).

House without Parlour	Floor areas in sq. ft. (sq. m.)	Cubic contents in cubic feet* (sq. m.)	House with Parlour	Floor areas in sq. ft. (sq. m.)	Cubic contents in cubic feet* (sq. m.)
			Parlour	120 (11.2)	960 (27.2)
Living room	180 (16.7)	1,440 (40.8)	Living Room	180 (16.7)	1,440 (40.8)
Scullery	80 (7.4)	640 (18.1)	Scullery	80 (7.4)	640 (18.1)
Larder	24 (2.2)	--	Larder	24 (2.2)	--
Bedroom No. 1	150 (13.9)	1,200 (34.0)	Bedroom No. 1	160 (14.9)	1,280 (36.2)
Bedroom No. 2	100 (9.3)	800 (22.6)	Bedroom No. 2	120 (11.2)	960 (27.2)
Bedroom No. 3	65 (6.0)	604 (17.1)	Bedroom No. 3	110 (10.2)	880 (24.9)

Table 2.1 - Desirable Minimum Sizes of Rooms, Tudor Walters Committee Report, 1918, p. 29

*The cubic contents are computed by multiplying the floor areas by 8 feet, the assumed average height of the rooms.

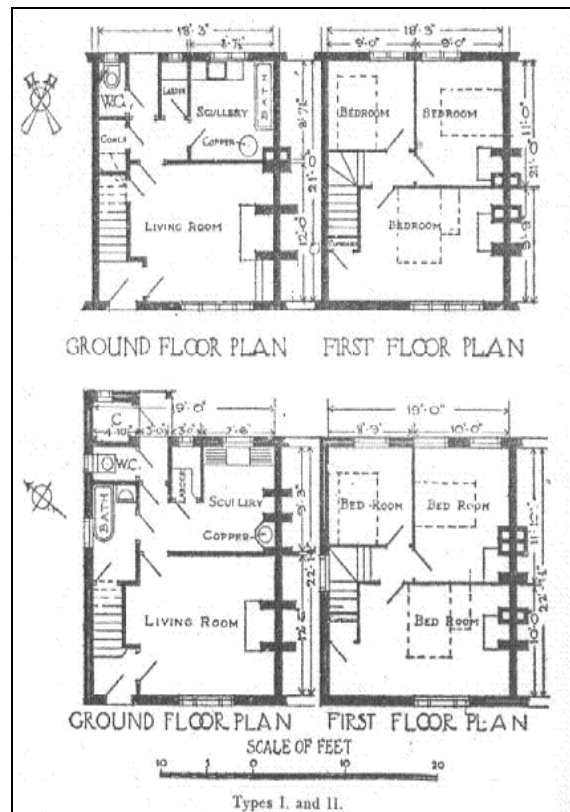


Figure 2.1 Excerpts from *The Architects' and Builders' Journal*, November 20, 1918

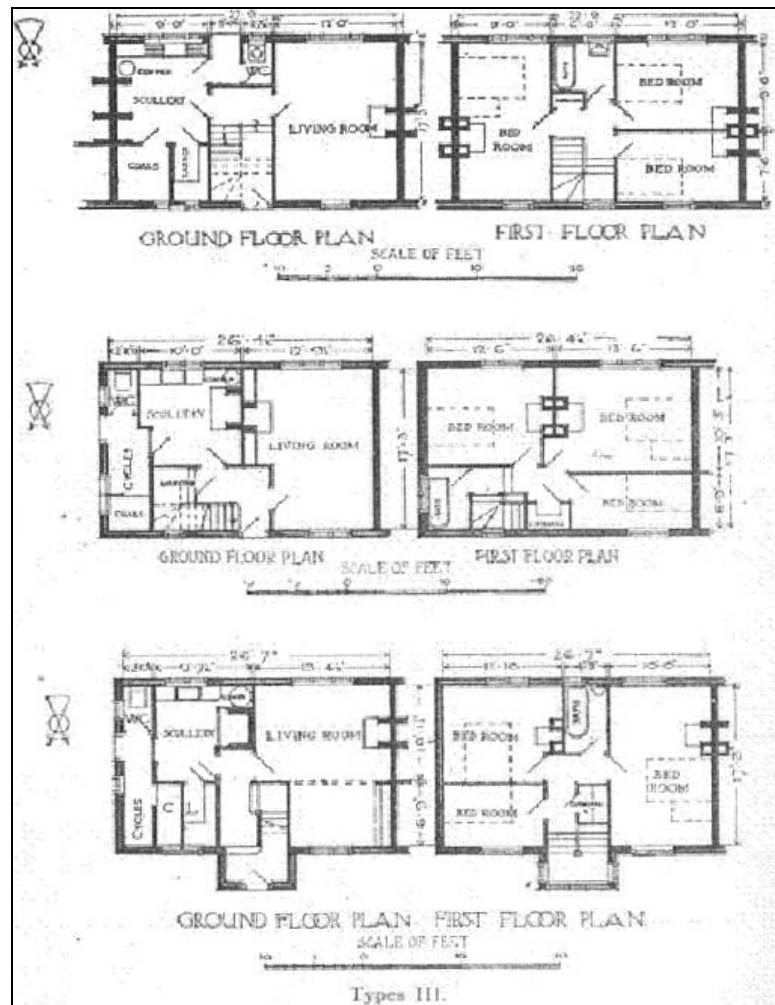


Figure 2.2 Excerpts from *The Architects' and Builders' Journal*, November 20, 1918

The Tudor Walters report identified the following requirements: At least three ground floor rooms, at least three bedrooms of which two must take two beds, a bathroom and larder as essential requirements, with a density of 12 dwellings per acre, built as semi-detached or in short terraces, with cottage appearance with front and rear gardens and with 21 meters between facing rows of houses (HATC, 2006, p.20).

As considered earlier in the thesis, the next significant milestone in housing standards after the Tudor Walters Report was the Dudley Report which led to the 1944 and 1949 Housing Manuals. The 1944 Housing Manual had high expectations: *'It is essential that the housing schemes promoted by local*

authorities should set a good standards for the country, as many have already done, and that this standard should apply, not only to accommodation and construction which can largely be prescribed, but also to questions of arrangement, taste, and harmony with the surroundings, which largely depend on professional knowledge and its right application' (Housing Manual, 1944, para.10). The Manual proposed the following floor areas:

House Type	Type of Dwelling	Room	sq. ft.*	sq. m.
A – Family dwellings	Kitchen – Living Room Type (with a sitting room)	Kitchen-living room	180-200	16.7 - 18.6
		The same, where a sitting room is provided	170-180	15.8 - 16.7
		Sitting Room if provided	110-120	10.2 - 11.2
		Scullery-wash house	65-80	6.0 - 7.4
		Scullery only	35-45	3.3 - 4.2
		Wash house only	35-45	3.3 - 4.2
B – Family dwellings	The Working Kitchen Type	Living room where there is no separate dining space	180 - 200	16.7 - 18.6
		Living room plus dining space	225 - 245	18.8 - 22.8
		Working Kitchen	90 - 100	8.4 - 9.3
C – Family dwellings	The Dining Kitchen Type	Living room	160 - 180	14.9 - 16.7
		Dining room	110 - 125	10.2 - 11.6
		Wash house	35 - 45	3.3 - 4.2
D – Family dwellings	All Types	First Bedroom	135 - 150	12.5 - 14.0
		Other double bedrooms	110 - 120	10.2 - 11.2
		Single bedroom	70 - 80	6.5 - 7.4
E -	Old people's dwellings	Living room	140 (minimum)	13.0
		Bedroom	120 (minimum)	11.2

Table 2.2 – Room sizes recommended - Housing Manual 1944, paras. 57 and Appendix A, para. [3-5].

*Range of sizes include built-in cupboards where provided.

Other details of House Design included: minimum Bathroom size of 4 ft. 9 in. (1.4m) [in one dimension], Ceiling Height: 8 ft. (2.4 m), Allowance for larders, Town: 4 sq. ft. (0.4 sq. m.), Country: 10 sq. ft. (0.9 sq. m.), Bedroom Cupboards: min. depth 1 ft. 8 in. (0.5 m.) and desirable length: 2 ft. (0.6 m.) per person, Linen cupboard, outside store, and Fuel store both in urban and rural areas were also stipulated in the Manual. To enable comparison with other standards the above recommended floor areas are re-arranged and simplified in a new table:

Room Description	1P (sq. m.)	2P (sq. m.)	2P - Main BR (sq. m.)
In all House Types	6.5 – 7.0	10.0 – 11.0	12.5 – 14.0

Table 2.3 Room sizes in all House Types - from Housing Manual 1944, para. 57.

The 1949 Housing Manual introduced the following standards (as suggested in HATC, 2006, p.22)

Dwelling Description	2B/4P** (sq. m.)	3B/5P (sq. m.)	3B/6P (sq. m.)	4B/6P (sq. m.)	4B/7P (sq. m.)
Two Storey House*** or Maisonette	69.7 -74.3*	83.6 – 88.3	91.1 – 95.7	92.9 – 101.3	102.2 – 109.2

Dwelling Description	1B/1P	2B/1P	2B/2P	3B/4P	4B/4P	4B/5P	4B/6P	5B/6P	5B/7P
Flats	27.9	32.5	46.5	65.1	69.7	79.0	83.6	88.3	92.9

Dwelling Description	1B/2P	2B/3P
Dwellings for aged persons	41.8 – 51.1	51.1 – 60.4

Table 2.4 Dwelling Sizes in 1949 Housing Manual cited in HATC, 2006.

*Areas in sq. m. - ** 'B' stands for bedrooms, 'P' stands for persons, ***Three storey houses exceed two storey by 9.3 sq. m.

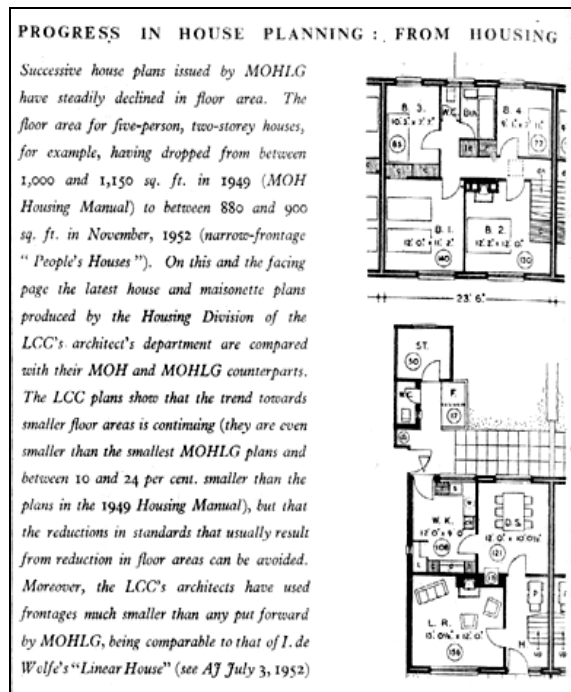


Figure 2.3 Layout of Dwellings from 1949 Housing Manual published in *The Architects' Journal*, August 1953, p.190

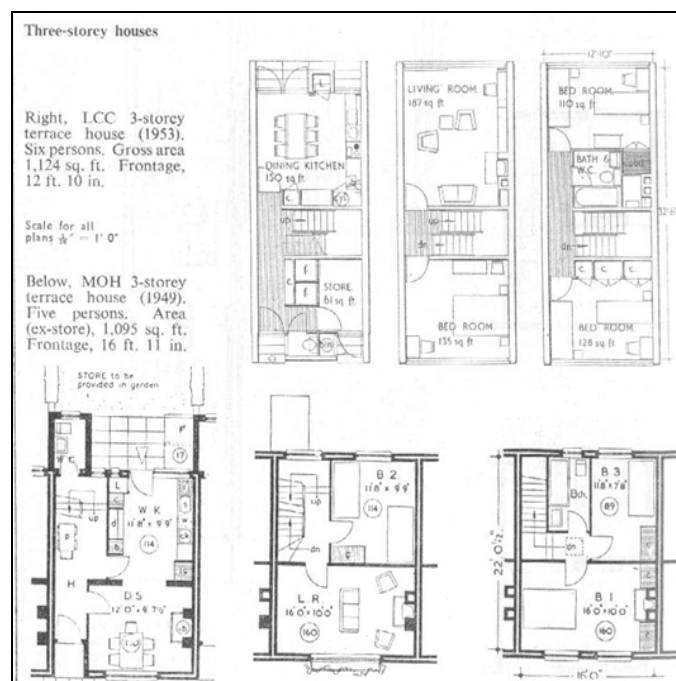


Figure 2.4 Layout of Dwellings - *The Architects' Journal*, August 1953, p.190

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, the 1950s are generally associated with a lowering of space standards. This decade also coincided with the promotion of new methods and forms of construction. The Ministry of Housing and Local Government published the book: Flats and Houses 1958, Design and Economy, and set out to give ‘*examples of ways in which, for specified densities on particular sites, various dwelling and block types can be used to provide the desired sizes of dwelling in the required proportions; and compare[d] the overall estimated building costs of the various layouts for the site concerned*’ (Ministry of Housing and Local Government, 1958, p.1). As the book primarily promoted the design of maisonettes and flats, it provided a set of Space Standards for this type of dwelling. In this book the room sizes were specified and set within the corresponding dwelling sizes. The table below has been extrapolated from the dimensions given, therein. The bedroom areas were to be the same whatever the dwelling type, with the living rooms and kitchens to be smaller or larger according to the size of the household.

Type of Dwelling*	Room	sq. ft.*	sq. m.
The working-kitchen maisonette or flat	Living room	180 (175)	16.7 (16.3)
	Kitchen	90 (85)	8.4 (7.9)
The dining-kitchen maisonette or flat	Living room	160 (160)	14.9 (14.9)
	Kitchen	110 (100)	10.2 (9.3)
Bedrooms	1 st bedroom	135	12.5
	Other Double Bedrooms	110	10.2
	Single bedroom	70 (maximum 80)	6.5 (max. 7.4)

Table 2.5 – Room Sizes Recommended in MHLG 1958

*In one bedroom dwellings for two persons the living room should not be less than 160 sq. ft. Where the dwelling is intended for two old people the living room may be reduced to 140 sq. ft. and the bedroom to 120 sq. ft.

The dwelling sizes were to be guided by the following space standards:

Dwelling Description	Bedsitting room (1 room)	1B/1P (2 room)	1B/2P (2 room)	2B/4P (3 room)	3B/5P (4 room)	2B/4P (3 room)	3B/4P (4 room)	3B/5P (4 room)	3B/6P (5 room)
Flats	300 (27.9)	350 (32.5)	500 (46.5)	700 (65.0)	800 (74.3)				
Maisonettes						700 – 750 (65.0- 69.7)	720 – 800 (66.9- 74.3)	820- 870 (68.8- 73.4)	925 – 975 (85.9- 90.6)

Table 2.6 – Room Sizes and dwelling Types Recommended in MHLG 1958

Extrapolated from Appendix E. Space Standards in Maisonettes and Flats, Ministry of Housing and Local Government, 1958, p.153.

The Parker Morris recommendations covered the areas of dwellings and were as follows:

	1P Sq. ft. (sq. m.)	2P	3P	4P	5P	6P
Single Storey House	320 (29.7)	480 (44.6)	610 (56.7)	720 (66.9)	810 (75.3)	900 (83.6)
Flat	320 (29.7)	480 (44.6)	610 (56.7)	750** (69.7)	850 (79.0)	930 (83.6)
Maisonette	---	---	---	770 (71.5)	880 (81.8)	990 (92.0)
2-Storey semi or end	---	---	---	770 (71.5)	880 (81.8)	990 (92.0)
2-Storey centre terrace	---	---	---	800 (74.3)	910 (84.5)	990 (92.0)
3-Storey house*	---	---	---	---	1010 (93.8)	1050 (97.6)

Table 2.7 –Parker Morris Recommendations

*These figures will require modification if a garage is built in; **Balcony access only

Houses***	30	40	45	50	50	50
Flats and Maisonettes						
Inside the dwelling	8	10	12	15	15	15
Outside the dwelling	20	20	20	20	20	20

Table 2.8 - General storage recommended by Parker Morris report was as follows:

***Some of this may be on an upper floor; but at least 25 sq. ft. should be at ground level.

The standards in public housing have been determined according to different criteria in different studies or reports. Whereas the Tudor Walters report considered the number of rooms to determine the standards, the Parker Morris report made recommendations for total area of the dwellings as minimum standards (HATC, 2006). The Guide to Standards and Quality (1998) and Lifetime Homes standards introduced by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation do not set minimum dimensions but determine the size of rooms by requiring the accommodation of certain functions and furniture.

Room Description	1P	2P	3P	4P	5P	6P	7P
Main Room	8.0	11.0	11.0	11.0	11.0	11.0	11.0
Other Double Bedroom	-	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0
Single Bedroom	-	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5
Dining/Kitchen	8.0	9.0	11.0	11.0	12.0	13.0	14.0
Galley/Kitchen	5.5	5.5	5.5	7.0	7.0	8.5	9.0
Living Room (with Dining/Kitchen)	11.0	12.0	13.0	14.0	15.0	16.0	17.0
Living Room (without Dining/Kitchen)	13.0	13.0	15.0	16.0	17.5	18.5	20.0

Table 2.9 Standards required by GLC - From the Brief of Holly Street Phase 1.

2.6.2 Recent Reports on Housing Standards

Just as in the period of the dominance of social democratic ideas, a neo-liberal agenda was being formed by its proponents in the margins, the period of dominance of the neo-liberal ideas has seen the development of ideas that press for greater regulation and control over standards. A number of studies have been arguing for a change in approach in order to provide better standards in housing. This section lists some studies that have been debating housing standards.

HATC's study has produced a comparison of public sector standards from 1949 till its publication in 2006. The resulting table is shown below.

Standard	1949 Housing Manual*	Parker Morris**	NHF Standards & Quality***	HQI (mid-point)
1	27.9	30.6	Does not distinguish	32.5
2	41.8	45.5	45	47.5
3	51.1	57.8	57	62
4	65.1	75.7	67	71
5	78.9	85.9	80(F) 95(H)	80(F) 83.5(H)
6	83.6	97.5	93(F) 105(H)	90(F) 97.5(H)
7	92.3		105(F) 117(H)	111.5

Table 2.10 - A comparison of public sector Standards

(since 1949 compiled by HATC (2006) Internal floor area sq. m. by number of occupants/bedspaces)

*1949 standards assumed very limited internal storage i.e. cupboards as opposed to store rooms.

**includes full height storage provision of 3-5 sq. m. per dwelling.

***estimated, as no floor areas given in this publication

The HATC comparison suggests that overall the Parker Morris standards were higher than the previous or subsequent standards, although there is no consistent pattern to this.

A number of publications and studies have dealt solely with the issue of space standards (Karn and Sheridan, 1994; Traynor, 1977; Karn, 1973, Radif, 1995). Some of these studies will be considered below, according to their relevance to this thesis.

Traynor's study compared floor areas in private sector dwellings and those built to central government recommendations and found that in relation to occupancy rates areas, floor areas in private sector dwellings fell by 12.3 percent from Parker Morris standards. Traynor's study examined the effect of actual occupancy rates as well and found the weighted average to be 20% over the recommended standard with 74 houses i.e. 83% of the sample, exceeding that standard. The Parker Morris standards were said to be unattainable in the private sector 'except at the luxury end of the market' (Traynor, 1977, p.31).

The study by Radif (1995) on the development of housing standards compared the housing produced by the private sector following changes in the housing policy emanating from the 1988 Housing Act. The field study which was based on housing standards in Liverpool affected by the policy changes in 1980s, with samples taken from three housing schemes by three housing associations, Merseyside Improved Houses, Liverpool Housing Trust and Co-operative Development Services. The dwellings were built to [post] 1990 standards (sic.). The sample size of 24 houses was equally divided between the private and social sectors and was said to have been chosen on the basis of being characteristic of Liverpool's 1990 housing standards.

		3	4	5	6	7
Parker Morris	m2	-	76.5	86.5	96.5	114.5
	%	100	100	100	100	100
Housing Associations	m2	-	72.3	82.5	91	105.
	%	-	-5.6	-5	-5.7	-8
Private Sector	m2	53	62.75	76.6	90	102
	%		-18	-11.4	-6.7	-11

Table 2.11 Space Standards found in Field Study by Radif (1995)

The study showed a drop in space standards from Parker Morris levels to those of dwellings built by Housing Associations and a further drop in the Private Sector. The reductions in standards range from 5.6% below Parker Morris levels for a 4 bedroom dwelling to 8% drop for a 7 bedroom one in Housing Association units and reductions ranging from -18% for a 4 bedroom dwelling to 11% for a 7 bedroom dwelling in the private sector. The reduction in floor areas in private sector is attributed to the cost of construction being proportional to the floor areas.

The reduction of areas in Housing Association dwellings is explained by the constraints of the funding system. The funding system at the time assessed grants payable to a scheme according to the floor areas in bands of 10 sq. m. This is generally believed to have led to the reduction of spaces to the level in which they would just jump into a higher band, even by 1 sq. m. (Clowes, 2007). This way the dwelling would receive the same grant as it would have, had the dwelling been of floor area in the top of the band and about 9 sq. m. larger. The connection between financing regimes and the resulting standards of housing was different in the Housing Cost Yardstick system that accompanied the Parker Morris standards where the costs were allocated per person with allocations for Superstructure, Substructure and External Works (Circular No.36/67, 1967).

In his paper on research on housing quality, Lawrence (1995) attributed the neglect of this kind of study to the focus on *'traditional, architectural, technical and qualitative dimensions.'* He proposes that these qualities are relative to the societal context just as housing quality is and therefore, suggests that a more integrated study of *'housing availability, affordability and quality in precise localities should replace the transposition of generalized concepts and normative criteria from one locality to others'* (p.165). Lawrence also suggests that 'cultural values' play a part in assessing housing quality, criticizing the focus on *'calculations of net habitable floor area per person, and of acoustic and thermal insulation provided by internal and external walls'*, and citing Rapoport and Watson

(1968) in suggesting that ergonomic, technical and physical standards of housing are dependent on cultural values, social conventions and individual preferences which may vary over time. Just as the paper suggests that housing quality should be measured by considering many more aspects than the space standards alone, it also accepts that housing quality is '*neither absolute, nor static*' but '*an economic and a political one*' (Lawrence, 1995, p. 1658). It is with an acknowledgment of the above points that in this thesis the space standards are taken to gauge the relative nature of the historic period from which they emerge.

Housing standards have a noticeable significance in the cultural and social life of the society and the individual. The way an individual or family divides up their time between their place of employment and their home determines how it is perceived. Ravetz (2001) traces the evolution of the home from a centre for home-based production to a dormitory when the production was displaced by the factory system during the industrial revolution (Ravetz, 2001). It may be said that different degrees of reversal of this process might be traced in the life of housing during the twentieth century and because of the significance of the disproportionate time that is spent in the home by the unemployed, the poor or those who work in the home, its space standards are given greater significance. The way the home is occupied also makes the difference between the marginalized and the mainstream (Ravetz and Turkington, 1995).

2.7 Conclusion

The study of the significant milestones in social policies and housing policies that affected housing standards, chronicled a number of changes. The period studied was rich in developments in social housing and this extended to policies concerning the quantity and quality of housing, the recipients and the method for implementing them. The most frequent explanation for the changes in housing standards has been focused on economic expedience.

The study of the period covered in this chapter found that the economic consideration alone could not explain the rise in housing standards at specific times and their fall at others.

This chapter identified and described particular periods in the social and political history of Great Britain in the 20th century, characterized by particular social policies. The most important of these, that practically have defined the political nature of the country in the 20th century are defined here as the Period of Social Democratic Consensus and the Period of Neo-liberal Consensus. Through the examination of existent studies, policy declarations, and political and ideological discourse, this Chapter established that what distinguishes the social policies of these two periods of consensus is a different understanding of the relationship between the citizens and the state manifested in the principles of Universalism – in the case of the Social Democratic Consensus – and Selectivism in the case of the Neo-liberal one. These two principles are presented in the form in which they appear in the sources examined. The Chapter also identified and examined the ways in which social housing and the responsibilities of the state in this respect were understood during the two periods of consensus. The evidence obtained from this general exercise is that social housing policies during the social democratic consensus were based upon principles of universalism, while the principles of selectivism were the foundation of the housing policies during the neo-liberal consensus.

The Chapter also concluded that housing policies based upon these two principles have different consequences in terms of housing standards.

One of the conclusions drawn from this study is the importance of more specific studies with a narrower focus, of the relationships between social values, social policies and housing policies and their consequences on housing standards, a task undertaken by the following chapters.

Chapter 3

Social Policy, Housing and Social Values: A Review of Literature

This chapter explores the literature relating to state and social policy particularly the interface between social and housing policies and the latter's effect on housing standards. It reviews the literature on the emergence of the welfare state and their critique. It considers the opposing universalist and selectivist approaches towards social policy and explores the use of the above concepts in housing policy.

3.1 Introduction

The thesis is based on the premise that the state is a key actor in forming and implementing social policies, a role that is defined by what motivates policies and their direction. The literature on social policies is reviewed to find whether a correlation exists between the main thrust of social policies and social housing of the period. The periods of change in standards and approach towards social housing as identified in the previous chapter will be considered for their characteristics. The chapter is structured around the critical review of a number of approaches found in the literature - the Marxist view of the state, housing and social policy, followed by the social democratic view and concluded with the neo-liberal approach towards the state and social policy. In this sense specific policy approaches namely universalist or selectivist ones are reviewed to find how they relate to the general conditions of the time. The effect of the state's position on social and finally housing policy is assessed and gaps in the literature are identified.

The role of the state in affecting change is central in the debate around social policy. The literature on the state includes, on the one hand, the work of authors like Miliband, Offe and Harloe, among others, who define the capitalist state in terms of the Marxist notion of the state as a means of exercise of hegemony by one class over another and, on the other, those on social policy which span diametrically opposed positions of economists and theorists with social democratic ideas who see state involvement as a means of creating a balance in the share of social wealth that different classes claim from the public purse against marketers and neo-liberals who see a major role for the market in establishing these. Among the most influential authors in these fields are Keynes and Laski who support the former and Hayek, Friedman, Mead and Murray who support the latter position.

Literature shows that the measures the state has taken, over the decades have varied from passing laws on sanitation and health to setting standards and regulating the built environment in general and the standards of housing for the poor in particular. There is evidence that workers' organised demands provide significant impetus for the development of the welfare services, and social housing as an example of concessions won through co-coordinated class action. Paradoxically therefore, social welfare policy in capitalist societies can be seen both as necessary for the survival of the capitalist class and as an indicator of the 'success' of class struggle. As Hindess (1987) suggests social policy must be analysed as both '*an instrument in the hands of the capitalist ruling class*' and as '*a little island of socialism created by the working class in the sea of capitalist society*' (Hindess, 1987, pp.100-1, cited in Clapham et al. 1990). Hindess' statement in a way sums up the varying views expressed in the literature. While the Marxist view broadly stresses the functionality of social policy for the maintenance of the capitalist system, the non-Marxist view stresses the role of social policy with respect to social and system integration (Harloe, 1995). There is much scope for analysing the nuances of social policy and their effect on the life of those affected and how these relations play out the overall contradictions within the

capitalist system. In the sense of practice, the welfare state is the field within which these contradictions are tested while universalism or selectivism are the policy instruments with which the state chooses to achieve its objectives.

3.2 The State and Social Policy at the Service of Capital – A Marxist View

The definition of the state both in terms of the way it is used in this thesis and in terms of the development of its definition, has been covered extensively in Marxist theory. Engels defined the state's characteristics and pointed out the contradictory nature of its practice. He took the state to be '*a product of society at a certain stage of development*'; coinciding with '*the admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself; that it has split into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to dispel*' (Engels, 1973). According to Engels, it was in order to avert the danger of these antagonisms consuming the society in an economic struggle, that it became necessary to have the state as '*a power seemingly standing above society, that would alleviate the conflict and keep it within the bounds of "order"*' as such '*this power, arisen out of society but placing itself above it, and alienating itself more and more from it, is the state*' (ibid).

Within Marxist definitions, the state is therefore formed with a specific mandate – the survival of the socio-economic system that has given rise to it. With this view in mind Marxist authors view social policy instruments such as the welfare state as the means of allowing for the longevity of the state and not necessarily for resolving the contradictions within the system. Offe highlights the limitations of a social policy that needs to function within the confines of the system based on class contradictions. He writes: '*the welfare state has been celebrated throughout the post-war period as the political solution to societal contradictions*' - a '*peace formula of advanced capitalist democracies*'. However he finds the most significant aspect of the welfare

state to be *'to limit and mitigate class conflict, to balance the asymmetrical power relation of labour and capital, and thus to overcome the condition of disruptive struggle and contradiction that was the most prominent feature of pre-welfare state, or liberal, capitalism'* (Offe, 2000, p.67). Offe suggests that this is done by the control of the excesses of the market economy through a formula consisting of *'the explicit obligation of the state apparatus to provide assistance and support (either in money or in kind) to those citizens who suffer from specific needs and risks which are characteristic of the market society'* (ibid). This formula is then put into practice within the *'recognition of the formal role of labour unions in collective bargaining and the formulation of public policy'* (ibid).

Gough on the other hand sees state intervention as *'the use of state power to modify the reproduction of labour power and to maintain the non-working population in capitalist 'societies'* and attributes the welfare state to three sources: The desire to modify the quality of labour power in order to facilitate accumulation; the attempt to integrate the working class and the need to grant concessions in response to the demands of the labour movement (Gough, 1979, pp.44-5).

For some authors the amelioration of the conditions of labour is seen as a regressive one, a measure to hamper the struggle for change and in order to protect the interests of capital. Partly in recognition of this point, some literature takes the stance that organised labour didn't always welcome reforms and at early stages it was even hostile to them (Topalov, 1985), or even suggests that as in the case of late Victorian Britain, housing legislation was passed by parliament only when the housing market was over-supplied and not when it was in crisis, the intention being to reduce the supply of slum housing and drawing the rents up, in clear interest of property owners (Foster, 1979).

In addition, none of these remedial measures, argue authors like Miliband, succeed in eliminating inequality as this is an integral part of the capitalist system, which state policies continually perpetuate (Miliband, 1977).

Miliband (1973) suggests that state intervention has become such a major tool in safeguarding the interests of capital that no serious politician *'would now wish or be able to dismantle the main structure of state intervention; and indeed it is often the most capitalist-oriented politicians who see most clearly how essential that structure of intervention has become to the maintenance of capitalism'*.

The contradictory nature of the welfare state within a capitalist system, as Offe and O'Connor argue, makes them vulnerable to a series of deep-seated contradictions which make them politically unstable (cited in Pierson and Castles, 2000). This is consistent with the view that capitalist economies are driven by class inequalities (Pinker, 1981) and that the state is required to protect and sanction *'a set of institutions and social relationships necessary for the domination of the capitalist class'* (Offe, 1984, p.120).

Miliband refers to the key point of the level of intervention: *'sufficient differences endure about the desirable extent, the character and the incidence of intervention, to make the debate around such questions... a serious and meaningful one, upon whose outcome depends much which affects many aspects of public policy and many individual lives'* (Miliband, 1973, p.66).

This aspect becomes important in the argument for the role of the welfare state and the level of state intervention permissible. Miliband (1977) suggests *'with an electorate dominated by wage-workers- [the state] acts in the long-term interests of capital rather than labour'*. However, the view that the welfare state is mainly working in the service of capital does not sufficiently acknowledge the potential of social policy to improve the quality of the life of labour. While the improvements in the lives of the 'wage-workers' are implemented in the strategic interests of capital, it is difficult to argue that they do not impact on the condition of labour. Taking the view that the material means of production change the relations of production and social relations constitute these relations and are specific to different stages of historical development, it will be argued in the following chapter that the

betterment of the conditions for the wage-workers changes attitudes and therefore bears upon the overall relations between capital and labour. Moreover, assuming that it is within these parameters that the attributes of the system and the relations between labour and capital are structured, the corollary of Miliband's point is that capital has an interest in satisfying the needs of labour up to the point that it can function and be productive.

Mishra (1981) offers a different view on the value of piecemeal social policies in eradicating inequality and poverty, and writes: '*to label the extreme consequences of stratification as poverty and to seek a solution through piecemeal social measures is to accept the structural inequalities of capitalism*'. He is also critical of social policy which tries to keep the problem within the bounds of capitalism - such as prescribed by Marshall - under whatever pretext, the '*aspirations behind social policy being couched in such terms as "minimum of civilised existence" or a modicum of "social rights"*' (Marshall, cited in Mishra, 1981).

In answer to the question whether there is a role for the welfare state, Mishra identifies two existing models of welfare that are compatible with the structural inequalities of capitalism the residual (conservative) model and the institutional (liberal/social democratic) model. He proposes a structural welfare model, one that requires the institutionalisation of welfare as a central value but acknowledges that it cannot be achieved within the confines of capitalism (Mishra, 1981). In the empirical sense as Mishra suggests the state's social policy is concerned with amelioration within a framework of social and moral consensus.

Taylor-Gooby (1981) also offers a structuralist view of the problems within the system and indicates '*the way in which society is constituted tends to militate against the successful resolution of the sum total of serious and recurring recognized problems*', certain of which may in fact serve the interests of powerful groups. The argument is that the state supports measures that suit its strategic interests. In addition quite correctly Miliband observes that the relationship of dominance is perpetuated as dominant

ideologies are produced and reproduced by thwarting the dominated class from perceiving their true interests (Miliband, 1977).

However there is an indirect acknowledgement in the literature of the reverse relationship as well, when the dominated exert their power. Swenarton's (1981) analysis of the state's motivation for improving the quality of housing provision after World War I as its search for a guarantee against social unrest and revolution is a case in point and is supported by the documents of the time.

At a symbolic level, the provision of council housing can be interpreted as a concession granted by the capitalist class to deflect working-class demands for more fundamental change in the system of production (Clapham et al, 1990). Whether housing policy is seen as part of the social policy '*strategy for incorporating labour power into the wage-labour relations*' (Offe, 1984, p.98) or whether it is thought to represent, like the welfare state '*the use of state power to modify the reproduction of labour power and to maintain the non-working population in capitalist societies*' (Gough, 1979), it affects the lives of significant numbers, and in most cases it provides a service that would have been inaccessible to its recipients without state intervention.

The literature also shows a distinction made between the different classes of tenant in social housing. The existence of a classification of the recipients gives credence to Miliband's (1977) argument that as the state is concerned primarily with profit-making, in housing terms a profitable housing market takes priority over a just housing service. At this level of detail even greater inequality may be discovered. Clapham and Kintrea (1986) suggest that within the public sector, better-off tenants gain preferential access to the better parts of the stock. This, however, isn't limited to the public sector housing. Ermisch (1984) points out that within the private sector too this principle plays its part and higher-income owners benefit more than low-income groups through tax advantages. In this sense the system continues to benefit capital and those closest to it, however, the point that there are

benefits for those in need of low cost housing who cannot meet market prices is made.

Spink (2005) is probably one of few authors who does not attribute the change to any specific motivation: *'for the first time, commencing in 1948, the state took on the responsibility of limiting land owners' rights in the longer-term interests of the nation, though whether this intervention was to protect the individual from exploitation and/or disease, whether it was to ensure that employers had a supply of healthy labour, or whether it was to protect the law makers (from revolution or disease) is debatable* (Spink, in Somerville & Spriging, 2005).

Donnison and Ungerson (1982) attribute the changes to any of a number of factors – a reaction to the possibility of a health epidemic; part of rational planning to improve the living conditions in overcrowded cities, economically driven in order to ensure the labour force was fit to work well? Spinks goes on to consider some of the issues that concern this thesis. He asks: *'Was the post-war 'planning' movement, in which the state sought to limit or control the use of land whilst embarking on an expensive New Towns' programme: an attempt to preserve the environment (rational planning); a means to ensure that decent housing was available to all (ideological and economic); a way of expanding the role of the state (ideological and economic); a way of expanding the role of the state (ideological); a means to 'kick start' the economy (economic); an attempt to equalise the availability of industry and employment (rational planning); or a strategy to ensure labour was readily available to serve both the needs of capital and provide the services needed by the bourgeoisie (economic) (Spink, 2005)?*

The position of the Marxist authors reviewed above is well supported in terms of the strategic effect of state's actions and policies. However, there is no doubt there is a need for improving the conditions for labour. It is in this context that the ameliorative policies of social democratic states find meaning and must be deemed positive. These in themselves are not without their detractors. Social democratic policies find ascendancy with the

assistance of the political representatives of labour and with a mandate to improve the latter's living and working conditions. The following section reviews the issues of the state and social policy changes within the social democratic position as covered in the literature.

3.3 The State as Arbiter – The Social Democratic View

In the period after WWII a social democratic agenda gained mainstream currency. This is also one of the most written about periods associated with a consensus – one that lasted for close to two decades and affected a large geographic area. This post-war consensus which has been called the Keynesian Social-Democratic consensus by Jessop (1980) was not exclusive to Britain during this period. Many West European countries introduced social security provisions, and according to Wedderburn (1965) many of these could provide better benefits than did their British counterpart.

The crux of the social democratic view comes in Topalov's explanation for the state involvement. Topalov (1985) explains the actions taken to improve the condition of the poor to have been motivated by the reformers' realisation that repressing working class revolt was not enough but that they needed to be prevented in the first place. He also observed that *'everywhere the same kinds of tasks are identified as necessary to fulfil this aim'* and that *'social policy and employment laws reflect this dynamic'*. Topalov further explained the tactics for controlling the workforce: *'progressive employers will more effectively enforce their rule within the firm by "rationalising" production - that is by increasingly depriving producers of any control over the work process'* (Topalov, 1985, p.259). The control over the workforce is meant to be full and complete, therefore *'social reformers and the state will try to reshape workers' habits outside the workplace, especially through far-reaching changes in the urban environment'* (Topalov, 1985, cited in Harloe, p.20).

The discussions on social policy, mostly, have an underlying motive of the protection of the interests of capital, and among these, the social democratic

view has a greater acceptance of the status quo. The literature on the welfare state has in common the same divisions as that regarding the legitimacy or otherwise of state intervention with many arguing that the welfare state was not a positive phenomenon. As Topalov's views above suggest, Marxists considered it only softened the contradictions within the system. As will be seen later in this chapter, on the opposite end of the spectrum, marketers believed that the welfare state as the example of state intervention did not allow market forces to operate unhindered and hence distorted the natural dynamics of the economy.

At the level of popular expectations, however, after the Second World War, *'to a greater or lesser extent, liberal opinion converged upon the belief that the welfare of the people is ultimately the responsibility of the state'* (Morgan & Evans, 1993), the level to which it was permissible became an issue of much debate. Was the state to be charged with investing in the provision of services for one sector of society more than other and would this be affordable and justifiable?

The change in attitude was not sudden. Progressive intelligentsia, academics such as Maynard Keynes who had entered government played a significant role in changing the nature of political discourse at the time (Gladstone, 1993). As Harris (1990) suggests, in the post war years, as a result, central programming and planning had become the norm pushing *'those who questioned their validity into the eccentric minority position'*.

The welfare state has three major components in capitalist states, namely, pensions, education and health. Social housing is clearly another component of the welfare state, even though it has been referred to as the 'wobbly pillar' of the welfare state (Malpass, 2003) - a distinction made because of its difference with the other three major areas. The provision of housing has been quite different from other services included in the social services provided by the state. The nature of housing as real estate is part of the reason for this. It is generally acknowledged that *'housing as a commodity or good is very different from other goods'* (Torgsen, cited in Harloe, 1995, p.3)

and as Lansley (1979) points out, it *'hovers somewhat unhappily between the status of a social service and a private good'* (Lansley, 1979, p.17). Harloe considers housing in its social and economic context, and declares that *'Housing, just because it is a capitalist commodity which, in normal times, can be profitably provided to the majority of the population, has never been likely to become as decommodified a form of provision as those other forms for which there has been far less solvable demand - although, in the current era, these services are increasingly being commodified or 'marketised' in various ways* (Harloe, 1995).

The welfare state, sought to offer a system and organisation for the provision outside the private market of the three services for eligible members of the population in need. The private market provision of housing as a capitalist commodity is a key element in the capitalist organisation of society and the economy (Harloe, 1995) and has at its core the principle of private ownership. This characteristic of housing together with the fact that its production as a commodity requires industrial, property and financial capital, leads to the situation in which *'anything more than a limited and partial decommodification of housing is likely to provoke intense resistance'* (ibid, p.3). Harloe likens housing to food production, stating that it *'has provided large-scale and profitable opportunities for capitalism in ways that have not been nearly so evident (or took longer to develop) in the other sphere of provision for human needs'* (ibid, Harloe, 1995).

Housing has become a key political issue at specific periods. The shortage and standards of social housing were areas of public concern and of political posturing at times. The need of the population for adequate housing created a political demand. Housing would draw the attention of those in power partly because better housing would help secure a healthy workforce for the economic system.

Within the overall field of welfare state, the significance of mass social housing is also emphasised by Harloe (1995), as a useful tool to reconstruct and restructure the capitalist economy and as *'an element in the wider*

expansion of the welfare state and a part of the post-war settlement between labour and capital (ibid).

Linking with the acceptance of the welfare state, Titmuss observed that after the war *'solidaristic and statist social policies'* had become the norm, and the *'public attitudes became more egalitarian during the latter period'* and maintained that this led to *'dramatic changes in social policy'* (Titmuss, 1950, cited in Smith, 1986). This shift in attitudes is critical to the subsequent social and housing policies, even if the nature of the class system had not changed. Digby's (1989) reminder that food rationing and indiscriminate bombing *'may have democratised hardship, fostering a greater sense of social cohesion... but the strength of class attitudes and the existence of social discussions should not be underestimated'* holds true, but it may be argued that the new expectations and acceptance of a kind of norm would have changed the attitudes towards the legitimacy of everyone's share from the public purse.

At the same time there is evidence that those most affected by the war – those who fought it – were acutely aware of the sacrifices they were making for little certain return. When, on June 1944, Churchill invited the Health Minister, Aneurin Bevan the Minister in charge of housing to accompany him to Portsmouth to say farewell to some of the troops who were due to take part in what became known as the D-Day landings, they asked what the return for their sacrifices would be. Bevan later said: *'They were going off to face this terrific battle with great hearts and great courage. The one question they put to me as I went through their ranks was: "Ernie, when we have done this job for you are we going back on the dole?"... Both the Prime Minister and I answered: 'No, you are not'* (Timmins, 1996). There was emerging an expectation and an undertaking to balance the sacrifices made by the working class with a share of the prosperity in the post-war society.

The entitlement of this sector of the society was assumed to be the case as was the need for an acceptable quality of services or goods to which they were entitled. In charge of the post-war housing policy, Aneurin Bevan

expressed where he thought the balance should lay between the requirements of quality and mix of new homes against their quantity in his statement that: *'We shall be judged for a year or two by the number of houses we build. We shall be judged in ten years' time by the type of houses we build'* (Foot, 1973 cited in Timmins, 1996).

In July 1948, a universal health care service was founded against much opposition and pessimism from professionals. The subsequent popularity of the National Health Service is testimony to the correctness and value of the policy. While attributed to socialist tendencies the fact is that it emerged out of a period when social democratic policies were generally in ascendancy. The universal education system with a number of qualifications was also in keeping with the trend. The idea of making a service universally available was not totally new, although its implementation in Britain was. Briggs links the social policies that focused on averting poverty to a wish to resolve the ills of the society. Linking the role of the state in providing necessary services, the work of nineteenth century sociologist Charles Booth as well as Joseph Rowntree may be considered. Briggs believes this position to have led to a *'fresh impetus to the general adoption of the policy of securing to every individual, as the very basis of his life and work, a prescribed natural minimum of the requisites for efficient parenthood and citizenship'* (Briggs, 2000, p.26). In Rowntree's view, *'the roots of poverty were to be found not in individual irresponsibility or incapacity but in social maladjustment'* (cited in Briggs, 2000, p.26). A demand for state action was soon focused on *'the rights of citizenship, to equality as well as security'* (ibid, p.26). Irrespective of the focus of the policy in favour of one group at a specific period, the general effect of a social democratic social policy is that of creating a 'safety-net' for the low wage-earner and the less well-off and providing more opportunities for raising their standards of living.

As was the case with the influence of Keynes and Haye, the discussion on social policy and its effects on housing is not complete without a reference to the idea of The Third Way as conceptualized by Anthony Giddens (1998)

and similar ideas (Hutton, 1996) proposing a new social democratic agenda. The Third Way which was said to have '*heralded the arrival of a second grand formula for the good post-industrial society*' succeeded in '*catching the mood of the times*' (Esping- Andersen, 2003, p.3). It retained some of the more popular aspects of neo-liberalism, for example, its stress on individual responsibility and a competitive reward structure, while fusing them with public responsibility (ibid). Although the Third Way is intended to balance the market with the state's responsibilities and to enable the citizens to satisfy their welfare needs within the market, in its promotion of the market as the default mechanism for provision of services, it over-rides the assumption of universal social security, moving it towards income-tested assistance, a policy adopted by the Conservative Party, and pursued by the Labour Party in the guise of the Third Way. This approach negates the principles of solidarity and the idea that '*the coincidence of individual and societal welfare may be regarded as a 'bottom-line*' (Esping- Andersen, 2003) criterion of social justice. Welfare is no longer seen as a social investment and targeting is still the dominant form of provision of state contributions.

The literature showed that the state intervenes in the provision of social services, motivated by self interest and under pressure from those in need of the relevant services or goods. In any era, the balance of the pressures and the interests of the state determine the social policies. This thesis seeks to show that these policies reflect and are influenced by the social values that come to dominate at any time due to the social, political and economic issues and to show that these values go on to determine the share and role of the individuals within the whole of the society. Given that the two diametrically opposed policy approaches towards the distribution of goods and services from the public purse, are universalism and selectivism, the background and effect of these approaches on services is considered in this chapter. What is sought is reference to this issue in the literature on whether social policies and in their wake, housing policies, are based on a presumption of the equality of all members of the society in their entitlement

to the social goods and services or whether the state highlights selected groups as different and in need of assistance – the two different approaches that separate universalism from selectivism.

3.4 State as Facilitator for the Market – The Neo-liberal View

While social democratic ideas were based on an assumption of a duty for the state to intervene to moderate the excess of inequality in the capitalist state, a large group of strident intellectuals formulated and publicized ideas based on the validation of that inequality as a natural and healthy phenomenon in the capitalist system, as the market and not the state would be the regulator of the system. Among these were Anthony Fisher (founder of the Institute for Economic Affairs- IEA) and Ralph Harris (Head of the Institute) and Arthur Seldon who joined IEA later. The Chicago based intellectual Milton Friedman was another influential figure of the neo-liberal tendency, arguing that the government had to control inflation by controlling the flow of money. These intellectuals were later followed by politicians such as Enoch Powell and Keith Joseph and Norman Tebbit and Cecil Parkinson among others, serving under Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

In the political arena, a reaction against government control and a celebration of laissez-faire capitalism dominated, represented in the politics of Margaret Thatcher in post-1979 Britain and Ronald Reagan, in the United States of America. These views which were to be termed neo-liberal started being translated into policies in the 1980s and have continued to influence social policy since. Hayek was Thatcher's intellectual mentor and received the Medal of Freedom from George Bush (Hoover, 2003). Margaret Thatcher gave currency to the idea of the significance of the market with great force, just as earlier in the 20th century other worldviews had currency. Thus, in the latter years of the century what had been a social democratic consensus following the War (WWII) became marginalised and finally abandoned. Drawing a parallel with that and based on interviews with 10% of the

Members of Parliament (in 2006), Bochel and Defty (2007) suggest that a '*new liberal consensus*' has emerged in the post-1980s years. The effects of the shifts in social policies in general and standards in social housing in particular will be reviewed here.

Simplistically but poignantly, the economist Milton Friedman termed the decades 1950s through to the 1970s as the "age of Keynes", and the remainder of the century as the "age of Hayek" (cited in Hoover, 2003), both having been among the most influential figures of the twentieth century.

Literature finds historical continuity in this trend as it did with social democratic thought. Explaining the ideological basis of social democratic ideas, Wright (1984) points out that as in the Fabian tradition, '*welfare was generally associated with the concept of equality and equality with socialism*' albeit through '*divergent approaches and definitions*' (Wright, 1984, p.81). This was in contrast to the language of 'opportunity' and 'choice' that marked the neo-liberal approach. Just as Hayek, Harris and Seldon argued for the market's freedom to regulate the economy, Durbin, Crossland, Tawney, Beveridge, Bevan and Keynes argued for a more re-distributive system. Against the view of state intervention and arguing for the lowest limit for this intervention were the marketers who questioned '*the efficacy and morality of governments intervening in economic and social policy*' (Harris, 1981 cited in Sullivan 1996, p.30). Harloe (1995) identifies a number of strands – those that deal with the connection between welfare state and economic growth (Wilensky and Lebeaux, 1958), with industrialisation, spread of democracy, citizenship rights (Marshall 1963) and those concerning modernisation (Flora and Alber, 1981), however the most significant fault lines remain with the social democratic and neo-liberal approach as far as the distribution of resources and the definition of their recipients is concerned.

The neo-liberal view qualifies equality through the notion of ownership of material possessions and choice without acknowledging the limitations on each of these in real life. Machan declares that we are all equally in charge of our lives and have equal liberty to '*obtain and keep valuable stuff*'

(Machan, 2003, cited in Spriging, 2005, p.56). Liberal democratic or social democratic social policy, according to Spriging regarded social justice as a means of ameliorating inequalities rather than eradicating them, because, Spriging argues: when Marx and Engels call for a society in which the share of the people would be determined '*from each according to his means and to each according to his needs*', '*clearly required the meeting of material needs as a minimum*' with the implication that needs differ from individual to individual (Spriging, 2005, p. 57).

The arguments for freedom of choice of the individual put forward by the marketers are far less compelling when the validity of the terms in practice is questioned. One significant point of divergence between the neo-liberal marketers and the proponents of the social democratic policy is the idea of the 'individual' versus the 'collective' – the 'social'. In this area falls part of the argument for universalism against targeted policies. The 1980s were the years of dominance of market driven policies. In order to energise the market, state controls were lessened or totally removed. De-regulation became a powerful tool to allow free reign to the market. This effort began most forcefully with housing and started encroaching on the more stable and long-standing facets of the universalist welfare state in the country, namely with education and later the National Health Service being made to enter market relations.

With the removal of local government (local authorities) from development of new social housing and a number of other measures mentioned in the previous chapters, residualisation of council housing was put firmly on the political agenda in the 1980s (Pierson and Castles, 2000). The Conservative government that came to power in 1979 listed the following aims with regard to housing:

- To increase individual freedom of choice and sense of personal opportunity – the expansion of opportunities of home ownership, claiming to make the dreams of many people to come true.
- Continuing improvement in quality of housing.

- Greater value for money (to be achieved by removing restraints on private house builders).
- Better use of resources, by concentrating them where housing needs are most acute. (cited in Pierson and Castles, 2000).

3.5 Ideology and Social Values

One issue in the literature that may be said to define the fault line between different views is the question: why should the state intervene; to what extent and at whom should it direct its intervention? The answer to these questions lies in the assumed entitlement of those involved. The literature on the years of (social democratic) consensus after the Second World War stresses the significance of solidarity and a sense of citizenship. The idea of citizenship implies a common and shared status – an equal status for all citizens. The corollary of this is that every citizen will have the same entitlement to the shares from the public purse.

In contrast, the neo-liberal idea of everyone being in essence a buyer in the market place is based on the premise of diverse purchasing powers. The idea of freedom to choose what service one purchases is an attractive one but there is a precondition for its effectiveness - the existence of choice. However, the detail of what is available in the market and the lack of purchasing power of many, suggests that the idea of freedom is a false one.

A contradiction in the position of marketers is the fact that although they reject the state's intervention in the economy and provision of goods and services, they do see a central role for the state in making provisions for facilitating the markets' functioning. While the neo-liberal position is against state expenditure for public services, its reliance on de-regulation of the labour market means that there is a need for unemployed to provide 'flexibility' within the market. The record of public expenditure during the 1980s and early 1990s showed that the public expenditure had not dropped.

In terms of the scale of the government's intervention, Briggs (2000) observes: *'there has been a tendency for working-class pressures to lead to greater state intervention'* (in comparison with other European countries). Importantly, by the Second World War the intervention had moved *'from "minima" to "optima", at least in relation to certain specified services, and it made all residual paternalisms seem utterly inadequate and increasingly archaic'* (Briggs, 2000, p.29). The standards deemed to be acceptable in services or goods had much to do with the definitions of their recipients. Peacock (1960) attributes the extent to which social services had been shaped on the *'norms of behaviour expected by one class from another'* (Peacock, 1960 cited in Briggs, 2000). The extent of this assistance during the 1950s was carefully considered by the Party in power. Writing about the Conservative Party's position in the 1950s, Glennerster makes the point about the limit of assistance that would be acceptable to the Party, pointing out their concern that *'social services were becoming a way to redistribute wealth and not merely a means to relieve destitution and misfortune, it was argued'* and that *'to relieve poverty was legitimate. To go further was not'* (Glennerster, 1995).

The considerations of the welfare state show over and over again the significance of the definition of its recipients. Answering the question whether in determining the share of the public purse a distinction is made between different classes, it is possible to take Topalov's (1985) suggestion that the workers were classified into different groupings so that each could be treated differently and thus controlled more effectively. Perhaps because of this organised labour didn't always welcome reforms and at the early stages it was even hostile to them. Topalov (1985) gave a comprehensive list of the way workers were classified: *'skilled, deskilled, or unskilled; permanent or casual; factory, workshop or home working; native or immigrant; poor to be relieved or outcasts to be locked up'*. He then argued that in order to give credence to these classification, a set of *'moral tendencies'* or cultural systems would need to accompany the material conditions that define them

in order to discriminate between three populations: adapted workers and undeserving poor and those who may be saved or civilised who occupy the space between them. The overall effect being that: *'Repressive policies deal with outcasts who are to be if possible eliminated, driven into workhouses or ousted through immigration'* with reform policies mainly *'targeted towards those who might be reshaped so as to comply with the norms of a swiftly changing industrial capitalism'* (Topalov, 1985, p.260 cited in Harloe, 1995).

While Topalov sees the class interests of the ruling class as paramount in social policies, it is possible to detect elements of social policy that go beyond this. In the broader sense of the social dynamics, the idea of the *'common purpose'* attributed to the changes of social policy in the period just after the two World Wars, may be taken as an engine of change in the direction of progress, both in terms of bridging the gap in material wealth and in terms of civil rights. The idea of such a common purpose suggests the assumption of common values and solidarity. The definition of these characteristics attributed to specific periods when more solidaristic or even universalist policies were dominant suggests a certain kind of value judgment as well as political position emanating from political ideology. This thesis will search for a correlation between social policy and the social values that are reflected within them.

It is suggested that around a particular minimum (i.e. that gauged necessary to sustain the workforce physically and to win its support ideologically) the state under democratic capitalism will always aim to limit rather than expand welfare expenditure. Moreover, Sullivan (1996) points out that when capital accumulation and 'market provisioning' take priority, the ideals of egalitarianism and the redistribution of wealth are considered as defunct, thus securing the conditions for capitalism (and the capitalist state) to thrive. This is reflected in the restricted financing and selective targeting of social policy. However, the history of changes in social policy and the literature, show that there are times when the state makes greater provisions and for

greater spectrum of recipients. What is it that prompts and sustains this difference?

In all the decisions that the state makes a degree of value-judgment is involved – one that this thesis argues later, reflects the social values of those in power and the society in general – whether these concern the sanitation laws and health regulations or they generally regulate the environment and standards of housing for the poor. In order to find the attributes of the time when the greatest change in social policy occurs this chapter considers the way literature covers issues that provoke a call for state action at times of their most acute expression. For instance, with reference to the issue of poverty, and its structural nature,

Just as sustainability has been a recurring theme in the post millennium years, a number of concepts were dominant in the preceding decades. For the second part of the twentieth century, the discourse has been dominated variously by concepts ranging from solidarity, one-nation, citizenship, affordability, sustainability, accessibility among others. The definition of each provides an insight into the attitude of the policy makers and to an extent, the society. These are reflected in policy documents, speeches, minutes of meetings and the like. This thesis argues that within the general dynamics of the capitalist system, the two competing views that in the broadest sense these cover the spectrum between universalism and selectivism (targeting), find expression in policies and assertions regarding values and ideology.

While the notion of ideology is to be viewed as different from the notion of political or welfare doctrines, such as liberalism, Marxism, socialism, and nationalism, the former helps define the latter; and it is such doctrines that define specific politics, whatever the motivation of the state may be. Within the parameters of social policy, with the most directly influential ideologies in Britain being Conservatism, Liberalism, Social Democracy, and Socialism, the role of the state has been redefined depending on which of these tendencies has dominated the political thought at any one time. However, given the tendencies within this system, it might be said that the policies of

the governing political Parties in Britain have in some way reflected the broader tendencies albeit as a function of the balance of contradicting forces within the capitalist system. The political decisions are a function of the above as well. As Jones (1991) suggests, '*human nature, the purpose of political activity and the nature of economic activity*' form the base of changes resulting from political ideologies (Jones, 1991, p.101). Political positions are said to stem from different perceptions or what might be called value systems. Jones describes the most common perception of the difference between the poles in the political spectrum when he suggests: '*socialism sees people as co-operative and altruistic while classical liberalism sees them as selfish and individualistic*', and that '*stemming from their critique, they offer a vision of the future – the ideal society which its followers should strive to achieve*' (ibid). The notion of the ideal society bears heavily on much of the debate about social policy.

The way the notion of the ideal society features in policy formulations or policy statements is not always obvious. Within the partisan politics of Britain, for years there was a routine of one political party giving way to the main opposition party after having served one term. This change of ruling party did not necessarily signal a shift in all policies. For a number of years there was a general consensus on a number of issues. This is especially said of the years in the 1950s. The main area of agreement appeared to be issues concerning welfare. A consensus had emerged regarding the need for the state to intervene in the provision of a number of services.

Mishra (1981) deals with a number of concepts involved in welfare; namely what he terms the normative issues, such as social justice, equality, community and the like. He points out that '*interventionism, whether of the Marxian or pragmatic kind, presupposes value judgments ... and that 'almost by definition, any form of debate on policy, over the choice of ends and means for instance, cannot be value-free...'*' Mishra considered the significance of the position of those involved in the provision of welfare and refers to Pinker's citing of the '*debate over residual and institutional models*

of social policy' - central to social administration – as an example that the protagonists come clean with their value judgments. How issues are decided and what issues are excluded from reaching the decision-making stage, is relevant. Mishra suggests that concepts can never be presumed 'innocent'. Regarding the issue of poverty, for example, he points out that much of recent research into the distribution of wealth and welfare has been associated with the attempt to map the contour of poverty and that it *'takes more than just occasional statements of the point to remember that their conditions are extreme manifestations of the wider class-structured pattern of inequality in economy and society at large'* (Mishra, 1981).

In capitalist-democratic regimes, the state is able to obtain consent in circumstances of crisis. On the one hand the state in these regimes is required to meet a variety of popular expectations, on the other it is also required to meet the needs and demands of capital. It is argued that the growing incompatibility of these requirements produces a *'crisis of legitimation'* which is not readily resolved within the framework of capitalist-democratic regimes (Miliband, 2001). Beside legitimation, another relevant concept is that of 'common sense'. To Gramsci, many elements in popular common sense contributed to people's subordination by making situations of inequality and oppression appear to them as natural and unchangeable. Nevertheless, here, common sense is not thought of as *'false consciousness'* or as ideology in a merely negative sense. While it is contradictory – it is considered to contain elements of truth as well.

This thesis contends that social values are reflected in the most current and dominant concepts at any one time. Pierre Lemieux states that there is no value-free concept of social welfare, and the value implicit in public policies are the values of certain individuals (the ones who rule the state); *'in truth'* he states *'the very idea that the state should try to maximise social welfare is itself a value judgement and nothing more'* (Lemieux, 2006). These value judgements, however, begin to define the ideas and policies of any one time. In another study, Cowan & Marsh (2004) find that although the foremost

attraction of living in Gated communities was access to good quality schools, its distinguishing features shaped and signalled social status and made it seem as a landscape of social and economic opportunity. The attitude towards mass-housing and its quality also had a strong connection to its social status by the state and its inhabitants.

The attitudes and value systems appear in a variety of forms in the literature. At times the use of the term ideology is used to define such social values. Several American sociologists in the 1950s and 1960s identified ideology as a system of values and beliefs that increase social cohesion in society for the benefit of all. Parson, for example, defines ideology as '*a system of beliefs, held in common by members of a collectivity...a system of ideas which is oriented to the evaluative integration of the collectivity*' (Parsons, 1951, p.349). By mid-twentieth century the concept had changed from its origins -coined by de Tracy (1797) which defined ideology as a body of impartial, empirical knowledge – had been re-defined with a focus on the class bias of such belief and value systems as in Marx and later as a systems of collective beliefs (Parsons, 1951).

The notion of ideology as the driving force of political action is explored in Marxist classics. Here the classical conception put forward by Marx and Engels is altered and ideology no longer represents the ideas of the ruling class, but becomes a framework for political action. The term becomes useable to relate not only to describe the dominant class's means of asserting control but gains the role of a tool, a belief or value system that guides action. The dominant ideology in any socio-economic formation is important, whether it is taken as the state's values dominating any period and in service of the interests of the ruling class or as values and positions that may be adopted by the society in general or in conflict with it.

Freeden (1996) declares "*ultimately, ideologies are configurations of de-contested meanings of political concepts*" and observes that ideologies try to settle contests over meanings, i.e. it will link together a particular conception of human nature, a particular conception of social structure, of justice, of

liberty, of authority, etc. “*This is what liberty means, and that is what justice means,*” (Hoover, 2003). Political ideologies and social policies define these concepts and in the process facilitate their own survival.

One common usage of the notion of ideology today is a set of values and beliefs held by individuals, groups and societies that influences their conduct. This is a neutral kind of definition which leaves open the question of whose values dominate society and who benefits most from their application.

Social policy, tainted with the ideology of the political masters, became the testing ground of different ideological points of view and value-systems. As mentioned earlier, the most acute forum for the debate and confrontation between the different ideologies was the arena of public services and foremost among them the welfare state. Moreover, welfare ideology was value-laden as in part it had to do with the notion of the ideal type of society. It related to a template of the society of the future and what methods or processes are necessary to attain this ideal type of society (George and Wilding, 1993).

3.6 Citizenship, Equality and Social Justice Versus Market, Freedom and Choice

The notion of social rights is an important one in determining every citizen's entitlement and their share from the public purse. It is in the belief and pursuit of this entitlement of all citizens to an equal share of the basic necessities that universalist policies aim to ‘*minimise the inequality of living standards*’ and the ‘*legitimate expectations*’ that result from that inequality of income (ibid, Lowe, 1999, p.19). The belief in the equality of entitlement of all citizens is central to this argument and this period. This view was neither constant nor all-encompassing. It was promoted and complied with to varying degrees and by a varying constituency. However, its existence and influence was remarkable and left a lasting impression on the social policy map of the twentieth century.

As will be seen later in the analysis of Party manifestos, the Conservative Party appealed to be regarded as the Party of the whole nation and played down their representation of the class interests of capital. The ideological and theoretical background to this position has been touched upon by Smits (2004) when she writes that John Stuart Mill was the '*first liberal to see the incompatibility between claims of equal human development and existing class-based inequalities of power and wealth*' and attributed a dislike '*for government, on the basis of single class interests*' to Mill and later liberals. Smits also argues that the concept of individuality which was introduced into British liberal thought by Mill also had incorporated into it, the Hegelian vision of the state through the works of T.H. Green (Smits, 2004, p.315). However according to Green '*individuals could realize their potentialities only within a social context in which they were guaranteed liberty*' (Smits, 2004, p.315). This contradiction between the role of the social and the individual, however, was resolved by neo-liberal ideologues in favour of the individual and at the complete negation of the social. This was well demonstrated in Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's pronouncement that there is no such thing as society.

Considering the attitudes towards the welfare state as a valid state policy, the research by Mau (2000) compared the attitudes in Britain, East and West Germany and found that in the British welfare state, redistribution is a contested policy principle and that the predominant ideological underpinning of the welfare policies was '*committed to the supremacy of the commodity logic and sees inequality as a function of free market relations, and that the market allows the creation of wealth which in turn filters down to the lower sections of society*' (Mau, 2000). From this view the ethic of equalization hinders market productivity (Szirmai, 1986, p.103, cited in Mau). Mau believes that on this issue, the British society is divided along status differences, and finds 'a significant attitudinal gap' that indicated clear class differences. However, in its conclusion, Mau's study found that the British were generally in favour of the welfare state and that '*the British social*

attitudes have resisted the ideological confrontation of the anti-welfare ideology of the New Right and asserted that the beliefs about the role of the state *'remained relatively robust even in the face of powerful attacks of the anti-collectivists'* (ibid).

The social democratic view of welfare state has a basic notion of the value of all members of the society – one inherent in the idea of citizenship. Together with this comes the idea of the entitlement of all citizens to meeting what is their basic need to socially acceptable standards. Entwined with the notion of need is that of equality and citizenship. The writings on welfare policies, show many different interpretations of these concepts. The literature shows a varied interpretation of concepts and values associated with this and a varied commitment to its application. Marshal (1950) formulated a *'view of citizenship described in three fields of rights established between the state and its subjects which promote a formalized system of equality: legal rights - equality before the law; political rights - universal suffrage; and social rights - universal access to welfare benefits and services'*. As Sennett observed, T.H. Marshall attributed (in 1950) to the young welfare state the objective of replacing the *'differential status, associated with class, function and family ... by the single uniform status of citizenship'* (Sennett, 2003). With this status should have come equal access, however, the post-war welfare state fell short of establishing universal access. It is suggested that in that period, *'universalism of citizenship was deeply conditional and did not fully extend to all sections of the population and eligibility depended on gender, age, infirmity and race - the 'alien' non-citizen'* (Cochrane, Clarks & Gewritz, 2001, p.42).

The definitions of the citizen as the constituent part of society are all historical and products of their time, and as such they are fluid and changeable. It may be said that the citizen's needs when applied to the different aspects of an individual's and society's life indicate the values of that society. There is criticism that is leveled at discrimination based on gender, race and ethnicity (Williams, 1989; Morris et al, 1993). With the

premise that in the broadest sense the main contradiction within the capitalist state is that between labour – in all its forms – and capital, within this largest classification, universalist policies – despite being relative – redefined need and entitlement on the basis of greater equality within the citizens.

Equality, citizenship and social justice had become ideological engines of change. While all these notions are interpreted or defined differently by different authors, they all share a fundamental acceptance of a universal right to a notional standard of life. As early as in 1931, Tawney wrote: *‘to criticise inequality and to desire equality is not, as is sometimes suggested, to cherish the romantic illusion that men are equal in character and intelligence. It is to hold that, while their natural endowments differ profoundly, it is the mark of a civilised society to aim at eliminating such inequalities as have their source, not in individual differences but in [social] organisation’* (Tawney, 1931, cited in Sennett, 2003). There is an idea of an ideal society present here.

Constructing a theory of justice is the criterion chosen as appropriate for determining a distribution. Three major criteria are usually offered: equality, merit and need. Goodwin (1999) explains how since the 18th century, equality has been a presumption in theories of justice, that all individuals are equally deserving unless proved otherwise. However, a belief in equality did not necessarily lead to an egalitarian view. She explains that while an egalitarian theory of justice would consider each individual to deserve as much as the next because of her equal humanity, theories of justice based on merit or desert justify differential rewards (Goodwin, 1999, p.377). The liberal theory of justice is on the other hand, based on equality of opportunity. The criteria of merit and need become therefore diametrically opposed, relating to liberal and socialist theories respectively (ibid). The work of influential academics and economists may be said to have held sway in forming opinion and affecting policy change. Even though T.H. Marshall

accepted inequality in society, he shared the fundamentals of the need for some welfare provision (Marshall & Bottomore, 1992).

There is a long way from a demand for redistribution of wealth and access to vital services and one that was articulated in terms of universality. The discourse about justice and seeing social policy as a means of making the society a fair one increased in later 1940s with the debate about the role of the welfare state. Deacon (1995) considers the wish to reduce inequality as central to social welfare policies. Summarising the variety of views regarding state intervention in the form of social security, Deacon declares that '*debates about social security are ultimately debates about values*', and that these values relate to the primacy of the wish to reduce social inequality and strengthen the sense of community and common good, or on the opposite side of the spectrum to aim solely for the reinforcement of personal freedom and responsibility.

Deacon's view contrasted with that of Marshall who viewed citizenship as a significant component of state policy, comprising of civil, political and social elements. Social citizenship in turn meant : "*The whole range from the right of a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilised being according to the standards prevailing in the society*"; and the definition of citizenship itself is clear to him. It is '*a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed. There is no universal principle that determines what those rights and duties shall be, but societies in which citizenship is a developing institution create an image of an ideal citizenship against which achievements can be measured and towards which aspirations can be directed*' (Marshall, 1950). Similar sentiments are repeated by other authors. As Wicks puts it universalism was based on the assumption that '*as a general principle, we construct social policies for all citizens, then all citizens have an interest. They are utilised by all on a*

regular basis and can be defended by all. They are forces for unity and solidarity' (Wicks, 1995).

The level of every citizen's share from the public purse was the next arena of debate. In social policy, means testing became the means of control of the level of provision and the means of identifying the recipients of any benefits. This policy and mechanism was later adapted into 'targeted' policies.

The literature on what prompts change show that social values change in time. George and Wilding (1994) examine the relationship between dominant ideologies and the welfare state and find that the political thoughts that have adopted specific ideologies to justify or formulate specific approaches towards the provision of welfare have been varied in detail but the literature on welfare policies and prescriptions for such policies stem broadly from either the left or right of the political spectrum, it is either universalist, although this can vary according to the degrees of state intervention required, or it is targeted.

Faulks considers the repercussions of the idea of citizenship by observing that citizenship *'implies a sense of inclusion into the wider community'* and is *'incompatible with domination'* (Faulks 2000, cited in Spriging 2005). Faulks also claims that: *'Since all citizenship rights involve the distribution of resources, and because obligations are exercised within a societal context, any discussion of citizenship is also a consideration of power. If society fails to provide the necessary resources to sustain rights [...] rights become a sham'* (ibid).

Meanwhile using socialist definition of social justice Vincent (1995) explains the significance of the concept of *'starting-gates'*. Vincent points out: *'socialism has been predominantly associated with achieving the goal of equality in society. The outcomes of human endeavours should not give rise to inequality [that constitutes injustice]. Socialism has also advocated the idea that equality can be a condition or opportunity for the development of human beings, what is now sometimes referred to as a 'starting-gate'*

equality. Without a basic minimum of educational, health and welfare conditions as a point of departure, individuals cannot develop their potentialities and powers (Vincent 1995, p.103). These ideas are closely linked to the notion of fairness and justice – a significant (social) value.

Spriging considers that *'being treated equally as a citizen remains fundamental [here] even though there need not be material equality'*. While Rawl (1999) elaborates on the significance of having a 'fair' share in the society: *'The basis for self-respect in a just society is not then one's income share but the publicly affirmed distribution of fundamental rights and liberties'*. The individual's status as a member of the society is being defined by what the latter confers on the former. *'This distribution being equal, everyone has a similar and secure status when they meet to conduct the common affairs of the wider society. [Acknowledging less than equal liberty] ...would also have the effect of publicly establishing their inferiority as defined by the basic structure of society... In a well-ordered society then self-respect is secured by the public affirmation of the status of equal citizenship for all* (Rawls, 1999, pp.477-8). Relating the concept of equality and the state, Spriging observes, *'equality of citizenship is one of the social goods the state 'distributes' and protects.*

The concepts of equality, social justice and citizenship reviewed in relation to social policies come into play in the adoption of housing policies too, as do the resultant universalist or targeted approach in the distribution and determination of the quality of dwellings and their environment. Housing policy is very much a reflection of the broader social policy. It has even been termed a 'site' for social justice considerations both as process and outcome, and according to Spriging (2005) it reveals *'one of the areas of greatest social inequality and injustice'*. In housing policy, injustice becomes evident in substandard housing, segregated housing and housing that reduces life chances (such as health, opportunity and wealth) and very importantly it is in housing that a *'second-class tenure is evident that throws into relief excluded citizens, with anti-social behaviour orders'* (ibid) in more recent years.

The quality of social housing begins to define its recipients and vice versa. When they are thought to deserve a lower status, their housing becomes separate from mainstream as well. At the 1928 International Housing and Town Planning Congress (IFHTP) for example, it was clear that it was the working poor in jobs that were eligible for state housing as they could pay the rent (IFHTP, 1928). The recipients of state benefits during much of the history of state intervention were the so-called aristocracy of labour, a deserving poor or moderately deserving poor (Kennet & Forrest, 2003).

In determining socially acceptable services – in the case of housing, it is necessary to assess the need for a home and how the acceptable standards of a home are defined in a society – how poor can a dwelling be before there is a need for intervention to raise its standard? What is the acceptable standard of housing for those who cannot purchase their homes from the market? First, the position of social housing within the welfare state is reviewed.

There is little doubt about the ideological significance of certain policy decisions. Regarding the housing policies to ensue in the 1980s, Spink refers to the ‘right-to-buy’ policy as the most potent policy during the eighties and as the fruit of the “*Conservative party’s ideological goals of ‘allowing people to share in the wealth of the nation’ and enabling tenants to ‘join a property-owning democracy’*”. The result of this policy was merely the transfer of publicly owned dwellings into private ownership, not any improvement in the housing stock, whether from the point of view of quality or increase in numbers (Spink, 2005, p.40).

Comparing the social and political conditions that prevailed at times of significant change in housing policy in the first decades of the twentieth century, Harloe (1995) traces intervention by liberal capitalism in housing. Harloe observes that after 1918, ‘*societal crisis did not lead in most cases to a reversion to mass social housing programmes*’ (Harloe, 1995, p.9). He attributes this to the unmet housing needs in the Depression years not having had as destabilising an effect on capitalist economies as the

conditions after 1918 had. Harloe also pointed out that unemployment was a far more important issue and that developments in social housing provision were frequently affected by this fact (ibid) and concluded '*a reversion to mass provision is likely to occur only if these unmet needs pose some significant problems for the emergent social structure of accumulation*', as occurred in the immediate years after 1918, and WWII but not in 1930s (ibid).

Whatever the reason for the state's intervention policies and their implementation, create a norm, and with it a set of expectations and values, however changeable and transient these may be. A study of the dominant expectations whether in terms of the responsibilities of the state, the worth of the society of the individual as a citizen or the general expectations of the society, becomes a set of socially defined values. The policies in the years after the war were to a great extent affected by the expectations that the state's involvement in provision of a number of goods and services had created. Gladstone (1995) and Hennessey (1993) observed that the first six years after the war were critical in that policies including the dropping of the commitment to full employment as a political and social aspiration and '*shedding universality of welfare provision, the health service apart, as the principle of welfare across the board was one of the critical benchmarks which was difficult to cross then and even now*'. Morgan and Evans (1993) on the other hand believed that '*to a greater or lesser extent, liberal opinion converged upon the belief that the welfare of the people is ultimately the responsibility of the state*'.

The acceptance of the need for higher quality housing for the poor meant that the quality of all housing would be raised. The working class were no longer expected to only survive in dwellings that were at best adequate, but could enjoy a set of socially acceptable standards that applied to a much larger part of the society. The beginnings of the idea of universal access to certain provision meant that the quality would have to be such that it would be acceptable to a larger social group than the working class alone.

In order to set universal standards, it is helpful to clarify the notional poverty line at times arbitrary, which helps define it. In a study carried out in the 1950s, Abel-Smith and Townsend questioned this arbitrariness. The significance of the line is that as it must be set in relation to the times, as must all standards, at times of better national economic performance and prosperity everyone's share would be affected.

Universalism draws on the notion of equality of access for all. Its applicability to everyone engenders a sense of solidarity and identity among its recipients.

In tune with the ethos of the welfare state and with a forward looking acceptance of the needs, expectations and potential of the new society – the new world – the recommendations of the Parker Morris committee (1961) were very much in line with universalist values. The report's recommendations for standards in social housing were such that they would suit the needs of most if not all families, irrespective of their class, not only geared towards the needs of the poor.

It is possible to relate universalism to the predominance of the modernist paradigm. The sense of universal values applicable to everyone and every aspect of life was an integral part of modernism. The paradigm shift from modernist to postmodernist may explain the shift from universalist to a particularist view of the world. In social policy this paradigm shift was translated into a selectivist policy. Although the universalist policies corresponded to the dominance of the social democratic agenda, the reverse does not necessarily follow that the correspondence of universalism with the modernist agenda would imply that the selectivist model would correspond to all postmodernist views. The authors who try to explain aspects of postmodernist thought with a view and to critique the capitalist system (Harvey, Jameson) are examples of this. While the paradigms modernism and postmodernism explain the general philosophical tendencies of the time, they do not explain the differences in detail in economic and social policy. For that the ideologies that found greatest prominence in political and

economic life of the country are relevant and need to be considered. There is some literature that deals specifically with the issues at the centre of this thesis – universalism and selectivism (and particularism), from the postmodernist point of view. The work of Ellison (1999) and Thompson and Hoggett (1996) are examples of this approach. Thompson and Hoggett (1996) caution against ‘crude’ universalism and suggest that *‘it remains possible to defend a sophisticated universalism that, while committed to equality, is able to be sensitive to diversity...’* and that the *‘realisation of such a social policy would also require an appropriate form of welfare governance’ (ibid)*. Ellison’s suggestion is that we need to take greater account of the post-modern understandings of contemporary politics to move towards a more *‘decentralised and deliberative conception’* of social politics and that *‘particularist patterns of resource distribution, [might] paradoxically foster greater social inclusion’* (Ellison, 1999).

The ideas of the theoreticians mentioned at the beginning of this chapter did not only indicate a change in economic policy, but a shift in the perception and mechanism with which the whole society functioned – directly or indirectly changing the current social values.

The concepts of equality and inclusiveness had been deemed to be of enough importance for them to have found new expressions in political rhetoric. Gladstone (1993) referred to ‘inclusiveness’ as the term the use of which reflected the post-war attitude towards the working class. Prime Minister Winston Churchill’s use of the term may be taken to denote the acceptance of this view at the highest level of government, speaking of *‘a common people’ united in a common cause’*. While the ‘common cause’ is a reference to the war, the use of the phrase suggests an equal value of the phrase suggests an equal value to all members of the society, rich and poor. This inclusiveness may have been only a short-term concession by the ruling class, but nevertheless its effects could not have been nullified at will in the short-term. Morgan and Evans (1993), observe a change in attitudes towards the working class after the war: *‘No longer were British workers*

seen as the idle, intractable troublemakers of pre-war years'. Now in military and civilian roles, they were '*called to the centre of the national stage ...in a patriotic struggle for justice, liberty, equality against oppression*' (ibid, Morgan & Evans 1993).

Spriging identifies a form of consensus among different ideologies with respect to the concept of social justice. In four different ideological approaches of: '*Neo-liberal (or libertarian Nozick, Machan), Liberal Democratic (Rawl), Socialist (within a democratic tradition, Cohen) and Communitarian (with representatives from all three orientations)*' Spriging sees an acknowledgment of the significance of citizenship. However, what differs among them is the level of intervention by the market or the state deemed appropriate.

The most compelling arguments in defence of the welfare system were ideological. Lowe points out openly: '*state intervention is not a mere corrective for market failings but the means of engineering a more equal and fair society*', to him, the state is viewed as a 'guarantor' of pre-defined social rights (Lowe, 1999).

3.7 Universalism versus Selectivism

As Offe points out, however, rather than a proof of the failings of the universalist model, and despite their proclamations to the contrary, capitalists' failure to invest is related to inherent crisis tendencies of the capitalist economy such as over-accumulation, the business cycle and uncontrolled technical change. The liberal criticisms of the welfare state as well as some from the Left may be challenged with the arguments that '*while the impact [of the welfare state] upon capitalist accumulation may well become destructive, its abolition would be plainly disruptive. The contradiction is that while capitalism cannot coexist with the welfare state, neither can it exist without the welfare state*' (Offe, 2000, p.72).

As optimism and egalitarianism of the 1960s gave way in the 1970s to a different set of circumstances, social housing began to be considered to be a failure and debate moved away from issues of growth and development and leading to a tendency for a residual social policy. The arguments for this move varied from the failures of the local authorities to manage their stock, to the popularity of home ownership among the tenants.

After three distinctive periods of the mass model of social housing – (after WWI and for a longer period after WWII), and the 1920s and 1930s, the 1970s may be identified as the contrasting fourth when the residual model became dominant (Harloe, 1995, p.7). During the 1970s, the *‘almost universally accepted model for creating a measure of social peace and harmony in European post-war societies’* itself became *‘the source of new contradictions and political divisions’* (Offe, 2000, *ibid*, p.68). The supporters of *neo-laissez-faire* and monetarist economic doctrine rejected state intervention in the form of the welfare state, branding it as a disincentive to investment as well as a disincentive to work.

Whereas in the 1960s it might have been said that Britain had *‘a more humane and generous approach to housing than other, ostensibly richer, societies... largely due to the size and quality of its local authority housing, which despite what its critics would say, is probably the best-managed, publicly-owned housing stock in the world’* (Pahl cited in Harloe, 1974, p.x), the discourse of the 1980s had changed substantially. The notion of ‘humane’ and ‘generous’ had stopped being contemplated in terms of housing and instead *‘the discourse around home ownership increasingly dominated by issues of price appreciation and wealth accumulation and much academic debate focused on the significance of tenure in creating or sustaining social divisions’* (Kennet & Forrest, 2003).

The market focus of the latter decades of the century was in stark contrast to the state role and its universalist stance in the earlier decades. The fact that the idea of ‘need’ and humanitarian principles had entered the discourse during a specific historic period is significant in itself. It is both a reflection of

the values that were finding currency at the time and is an influence on what was to come.

Some authors see the generous universalist standards not to be the result of working class action but that of the efforts of middle classes not to lose out: *'Far from being the result of demands advanced unilaterally by the left, workers or the dispossessed, universalist reform represented equally an adjustment of social policy to reflect the wishes of the middle classes not to be excluded from measures that were growing steadily more generous'* (Baldwin, 1990, p.155).

The literature that covers state intervention in social policy is expansive, positions such as that of Wilensky and Lebeaux (1958), Marshall (1963), Flora and Algers (1981) already reviewed, as well as the ones considering the influence of the middle class in raising universalist standards does not negate either the point that the state's fundamental incentive is that of self-preservation, or the role that working class action may play in setting higher levels of state intervention. It does not invalidate the point that Labour's efforts paved the way for more inclusive social policies, and allowed working people to benefit from standards closer to those enjoyed by the middle classes through an acceptance of a universal definition of the citizen and human life.

Policy choices are attributed to ideology. According to Harloe *'ideology has helped to shape the way in which policy choices, institutional structures and rules are formed'*, and that they *'derive from conceptions of the relationship between the individual/family, the state and the market, many of which pre-date the advent of social rented housing'* and none of which are 'housing specific'. At the same time the social values play their part in how various services are valued. The fact that 'housing is property' makes it different and more influenced by the fact that in *'capitalist societies the defence of all forms of private property rights is deeply entrenched'*. Private market provision in housing has always been present, and being a form of real property, housing is an asset against which money can be borrowed. With

these characteristics the only way housing can be made universal is its total decommodification, one that is unlikely in a capitalist system given the opposition to eradication of the private market (Harloe, 1995, p.538).

According to the literature reviewed, not only do the policies reflect social values of the time, but so does the built environment. The political economy perspective on space represented in the work of Harvey (1973, 1985, 1989), King (1987, 1989) and Castells, (1977, 1978, 1983), show *'how political ideologies, economic forces and class relations are reproduced in the built environment'* Franklin (2001). Franklin comes closest, in this assertion to the hypothesis of this research that the built environment is the representation of more than the set standards and regulations - that it is an indication of the ideology of the policy-makers. Franklin goes on to ascribe breakdown in the fabric of the cities to the divisions within the society: *'inequalities are reproduced through the type and quality of environments that people live in, with the extreme situation being the wholesale abandonment of areas once they and their inhabitants are no longer seen as productive'* (Franklin, 2001).

Social values may be said to be subjective and it is important to define the criteria clearly when assessing the quality of the environment. Authors such as Franklin are critical of the approaches which *'objectify'* housing quality *'in terms of specifications, standards, measurements, and dimensions'*, however, the establishment of the objective quality is an important starting point.

Whereas the *'aesthetics, imagination or experience'* and or *'what relates housing to the wider built environment'* are important and a number of researches commissioned by the government have led to a growing amount of 'official' literature revealing that housing is located within a discourse which is more open than that of standards and measurement (for example DETR 2000b DETR 2000c)" (Franklin, 2001), such standards and measurements are still important as the starting point to finding a definition of the quality of the built environment, and are in themselves subject to the established social values of the time.

3.8 A Case Study – Effect of Universalist and Selectivist Policies

In the late 1960s, Davies and Reddin were commissioned by the Department of Education and Science to investigate the reasons for the non-uptake of free school meals. Their report of their findings and the expectations preceding their research are relevant to this thesis, although it applies to free school meals rather than housing.

In a parliament Adjournment debate on The School Meals Service (Selectivity), Alfred Morris argued: *'Opposition members have been especially strident in their condemnation of the universal principles of social security overall irrespective of means. They argue that universality is outdated and help must be concentrated on those whose needs are greatest...but we have had selectivity in the school meals service for many years...It is estimated that last year 660,000 children were entitled to receive free meals, but well over 300,000 of these children refused to take free meals'* (Davies and Reddin, 1978, pp. 13-14. He goes on to explain that according to Press reports of enquiries undertaken by Chief Education Officers, this was because their parents were sensitive to taking charity. Moreover, some of the children who could pay their way in school sometimes were said to take pride in comparing themselves with the poorer families who could not do so. Morris challenges the selectivists to show how their system can work, without humiliating the recipients (ibid).

Davies and Reddin set out to test whether the factors to which politicians and academics attributed the shortfall in the uptake of school meals, namely stigma, the absences of information about the services and the difficulties of claiming entitlement, were valid. The conclusion to their study was unexpected. Davies and Reddin found some qualification to all the above. A simplified summary follows. In relation to stigma and the sense of humiliation that accompanies it, they concluded: *'it would seem that the perception reflected a general attitude acquired through a general socialization process rather than a specific experience. This emphasis on the social, points to the*

significance of the historic as well as social values of the time. They also found interactions between characteristics which have stigmatising properties, independent of the free meals context, but for which this context acted as a catalyst – stigmatising others on such grounds as race, colour or being an unmarried mother’ (Davies & Reddin, 1978, p.124).

Another important conclusion was the significant role played by those at the interface between the state and the recipient of free school meals. Mothers were more likely to think that teachers would stigmatise in under-achieving authorities.

Explaining how it was that those with recent experience tended to have lower probabilities of accepting the proposition that the context was stigmatising, Davies and Reddin reason that the *‘probability of being stigmatised might well have been diminishing in the 1960s with the rediscovery of child poverty, the publicisation of policies to mitigate it and the recruitment of teachers from a generation whose values and assumptions reflected a new compassion and optimism’* (Davies and Reddin, 1978, p.125). They conclude that similarly, successive cohorts of mothers might have applied to the context these changing values and assumptions, ideas that would make them less likely to feel ashamed about revealing their need.

On the connection between the above and what contributes to stigmatisation they explain: *‘the respondents’ ideas about what influences other people’s behaviour might have been more a reflection of political mythology and stereotypes than of knowledge or projection of their own experience and feelings’*, and: *‘in the context of the inherited hostility towards the means-tested services which was learned from parents and older members of the family who had experienced them before the war, this was not an impossible hypothesis’* (Davies & Reddin, 1978, p.127). In fact they go on to identify this as the most probable explanation.

Universalist and selectivist (targeted) policies marked the opposite poles of social policy regarding the provision of goods and services. The difference

between the two arises out of differences of attitudes to the most fundamental of issues; issues like the role of the State and the nature of the relationship between individuals and groups within it (Davies and Reddin, 1978, p.1).

Universalists argue that the commodities have characteristics that make their allocation through markets inappropriate: for instance, that private decisions greatly affect public welfare in ways that do not influence private decisions, or that some of the factors that influence demand interfere with the rationality of consumers; and that there must inevitably exist dangers of monopoly both because the costs of time and transport limit the geographical scale of markets, and because there exist economies of scale in the provision of services of a character that makes them similar to those industries that Robertson called 'octopoids' (Davies and Reddin, 1978).

The universalist holds that the inequalities of exchange of social policy are functional to society. However, the work ethic implies the contrary. The receipt of a means-tested service symbolizes the inequality of exchange, and so symbolizes the conflict between the social policy ethic and the work ethic. It is for this reason argues the universalist that the '*evil repute of the means test is in some circumstances powerful, pervasive and ineradicable*' (Davies and Reddin, 1978). Receiving a means-tested service inevitably leads to a loss of self-esteem and stigmatisation by others, because it creates a conflict between the work ethic and obtaining benefits which the potential claimant thinks that he (or the dependant for whom he is claiming) needs; and so causes that disjunction between ends that are socially approved and means that are socially prescribed (ibid, 1978).

Thus means tests are not just incompatible with the reinforcement of social integration that is possibly the prime objective of social policy, but are positively divisive. The loss of belief in the legitimacy of the social order that means tests generate fosters an instrumental attitude to society as a whole, the resentment if not exploitation of society, a sense of satisfaction in 'getting one over on them' (Davies and Reddin, 1978).

There are at least two ways in which universalists resolve the contradiction between their argument that the work ethic is strong and pervasive, and their prescription that social policy should be based on an ideology that conflicts with it. One is to argue that want-regarding principles – considered to be hedonistic - should not be of primary importance in social policy. Some social policy writers define the area of social policy as a sector in which 'ideal-regarding' criteria; should have greater importance in relation to 'want-regarding' criteria – criteria with greater influence on economic policy. The second is to argue that many benefits are principally a form of redistribution from one stage of a citizen's lifetime to another, or a compensation for 'diswelfares' that arise as an inevitable consequence of social progress or for bad luck in an unpredictable world. Problems of allocation and the misuse of welfare area are argued then to be a result of remediable structural weaknesses of its organisation. Such universalists argue that leaders of opinion should promote the belief that the implications of the work ethic do not directly contradict the principles of the universalist's ideology.

When universalism was challenged by the means-testing agenda, its supporters argued that attitudes to society are damaged by the existence of a system based on means tests to establish eligibility; that means tests are intrinsically divisive policy instruments, and as such, incompatible with a perception of social services as not merely '*utilitarian instruments of welfare*' but also as '*agents of altruistic opportunities*' reinforcing the integrity. The phrases: '*agents of altruistic opportunities*' and '*integrity*', are clear reflections of the kind of ethos and society towards which universalism aspired. When the grip of universalist ideas was weakened, it was to targeting and means-testing that policies shifted. Although universalist policies were visible in the Welfare state, especially in health and education, they were modified and more akin to targeting in a number of services. Among these were the 'free school meals' and the means testing of their recipients.

Restrictions to the application of services and limiting their recipients through means-testing were the first signs of the weakening of the grasp of the universalist ideology and social democratic politics. The qualification of whom the state may serve starts a targeting process which undermines the spirit of the policy as its base is narrowed ever more. As Davies and Reddin point out, eligibility criteria became effectively policy instruments. As Davies and Reddin's study confirmed, the most potent criticism of selectivist policies is the residualisation of the service with many negative consequences.

Relevant to this thesis, what may be taken from Davies and Reddin's study is the importance of the state's agents and how they actually influence the way policies are implemented and perceived through their own values. Relating the principle to housing, it may be suggested that the Local Authority architects and housing staff who qualify as similar agents have played an equally important role in the implementation of policies and their legacy.

3.9 Housing and Quality

In recent years a number of researchers have concerned themselves with the issue of quality in social housing. A number of diverse approaches towards the study of quality in social housing are discussed in brief early in this chapter and a way is navigated through them to the approaches that are most relevant and adopted in this thesis. The study of the state, society, and social behaviour has been linked in various ways to quality in housing. Each of these touches on a small aspect of what this thesis aims to study.

The effect of discourse has been studied and linked to the preoccupation of various professions involved in the production of housing (Franklin, 2001). It has been asserted that housing quality's connection to the '*economic, political and ecological*' dimensions should be considered, while some authors point to the significance of the 'societal context' in which housing occurs (Lawrence, 1995). There have been publications in recent years

about the new orthodoxy of state involvement in the provision of housing, but in partnership with the private sector. For the past decade, the Urban Regeneration of the cities has been based on a new approach - that of partnership between the public and private sectors. The state is no longer the main author of the new housing in the country, the commodification of housing has made the market a component of the provision of state housing as well. A number of recommendations were made by the Task Force headed by Lord Richard Rogers to improve the design of new developments and housing in this context (Urban Task Force, 2000).

On the more intimate scale of the city space and the home, the writings of Julienne Hanson and Bill Hillier both in terms of how spaces are occupied and their proposition of the methodology of Space Syntax for assessing the quality of the built environment and the occupants' interaction with the space, deal with the issue of the quality of environmental space, but try to formulate a method for quantifying it. They study the way spatial patterns produced by buildings reflect the way people occupy them (Hillier, Hanson, 1989) and that the houses are more than the composition of different rooms but patterns of organised space, governed by rules and conventions about the size and configuration of rooms and how individuals interact with each other in different spaces (Hanson, 2003). The methodology used in the studies is computer-based in great part and is intended to quantify and interpret information gathered on the way space (internal and external) is occupied. However, these studies differ from the intention of this thesis in that they do not deal with the policy aspect.

Housing standards have a noticeable significance in the cultural and social life of the society and the individual. The way an individual or family divides up their time between their place of employment and their home determines how much or how it is perceived. Ravetz (2001) traces the evolution of the home from a centre for home-based production to a dormitory when the production was displaced by the factory system during the industrial revolution (Ravetz, 2001). It may be said that different degrees of reversal of

this process might be traced in the life of housing during the twentieth century and because of the significance of the disproportionate time that is spent in the home by the unemployed, the poor or those who work in the home, its space standards are given greater significance. The way the home is occupied also marks the difference between the marginalized and the mainstream (Ravetz and Turkington, 1995).

In their study of the quality of dwellings some authors offer the concept of '*post-societal turn*' (Smith, 2004) or post-humanism (Gabriel & Jacobs, 2008). The latter declare their aim to be to '*de-centre the humans as the nucleus of social life and recognize the significance of non-human actors, such as animals, technology and modern artefacts, within social analysis*' (ibid). This approach is seen in the work of a number of authors (Amin & Thrift, 2002; Callon et al, 2002; Law, 2003; Law and Hetherington, 2000). In this literature, the way dwellings are occupied and the effect of shared space with pets and plants is explored. Some authors study the central concepts of: market, economy and society (Granovetter, 2002; cited in Gabriel & Jacobs, 2008). Smith et al. (2006) study the role of housing intermediaries in the property market and propose that '*(housing) markets become practical enactments of economic models*' (Smith, 2006, p.88).

The political position of such a proposition is considered by some authors who see a risk of the ideas being used simplistically and from a 'neo-liberal point of view' rather than concern with the emancipation of the oppressed' (Vandenberghe, 2002, p.63, cited in Gabriel and Jacobs, 2008).

While the above concepts are relevant to the study of how we experience our dwellings and surroundings, they are not relevant to the structural issues and approach of this thesis. They concern themselves more with detail and their abandonment of the 'social' makes them irrelevant to this research. Although the above papers concern themselves with the social norms and attitudes, that are a social construct in themselves, they do not study these in relation to housing quality in terms of space standards as this research does.

3.10 Conclusion

This literature covers a number of issues that this research is considering. The state, social policy and housing policy are at the core of the research. The literature has shown a number of approaches towards explaining the way the state functions and uses social policy as a tool for making changes in its interest. The literature also acknowledges the way the dominance of different policy decisions based on different ideological positions led to different social policy approaches at different times. The preceding chapters showed how there is a correlation between social policy and housing policy at periods of change.

Other literature acknowledged the connection between social policies and ideological stance of the state or of values. There is some connection made in the study of universalism and selectivism in relation to social democratic policies as opposed to laissez-faire or neo-liberal policies.

What has not been covered in the literature is the correlation between the state ideology, social values and the standards in social housing. This thesis seeks to make a contribution to existing knowledge by examining this relationship and finding the correlation between social values and standards in social housing.

Chapter 4

Theoretical Propositions

This chapter sets out the theoretical proposition of the thesis. The earlier chapters identified a series of changes in housing policy and standards as well as in social policy and reviewed the literature on three main approaches to social policy, namely Marxist, social democratic or liberal view points. A number of concepts were found to have accompanied the argument for selectivist or universalist approaches in social policy. The dominant explanations based on economic or political expediency did not clarify the reason for the timing and level of changes. In this chapter an answer is sought drawing on theoretical literature. It concludes with a proposition that social values play a significant role in the adoption of universalist or selectivist policies.

The theoretical grounding for correlations between social values and policies is sought within universalism or selectivism. This crucible has been chosen as these approaches define the state's position towards theoretical concepts such as the state, the relationship between labour and capital, need, equality, social justice, freedom, choice and the like.

The difference between the two approaches is most visible in the way each defines the above concepts and the position it takes towards supporting or undermining them. In order to find a correlation between universalism or selectivism and the social values of the time, the theories explaining the

relationship between the state, its ideology and the social values, and social policy need to be explored. In addition, this would also require answers to the research questions, and a review of the links between the general principles of dialectics of change, state and class and their link to the more specific case of the adoption of universalist or selectivist social policies and their correlation with the resulting housing standards. In the process of this search a number of theoretical assumptions have been made.

The starting point is that in capitalist economies, the state intervenes to facilitate the functioning of the socio-economic system when the market mechanism fails to provide the services and goods essential for the reproduction of the means of production, and that the degree of this intervention is influenced by the state's definition of socially acceptable standards in the fields in question. Another principle at work is taken to be the dialectics of change within systems. As the conflict between labour and capital, the decommodification of services, the relationship between state control and market led economic and social policies are played out in the adoption of universalism or selectivism, these concepts are considered below.

4.1 The State and Ideology

The state and different approaches to social policy were found in the literature to be attributed to certain ideological positions. Marxist authors found the state to represent the interests of capital and as such only serve the perpetuation of the inequalities which are systemic to capitalism. A social democratic view of the state considers actions by the state to be effective in reducing inequalities and improving the condition of the working class or the poor. The neo-liberal view on the other hand opposes state intervention in order to ameliorate the inequalities, considering these as an incentive for self-improvement in conditions where the market is left to function on the basis of supply and demand.

As discussed in chapter two, the social democratic and liberal views of the way the society, the market and social policies function, translate into universalist and selectivist approaches through the distribution of resources by the state. The field of this research covers a timeline in which universalist or selectivist policies find ascendancy for a period. These include the universalist welfare policies of the 1960s and dominant selectivist policies in the 1980s and 1990s up to the coming to power of a New Labour government in 1997. Although the new Government continued the policies of its predecessor in its most fundamental aspects, it was different in its tone and its emphasis had changed.

The Parker Morris standards that were made mandatory for social housing in a 1967 Circular were a good example of universalist policies adopted during the years of 'social democratic consensus', just as the years after 1979 here referred to as the period of dominance of liberal theory of economy and social policy may be taken as an example of the selectivist approach towards social services. The Housing Acts of 1980 and 1988 were critical as they fundamentally changed the methods of provision of social housing. They first introduced the market relations into housing by commodifying housing and removed state control in the form of local government, limiting state involvement to funding controls. In order to highlight the link between universalism and selectivism it is also necessary to consider the dominant ideology of the state and its impact.

The hypothesis that changes in policy are driven by ideology is partly supported in some literature. Althusser's work deals with this issue in some way, where ideology is the '*cement*' that binds human societies together and where it is seen as '*an organic part... of every social totality*', so much so that '*human societies secrete ideology as the very element and atmosphere indispensable to their historical respiration and life*' (Althusser 1969, p.232, cited in Mackenzie, 2001). The above helps explain the pervasive nature of ideology. Larrain (1983), however, sees different possibilities. To him the most significant characteristic of ideology is in its relation to the interests of

the ruling class, that is to say, it necessarily serves the interests of the ruling class even if it has not been produced by that class. This means that, by definition, there cannot be an ideology that serves the interests of the dominated classes. It would be difficult to explain how changes in social policy may occur that would effectively change the prevailing balance against the dominated class. Larrain bases this on a technicality: whether such ideas may be referred to as ideology. However, he acknowledges that despite the dominance of ruling ideas, revolutionary ideas may emerge, particularly as the result of the appearance of contradictions which prompt a section of the ruling class to cut itself adrift to join the revolutionary class (Larrain, 1983).

Larrain's theory may fit well into the processes that preceded the policy changes already viewed in the literature review. Some of the ideas that supported the policies that have been termed social democratic and universalist, projected a vision of society based on citizenship and entitlement to goods of socially acceptable standards, alternatively ideas based on a liberal and selectivist approach were focused on market and individual freedom.

Issues related to the questions and hypotheses of this research such as the concepts and arguments for or against the welfare state and universalism are therefore divided into two distinct sets of terms that are each favoured by the proponents of the two opposing stances. In brief, there are the concepts of freedom and choice that are espoused by libertarians (Barr, 1998) and marketers, as opposed to the ideas of equality and justice used by the supporters of the welfare state and universalism.

The theoretical field associated with the state is expansive and much of it falls outside the boundaries of this research; however here attention may be focused onto those issues that have the most tangible impact on social policy, namely exchange value of labour, socially acceptable standards of social services and decommodification. Within these social services, falls social housing. In order to ascertain whether and how the context of the

ideological climate and social values of the time affect the standards, universalism or selectivism need to be analysed as principles and instruments of social policy. Starting with the state's motive for intervention, the thesis attempts to explain the reason for the changes in the extent of state intervention. The literature suggests that one of the most important of these is the reproduction of the means of production. In capitalist economies such as that of Britain, the state as the representative of the interests of the ruling class, tries to maximize the profit of capital and to keep the cost of the reproduction of the means of production to a minimum.

At the same time, the state is not only '*the form in which the individuals of a ruling class assert their common interests*' but in it '*the whole civil society of an epoch is epitomised*' (Marx, 1845). The value of labour-power is stated to be '*the value of the means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of the labourer*' (Marx, 1867). Furthermore, labour's means of subsistence must be '*sufficient to maintain him in his normal state as a labouring individual*' and to satisfy '*his natural wants, such as food, clothing, fuel, and housing*' (ibid). Placing these conditions within the labour-capital relations, Marx suggests that '*in contradistinction to the case of other commodities, there enters into the determination of the value of labour-power a historical and moral element*' (ibid).

The exchange value of labour therefore sets the level of redistribution of funds from the public purse. However, in order to raise this level, labour has to be persuasive not only on the level of its economic leverage, but it also needs to mobilize ideas for change – it is not only concerned with the infrastructure but also the superstructure.

On the other hand, the state's efforts to maximize the profit of 'capital' and to keep wages and public expenditure down are tempered by the social definition of acceptable standards. What is socially acceptable is partly influenced by value judgment and as such may be taken to reflect the social values of the time, albeit one that has been forced or changed as the result of political and economic pressure. Concepts encountered previously such

as equality, social justice, citizenship, freedom, choice and the like may be taken equally to reflect and define the superstructure, the ideological climate and social values of the era.

The correlation between social values and ideology and changes in social policy may be found in the way they find expression in the society's existence and how they fit within the essential social relations, namely the reproduction of the means of production. McLeod (1985) refers to *'ideas, values, and images by which individuals perceive their society at given moments'* as ideology. Moreover she links this definition of ideology to productive relations and sees one of its primary functions to be *'the legitimation of existing power structures'* (McLeod, 1985, p.7). This view that lays some significance on our perceptions is not dissimilar to the concept of 'habitus' as defined by Bourdieu – as a socially constructed vision of the world and *'the embodiment within individuals of systems of social norms, understandings and patterns of behaviour'* (Bourdieu, 2000). Again in this the function of social structures and capital are related to the reproduction of social norms. At the same time however, the relationship between the individual and the collective (social) is relevant to the way social developments unfold. Bourdieu's concern with the dichotomy between the individual consciousness and the preoccupation with social structures is relevant to how social policy is formulated or accepted.

This theory straddles what Wolfreys (2000) describes as the difference between the subjectivist and objectivist emphasis of existentialism and structuralism and may be used to explain the relationship between social values and the social structure. Acciaioli (1981) explains that the *'habitus must be seen not simply as a historically produced structure that functions to reproduce the social system that generated it, but as a set of schemes both imposed and imposing'*. Flint and Rowlands (2003) on the other hand contend that the concept *'involves the establishment... of predominant norms, values and definitions of acceptable, correct and expected behaviour'*.

While the concept of imposed and imposing is one that is being reviewed in this thesis as far as the connection between values and social policies are concerned, this thesis finds the relationships as part and parcel of the social system that generated it.

McLeod's (1985) assertion about the built environment [architecture in her text] involving '*a system of beliefs and values*' that explore '*the relationship between architecture and the existing material processes of society*', is equally applicable to social housing. These systems of beliefs and ideas are historically specific and in a close relationship with the stage of social and economic development of the time, and as such they are bound to influence the arguments for the raising or lowering of the exchange value of labour.

The concept of the state and its effect on the social values has been dealt with by a number of authors. The most prominent theories offered on the subject are Althusser's idea of the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) and Gramsci's theory of legitimization. Althusser's (1994) proposition of the Ideological State Apparatuses offers an explanation of the way the state influences ideas and retains its dominance. He suggests that '*no class can hold State power over a long period without at the same time, exercising its hegemony over and in the State Ideological Apparatus*', and argues that Lenin's concern 'to revolutionise' the educational Ideological State Apparatus (among others), further demonstrates that the '*Ideological State Apparatuses may be not only the stake, but also the site of class struggle*' and that this is where '*the resistance of the exploited classes is able to find means and occasions to express itself*' (Althusser, 1994, pp.112-113). If the Ideological State Apparatuses are taken as effective in bringing about change as Althusser (1994) asserts – on a par with the oppressive apparatuses that retain the status quo – then the role of ideas and their expression is not only significant, it is critical, and also linked to the success rate of labour in raising its exchange value and raising what are socially acceptable standards – whether in quality of life or in needs such as housing.

The literature on ideology, social values and class movements (Foucault, 1970; Bourdieu, 2000; Pecheux, 1975) and the means by which the state imposes its will and ideology (Althusser, 1984; Gramsci, 1971) concerns itself with the mechanisms of control by the state or their expression in the society. While Althusser (1984) describes the efforts of the state to establish its control through the Ideological State Apparatuses, Gramsci (1971) considers how the state manipulates ideas in order to establish its hegemony.

While the literature is rich in explaining the individual components of what has been discussed above, it does not provide explicit correlations between them. This research proposes that there is a connection between the dominant ideology or social values and the class struggle that within the contradictions of the system affects and alters it, in effect describing a process of perpetual social change that occurs at varying paces.

4.2 Exchange Value

Political and ideological stances grow in strength when they are championed by credible ideologues. They also need to be adopted by the population so that they become the norm, the common value. It is here that the answer to the question what it is that sustains social democratic ideologies is sought. Later in this chapter the pursuit of universalist policies is linked to the ideological acceptance of a fairer exchange value of labour.

In some instances, the need for the reproduction of the means of production is translated into social policies that decommodify certain services in order to maintain labour in its position. Again the level of these services has been determined by the socially acceptable standards which are historically defined. The promise of creating Homes for Heroes that came back from WWI is an indication of what was expected and pressed for at the time. The welfare state in Britain in the post-war (WWII) years is another case in point. This period gave rise to an acceptance of provision of certain social services

of good quality for all. State policies in the provision of social services are indicative of the value it attributes to labour and the standards by which it is deemed acceptable for labour to live.

However, due to its key policy-making position, in capitalist economies, the market also has a significant role in determining the economic and social relations. In a market economy, given the fact that profit maximisation is the main target of the agencies that provide services via the market, purchasing power is the main pre-requisite for engaging in exchange within the market. Those who can afford the products on offer satisfy their need, but a great number of services and commodities may prove unaffordable to a significant number of people in need.

It is understood that when, due to the contradictions within itself, the system cannot '*fulfill a diversity of fundamental demands*' (Castells, 1978) the state intervenes to balance some relations. The system will have failed to fulfill these 'fundamental' demands when those in need cannot access the services required for them to function as members of their society, when the exchange value of labour is dropped to such a degree that it cannot attain acceptable standards of living. When internal contradictions within the systems lead to new relations of production and hence to new social relations, a process of quantitative change emerges, which itself affects qualitative change. The state intervenes through changes in social policies.

The state's actions may be simplified into: firstly, its attempts to eradicate the main cause of strife and to safeguard order in society; and secondly, to ensure the smooth running of the economy and all social relations that have an effect thereupon. This may be interpreted here as an attempt to guarantee a civil society where the standing of each citizen is well-defined and understood albeit within a class system or other codes of social or sectoral distinction. The state implements changes in response to any momentum for social change as it becomes established and it determines what section of the available resources will be allocated to what socially required service.

As far as social housing is concerned the state's involvement entails many aspects - the number of housing units, cost permissible and also the decision pertaining to what is the minimum acceptable standard for social housing. Given the fact that in a capitalist economy, the state functions as the representative of capital it becomes the counterpart of labour and its organisations and pressure groups that play a part in bringing about change. Historically, it was the changes in the relations of production that signaled a new balance of power which in turn raised the expectations of labour in terms of defining its exchange value.

Esping-Andersen (1990) offers an explanation for welfare states within capitalist systems. He draws distinctions between welfare state models according to how class interests change the balance of power within them, and identifies three factors in defining the differences: '*class mobilization (especially of the working class), class-political coalition structures and the historical legacy of regime institutionalization*' (p.29). In a critique of Esping-Andersen's theory, Kemney (2006) suggests that the '*difference lies in the direction in which the power balance between the forces leans and how strongly it leans*'. In the specific case of housing, he observes that '*because housing straddles both state and market, it is probable that vested market interests are more prominent in housing than in other welfare sectors*' and that for this reason the housing market is likely to reflect the power balance between different interest groups particularly clearly. This notion of the built environment reflecting the power balance within the system is a relevant one to the propositions of this thesis which aims to find a clear correlation between social values and their reflection in aspects of housing standards.

4.3 Decommodification Versus Market Dominance

Much of social policy is defined by the way it deals with the dichotomy between: the state and the market. Commodification and decommodification are the two significant (economic) tools at the disposal of the state to affect change; and selectivism and universality are the distribution systems through

which the above may be implemented. What determines the services and goods that need to be supplied is socially accepted and defined, whether through compulsion by the state or through habit of state policies over the years. However, there is a balance struck only when the standards are socially accepted. These play a part in who pays what (if at all) for which service and for whom.

The role of state intervention in creating a balance has been established in much of the literature already reviewed. What is to be determined is the level of need to be alleviated, the stratum of society that will benefit and the standards to which those in need are entitled. As far as housing is concerned, the definitions of 'need' can be constantly changing. Varying housing conditions lead to changes in the definition of housing standards, as did the definition of 'decent' housing in the Housing Act of 1949 USA (Shlay, 1995) and as seen in the definitions of the term in Britain.

In capitalist states with a political system where governments come to power through elections, the process of carrying out the state's role according to a set of social expectations as well as the state's efforts at serving its own interests, lead to a new set of definitions of what is acceptable and what is not in terms of the quality of services the state provides for the citizens; and this in itself may be taken to be a reflection of the ideology that is ascendant.

Whereas the social democratic idea of state intervention for the good of the majority condones and even requires as a necessity, the provision of good standards of housing available for anyone in need, the market-centered liberal view allows for ability to pay as a regulating mechanism for provision and in the long-term, for standards in housing. As the earlier chapters have shown the provision of social welfare was focused on creating a society of healthy and prosperous people. The optimism of that view came to accompany an egalitarian position in public statements. The situation of social housing was very much in line with other policies, although it never stayed at the centre-stage of the political agenda for long. This is how

universalism is being associated with the social democratic consensus that emerged in the late 1940s and spread to housing in the 1960s.

With all services that are financed by the public purse there has always been a debate about how much each citizen may expect to receive and how much will he/she have to pay. The situation of the National Health Service (NHS) as the most decommodified service is relevant. The principle upon which the finances worked was that everyone would pay for the service and would use it as and when the need arose. There would be no distinction between patients other than their medical need. The financial question was resolved as it is today with the many private health plans available for purchase. Everyone would subscribe to the service and fund the service, but would use it only when in need. The universalist principle was shown to have worked and to have made sense. The need for housing is different from that of health – which is indisputable and clear – and more open to interpretation and redefinition. The peculiarity of housing which is a basic necessity for any individual's existence, very much as education and health, is that the cost of its production drives its price well above the means of the majority of people. Also whereas the case for the decommodification of the health service is straight forward, the nature of housing makes its decommodification more severely disputed.

Castell's studies link housing to the issues of social consumption. As the state intervenes in the production, exchange and consumption of housing, it ceases to be exchanged as a commodity. This type of housing is produced within the laws of commodity production, but at the point of consumption the commodity characteristic becomes suspended to turn the housing into use-value. During the years of universalist policy after 1945, this was true of housing and matters other than exchange value determined their space standards. Castells (1978) saw a link between the class struggle, the issues of consumption, need and housing: '*... the class struggle and the growing bargaining power of the workers and popular movement imposes a certain*

level of consumption and changes the historical definition of 'need', both qualitatively and quantitatively...'(Castells, 1978).

As in the 1980s the British government started the process of marginalizing the role of the state in housing provision, turning it into a supporting agency for the private sector. This marked the beginning of the re-commodification of housing. What constitutes socially acceptable standards that are meant to satisfy socially defined 'need' is significant. These standards and the expectations of the users and providers are also historically defined.

4.4 Dialectics of Change

In order to explain the effect of the state's ideology on social policy, the reciprocal effect of social values on the state needs to be explained as well. The dialectics of base and superstructure are relevant to this study because if the sheer force of political power of 'labour' is not the only means of sustaining the conditions that serve its interests, then there must be other effective factors that support change. The political power of labour in affecting change has been strong in specific time periods; however, there have been other factors of change beside the means of production.

In the relations between infrastructural and superstructural factors, Gramsci detects an active role for the superstructure as he considers that the people's '*conception of the world*' plays an important part in motivating them to make changes or to support the status quo. Everyone has a number of '*conceptions of the world*' which are often in contradiction to one another some are imposed and absorbed passively from outside or from the past and are accepted and lived uncritically. This forms the 'common sense' many elements of which contribute to people's subordination by making situations of inequality and oppression appear as natural and unchangeable. As Gramsci holds, it is through understanding its condition that labour may obtain leverage in a 'struggle of political hegemonies' (Forgacs, 1988). The

social values that come to dominate any given era can be seen in the light of these dynamics.

However, social values may be formed by impetus from the 'bottom' as well as from the 'top'. In the process of provision of housing, there are many 'actors' involved between the state and the recipients. It may be said that the relationship between the actors in the process of social change, follow certain patterns. Assuming the primacy of the material conditions of life the 'social being' of the actors 'determines their consciousness' and that social and living conditions have a potential for becoming an impetus for social change: *'from forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution'* (Marx, 1977, pp.180-181). Changes of the economic foundation instigate the transformation of the *'entire immense superstructure'* (ibid). However, the cause and effect relationship between the infrastructure and superstructure does not stop the latter from influencing changes in its own right. While the primacy of the base in relation to the superstructure (and consciousness) is asserted in Marxist literature, there is an acknowledgement of the effect of the latter on the former. Whereas a distinction can be made between the *'material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic'* forms, these latter factors constitute the *'ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out'* (ibid).

Equally, whereas labour may influence the processes and relations of production through its efforts to raise its exchange value, the state utilises different means to exert its dominance. When the equilibrium within the system is lost, social policies are used as the means of redressing the balance. Social policies are the tools that the state uses to resolve the conflict between superstructure and base.

The effect of the superstructure in bringing about change, has been said to be *'psychological'* in that ideologies *'organise'* human masses, and *'form the*

terrain on which men move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle, etc' (Gramsci, cited in Forgacs, 1988, p.199). Moreover, it might be said that as Gramsci believes, there is great strength in the '*solidity of popular beliefs*' just as Marx put great emphasis on the acceptance of theory by the masses, saying in his Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law that '*theory becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses*'.

Social values are formed by the dominant material conditions, but themselves influence the direction of new changes. Korpi (2004) argues that the state elite always form institutions as counterweights to those of the trade unions. A similar reaction is taking place when class struggle aimed at putting in place institutions of political democracy and equal and universal suffrage takes place. However this conflict also results in a change of attitudes and values through its successes or failures, in other words, in the conflict between labour and capital, endeavours to increase the exchange value of labour are key to bringing about policy change. As the contradictions of material life play themselves out and bring about change, these changes in turn affect the consciousness of the actors involved – a new set of social values are borne out of the movement for change. These values which in turn are a reflection of the balance achieved between labour and capital come to define components of the social relations.

4.5 Selectivist or Universalist Concepts - Freedom and Choice Versus Citizenship and Entitlement

Understanding and accepting shared values, is significant in the adoption of policies, whereby in Marxist thought the expression of value, namely that all kinds of labour are equal and equivalent, because and in so far as they are human labour in general is deciphered only when the notion of human equality has already acquired the fixity of a popular prejudice. It is not possible to map social values of a period in detail. However, it is possible to gauge the overall ethos and values of an era by assessing the dominant

ideas and by the same token the main policies of the time. The milestones identified in the review of the development of social housing policy and standards corresponded to the periods when universalist or selectivist policies were dominant in the most distinct junctures in the period under study. The comparison of the two distinct periods of 1960s and 1980s is a useful study to identify any patterns of change, whether in policies or in housing standards.

As seen earlier, in any era of change, beside the material conditions that lead to social policy changes an undercurrent of ideas is perceptible. Clarke et al. (2001) acknowledge this in their statement about the change of political climate in the 1980s: *'the new right's 'roll-back' of the welfare state unfolded in different stages: first, a general ideological attack on welfare with a propagandist or rhetorical character and aimed at creating an anti-welfare climate of opinion'* (Clarke et al., 2001, p.76). The study of the major events and changes in social policy as well as the study of the literature suggests that the climate of opinion is influenced by ideological and political argument. The values and attitudes are shaped, public opinion is swayed and the state is empowered to make social policy changes without resistance. The review of literature shows a striking change in the way experts and officials referred to the recipients of state assistance. In the field of housing, the discourse, the terms used to refer to the recipients and the arguments for intervention or non-intervention all built up on certain concepts. An acceptance of the status quo of poverty for a sector of the population and its amelioration through acts of charity was the norm before the working class gained concessions in the beginning of the twentieth century for state intervention to improve their conditions. Middle class philanthropy of the late nineteenth century purported to endeavour to ameliorate the condition of the working people.

At the time of the end of the First World War, there was a general acceptance of the need to improve the living conditions of those who had fought in the war. This acceptance which had been won over through the

political activism of the working people and the concern of the ruling government for the prevention of unrest became critical in a shift in social attitudes and values. What was acceptable as a standard for working people was re-defined. The decades under study show the discourse about the recipients of state help change significantly at different times with the earlier part of the twentieth century more inclined towards the concept of charity for a specific section of unfortunates who have a different identity and the 'modern' post-war view that everyone in the society was to benefit from a minimum standard of living that in itself became a reflection of the society at large. The views of expressed in the International Congress of 1928 become a reflection of the attitude towards the working people in the way the different strata of the working people were defined. The 'deserving poor' were distinguished from the 'undeserving' and the standards that are acceptable for the former were debated accordingly. These views were very different from those expressed in the discourse that prepared the ground for the introduction of the welfare state.

The mid-1940s coincided with a shift in the balance of power worldwide and heralded new expectations. There was a demand that the horrors of the war should be compensated by a new understanding of the value of human life. The economic realities of reconstruction increased the role of the state as well as the expectation of improvements. Housing as one of the fields in which these improvements needed to be seen is one of the fields in which these expectations and definitions of socially acceptable standards were played out. Given that ideology - and by extension social values - has a dialectical relationship with the relations of production, it is possible to suggest that changes in the fundamental aspects of the society's circumstances are reflected in key turning points in social values which in turn concern the role and value of the individuals in the society as a whole. Therefore, within the contradictions inherent in the system, values find representation in specific social policies, and social policies themselves are integral to their historical conditions, reflecting the relations of production. At the opposite ends of the social and political spectrum fall universalist and

selectivist policies. Each of these approaches has left a totally different legacy of social policies. While the welfare state is most associated with the dominance of the universalist approach, residual and marginalized services have been associated with selectivism. Reddin and Davies's study discussed in the previous chapter demonstrates this.

Part of the process of change is the dichotomy between the way in which, within the field of housing in Britain, through class struggle and political pressure, those in need alter social values and establish new standards, and the way those in power adopt the new values. With reference to the theories put forward by Esping-Andersen (1985, 1990) and others regarding the welfare state, Pierson (2000) argues that *'generous decommodifying welfare states increased the leverage of workers vis-à-vis employers by reducing their dependence on employment'*, he also links this to the power relations at a larger scale, *'thus, the expansion of social provision reflected the political and organizational resources of powerful unions and social democratic parties, which were able to modify market-induced outcomes in favour of their supporters'*. Some of these values such as those in support of the welfare state became well-established in time.

The universalist policies of 1960s had many critics. Just as Clarke et al (2001) cited above considered the attack on the welfare state to have been ideological, Le Grand (1990) concluded in his study that the welfare state was robust despite the attacks upon it, stating: *'Over the thirteen years from 1974 to 1987, welfare policy successfully weathered an economic hurricane in the mid-1970s and an ideological blizzard in the 1980s. The resources going to public welfare were maintained; [and] welfare indicators continued to show a steady improvement'* (Le Grand, 1990, p.350). Le Grand's finding is related to the level of public expenditure as part of welfare state provision. However, considering the important aspects such as the standard of some of those services such as social housing, the result is different, as shown in chapter one. The justification for this needs to be found in the ideas, attitudes and social values associated with the dominant approach.

Universalist and selectivist policies are articulated in different ways using a number of concepts – among them those of ‘citizenship’, ‘equality’ and ‘need’, ‘freedom’ and ‘choice’. These are especially visible in the debate on the subject of social housing and are rehearsed not only by politicians but also academics and experts, where the intervention of the state to regulate the market gives way to its intervention to allow ever greater freedom to the market. The introduction of certain policies has at times even coincided with the frequent use of certain terms. Whereas the Parker Morris report of 1961 made references to housing standards becoming a reflection of the new society that was being made for tomorrow, the discourse of the 1980 and the following decades were dominated by terms that reflected the market relations. For example writing about social housing in 1965, Hole identified a need for a mass housing programme to extend beyond the short-term effects of war or economic recession and declared: *the standard of mass housing in any country is a measure of its economic and social achievement*’. In the latter decades of the century a different discourse and approach was visible and the incidence of the use of the term ‘affordability’ may be an example of this. Stone (2006) points out the term ‘affordability’ necessarily relates to the ability of the tenant to pay for the dwelling within a market. However, there may be seen within the discourse a number of approaches to the issue of affordability. Stone (2006) tries to find a shared definition for the term and finds one in the reports by Brownill, Sharp, Jones and Merritt, finding that it is *‘the amount of money left after housing costs have been met that is crucial in determining whether the costs of housing are really affordable’* (Brownill et al., 1990, p.49). Whitehead (1991) on the other hand argues that *‘standards may be defined in terms of the absolute amount of residual income remaining once the housing has been purchased, i.e., it is set at the level which allows the household to pay for the housing and still purchase a socially acceptable bundle of other goods’* (Whitehead, p.875). Alternatively, he argues, the standard may be defined *‘in terms of a relative measure specifying the acceptable proportion of income to be spent on housing. This implies an acceptance of the underlying distribution of income and a view*

that housing should represent no more than a given element within that income (ibid). Any definition necessarily becomes value-laden. As Stone states *‘any statement about affordability has essentially to be a statement about opportunity-cost’* and as such Stone argues that any statement about affordability of housing *‘has to specify what opportunity-cost it considers excessive’* (Stone, 2006, p.133) and that it is possible for individuals to be consuming very little of either housing or other goods and for the housing costs still to be considered affordable. The above argument demonstrates that these concepts are excessively open to interpretation and as such are value-laden.

Writing on the need for long-term mass housing programme, Hole (1966) declared: *‘The need for some kind of mass housing programme extends beyond the short-term effects of war or economic recessions. The standard of mass housing in any country is a measure of its economic and social achievement’*. The idea that the standards in social housing are a measure of social achievement, itself is a reflection of a set of value judgments – ones which may be attributed to the universalist approach. In the literature the comparison of the arguments for universalist or selectivist policies generally uses similar value judgments. Barr explains the difference between the two and the reason for the survival of (at least aspects of) the welfare state despite the efforts to dismantle it in the 1980s. Offering arguments for and against the social democratic welfare state and the neo-liberal marketers, he cites *‘addressing market failure, equity objectives and non-economic objectives such as social integration’* in favour of the welfare state (Barr, 1998, p.408). Comparing the supporters of welfare state and universalism with libertarians supporting selectivism and the market, Barr considers use values and concepts such as equality and security to be *‘matters of fundamental value judgment’* (Barr, 1998, p.409) just as the concepts of freedom and choice are.

The issue of ‘citizenship’ is discussed by a number of scholars of social science in explaining the social relations of 20th century. This concept puts

aside the sense of hierarchy determined by an individual's class, profession or wealth. The 'uniform status' attributed to the consensus years, is significant in that it presupposes a uniform level of entitlement. Ideologically, this stance engenders an 'inclusive' set of social values – ones that consider each individual as an integral part of the society – an equal part. Whereas authors such as Marshall suggested the concept of citizenship as part of a quest to discover the roots of inequality; it engendered a sense of common purpose of the individual members of the society. The adoption of universalist policies in social policies as well as in housing is based on an ideological position that is embedded in a belief in the equal entitlement of all citizens to acceptable living standards. By this point, the process of transformation of a political demand from just that to a social value has been completed.

The notions of liberty, equality, and fraternity may have been familiar since the French Revolution, and have been used to describe the structure of social relations, but the literature falls into separate traditions: *'one liberal ... giving high priority to liberty; the other socialist, revolutionary, critical, and giving highest priority to equality'* (Halsey, 1995). When the working class establishes a right to equality and entitlement to the social achievements, the exchange value of labour is raised and the quality of services it is entitled to is also raised.

Interlinked with the concept of equality is that of justice, the sense that individuals are to be treated fairly and non-arbitrarily. Equality is also the *'first assumption of morality: we act morally towards others because we assume that they are equally vulnerable and equally worthy of respect in some formal or abstract sense even when there are visible differences in the sensitivity and worth of particular individuals'* within the premise that *'all individuals are equally entitled by virtue of their being human'* (Goodwin 1999, p.397). These assumptions become evident in the state's policies and its distribution of goods and services.

There is a level of fluidity to the definition of 'need'. Castells, for example suggests that '*...the class struggle and the growing bargaining power of the workers and popular movement imposes a certain level of consumption and changes the historical definition of 'need', both qualitatively and quantitatively...*' (Castells, 1978). He also finds access to collective services, from housing conditions, health and educational facilities to working hours as expressive of new social cleavages that reflect the traditional inequality in terms of incomes.

Housing is a special case as it is a commodity and tied to land and it consumes a substantial part of any household's income. Researchers have identified a number of characteristics that are special to housing – the most obvious are: structure type, size, lot size, amenities, age and condition of the structure, and its design and density. At the same time housing has been associated with influencing the level of physical and psychological security, social and physical well-being and happiness of its inhabitants (Shlay, 1985). These points articulate both the social and personal significance of housing. Shlay even refers to the '*need to equalise opportunities across space*' (ibid, p.714) and contends that even the location of housing has a political, social and economic dimension because '*a neighbourhood is contained in a political jurisdiction*' (ibid, p.701).

Universalism recognizes this to a great extent and somehow it is seen as an expansion of social citizenship rights. Marcuse goes as far as suggesting that housing policy was actually an ideological artifact (Marcuse, 1978), and Baldwin suggests that poor housing creates spatial inequality (Baldwin, 1990). This would imply that accepting equality of citizenship within a society, the major goal of housing policy would be to equalize opportunities across space and social groups.

Universalist policies offered an equalization of opportunity and coincided with the years of so-called Consensus. Hampson identifies the 1970s as the period that heralded the break with consensus, i.e. the ideological shift away from universalism, with Calaghan's speech about government not being able

to spend its way out of crises (Hampson, 1998, p.5). Such changes can be termed as ideological because there is no economic justification for them. Official statistics reveal that Government social expenditure as a proportion of GDP on housing was 2.9 in 1979 and reduced to 1.5 in 1986, while social security went from 9.9 to 13.5, and the total share of government social expenditure increased from 24% to 26.4% (ibid).

To understand the shifts in universalist policy it is necessary to trace the changes in the welfare reform agenda. The major shifts in social policy that pertain to the acceptance of a welfare reform policy can be found in the latter part of the 19th century and then again in the 1930s and 1940s (Hampson 1998, Esping-Andersen 2003). However, the study of shifts in standards in social housing or working class housing includes the period immediately after the First World War as well. Esping- Andersen (2003) points out that the welfare state implies a '*social contract with the citizenry*' and that as it has been a chief organizing principle spanning several generations it represents a '*deeply institutionalised contract*' (ibid).

Esping-Andersen also emphasises the significance of the principle of social justice, '*according to the maxim in principle, a rational, risk-averse citizen would opt for egalitarianism and would accept change of the status quo only if assured that the welfare of the weakest will be safeguarded*' (Esping-Andersen, 2003, p.6). He also compares the '*national accounting systems*' which distinguish between '*current consumption and investment*', and social accounts that do not and points out that '*human capital theory... provides a good theoretical framework within which we might revise*' such practice (ibid).

One mechanism for affecting change has been shown to be the way those in need but without immediate political power exert pressure to improve their circumstances; this process in turn leads to political leverage and changes that alter the status quo, forming new relations with new dynamics. When labour is strong in its political and ideological stance, it succeeds in making gains and in safeguarding them, however, when it is politically weak and

unfocussed, is forced into retreat. This thesis proposes that it is this dynamic that is at the core of the rise and fall of standards in social housing, and that this dynamic is made most visible in social policy formulations that reflect the social values of the time - values that are themselves by-products of the balance of power between labour and capital. Two of the most significant formulations are translated into selectivist or universalist social policies – policies that are visible in several arenas of social policy, most notably health and education and to a lesser extent in housing given its peculiarities. Minimum acceptable social bases represent the value of labour. The concessions gained by labour, therefore, effectively define the values of any era. The value of labour is recognized through the goods and services that it receives in exchange for its output. Housing is one of the commodities (albeit an exceptional one) that determines the value associated with labour. When social values of the time, influenced by power relations, make universal housing policies the norm, the quality of housing made available to labour will be the same as that available to the middle-class. The individuals and officials involved in decision-making make a difference in the way commodities are produced and distributed. The thesis studies the concerns of designers and policy-makers and the space and environmental standards of a development that follows the regulations emerging from the period of dominance of universalism and compares it to the results in a period when market economy led to targeted policies.

4.6 Theoretical Proposition

What the literature on ideology and values has left unexplored is the question why at certain times social values change and do so in favour of the working class. There have been hints at this in the earlier part of the chapter. The following is the formulation of a general principle that explains the links in these relationships.

The changes in social policies between the 1960s and 1980s are documented in the earlier chapters. Overall, three different approaches were identified in the literature. The Marxist authors who offered what may be termed a 'revolutionary' approach considered changes in the capitalist system as superficial and incapable of altering the structural inequalities within it. The social democratic view saw a role for the state in ameliorating inequalities in order to improve the overall standards of life for every citizen. The liberal approach saw the best way forward to be that of limited state interference for the market to regulate the society and allow for the survival of the fittest.

What has been referred to in this thesis as the social democratic consensus of the post-WWII period is in clear contrast to the liberal stance of post-1979 years in what may be regarded in the final analysis as the social values. The use of the term liberal is taken to include the specific approach that was to be termed neo-liberal as well. The social democratic consensus coincided with the introduction of universalist policies in the former period, and the liberal values of the latter period were accompanied with selectivist social policies. It has been mentioned that the years after 1979 may also be termed years of consensus albeit a liberal/neo-liberal consensus.

There is an important distinction between the way different political parties related to the approaches around which there was consensus. The Labour Party's interpretation of the social democratic agenda during the social democratic consensus years was the introduction of universalist services. During the same period, the Conservative Party in Government modified these measures. A case in point may be the period of 1950s when the fervour for universal health care and education and for social housing was not abandoned but was re-interpreted - in the case of housing having led to lower space standards. Similarly in the post-1979 period the Labour Party tacitly adopted some similar policies such as the emphasis of home-ownership but the overall emphasis of the policies still bore some resemblance to its past.

The revolutionary model is based on the view that the power relations between capital and labour are based on the extraction of surplus value by one from the other and that these relations are structural to the system. This necessarily means that social policies will always only perpetuate and prolong the exploitative relations. This model is dismissive of the social democratic model due to the latter's acceptance of the system.

This thesis proposes that although the Marxist authors are correct in their view of the strategic direction of state policies in a capitalist state, nevertheless the actors within the system do create change and the process of dialectical change is bound to alter conditions even if slowly and incrementally and explores the effects of such changes on the lives of people.

The social democratic model is based on the idea of the state adopting the role and duty to improve the living conditions of the people. The raising of the living standards of the members of the society who are in greatest need becomes a gauge of the prosperity of the society – a position that is unlike the theory of 'filtering' of prosperity, its trickling down from the top. Social policies under a social democratic regime are based on efforts to reduce inequalities whether in terms of opportunities to become an equal citizen or to partake of the proceeds of the public purse. This approach necessarily requires that a set of standards be acquired appropriate to the needs of the citizens. When the definition of 'citizen' includes all classes within the system, the definition of the standards appropriate to the citizen are expected to be higher than they would have been otherwise, especially as the contribution of all citizens will be appropriate to the standards of the services provided from the public purse. The idea of equitable shares from the public purse automatically leads to a more generous definition of the size of that share.

In contrast the liberal view of society does not see citizens but customers whose share of the wealth of the society is determined by the rule of supply and demand. The idea of the society is limited in this approach as the

relationships are defined by their power of purchase within the market. The idea of the primacy of market relations leads the withdrawal of the state from the provision of many social services, leaving the individual to fend for him/herself within the market. Given the history of the breakdown of the social harmony in laissez-faire systems, the one concession made by the liberal approach is that the state remains in charge of dealing with the detritus of the system – those who cannot earn enough for survival within the system. In order to retain the determining role of the market, the state allows only enough to sustain a minimum standard of life and to maintain law and order.

Therefore while the social democratic approach tries to raise standards, the liberal approach has the opposite tendency. It is therefore possible to draw the following conclusions that: the universalist social policy is a product of the social democratic system, as the selectivist social policy is that of the liberal (neo-liberal) one, and that this stems from the ideological grounding of the two approaches in the way they promote social values that are based on equality and citizenship or freedom to increase inequality through acquiring social position arising out of purchasing power within the market relations of supply and demand.

In post-WWII Britain as well as in a number of European countries such as Sweden the social democratic approach has coincided with universalist social policies. The redistribution of resources through the state has been based on the provision of social services above the minimum. The standards seen during such periods are generally higher than those seen in the times of liberal domination. By contrast the liberal (and neo-liberal) approach is based on the provision of an absolute minimum – a safety net. This minimum is itself defined in relation to the lowest wage earned in the market. The argument for this is that otherwise the recipient of state assistance will have no motive to enter the market.

The relations that emanate from each approach are materialized differently in social policies. It is important to consider the variations in each approach.

The literature has shown that different political parties in power have had a tendency to favour one approach over the other. However, the existence of the consensus periods as expressed in the literature has also shown that at certain periods depending on the degree of dominance of one or another of these approaches among its champions, within the society in general and in the rank and file of the political parties in particular, the results vary. The acceptance of the approach within the electorate appears to be significant, as it has the potential to check the speed or depth with which the policy is pressed through.

Each political party appears to have retained its traditional ideological position but to have altered it to suit the political climate and social values of the time. Sometimes these are expressed in the similarity in the rhetoric and sometimes in the detail of certain policies.

With regards to housing, the issue is more complex. The social democratic model has coincided with the period in which higher space standards have been made obligatory. However, the extensive involvement of the state in the provision of social housing was also visible in the 1950s when the Conservative Party was in power. The main difference at the time was that the Conservative Party acted upon a different view of the space standards permissible. The fact that the Party which had the greatest objection to state involvement undertook to carry out a massive social housing programme must be attributed to the political climate. However, the ideological tendencies of the Party against regulation can be seen in the reports in the literature that the space standards during this period were lowered substantially. The convergence of the policies of different political parties raises the point that what drives this convergence is the dominant social values. In this sense there is a distinction between the ideology of the political party in power and the social values that pervade the society in a given time. When these coincide substantial and effective social policy change may be expected.

It was when these policies coincided within the social democratic approach in the 1960s that the increase in minimum standards in social housing was witnessed and it was again when the neo-liberal approach pervaded both that social housing was eroded and those in need of it became marginalized in a market-driven method of provision of housing.

Given the above the following chapters seek to find evidence to investigate the veracity of the following:

- that the most important attributes that characterize the changes of policies are the principle of universalism - favoured at the time of the social democratic consensus - or selectivism.
- that the adoption of one or other approach is determined by the dominant social values of specific periods and expressed in general social policies and social housing policies.
- that social housing policies based on universalist principles lead to higher space and environmental standards in social housing.

The following chapter will consider the methodologies appropriate for this research based on the theoretical assumptions set out in this chapter. It will outline the research design and explain how it corresponds to the findings of the earlier chapters reviewing the literature and considering the concepts involved in the research.

Chapter 5

Research Method and Data Collection

The review of literature identified a number of key concepts for consideration. This chapter will discuss the various research methods evaluated and their relevance and suitability to the current research. It will review the research paradigm and methodology, discuss the characteristics of the research and propose a research design. The section on research methods concludes that the main characteristic of this research is qualitative and that in part Critical Discourse analysis is an appropriate method for testing the assumptions of the thesis. This method is then combined with quantitative method of research in compiling data on space standards.

5.1 Research Paradigm and Methodology

Creswell, J. (1998) defines methodology as ‘the analysis of the principles of methods, rules and postulates employed by a discipline’ or ‘the development of methods, to be applied within a discipline’. The methodology of the research is to be determined by the purpose of the research. The literature on methodology attributes the method of study to the paradigm that determines the approach of the research. Generally, the quantitative method is associated with the positivist or empiricist paradigm whereas the qualitative method is associated with post-positivist or post-modern perspectives. The literature recognizes two poles: the objective quantitative method versus the subjective qualitative method.

Guba and Lincoln give primacy to paradigm over methodology, and define it as *'the basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator, not only in the choice of method but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways'* (Guba and Yvonna, 1994, pp. 105-117).

The literature on methodology recognizes two main paradigms for research – qualitative and quantitative (Creswell, 1994). While the quantitative method is related to the traditional, the positivist, the experimental, or the empiricist paradigm (ibid), the literature divides the qualitative paradigm into *'the constructivist approach, the naturalistic'* (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), the interpretative (J. Smith, 1983), or the post-positivist or post-modern perspective (Quantz, 1992). Although this research uses the qualitative approach, it does not consider itself post-positivist or post-modern. While acknowledging the significance of the individual and the subjective, it tries to be disciplined in seeking evidence and analyzing their correlations.

Considering the ontological position, while quantitative research views reality as 'objective' and independent of the researcher, measuring things objectively by means of a questionnaire or an instrument, in qualitative research reality is that constructed by the individuals involved in the research situation. In terms of epistemology, the qualitative researcher needs to take account of the researcher's own subjectivity, the nature of the individuals being investigated and the reader. The conclusion is that the researcher necessarily interacts with the researched; therefore the study is value-laden (Creswell, 1994). Moreover, in the design of the research to study two periods under study, the use of inductive logic in the qualitative method, as opposed to a deductive form of logic in quantitative research, means that categories are expected to emerge from informants rather than being identified a priori by the researcher (Creswell, 1994, p.7). This makes qualitative research an appropriate method for testing the dominant ideas of any one time.

The ontological assumption of the thesis is that reality exists external to the individual consciousness. With some qualification, the approach may be

considered to be a positivist one. The qualification is partly in the fact that whereas the positivist paradigm is based on quantitative methods of research, this thesis is seeking to test a hypothesis through qualitative research methods.

The qualitative research method involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). This has been a consideration in the proposition to interview individuals for their perception of the conditions and social values of the time.

Burrell and Morgan (1979) have devised a matrix for four paradigms in sociological research: functionalist, interpretive, radical humanist, and radical structuralist, which are based on four characteristics: whether reality exists or it is a product of the mind; whether experience or understanding have primacy; is there free will or does the environment determine our lives; is the world explained through the scientific method or through direct experience. The Radical Humanist approach considers the ultimate reality of the universe to be spiritual rather than material in nature, and draws on German idealism and Kant. Burrell and Morgan include the work of Gramsci and the Frankfurt School in this category.

In terms of epistemology, the Radical Structuralist approach as defined by Burrell and Morgan and with a number of qualifications comes close to the position of this thesis, with some qualification. While increasingly there has been a move away from the idea of the absolute and permanent and towards the idea of a relative and evolving world, there have been limitations to the paradigms that emphasize the subjective and the individual and free will.

The Radical Structuralist Paradigm is *'based upon relatively objectivist assumptions with regard to the nature of social science, and are geared to providing a radical critique of contemporary society'* (Burrell and Morgan, 1992, pp. 357-8). While this thesis acknowledges the structural conflicts

within society and their relationship with change, it also heeds the role of the ideas in triggering change in specific circumstances.

Morgan and Smircich (1980) presents the ontological approaches of the various paradigms in a matrix that shows the variation from the objective to the subjective, from positivist to phenomenologist approaches to social sciences.

Approach to social sciences					
Positivist			Phenomenologist		
Reality as a Concrete Structure	Reality as a Concrete Process	Reality as a Contextual field of information	Reality as a realm of symbolic discourse	Reality as a social construction	Reality as a projection of human imagination

Source: Morgan and Smircich (1980)

While some literature firmly contends that research necessarily belongs to one of the two paradigms, themselves based on a philosophical position, Niglas (1999, cited in Greene and Caracelli, 2003) points out that it is the needs of a specific research problem that determines the methodology of that research and not a philosophical position. The dominant paradigm in this research is a structuralist one. It does not only consider the significance of structural factors in affecting or resisting change, but also acknowledges the importance of human action in bringing about change as part of the dialectic dynamics within the system.

The review of the literature pointed to the importance of policy positions in key points in history and demonstrated the importance of ideologues and politicians in leading specific idea-based processes of change. It also showed a propensity for the acceptance of certain ideas by a large proportion of the population (the electorate), exerting its own momentum or

inertia. The hypothesis to be tested here is that there is a correlation between housing policies that produce better housing standards and universalist social policies. The research design aims to facilitate the testing of the research hypothesis by the use of appropriate methods.

5.2 Characteristics of the Research

Sekaran (1992) recognises three types of study: exploratory, descriptive, and/or conducted to test hypotheses. Whereas *'qualitative studies using observational techniques or interviews are used to gather data in the exploratory type of study'*, when knowledge in a particular field is limited the study becomes exploratory. A descriptive study is undertaken to *'understand the characteristics of a group in a situation of interest, aid in thinking systematically about aspects of a given situation, offer ideas for further research or help make certain simple decisions'* (Sekaran, 1992, p.97). These two forms of exploratory study can complement each other. Whereas qualitative data may help understand phenomena at the exploratory stages of a study, more quantitative data in terms of frequencies, or mean and standard deviations become necessary for descriptive studies (ibid). The third type of study that engages in hypothesis testing usually tries to *'explain the nature of certain relationships, or establish the differences among groups or the independence of two or more factors in a situation'* (Sekaran, p. 98). This type of research goes beyond *'merely describing the variables in a situation to understanding the relationships among factors of interest.'* (ibid, 1992, p.99). The research in this thesis is close to the hypothesis testing variety. It is also based on a 'longitudinal study' analysing changes in standards and attitudes in two study periods. In 'longitudinal study' the researcher gathers data or studies people or phenomena at several points in time in order to answer its research question. In contrast a 'cross-sectional' research involves gathering data just once over a period of time. In this type of research, data on the dependent variable are gathered at two or more

points in time (ibid). The variables in this research are the social values. The emerging social policies and the political conditions are also variables.

As this research studies the correlation between social values and housing policies, using housing standards in corresponding time periods as examples, the policy assertions in different periods are collected and studied and the relevant housing policies that ensue and the built social housing are then studied.

The research method selected in this research is largely qualitative. There is some use of quantitative methods especially in the early stages of data collection and the research design and methodology have been selected for their appropriateness to the requirements for testing the hypothesis.

5.3 Proposed Research Design

The study of space standards is partly quantitative, as the earlier part of the field study shows. At the same time, the determination of social values cannot be tested through quantitative research methods. Teddlie & Tashakkori (2003) offer definitions to the two categories which constitute mixed research design: The mixed model research as one that involves qualitative and quantitative projects in more than one stage of the research, comprising of questions, research methods, data collection and data analysis, and the interpretation or inference process; and the mixed methods research which involves the collection or analysis of quantitative and/or qualitative data in a single study in which the data are collected concurrently or sequentially and only the data is integrated at one or more stages in the process of the research (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003).

Stemler (2001) offers the explanation of how content analysis is justified in these terms. Content analysis was considered as the method for this study. Content analysis is described as a *'systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding'* (Stemler, 2001), while Holsti (1969) defined content

analysis as *'any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages'* (Holsti, 1969, p.14, cited in Stemler, 2001). This technique is not confined to text and may also be applied to visual and graphic content such as coding student drawings (Wheelock, Haney & Bebell, 2000) or coding actions observed in videotaped studies (Stigler, Gonzales, Kawanaka, Knoll, Serrano, 1999, all cited in Stemler, 2001). Content analysis allows inferences to be made which can then be corroborated using other methods of data collection – in case of this research, using interviews.

Research design ought to ensure validity and reliability of the analysis. The method suggested by Stemler – the selection of content categories on the basis of *'explicit rules of coding'* is a replicable technique that is suitable and workable in the present research. This thesis will also analyze the text of documents in order to ascertain the social values inherent in them. The method used is selected from the practice of content analysis and discourse analysis.

5.4.1 Content Analysis

Don Slater (1998 cited in Seale, 2000) describes the methods for content analysis and semiotics as representing *'two important attempts to introduce consistent methods to the interpretation of culture'* (Slater, 1998, p.234). The argument cited for the use of this method is partly the growth in sociology of culture and its sub disciplines, for example cultural and media studies among others. Social research that relies on *'cultural meanings as data'* is, inevitably, regarded *'as subjective and incapable of rigorous control'*. Content analysis concerns itself with *'reading cultural texts'* where *'text includes visual, aural and tactile structures of meaning and combinations thereof'* (ibid). While interpretive, qualitative approaches to social action had secured footholds in social science, cultural texts still seemed to belong in the domain of literature or art criticism, Slater observed.

One criticism leveled at 'content analysis' has been that it is not scientific enough. For this reason when using this method, researchers try to render issues of interpretation as controllable and non-contentious as possible in order to move to the more 'scientific' process of counting things. This method of research, simply measures frequency and typical research questions in this field may be '*how prevalent in soap operas are sexist images of women?*' (Slater, 1998). To research this question, the content analysts might aim to identify the instances of '*sexist images*' or roles, count the number of cases and then compare across a cultural field, within a population of images, for example those produced in a certain country. The point of such exercises is descriptive but takes the form of statements either about accuracy or kind of world the media expose to the viewer. There are two stages to this form of analysis: First, defining the problem and drawing samples that are representative and significant, but small enough to be analysed in depth; secondly, deciding on categories for *coding* the data and carrying out the coding. It is understood that the rigour of Content Analysis rests on the structure of categories used. These must be '*exhaustive and mutually exclusive*' – they must cover every representation of the subject and must not overlap. The final requirement is *reliability* which is sought by asking a number of researchers to code the same selection of images to assign them to categories (Slater, 1998, cited in Searle, 2000). These issues have been considered in the research method for this thesis.

One challenge of this type of analysis is failing to develop a complete understanding of the context, thus failing to identify key categories. This can result in findings that do not accurately represent the data. Lincoln and Guba (1985) described this as credibility within the naturalistic paradigm of trustworthiness or internal validity within a paradigm of reliability and validity. Credibility can be established through activities such as peer debriefing, prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, negative case analysis, referential adequacy, and member checks (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Manning, 1997).

Content Analysis as a tool is a very useful one however, due to the fact that the research seeks to find a correlation between certain social policies and social values, a less rigid form of analysis would be more suitable. Below the methods for content analysis have been considered in order to test its suitability for this research.

5.4.2 Methods for Content Analysis

Content Analysis has varied uses and diverse methods are associated with it. When content analysis is used for determining authorship, for example, a list of frequency of nouns or function words is compiled to determine the probability of each person's authorship. Stemler and Bebell (1998) have '*conducted a content analysis of school mission statements to make some inferences about what schools hold as their primary reasons for existence*' – the research question being: whether the criteria being used to measure programme effectiveness were aligned with the overall programme objectives. Significantly, Stemler suggests that content analysis provides an empirical basis for monitoring shifts in public opinion (Stemler, 2001).

The use of word-frequency count is what is most commonly associated with content analysis. There are a number of shortcomings in this method. Stemler highlights a number of these – the use of synonyms for stylistic reasons; each word may not represent a category equally well; and some words may have multiple meanings. Any of the above could lead to word count becoming inaccurate and therefore useless. The recommended method for content analysis is the technique of coding and categorizing the data. In other words by identifying categories – '*group of words with similar meaning or connotations*' (Weber, 1990, p.37) and ensuring they are '*mutually exclusive and exhaustive*' (GAO, 1996, p.20).

As Stemler (2001) points out, coding units are defined in different ways - through their natural borders, e.g. newspaper articles, letters and the like, through the use of syntactical units, for example, words, sentences, paragraphs created by the author, or through the use of referential units,

ones through which the unit is represented, for example, 'George W. Bush', 'President Bush' or 'W'. Referential units are said to be useful when making inferences about attitudes and values (ibid). There is a fourth way as well which uses propositional units – by breaking down the text (Krippendorff, 1980). These kinds of units are typically employed in content analysis sampling units, context units and recording units (Stemler, 2001). In this research, the sampling units would be words and sentences, the context units, the reports, minutes or policy statements and the recording units are the idea of collective equality.

The focus that may be lacking in Content Analysis for the study of texts in particular, has been sought in Discourse Analysis. Fran Tonkiss (1998) and Don Slater (1998) explain the pros and cons of analyzing Discourse and Content Analysis respectively. Tonkiss (1998) considers Discourse Analysis to be a process of scientific discovery by probing the social context that is mediated by language. Before considering the methodology of the thesis the two methods are compared and the validity of each for the purpose of this research is considered.

5.4.3 Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysts see language not simply as a neutral medium for communicating information, but as a domain in which our knowledge of the social world is shaped. Discourse analysis *'involves perspectives on language which see this not as reflecting reality in a transparent or straight forward way, but as constructing and organizing that social reality for us'* (Tonkiss, 1988, cited in Seale, 2000, p. 246) and language and texts are seen as *'sites in which social meanings are created and reproduced and social identities formed'* (ibid). There is much importance attached to the fact that changes in language raise public awareness and change public perceptions of stereotypes, such as the shift from the term 'mental handicap' to 'learning difficulties' indicate. Discourse is said to have the power to shape people's attitudes and identities. While this is giving too much primacy to the

power of a super structural element, where this thesis accepts the point made is in its acknowledgement of the way discourse reflects attitudes and identities.

The supporters of this method argue for its validity by pointing out that the critical approach to language is closely associated with post-structuralist social theory, and in particular the work of Michel Foucault. Tonkiss points out that Foucault's historical investigations into the '*social organization of madness, medicine, crime and sexuality*', used documentary evidence in a distinctive way and his approach was backed by a theoretical understanding of discourse as a realm in which institutions, norms, forms of subjectivity and social practices are constituted and made to appear natural (Foucault, 1984). The discursive constructions were linked to the shaping of social institutions and practices of social regulation and control (Tonkiss, 1998). This point is relevant when searching for social attitudes and their reflection in official texts.

In discourse analysis, language is seen as data and as the *topic* of the research. Discourse analysts gather texts so as to find out how people use language to construct their accounts of the social world. For the discourse analyst, language is both active and functional in shaping and reproducing social relations, identities and ideas (Tonkiss, 1998). Besides the general texts, there is also the expert language which has three important effects: it marks a field of knowledge; it confers membership; it bestows authority. Discourse analysis uses a set of tools to examine how different discourses present their versions of the social world (ibid, 1998). The research is about examining the way language is used to present a specific 'picture' of reality. Discourse analysis goes beyond the text to find how the larger social context is reflected in the language, such as power relations implied by different speaking positions. This makes it particularly applicable to this research.

Tonkiss (1998) describes the various stages of the research method associated with Discourse Analysis. This method of research is used to 'look at' the way meanings are constructed. For example, instead of '*looking for*'

an answer to ‘what are the causes of juvenile crime’ it considers: ‘*how is juvenile crime explained and understood within political or media discourse*’? It concerns itself with how a specific issue is constructed as a political issue or ‘problem’ and having set up the problem to be investigated, the researcher looks to collect data. Depending on how the research problem has been conceptualized, they collect data from say, parliamentary debates, political speeches, personal accounts, and the like.

In the design and analysis of the research a number of other issues have been taken into account as well. In the example offered by Tonkiss (1998) for research in attitudes towards immigration, in terms of the choice of samples or subjects for qualitative research, say interviews, discourse analysis does not aim to give a representative overview but to examine how particular attitudes are shaped and reproduced and legitimized through the use of language. It is also recommended that in analyzing data, the researcher is selective, extracting those sections which provide the richest source for analytical material – contradictions within the text being one. Coding and analysis of key words and themes is a part of this method. Recurrent themes need to be identified and analysed.

Variations in the text are also important. Differences within an account point us to the work that is being done to reconcile conflicting ideas to cope with contradictions or uncertainty. The penultimate stage in this method of research is described as ‘*attending to silences*’ – looking at the way the text is organized and how things are being said. However, at the same time discourse analysis requires the researcher to ‘read *against* the grain of the text’, to consider the ‘*alternative accounts which are excluded by omission as well as those countered by rhetoric*’ (Tonkiss, 1998, p.254). In presenting the analysis, the internal and external validity of the research method needs to be demonstrated. It needs to be coherent and consistent in terms of how the data will support the conclusions and whether the findings can be generalized to other research or social settings (ibid).

The use of discourse analysis and its relevance to the study of policy decisions is confirmed by studies and papers. Atkinson (2000) studies the use of discourse in the urban policy process and concludes that the notion of narratives (or stories) is a notable element in the policy process. He uses the way Jameson (1989) *'conceptualizes narrative as an epistemological category through which we gain knowledge of the world'* and his reasoning that *'individual narratives are linked through and reflect a deeper narrative linked to particular social class or group interests'* (Atkinson, 2000, p.213). Therefore different layers of meaning within a narrative and the ideology which underlies it must be identified. Atkinson tries to show *'how, in relation to policy, particular narratives structure and limit what may be told (or said) and how reality is thought, re-presented and acted upon'*. He stresses that *'neither discourses nor narratives are free floating'*, and that we should link them to specific political formations and institutional, organizational forms (Clegg, 1989, cited in Atkinson, 2000).

As mentioned earlier, content analysis engages in the analysis of not only the manifest content of the material, but also distinguishes the levels of content: main ideas of the text as primary content and context information as latent content (Becker & Lissmann, 1973). To this is also added the analysis of formal aspects of the material.

Qualitative content analysis is one of numerous research methods used to analyse text data. Other methods include ethnography, grounded theory, phenomenology, and historical research. Research using qualitative content analysis focuses on the characteristics of language as communication with attention to the content or contextual meaning of the text (Budd, Thorp, & Donohew, 1967; Lindkvist, 1981; McTavish & Pirro, 1990; Tesch, 1990). Qualitative content analysis goes beyond merely counting words to examining language intensely for the purpose of classifying large amounts of text into an efficient number of categories that represent similar meanings (Weber, 1990). These categories can represent either explicit communication or inferred communication. The goal of content analysis is "to

provide knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon under study" (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992, p. 314). Qualitative content analysis is may be seen as a research method involved with the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns (ibid).

If data are collected primarily through interviews, open-ended questions will be used. Probes also tend to be open-ended or specific to the participant's comments rather than to a pre-existing theory, such as "Can you tell me more about that?" Data analysis starts with reading all data repeatedly to achieve immersion and obtain a sense of the whole (Tesch, 1990) as one would read a novel. Then, data are read word by word to derive codes (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Morgan, 1993; Morse & Field, 1995) by first highlighting the exact words from the text that appear to capture key thoughts or concepts. Next, the researcher approaches the text by making notes of his or her first impressions, thoughts, and initial analysis. As this process continues, labels for codes emerge that are reflective of more than one key thought. These often come directly from the text and become the initial coding scheme. Codes then are sorted into categories based on how different codes are related and linked.

These emergent categories are used to organize and group codes into meaningful clusters (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Patton, 2002). Ideally, the numbers of clusters are between 10 and 15 to keep clusters broad enough to sort a large number of codes (Morse & Field, 1995). A structured practice of discourse analysis is Critical Discourse Analysis, which is considered below.

5.4.4 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis is said to be an attempt to build from the achievements and limitations of explorations of these questions within Marxism, especially Althusser's contribution to the theory of ideology and its development by Pecheux into a theory of discourse and a method for

discourse analysis (see Althusser 1971; Larrain 1979; Haroche, Henry, Pecheux 1971; Pecheux 1975).

While Saussure's conception of language use or parole was in individualistic and asocial terms, Fairclough's use of the term 'discourse' is one overlaid in social relations and processes. He also sees language as a '*material form of ideology*' and considers language to be '*invested by ideology*' (Fairclough, 2003, p. 73). However, while texts bear the imprint of ideologies, it is not possible '*read off*' ideologies from texts (ibid, p.71).

Discourse is seen as a complex of three elements: social practice, discursial practice (text production, distribution and consumption), and text, and the analysis of a specific discourse calls for analysis in each of these three dimensions and their interrelations (Fairclough, 1995). One of the developments in the practice of discourse in recent years, according to Fairclough is the '*cultural consequences of marketisation and commodification –the general reconstruction of social life on a market basis – and of a relative shift in emphasis within the economy from production to consumption*' (ibid).

In his 'manifesto' for his Critical Discourse Analysis research programme, Norman Fairclough offered a checklist consisting of considerations of the following elements: social events, genre, difference, intertextuality, assumptions, semantic/grammatical relations between sentences and clauses, exchanges, speech functions and grammatical mood, discourses, representation of social events, styles, modality and evaluation (Fairclough, 2003).

While his focus is the study of text and language as a reflection of context, this research aims mainly to find a specific aspect of the social context of the time, namely social values. Fairclough's argument for the study of language is that since changes (in capitalism) are transforming many aspects of social life, then they are necessarily transforming language as one element of social life which is dialectically interconnected with others.' (Fairclough, 2003, p.203).

Just as ideology bears on social life which has a dialectical relationship with discourse as Fairclough suggests, it may be argued that social values are also reflected in discourse. Defining social life as '*an interconnected network of social practices of diverse sorts (economic, political and cultural), and social practice as the stabilized forms of social activity such as classroom teaching, television news or family meals*', Fairclough suggests that social practice includes the following elements: Activities, subjects and their social relations, instruments, objects, time and place, forms of consciousness, values, discourse.

These elements are dialectically related (Harvey 1996) and '*in a sense each 'internalises' the others without being reducible to them*' and '*Critical Discourse Analysis is an analysis of the dialectical relationships between discourse and other elements of social practices*' (Fairclough, 2003, p.205).

This thesis uses the approach of Critical Discourse Analysis method in the analysis of data. While this form of analysis concerns itself with '*changes in contemporary social life*', its concern with the way discourse reflects several layers of meaning is relevant to this research because of the significance of social values and ideas in the formation of policies. The validity of this method has been defended by its practitioners and theoreticians, arguing that the role of discourse within the society and culture is historically variable and that in modern and contemporary society discourse it plays a major role in the socio-cultural reproduction and change (Fairclough, 2003, p.2). Fairclough (1995) ties ideology to social relations of power and declares that '*an important objective for critical analysis is the elision of power/domination in theory and analysis*' (Fairclough, 1995, p.17).

In defining relevant ground for Critical Discourse Analysis, Fairclough cites Gramsci's concept of hegemony which is based on the winning of consent in the exercise of power, the part that ideology plays in securing domination and points out that '*the concern in most analysis is with social relations of domination within a social system which is capitalist, and dominated by – but not reducible to relations of class*' (Fairclough, 1995, p.17).

The key to the validity of Critical Discourse Analysis is its critical engagement with the issues. Halliday suggests: *'By their everyday acts of meaning, people act out the social structure, affirming their own statuses and roles, and establishing and transmitting the shared systems of value and of knowledge'* (Halliday 1978:2, cited in Fairclough, p.35). Fairclough points out that if this is the case, then it makes little sense to study the verbal interactions as if they were unconnected with social structures: *'there can be no theoretical defence for supposing that the personal encounters of day-to-day life can be conceptually separated from the long-term institutional development of society'* (Giddens 1981, p.173). Critical Discourse Analysis deals with many issues relevant to this study.

5.5 Problems with Qualitative Research

The downside of qualitative research is that, invariably, only small numbers of subjects can be studied because data collection methods are rather labour intensive. It is also often criticised for: being subject to researcher bias; the difficulties in analysing qualitative data rigorously; the lack of reproducibility and generalisability of the findings (i.e. findings may not be applicable to other subjects or settings). Proponents of qualitative research would however argue that there are strategies available to the qualitative researcher to protect against these potential biases and to enhance the rigour of the findings. Nicholas and Pope (1995) wrote an article in the BMJ specifically addressing techniques for improving the rigour of qualitative research findings. The methodological checklist below was developed by the same authors to help readers of qualitative projects assess the quality of published research but they also provide a useful checklist for researchers to consider when designing their own qualitative research. Nicholas and Pope (1995) proposed that qualitative research requires: the research question to be clearly identified; the setting in which the research took place clearly described; the sampling methods described (where applicable); the issues of subjectivity and data collection to be addressed; methods used to test the

validity of the results of the research; steps to be taken to increase the reliability of the information collected, for example, by repeating the information collection; use of quantitative methods (if appropriate) as a supplement to the qualitative methods (Peninsula Research and Development Support Unit, Qualitative Research Methods,

[<http://www.projects.ex.ac.uk/prdsu/helpsheets/Helpsheet09-May03-Unlocked.pdf>].

This research will seek to increase the reliability of the qualitative data by supplementing it with quantitative data and by comparing data collected in order to test for repetition.

5.6 Field Work and Data Collection

The research aimed at finding a correlation between policies and their outcome as reflected in quality of social housing. **The first proposition is that the political aspects of social policies are determined by social values.** To test this hypothesis the broad thrust of social policies was studied in two specific periods – 1945-1979 and 1979-1997.

These were found to be summarized as the social democratic consensus in the period after WWII and the years up to 1979 and the neo-liberal ascendancy in the 1980s. To find the correlation between the political orthodoxy as demonstrated in social values and housing policy, the content of documents and representative reports were studied.

The second proposition is that universalist social policies are favoured at the time of the social democratic consensus. Policy texts of the two periods under study were considered for the reflection of the position of policy makers towards social values that led to the acceptance of universalism. For this reference to certain concepts would be indicative of the position. A set of codes were identified, such as the terms: equality, justice, citizenship as identifying the values associated with the social democratic approach.

The third proposition is that universalist social values lead to higher space standards in social housing. In order to verify this proposition, the position of agents involved in the provision of social housing was relevant. The literature had shown that the perception of the values of those involved in the process of provision had an impact on the uptake of state provided services. In order to assess the values at work in the provision of social housing, architects involved in the design of two housing projects from the two periods under study were interviewed. They were asked for their views on their role and to assess their understanding of their role in the standards of housing they designed. Regarding the policy aspect of the housing provision, the views of a prominent official in the procurement of social housing – Housing Corporation – was sought.

These interviews were analysed to extrapolate their intentions and hence their social values, as individuals and as professionals with a collective ethos.

The field work was focused on the analysis of documents as a reflection of the current orthodoxy.

The qualitative method of interviews was most suitable for finding out the intentions of the participants in the provision of housing as the intentions of the agents is deemed to have a bearing on the testing of the current social values.

The interview was used both as an investigatory tool and as a semi-structured discussion. The research was divided into the study of key documents, minutes of meetings, committee reports and the like; and interviews with key individuals. The method for analysing the documents is that of Critical Content Analysis.

As in parts of this research, the object of (qualitative) content analysis can be recorded communication (transcripts of interviews, discourses, documents and the like).

5.6.2 Data Collection Methods

The data collection comprised of several steps. The first were informal meetings with individuals with expertise in the field to test out the validity of the hypothesis in terms of the available information. In the latter stages of the research these were again followed by informal meetings or telephone discussions with academics or professionals with expertise on the subject area of this research. The data collection included a great deal of research in unpublished archive material to gather information on policies in general and housing policies in particular. This research was preceded by access to archives in order to gather data regarding space standards on housing estates which in turn was augmented by visit to sites and the production of a photographic record of existing housing.

In order to complete the background research on the subject of the thesis, informal discussions were arranged with: Ian Colquhoun, author of a number of publications on social housing in Britain and formerly the City Planner of the City of Hull; and Bernard Hunt, Director of HTA Architects, a firm of architects specializing in social housing and originator of the launching of the Housing Quality Indicators; the research topic as discussed with them was based around how socially acceptable standards vary in time.

Ian Colquhoun confirmed much of the literature and emphasized the reaction to the lower standards in 1950s as a prompt for the commissioning of the Parker Morris report. He was generally in agreement over the importance of raising standards in social housing, with an interest in the architecture of the housing in determining the quality of the environment.

The discussions with **Bernard Hunt**, questioned the scope of the research and the exclusion of the private sector, stressing that the regulations would have to be adhered to and in this sense they would not reflect the socially acceptable standards. It would be the choices people made in deciding how small a dwelling they would be prepared to purchase that would determine what was socially acceptable.

In the later stages of the research, in order to ensure a thorough literature review, **Professor Julianne Hanson** of University College London was

contacted. In a meeting, she confirmed that the area of her research was unrelated to the subject of the research. The researches that were being conducted at the Advanced Architectural Studies course at the Bartlett School were not related to the topic of this research.

(Note: The influential publications of Julienne Hanson and Bill Hillier on Space Syntax also have a different focus to the one in this thesis).

The semi-structured interviews of the research had led to a number of new contacts. Among these was **Andrew Drury** head of HATC Ltd (previously HA Training and Consultancy) which is among the advisers to the Housing Corporation. In a telephone conversation he too confirmed that no new material had been published regarding housing standards over the previous months, confirming that the literature review was up-to-date.

Originally the research was focused on mapping the space standards in social housing in developments that had received architectural awards. A number of developments were ear-marked on the basis of their design credentials. However, records of many of these were difficult to access. Elaine Harwood of English Heritage was very helpful in sharing her vast knowledge of where information on 20th century housing developments in London could be found or where there was no information.

Lack of information was a major obstacle in researching many of the developments. All too often, local authorities would announce that in the digitalization of the records in the 1980s all the original drawings were destroyed. Lack of continuity in terms of staff turn-over has meant that most officers simply do not know where records may be found. Whether access could be found to information has proved to be a question of luck, and whether a local authority has any member of staff with the knowledge or willingness to help. An example of this was information on Barbican Centre which cannot be located.

Certain drawings have left the country through legacies. The drawings of Alison and Peter Smithson, for example, were bequeathed to Harvard

University Archives. Contact via email made it clear that the information could not be accessed except in person, making it less practical. In the event relevant information was gathered from the London Metropolitan Archives.

Records in the following archives were used in compiling the data on space standards in the 1950-2000 years:

- City of Westminster Archives Centre,
- London Metropolitan Archives,
- (Corporation of London Records Office) – (Guild Hall),
- British Architectural Library Drawing Collection based at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

In the case of Lillington Estate, although on the catalogue of the British Architectural Library, could not access the drawings due to the fact that the re-location of the material from storage was not possible.

As the result of the absence of many planning drawings, the drawings submitted for the building control application had to be accessed and measured.

The information on most of the pre-1980s drawings was raw, i.e. all the drawings were in imperial scale and had to be converted to metric dimensions, re-measured and their areas calculated.

Another source for data on housing estates was architectural practices. The following practices were visited who contributed material for the research relating to the post-1980 period: CGHP Architects (the practice has since been divided into CGHP Architects and Monahan Blythen Architects) and Proctor Matthews Architects.

The material collected from the above practices as well as archive material was compiled in a spreadsheet to provide a basis for comparison of standards.

5.6.4 Housing Estates – Preliminary Research

A number of housing estates were researched in an attempt to map the changes in space standards in housing estates over the post-war period. In order to select estates where the standards were considered to reflect declared values of the time, the scope of the schemes researched was narrowed down to ones that had won awards or were designed by award winning architectural practices. As described above the field of research was extensive but given the difficulties with finding drawings from which measurements could be taken the set was reduced to cover only examples for every decade covered.

The drawings for the following estates were measured for a review of standards:

- Churchill Gardens Housing Scheme in Pimlico by Powell and Moya, for Westminster City Council, constructed in 1950 -1953;
- Alton Estate on Roehampton Lane Site by London County Council Architects Department, construction begun in 1958 (Alton East) and 1959 (Alton West);
- Lillington Street Housing in Pimlico by Architects Darbourne and Darke for Westminster City Council, constructed in 1964-1972;
- Robin Hood Lane Estate in Poplar by Alison and Peter Smithson for the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, constructed in 1966-1971;
- Rossetti Court, Ridgmount Place, Housing by CGHP Architects, for Housing Association, constructed in 1993;
- Hawksmoor School Site Housing, by CGHP Architects, for Shepherd's Bush Housing Association, constructed in 1995;
- Dover Court Housing, by CGHP Architects for Soho Housing Association, constructed 1997;

The data collected from the above are illustrated in the Appendices section. As the discussion in chapter 6 will demonstrate, the data on floor areas of the above estates proved inconclusive. Following the interviews with experts

it became clear that it was necessary to concentrate the analysis of housing standards on two key housing estates. Alexandra Road Estate and Holly Street Phase I were selected as examples where distinction between the standards current in the two periods could be demonstrated. For full discussion see chapter 6.

The two estates were researched in publications and drawings as well as through site visits. The information on space standards for Alexandra Road was hard to find because of Camden Council policies on data protection. Copies of drawings for both estates were finally supplied by Levitt Bernstein Associates.

5.6.5 Policy Documents and Interviews

Although the Acts of Parliament are now available on the website of the Houses of Parliament, much of the information was found in hard copy format in the National Archives before these became available via the internet.

The Cabinet papers, minutes of meetings and Committee reports analysed in the following chapter were all accessed at the National Archives. The Library of the House of Parliament, in Westminster, was also visited for more material on policy documents, but this did not prove as fruitful as the National Archives.

The Macmillan Cabinet Papers are stored in CD- ROM format at the National Archives. These had a combination of documents marked 'secret' or 'confidential' and set out the discussions that went on before the adoption of policies. Minutes of committee meetings and White and Green Papers were accessed either in microfiche format or in hard copy at the National Archives in Kew.

The interviews were the final part of the data gathering process. The two architect interviewees, **David Levitt** and **Neave Brown** were visited at their homes for the interview. Prior to the meeting, in a phone call, a summary of

the research was given to the interviewees. At the beginning of the interview the background and hypothesis of the research was explained and the interviewees were invited to respond to the points raised.

The first interview was with David Levitt. He is a renowned architect who has been active in the design of social housing for many years as a founder of Levitt Bernstein Architects. He has co-operated on the production of many documents regarding social housing in the UK. Before the interview with David Levitt, the Brunswick Centre was selected as an example for research. However, in view of the fact that Brunswick Centre comprises of only 1 and 2 bedroom units, this development was dropped and instead Alexandra Road estate in Camden was selected as an example of a development built with Parker Morris standards.

This led to the meeting with Neave Brown, architect of Alexandra Road estate. This interview was particularly useful as it helped confirm a number of assumptions of the hypothesis and challenged some others.

The interview with **Clive Clowes**, head of procurement at the Housing Corporation proved very difficult to organize. His assistant did not succeed in arranging a time to meet. It was following a letter from Dr. Robert Biel of DPU that he accepted to be interviewed. The interview was long and useful in that it confirmed a number of facts regarding the standards and the way the Housing Corporation viewed their significance and effect.

The core housing estates under study are Alexandra Road Estate and Holly Street Estate, Phase 1. There was great difficulty in finding original drawings for Alexandra Road. Neave Brown the original design architect did not have any copies of the drawings and Camden Council as the local authority in charge of the drawings proved extremely unhelpful in providing any information and allowing access, citing privacy and security as an issue. In this Levitt Bernstein Architects as the practice involved in the refurbishment of the estate were very helpful. In addition to David Levitt, Patrick Hammill, Divisional Director, and Andy Jobling, Technical Manager, very helpfully provided copies of drawings and discussed the information in a meeting.

Drawings for Holly Street Phase 1 were also supplied by Levitt Bernstein. Continuous contact with the above practice has been a main source of acquiring information on the space standards on these two estates.

A good deal of research was also carried out into the history of the development of the above projects. Architectural journals and research theses were reviewed in order to select and study the estates.

5.7 Conclusion

The study of research methodology identified critical discourse analysis as an appropriate method for analysing the data through coding and categorising them. The understanding of discourse analysis of language as '*a domain in which our knowledge of the social world is shaped*' (Searle, 2000) makes this method suitable for analysing the document that communicate more than a word count would suggest. As it sets out to find how the social context is reflected in the language, it will help bring into focus concepts that are only inferred. From these the inferred and stated social values and the ideological context of the text may be implied. In analysing data, sections of the texts that are rich in analytical material are selected and key concepts (or words) and themes are identified and analysed.

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, the data collection was conducted with an original intention of mapping the change in standards against changes in policies. The aim of the exercise changed after an initial consideration. Subsequently the focus of the study shifted to the analysis of the correlation between social values and social housing policies. This meant that the exercise of measuring and compiling data on housing developments of each decade in the last half of the twentieth century was no longer essential. However, the data is still useful as a guide and example of the housing of the periods under study.

The main bulk of the data found in Party Manifestos, official documents and interviews with agents involved in the provision of social housing will be

analysed in the following chapter. Together with these, the space standards of the two examples chosen for the two periods under study will be compared.

Chapter 6

Empirical Evidence

6.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the empirical evidence collected and seeks to identify universalism and selectivism in social and housing policies and subsequently their effect on housing standards. To do so, it was necessary to identify what constitutes the universalist approach or the contrasting selectivist approach. Certain definitions were deduced from the literature and applied in the analysis. What is intended by the term policy is the broad sense of the term and includes what might be termed statements of policy intention where policy is implied but not necessarily explicitly spelt out. The reason for this broader definition is that in order to find connections between values and policies, it was important to identify the principles that informed the state's actions as expressed through its assertions whether these were named policy or not.

The data analysed consist of texts of documents, drawings, information on physical environment and archive records to establish social values and their connection with housing policies. As mentioned in Chapter five, the material uncovered and analysed include:

- **Political statements** and **Election Manifestos** at key periods,
- **Policy documents and debates** leading to decisions that affect housing standards,

- Government-commissioned recommendations, including the **Parker Morris Report**,
- Government **White Papers** and **Circulars**,
- **Interviews** with individuals involved in the provision of social housing,
- Architects' drawings, site visits and photographs of sample estates with particular attention to: **Alexandra Road Estate (1976) and Holly Street Phase I (1993)**.

The physical standards of a number of housing developments were analysed to establish patterns of change hinted at in some literature. This was followed by detailed analysis of two developments, Alexandra Road and Holly Street Phase I, as case studies for the two periods under study, respectively.

The chapters on literature and methodology led to the distilling of the research issues into a number of proposals: that the Social Democratic consensus of the 1960s was replaced with a neo-liberal consensus based on a market driven society in the 1980s, that in the same time periods, the state's role in the provision of services and setting standards through regulation changed into that of promotion of the market through de-regulation, that the relative dominance of the universalist approach and the social democratic consensus in the earlier period changed to one leaning heavily towards a selectivist (targeting) approach.

Different theoretical or political positions attributed their own meaning to specific terms, the most prominent being: the state and the collective versus the market and the individual and the concept of social justice versus that of choice and freedom. However, a number of other issues were also inferred in the literature, the class conscious rhetoric as opposed to the one-nation rhetoric as well as the idea of a modernised society as opposed to one focused on its traditions.

As a result, the above concepts or terms form a part of the analysis of data in relation to determining the dominant social values for the purpose of testing the three propositions of the thesis. The analysis is structured around the search for these concepts in the researched material, with social values, social policies, housing policies or housing standards identified in each type of document or text. The above issues are sought in the manifestos, policy documents, committee papers and recommendations and finally in the interviews.

6.2 Social Values and Social Policy

The definition used for social values is that of political positions which are meant to show the sum total of the attitudes and approach of the state or the people towards what is favoured and acceptable. In order to establish the social values of the time, first the election manifestos of the main political Parties that formed governments in critical periods of this research time-line, were reviewed. Social values are also taken to have been affected by the ideological positions of the actors in the drawing up and implementation of policies. In order to ascertain the substance and direction of these the political statements of political parties and Government officials need to be analysed for their aspirations just as they need to be analysed for their concrete outcome, once implemented. As chapters two and three identified, the political positions of the two major political parties in Britain were not always opposite just as their class positions were not always reflected with the same degree of force in their policies, or at least not in all their policies. This meant that the texts of documents were to be reviewed for the expression of different alignments.

As mentioned earlier, the periods studied extends from the post-war years to 1997. The start of the period is set as the immediate aftermath of the Second World War because it coincides with the period that is extensively referred to

in the literature as the years of consensus. This is the start of the period that is defined in this thesis as the period of the social democratic consensus when the ideas of centrally planned economy to improve conditions for all had turned into the current orthodoxy not only in Britain but in much of the industrially developed world. The formal end of this period is set as 1979 when the Conservative Party came to power with a promise of reversing much of the earlier policies. The period 1979 onwards was the period when there was an ideological shift in social policy. These years were identifiable by the predominance of a neo-liberal consensus and the ideas of Hayek and Friedman, which found political expression in the policies of Margaret Thatcher.

The earlier years of the first period under study are of significance for their association with the introduction of significant universalist policies such as the National Health Service and universal primary education. As far as the position of the Government is concerned, the critical years after the Second World War that shaped major social policy changes showed that the changes of government were not equally balanced between the two parties. Labour Party was in government in 1945-51, the period that saw the emergence of the ground breaking welfare state policies as part of a social democratic domestic policy. In the years 1951 to 1963 the Conservative party was in power. In the ensuing years from 1963 to 1979 the Labour Party was in government, with the exception of 1970-4, when the Conservative Party was in power under Prime Minister Edward Heath. Although the Conservative Party as the home of the (neo-) liberal ideology was in power from 1979 till 1997, in a number of key areas these ideas continued to form policy even after the coming into government of the Labour Party.

The propositions concern the change in social values, in the norms, beliefs and expectations of the people that were to some degree reflected in their acceptance of a Party's manifesto sufficiently to bring it to power. A review of selected election manifestos shows the ideas that were put to the electorate

and may be assumed to have gained social acceptance to sufficient degree to have brought their proponents to power. The key elections that preceded major social policy changes relating to the subject of this thesis were 1945, 1951, 1964 and 1979.¹

6.2.1 Social Values and Social Policy in Party Manifestos and Policy Documents: 1945 -1979

In order to test the first and second propositions of this thesis, the social values of the period under study are sought in the documents of significance in the two periods. These are based on the establishment of the presence of a social democratic consensus, its co-incidence with universalism and the social values that are expressed in the political discourse in the years 1945 till 1979. The relevant data were gathered from the party manifestos and policy documents.

Since universalism, as understood and implemented within the welfare state, is a key component of the research, the study of the government and conditions that led to its inception is needed. The years in the immediate aftermath of the WWII are studied to establish the mood of the era. The 1945 manifesto of the Labour Party is analysed here, as the literature shows that the impact of the inception of the first universal social service, the National Health Service in 1948 set a standard for others to follow. The manifesto of 1951 by the Conservative Party is also studied as it represented the pledges of a Party that remained in government for 13 years – an indication that its manifestos must have resonated with the electorate.

During the post-war years that came to be termed years of Consensus, the two Parties' manifestos appeared to try to appeal to the same sentiments while retaining their traditional identity. The Labour Party Manifesto of 1945

¹ Although 1997 was the next significant change in stewardship of the Government when the Labour Party came to power, the period of study is limited to the year up to 1993 as the period that exemplified liberal policies in a purer form than that practiced after 1997.

which brought it to power was entitled '*Victory in war must be followed by a prosperous peace*', appealed to the electorate on two fronts. First it drew on the experience of the war and the management of the economy and the 'war effort' through central planning, by the state, and secondly, it appealed to the people's sense of social justice. The following points were made: the role the state could (and a Labour government would) use with the mechanism of regulation, in the interest of the people as opposed to big business and the universalist message was articulated in the proposed policies. Social justice was the aim of the Party and it tried to expose the Conservative Party's claim for freedom as a cover for defending the interests of capital. These issues were the fundamental points around which the manifesto built its case.

The Labour party was going to represent the people against the interests and schemes of big business to profiteer at the expense of the poor. The Labour Party would win peace through appropriate social and economic policies, (unlike the Conservatives after the last war). In those years, the manifesto pointed out, '*the "hard-faced men" and their political friends kept control of the Government. They controlled the banks, the mines, the big industries, largely the press and the cinema. They controlled the means by which the people got their living. They controlled the ways by which most of the people learned about the world outside*' (Labour Party Manifesto, 1945). In contrast, Labour Party would correct this imbalance.

The manifesto presented a clear ideological stand in its vision of the society, when it declared that it has made 'fair shares' the national rule more than ever before. It had done so through taxation, controls over industry and transport, the fair rationing of food and control of prices. Improved living conditions were tacitly promised. People were warned that the hopes for improved living conditions in the future would be at risk if the Conservative Party came to power. The ideological debate between the right and left was being played out in terms of keeping or removing 'controls' – the role of the state in imposing regulations in favour of the working people - was the core

of the debate as was the interpretation of the idea of 'freedom'. The idea of fairness and a fair share are important as they were going to be seen later in arguments for universalism and their presence in the discourse is taken to signify a current of thought in that direction.

The Labour Party manifesto defended the principle of regulation and accused the Conservatives of self-interest as the motive for their opposition to state regulation: *'the anti-controllers and anti-planners desire to sweep away public controls, simply in order to give the profiteering interests and the privileged rich an entirely free hand to plunder the rest of the nation as shamelessly as they did in the nineteen-twenties'*. The Conservative arguments for freedom were also declared to be self-interested. The manifesto asked: *'Does freedom for the profiteer mean freedom for the ordinary man and woman, whether they are wage-earners or small business or professional men or housewives? Just think back over the depressions of the 20 years between the wars, when there were precious few public controls of any kind and the Big Interests had things all their own way. Never was so much injury done to so many by so few. Freedom is not an abstract thing. To be real it must be won, it must be worked for.'* Regulation and state intervention were also integral parts of the universalist tendency.

While the Labour manifesto's message is candid in terms of what the subsequent years would hold, so is its clear universalist stance. The future would not be easy, but this time *'peace must be won. The Labour Party offers the nation a plan which will win the Peace for the People.'* The beneficiaries of the improvements in living conditions would be all the people: *'The nation wants food, work and homes. It wants more than that - it wants good food in plenty, useful work for all, and comfortable, labour - saving homes that take full advantage of the resources of modern science and productive industry. It wants a high and rising standard of living, security for all against a rainy day, an educational system that will give every boy and girl a chance to develop the best that is in them.'* The universalist view

witnessed in this passage is inherent in much of the manifesto, as is the legitimacy of state control.

The concept of freedom had been used by the Conservatives in favour of capital so Labour Party gave its own definition of the term. It stood for freedom of worship, speech and of the Press, of Trade Unions and for civil liberties, but it would not tolerate: *'freedom to exploit other people; freedom to pay poor wages and to push up prices for selfish profit; freedom to deprive the people of the means of living full, happy, healthy lives'*. The Labour Party presented itself as the party of modernization and of future: *'The nation needs a tremendous overhaul, a great programme of modernisation and re-equipment of its homes, its factories and machinery, its schools, its social services.'* The idea of modernization that represented the embracing of the new mode of thinking had characteristics in common with the modernist paradigm. The idea of modernity, however indirectly, carried with it a suggestion of universal progress and universalism.

The Labour Party manifesto clearly hinted at the perceived consensus between the Parties and tried to clarify how the two parties' approach to the issues varied. The apparent consensus in words of these aspirations between the parties, warned the manifesto, was only superficial: *'All parties say so - the Labour Party means it. For the Labour Party is prepared to achieve it by drastic policies and keeping a firm constructive hand on our whole productive machinery; the Labour Party will put the community first and the sectional interests of private business after. Labour will plan from the ground up - giving an appropriate place to constructive enterprise and private endeavour in the national plan, but dealing decisively with those interests which would use high-sounding talk about economic freedom to cloak their determination to put themselves and their wishes above those of the whole nation.'* The idea of the community, of an active state is dominant.

Whereas the 1945 manifesto of the Labour Party had focused on its legitimacy in representing the interests of the majority of ordinary people, as

in the 1951 General election, the Conservative Party manifesto of 1945 presented itself as one representing the interests of all the people. In its opening paragraph it proclaimed: *'We need a new Government not biased by privilege or interest or cramped by doctrinal prejudices or inflamed by the passions of class warfare. Such a Government only the Conservative and Unionist Party can to-day [sic] provide.'* The dominance of the mood for universalism is shown in the fact that the Conservative Party uses the idea of representing the interests of all the people in order to obtain votes.

The Conservative Party manifesto of 1945 blamed the Labour Party for the problems of the time and in terms that alluded to the war-time conditions: *'(Six years previously), we were a united people at home, and it was only by being united that we had survived the deadly perils through which we had come and had kept the flag of freedom flying through the fateful year when we were alone. There, at any rate, is a great foundation and inspiration. Everyone knows how the aftermath of war brings extraordinary difficulties. With national unity we could have overcome them'.* The idea of national unity is a recurrent one as is the negation of the idea of class conflict: *'We must free ourselves from our impediments. Of all impediments the class war is the worst. At the time when a growing measure of national unity is more than ever necessary, the Socialist Party hope to gain another lease of power by fomenting class hatred and appealing to moods of greed and envy.'* The arguments put forward by the two political parties are a reflection of the dominant ideas of the time. The fact that each claimed they stood for a better life for all was another indication of the general mood of the time, just as the Labour manifesto's reference to 'fairness' showed an early indication of the concept of universalism. In a sign of Party political strife, however, the Labour Party derided the Conservative Government for 'freedoms' through de-regulation as self-interested, while the Conservative Party manifesto criticized the Labour Party for promoting policies of envy. Each was

promoting its characteristic position, and each tried to do so by appealing to the idea that dominated at the time, the idea of oneness.

The momentum of social change during the post-war period is acknowledged over and over again in governmental papers and writings. Moreover, the social expectations were affected by post-war conditions and suggested a recognition that a new society was emerging in Britain. The Conservative Party had to decide whether to align itself with change or adhere to its traditional past. Since its inception, the welfare state had been turned into a 'fact on the ground' and had proved very popular, in the universal access to health care introduced by Aneurin Bevan in July 1948. A universal social service had discovered major problems in the standards of general health due to lack of access in previous years. Class divisions and the values associated with the support of each class for the ruling party impacted on how governments formulated their policies. A survey carried out in the middle of 1958 revealed that more than a quarter of Conservative votes came from the working class and R.A. Butler's papers reveal that the Conservative Party had concluded that: *'The minority vote of the working class is crucial to the Conservative Party in that hardly any reasonably possible improvement in the voting of other classes could compensate for its loss'* (RAB H39/43). This statement is set in context when considering Margaret Thatcher's remark that Butler would have never become Conservative Prime Minister because he was 'too left-wing' (Thatcher, 1995). There is relevance in the acceptance of the necessity to satisfy the needs of both the working class and middle class and how this was manifested in a greater sense of universalism. Jarvis and Turner point out that the research of the time had shown that the *'new middle class and the new working class were crucial among the under 35 electorate'*. The Conservative Party's interpretation of this fact was to promote the 1959 Housing and Housing Purchase Act and to support the growth of home-ownership and this was to

in turn help with economic expansion and become a useful '*electoral weapon*' in the Party's hands (Jarvis and Turner).

The government's policies were used to manipulate and shape the population's values, just as social values were affecting contents of Party manifestos. The degree to which there was inertia against change and whether they presented the mood and values of the time, finds an answer in the accounts of the debate held on the 15th of December 1958 which show that Reginald Bevin, the (Conservative) Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Housing openly saw the aim of the government's policy of encouraging home-ownership to be that of "manufacturing Conservatives" in the longer term (HC Debs 1958-59), indirectly showing the importance attached to the changes in social values through changing social policy.

Within a decade, when Keymer, Assistant Secretary to the Ministry of Housing proposed '*the issues which should be taken into consideration in formulating policies*', and made suggestions for policy under the five headings: Standards, Physical aspects, Social aspects, Economic and financial issues and Administrative and planning issues, his inclusion of 'social aspect' suggested an acknowledgement of the effect of housing on the tenants and the discussion of socially acceptable standards which are themselves linked to social values of the time. Also when Cullingworth presented his paper on housing in June 1967, and criticised The English Committee's recommendation for dual standards on the grounds that the adoption of higher standards across the board was 'impracticable', he said: '*In my view the impracticability is not physical but political (i.e., a judgement as to what is right)*' (ibid, para.11). The '*judgement as to what is right*', not only placed the policies within the accepted social values, but gave them an ethical dimension as well. The argument here is an ideological one.

In 1964, the call for votes was based on new arguments and the manifestos of 1964 were necessarily different. What was striking in the manifesto of the Labour Party was the association of the Party with modernity, progress,

peace and justice. *'The new world would require a new approach and the 'old-fashioned' Conservative Party could not deliver'*. Labour Party pledged to *'enable our country to re-establish itself as a stable force in the world today for progress, peace, and justice'*. Efficiency and modernization were part of the tasks a Labour government would see before it, together with the importance it attached to *'humanizing the whole administration of the state'*. The Labour Party would *'put an end to the dreary commercialism and personal selfishness which have dominated the years of Conservative government. The morality of money and property is a dead and deadening morality. In its place we must again reassert the value of service above private profit and private gain'*. While the strands of consensus were visible in the Party manifestos declaring oneness, the differences between the two ideological approaches were manifested in the contrast between modernism, progress and social justice and profit and private gain.

The policy of 'manufacturing Conservatives' through the promotion of home-ownership was to continue to feature in the policies of subsequent governments as well, whatever their colour, with the main difference being the emphasis and zeal with which it would be pursued. The next push toward the promotion of home-ownership came in the 1980s under the Conservative government led by Margaret Thatcher, a policy that remained unchanged even after the Conservatives left office in 1997.

The idea that politicians saw the potential of changing public attitudes towards engineering means of private ownership is a proof of the influence of state's ideology on policies just as the effect of social values on acceptance or rejection of policies appears to be demonstrated.

In the post war years the working class had expectations of improvements to their lives, ones that were now possible in the new and modernising Britain. In their analysis of the 1961 Census, the Conservative Party's Research Department warned: *'...more white-collar jobs, more skilled jobs, higher incomes...have led to the picture of the embourgeoisement of the proletariat.'*

Often middle-class in income and usually in self-estimation, though not necessarily in their values, these families have developed a taste for middle-class objectives of a home-centred life, a suburban-style house, and middle-class holidays. They also show an understandable dissatisfaction if the gains which they have made in recent years appear to be threatened or to be tailing off. The demand to better quality services for the poor to equate to those of the middle class was understood by politicians and government ministers. Acknowledging the shift in attitudes, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Education wrote: *'The working classes will never submit to a return to the conditions of the twenties and thirties. They are different people now. They are more numerous, better educated, better organised and more intelligently led and, most of all, they have known better times'* (C(6)219). There is a clear understanding and acceptance of the repercussions of the new attitudes, as the Minister declares: *'If we cannot manage their affairs more beneficially they will get rid of us. They will be right to do so'* (C (6)219).

The point that is recurrent in Government papers and official documents quoted above is that the dominant expectation of better quality social services was so prevalent that the governments felt obliged to appease it. The idea of social welfare was thus accepted by the Macmillan government, whatever the incentive. As far as that incentive is concerned, there are two conflicting interpretations of the Conservative Party's attitude towards welfare. Although the Party's dislike for welfare provision was on principle; and not helped by the fact that it was paid for by Conservative taxpayers, it could not abandon the Attlee government's reforms for fear of an electoral backlash, and tried to spend as little as it could manage - a point also made by Jones (1992). The strength of feeling among the electorate about government support for public services was such that when in January 1958, the Treasury Ministers Thorneycroft, Birch and Powell resigned in protest at being refused the £50 million of cuts they had demanded, the government

was anxious *‘that he should be seen to be going out because his policies ‘must involve cuts in vital services, including those especially affecting certain aspects of family life – and this without regard to the effect upon the industrial front and on the task of those who have the responsibility of working for wage-restraint’* (Macmillan, 1971). This was in effect the government’s acknowledgement of the electoral power of the working people and that it was significant enough to feature as a social aspiration for the society as a whole. The Party in power had to accept that the welfare state was here to stay.

It is no accident that it was in this period – in 1959 – that the Housing Advisory Committee commissioned a committee under the chairmanship of Sir Parker Morris to review the standards of design and equipment in family dwellings and to make recommendations. The remit of the committee extended to make recommendations on ‘family dwellings and other accommodation whether provided by local authorities or by private enterprise’.

Together with the tendency towards the social democratic notion of universal social services, during the three decades following the Second World War the ‘social’ found significance as opposed to the ‘individual’. This policy shift meant that while the idea of the responsibility of the state for safeguarding of the social good was established as a socially accepted - if not expected policy - governments of both ‘colour’ complied with this expectation. This compliance was tempered, however, by the commitment of the party in power to either the social democratic or the liberal agenda.

The idea of universal provision of essential services has resonance with the policies that have the idea of social investment at their core. The changing discourse witnessed in the documents gives an indication of the changing attitudes, partly in government and partly in the population. The use of the term *‘social investment’* became more and more frequent in the official texts of the late 1950s and the 1960s. The term appears as an acceptance of

public expenditure for the creation of a physical infrastructure and a social one which would in turn increase prosperity and to be in keeping with the modernisation agenda (C (58) 148, 1958).

Just as the social democratic consensus oscillated between different shades of commitment, there was a shift in emphasis between improving the quality of social housing and increasing the number of dwellings available to low income families. In the debates that feature in the documents, there is much evidence of the focus shifting from one to the other. The literature showed the emphasis of the Conservative Party in 1951 on increasing the numbers of dwellings and reducing the space standards. The debate on the number of social housing units being built was still in evidence in the early 1960s.

The Labour Party in government, according to the Conservative manifesto of 1979, had made things worse and by *'practising the politics of envy and by actively discouraging the creation of wealth, they have set one group against another in an often bitter struggle to gain a larger share of a weak economy'* and *'by enlarging the role of the State and diminishing the role of the individual, they have crippled the enterprise and effort on which a prosperous country with improving social services depends'*. However, the most important aspect of the social policy of pre-1979 years was their acceptance of the role of the state in re-distributing wealth and resources in order to achieve a fair and just society – in keeping with social democratic values.

6.3 Social Values and Social Policy in Party Manifestos and Policy Documents: 1979 - 1997

On face value, the Conservative manifesto of 1979 contained a message of solidarity, greater empowerment of the individual, prosperity and improving social services. Even in its rejection of the role of the trades unions under the Labour government, the manifesto had a message of understanding towards

a form of solidarity: *'the trade union movement, which sprang from a deep and genuine fellow-feeling for the brotherhood of man, is today more distrusted and feared than ever before'*. The manifesto of 1979 saw five main tasks before the Conservative Party. These dealt with improvements in economic and social life and reigning in the trade unions; rewarding hard work and creating new jobs; upholding the rule of law; supporting family life by promoting home-ownership, raising the standards in education; and effective welfare service support for those in real need; and strengthening Britain's defences. There was the appearance of a call for raising standards and improvement in the lives of the people. New jobs would be created and hard work would be rewarded, home-ownership would support (hence improve) family life and those in real need would be looked after by the state.

Margaret Thatcher, the charismatic leader of the Party implied that the Party would be a force for unity, when she stated in the foreword to the manifesto: *'The things we have in common as a nation far outnumber those that set us apart'*. Moreover, the manifesto claimed: *'Labour have demonstrated yet again that they cannot speak and dare not act for the nation as a whole'*. It lamented *'how the balance of our society has been increasingly tilted in favour of the State at the expense of individual freedom'* and called for the reversal of the process. This statement is in line with the Party's belief position about de-regulation and a small state.

Four years later, the Conservative Party manifesto of 1983 set out the social policies that it would implement if elected again. The manifesto entitled: *'The Road to Recovery'* declared: *'When we came to office in May 1979, our country was suffering both from an economic crisis and a crisis of morale. British industry was uncompetitive, over-taxed, over-regulated and over-manned.'* It listed a number of aims which signalled support for de-regulation, allowing a reserve of unemployed. It expressed satisfaction at having achieved the aims of their first term in Government, some of which included sweeping away 'controls on wages, prices, dividends, foreign

exchange, hire purchase, and office and factory building'. It had also *'returned to free enterprise many state firms, in order to provide better service to the customer and save taxpayers' money'... having 'cut income tax rates and raised allowances at all levels'* and also *'kept [their] promise to bring public spending under control.'* The shift in emphasis is striking with regards to the general ethos of the ideas. The main thrust of the winning manifesto was deriding the state, tax and regulation. The collective was a liability and the individual would be the key to a better future. The statement made by Margaret Thatcher proclaiming that there is no such thing as society, was at the core of the Party's position

The social democratic ideas of the 1960s of shared values and shared worth of all citizens was apparent openly or by implication in the documents of the period. The welfare state was the means by which the state would meet the expectations that came with the social values of the time. By contrast the 1980s when the neo-liberal agenda had found vociferous champions in Prime Minister Thatcher and her followers after her, the promotion of the role of the market and the erosion of the role of the state as a provider of public services changed that.

When the Conservative Party was elected in 1979, the ideologically strident government of Margaret Thatcher declared the market and not the state as the paramount provider of socially needed services. This was coupled with the weakening of the organisations that traditionally articulated the demands of the working class, the Labour Party and the unions.

In the 1980s the provision of many social services came under close scrutiny. As the validity of the welfare state was being questioned, housing became a key forum for testing of ideas. The balance between the involvement of the state and the market became a subject of political debate. During this period similar factors were at work determining the provision and quality of housing; initially, the government's ideological stance, its ideal condition; secondly the apparent reciprocal relations between quantity and

quality of housing and thirdly the political power and/or expectation of those most in need.

In October 1981, the Department of the Environment issued Command number 8377, entitled: Council House Sales: The Government's reply to the Second Report from the Environment Committee, Session 1980-81, HC366. The reply is a belligerent statement of a government resolute in carrying out certain policies. It rejects one after another of the concerns of the Environment Committee about the adverse effect of the proposals on existing social housing. The main issue is that of the sale of the local authority housing stock, thus limiting the availability of the better stock for general rent to those who could not afford to purchase. The Minister points out that *'[the] fundamental justification for the right to buy appears to have received inadequate attention from the Committee. The Government believe that the scale of public demand is in itself a substantial vindication of the right to buy'*.

The ideological stance of the Minister regarding local authority involvement in housing provision is made clear in its assertion: *'What is more important, in the Government's view, is that nothing directly follows from any hypothetical conclusion about the likely annual loss of re-lets. No objective yard-stick exists for determining the optimum size of the public sector housing stock'* (HC 366).

The Conservative Party manifesto criticized the pay levels and suggested that the economy of the country was *'one of the least efficient and most over-manned of industrialised nations. We raised our own pay far more, and our output far less, than most of our competitors. Inevitably, this pushed prices up and drove countless customers to buy from other countries, forcing thousands of employers out of business and hundreds of thousands of workers out of jobs'*. Presenting itself as the Party of modernization, it suggested that *'there has been a rapid shift of jobs from the old industries to the new, concentrated on services and the new technologies'* and that much

of the blame lay with the trade unions. 'Tragically, trade unions have often obstructed these changes. All too often this has delayed and reduced the new and better-paid jobs which could replace those that have been lost' (ibid).

The 1983 manifesto also set out what it considered to be the Party's record of its first term policies and reminded the electorate that the Party had *'swept away controls on wages, prices, dividends, foreign exchange, hire purchase, and office and factory building'* and had *'returned to free enterprise many state firms, in order to provide better service to the customer and save taxpayers' money'* and had *'given council tenants the right to buy their own homes'*. The Party was content that it had *'done all this and more, and still kept our promise to bring public spending under control'* (ibid).

The emphasis of the policies of the Conservative Government continued to be the expansion of the role of the market and the private sector through extensive de-regulation, de-nationalisation of many industries, energy, transportation and utilities. While the control of public spending was one of the Party's main undertakings, with the massive unemployment that followed the years of its efforts to make the economy leaner, benefits that were related to unemployment meant that the public spending in this sector was not reduced as significantly as suggested.

The 1983 Conservative manifesto identified a number of problems and proposed their solutions. Facing the three challenges they identified as defence, employment and economy, they singled out unemployment as the most intractable problem and suggested that the solution would be in making *'the right products at the right prices, supported by good services.'* The Government's role was *'to keep inflation down and offer real incentives for enterprise'*. The logic of this position was that *'as we win back customers, so we win back jobs'*. At the same time they declared that it was *'economic success which [would] provide the surest guarantee of help for those who need it most'*.

Among the measures the Party proposed was the plan to: minimise the legal restrictions which discourage the creation of new jobs; encourage moves towards greater flexibility in working practices, such as Part-Time Job Release, which makes it financially possible for people nearing retirement age to go part-time; and the Job-Splitting Scheme which helps employers to split a whole-time job into two part-time jobs; improve the efficiency of the employment services in identifying and filling job vacancies; ensure that Wages Councils do not reduce job opportunities by forcing workers to charge unrealistic pay rates, or employers to offer them.

The language used in presenting these policies was persuasive in making the electorate see an opportunity for change for the better in some of the measures that proved to be detrimental to their long-term interests. While it continued the same message as the earlier Party manifestos suggesting that it was the Party of everyone and not only one class, the manifesto isolated those who became the subject of change and clearly identified them as a problem.

The policy of limiting the role of the state and the dominance of the role of the market meant that purchasing power was the determinant of the individual's position and as such the idea of citizenship and universal standards were marginalized. The role of the state was limited to those who could not afford to enter the market – the policies became selectivist. The targeted approach to social policy is indicated in the manifesto's position regarding welfare provision: '*Conservatives believe equally strongly in the duty of **Government to help those who are least able to help themselves.***' This statement shows the Party's policy of creating a 'safety net' that will catch those outside the mainstream, a group targeted due to their weaker economic standing.

The selectivist approach of the Conservative Government manifested itself in the fields of health, education and housing by carving out a greater role for the private sector in their provision. In health it went on to turn doctors into

'fund-holders' purchasing services from hospitals, in education it encouraged schools to select their students coupled with a promotion of the idea of choice of school for parents.

The 1983 manifesto proposed 'Government offered Assisted Places to enable less well-off parents to send bright children to some of the best independent schools' and also pledged to '*defend Church schools and independent schools alike against [their] opponents' attacks*' at the same time '*[defending] the right of parents to spend their own money on educating their children.*' While the Party's policies were generally presented as promoting the idea of 'one-nation', in detail they distinguished clearly between those with high purchasing power and those with very limited financial resources. Any state resource destined for social welfare would be limited and focused onto maintaining a minimum level of assistance for the recipients. ***Although choice was a principal slogan in the Conservative Party's neo-liberal agenda, the overall effect of its policies was to reduce real choice, especially for those on lower incomes.***

6.3.1 Conclusion

The social policies of the two periods reflected in the manifestos and official documents changed from those that allowed the state to provide for the needs of the public in general as in the 1960s period and those that allowed the market to do so under the auspices of choice and opportunity as well as efficiency and making the economy leaner. The prominence of the private sector at this time and the marginalisation of the low income were the characteristics of the social policy in this period. Whereas the 1960s reflected an attitude in which the state was charged with the responsibility to take care of the interests of the whole population in the best way it could, the 1980s policies may be defined as the years of the rejection of the former and the dismantling of the institutions that allowed for the universalist provision of social services leaving those in need to purchase those services according

to their purchasing power. Only those unable to engage in transactions in the market would be entitled to receive state assistance.

6.4 Housing Policies

Housing policies have shown significant variations in the two periods under study. The most striking of these variations is found in the role of the state in the provision of social housing and the change from general needs to a more targeted policy. This chapter seeks to find within the political discourse reference to the aspirations and social values that have guided each change in policy and to assess how these changes have been reflected or otherwise in the space and environmental standards of social housing.

In order to assess the predominance of the ideas that shaped housing policies, papers delivered to conferences hosting representatives of professional bodies, recommendations of select committees (or their equivalent), proceedings of cabinet meetings and recommendations of consultative committees set up by the government to advise on specific issues relating to housing provision, will be studied. These texts are seen as the chronological precursors to changes in policy.

What is expected according to the proposition of this thesis is that the universalist agenda should have yielded a higher standard than that produced within the selectivist agenda. Therefore the policies of the periods identified with each approach are contrasted and the standards recorded and compared. The material analysed revolves around a handful of reports and documents deemed to be significantly influential or representative of the dominant views of the time. The study of the Parker Morris report is central to the study of the attitudes of the period of social democratic consensus and the manifesto and proceedings of the select committee on housing in post-1979 period are taken to be representative of the discourse and attitudes of the period of neo-liberal consensus.

6.4.1 Significant Housing Policies in Party Manifestos and Policy Documents: 1945-1979

As shown earlier in this chapter, the manifestos of the Parties that were elected to government during the study period show two distinct trends. The constant themes in the years up to the period 1960-1979 show a sense of solidarity and oneness to varying degrees. However, the definitions of the terms and the means by which they may be achieved are the main substance of the discourse and policy and it is in the substance that they differ significantly. Some of these features are analysed below.

The striking aspect of the analysis of the manifestos of each Party that was subsequently elected to government is their promise of improved conditions, be it in terms of housing and education or general living standards. When offering 'choice' and 'freedom', these are offered as improvements. As far as social values are concerned, the wish for higher standards remains valid here. While the manifestos were ideologically driven and open to interpretation, the outcomes were concrete and measurable.

The 1945 manifesto pledged efforts towards full employment and clarified its belief in universal policies at the service of the people, declaring that *'The shaping of suitable economic and price controls to secure that first things shall come first in the transition from war to peace and that every citizen (including the demobilised Service men and women) shall get fair play. There must be priorities in the use of raw materials, food prices must be held, homes for all the people before luxuries for the few'*.

In 1945, housing was to be a pillar of the Labour Party's policy and *'Housing will be one of the greatest and one of the earliest tests of a Government's real determination to put the nation first. Labour's pledge is firm and direct - it will proceed with a housing programme with the maximum practical speed until every family in this island has a good standard of accommodation'*. There is a clear understanding that the state is the means of facilitating

these aims, at the service of the majority. The manifesto goes on: *'That may well mean centralising and pooling of building materials and components by the State, together with price control. If that is necessary to get the houses as it was necessary to get the guns and planes, Labour is ready'* (Labour Party Manifesto, 1945).

During the same election campaign the Conservative Party's tone was business-like with the health of the economy forming the main thrust of its manifesto. With regard to homes, the use of factory-made parts was considered to improve building capacity. The only reference to universal provision was in health care. Given the fact that the Conservative government came to power with a massive majority in 1951 and stayed in power until 1964, the Party's manifesto of 1951 is relevant. In this manifesto, housing received great attention. Only 'defence' was given higher priority than housing which was also given priority within the main social services: *'Housing is the first of the social services. It is also one of the keys to increased productivity. Work, family life, health and education are all undermined by overcrowded homes... Our target remains 300,000 houses a year. There should be no reduction in the number of houses and flats built to let but more freedom must be given to the private builder. In a property-owning democracy, the more people who own their homes the better.'* The promise of freedom to the private builder is made at the same time as the pledge of more housing is made.

The Party leader, Winston Churchill concluded the Conservative Party's 1951 manifesto emphasizing the spirit of oneness: *'The Conservative and Unionist Party stands not for any section of the people but for all.'* At the same time, as Jarvis and Turner describe in their introduction to the Macmillan papers, the Conservative administration at the time tried *'to make its way, and ensure its own political survival, by understanding social trends and by meeting, and to an extent shaping, the desires of the electorate'*. Papers released at the National Archives related to the government of

Harold Macmillan (1957-1963) shed some more light on the way government officials thought and how they portrayed the state policies.

The 'Secret' Cabinet paper dated 17th June 1960, a memorandum by the Minister of Housing and Local Government, entitled Housing, starts to suggest a change of balance in the provision of social housing. The memorandum, accompanied by a long Paper on Housing, suggests that in the following session of the parliament the government should *'recast the housing subsidies, to stimulate private owners to make more use of improvement and conversion grants and, possibly, to break the monopoly of local authorities in building to let by encouraging the development of housing trusts for this purpose'* and *'One result of my proposals on subsidies will be to force up the rents of local authority houses. This should begin to take effect by the end of 1961 and continue throughout 1962 and 1963'*. The Minister warns that as the rise in rents will be accompanied with an increase in rates: *'There will be storms. But we have got to do it, and we must get the rent increases out of the way as far as we can before the revaluation take effect. This means that we must take the Housing Bill next session'* (CAB 129/101, Para.s1, 2, 3).

The mentioned increase in rents was already predicted by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government in the Memorandum of 17th June 1960, and set in motion a long-term move from state housing to private ownership. The Minister suggests: *'...we should introduce a Bill next session to recast the housing subsidies, to stimulate private owners to make more use of improvement and conversion grants and possibly, to break the monopoly of local authorities in building to let by encouraging the development of housing trusts for this purpose.'* The Minister foresaw: *'One result of my proposals on subsidies will be to force up the rents of local authority houses. This should begin to take effect by the end of 1961 and continue throughout 1962 and into 1963'*. The Minister urged the cabinet to take the risk and go ahead with the proposal: *'I must remind the Cabinet that houses are to be re-valued on*

current values as from April 1963. That will increase the householders' share of the rate burden, though by how much depends on what we do in the Ratings and Valuation Bill (also to be introduced next session) on which a Paper will shortly be circulated. For many municipal tenants therefore there will be rent increases followed by rate increases' (ibid, D (60) 96).

The Government were going to alter the ground conditions and chip away at the current accepted norms slowly but surely. There is a clear understanding of the socially acceptable values at this time being that of good quality state provision of essential services – housing being one of them.

The Draft White Paper entitled: Housing, The Housing Position, circulated as Confidential, revealed the government's understanding in 1961 of the housing difficulties. It acknowledged: *'The 1961 census showed houses and households just about in balance overall though unevenly distributed'* (CAB 129/113, para. 3, p.184) as well as the fact that the information about housing conditions was *'not complete as it now needs to be and the Government intend to improve it'*. The paper is aware of the shortcomings in terms of information about the quality of housing: *'Since the war the need for additional houses has been so universal that there has not been cause to analyse the make-up of demand or the quality of housing, apart from the slum surveys.'* This ties in with the need felt in 1959 for a report on housing conditions.

In 1961, the Parker Morris Committee appointed by the Central Housing Advisory Committee in 1959 published its recommendations. The Committee's report was to become the most influential document in the twentieth century social housing provision. It recommended that residential dwellings should be considered in their totality, a holistic view that would consider the way people occupied their home and the way the spaces within the home needed to be used. The report recommended dwelling sizes as minima and cited increase in living standards as the main reason for revising the specification of new housing, stating: *'Homes are being built at the*

present time which not only are too small to provide adequately for family life but also are too small to hold the possessions in which so much of the new affluence is expressed' (HMSO, 1961). The Parker Morris report is analysed briefly later in this chapter in terms of the social values inferred therein.

The most prominent characteristics of the Parker Morris report were its aim to recommend improvements for the whole the housing stock in England and Wales. It considered the scope of the application of its recommendations to be universal. It applied to both private and local authority housing. The committee had obtained its background information through visits to about 600 houses and flats built by '*private builders, housing associations, new town corporations and local authorities*' (HMSO, 1961, p.iv), in the summer of 1959 and autumn of 1960. Their critique of the existing housing was in part directed at the recommendations of its predecessor, the Dudley Committee of 1944.

The circumstances in which the Parker Morris committee was reporting are reflected in its outcome. It was mindful of the '*social and economic revolution*' the country had undergone since the war and the fast changing '*pattern of living*'. The context of the welfare services was acknowledged: '*there is full employment, a national health service, and the various social insurance benefits such as family allowances and retirement pensions*' (HMSO, 1961, p.1) and the fact that the people were better off than ever before and could afford many more modern convenience goods. The new level of national prosperity was spreading to all classes: '*these possessions are spreading fast through all income groups, fastest of all in the lower brackets*' (para3, p.2) and in addition '*children are staying longer at school; and further education is now available to many more of them*' (ibid).

New homes were needed for this new society that had to do with the people's aspirations: '*these changes in the way in which people want to live, the things which they own and use, and in their general level of prosperity, and perhaps also the greater informality of home life, make it timely to re-*

examine the kinds of homes that we ought to be building, to ensure that they will be adequate to meet the newly emerging needs of the future, as well as the basic human needs which always stay the same' (ibid).

The committee's consultation with professionals and users had led them to conclude the areas in which changes were needed. It had observed that two major changes were required: space and heating (ibid, para.5, p.2). In their evidence, additional floor space had first priority and this was a call not to be ignored as *'a good house or flat can never be made out of premises which are too small'* (ibid, para.6, p.2). It was aware of the need for awareness of cost and suggested that the *'additional space is comparatively cheap'* as the cost was not loaded with overheads of plumbing and equipment. The additional space was *'an important long-term investment'* as a house or flat that is large enough may be brought up-to-date in time, whereas a dwelling that is too small cannot be improved without much expense (ibid, para.7, p.2).

The report is clear about the standards being applicable to all dwelling types. Flats should not have lower standards, *'we believe that those who live in flats require at least as much space as those who live in houses'* (HMSO, para.8, p.3).

The arena that benefitted the less-well-off most was not related to space standards but a crucial aspect of living in relative comfort, it was the committee's second area of priority: heating. The report acknowledged that all the valuable space would not be useful if it could not be occupied in cold weather due to lack of heating. The committee's expression of its perception of the effect of its recommendations comes in the following statement: *'There was a time when for a great majority of the population the major significance of the structure in which they made in their home was to provide shelter and a roof over their head. This is no longer so. An increasing proportion of the people are coming to expect their home to do more than fulfil the basic requirements. It must be something of which they can be proud; and in which*

they must be able to express the fullness of their lives. There is therefore an increasingly prevalent atmosphere in which improvements in housing standards will be welcomed and indeed demanded, and in which stress will be laid upon quality rather than mere adequacy' (ibid, para.10, p.3). The Conservative Party in government did not take more measures on this during its term in Government.

Much of the policy debates reveal a notional inverse relation between quality and quantity of housing. There is an indirect suggestion that the priority is in the elimination of housing shortages. Once this had been achieved the task would become that of raising the quality of housing stock. Many papers show an interest in the number of units built or available. When surplus dwellings are identified, the point made about the surplus is repeated in a number of papers.

In May 1962, the 'Secret' Cabinet Memorandum of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government and Minister for Welsh Affairs set out important points to be considered by the Conservative government in power – the Minister pointed out that *'Housing is becoming a lively political issue again, particularly among our own supporters'* and that *'the holding back of total council programmes for 1962 in order to keep within the permitted investment maximum is becoming known and disliked'*. He then listed the housing problems especially the constituency of the Conservative Party and those who wished to own their own homes: private building to let was practically non-existent, despite the promises of the Rent Act and still a growing section of the community could not afford to buy or put down a deposit for a home, and the interest rates were high both for local authorities and for the 'intending owner-occupier' (CAB 129/109, 1962).

In October 1962, in another document the Ministry of Housing sent a Secret memorandum to the Cabinet querying what should be announced to the public: *'The last question is whether we should, during the autumn, announce the broad lines on which we are looking: that is for increased*

output by means of increased productivity, aiming at 350,000 houses a year (Great Britain); clearing the existing slums within 10 to 15 years, review of planning policies (including the policy on distribution of industry and population in order to provide the necessary land: agreement in principle to more use of the new towns machinery: continued growth of owner-occupation, development of housing societies to provide housing to let and for co-operative ownership, more realistic rent policies, review of subsidy policy , a more effective drive to improve older houses.' The requirement to improve housing is expressed as an aim here however there is a shift of emphasis from state provision to private ownership. It is implied that home-ownership is the instrument for improving standards. The memorandum states: *'All these proposals are linked, and together they should constitute a comprehensive policy for housing. If the policy can be presented and put into force as a whole, I think we could say to the country that, even allowing for the continued growth in population and households, slums and overcrowding as we know them today will be progressively eliminated, and solid houses progressively improved, until at the end of 15 years virtually every family in the land will be decently housed – and more than half of them in homes which they own'.*

The Minister had anticipated the political impact of his announcement. While: *'Such a general announcement of policy would hearten our Party; and I think it would also increase the confidence of the building industry and assist the Minister of Public Building and Works and me in our efforts to stimulate increased productivity'...* the political cost of the announcement would be, he acknowledged in the backlash from increased rent: *'Of course announcement has its hazards, because some of the aims may prove difficult of achievement; and inclusion of a reference to increased rents, which is vital, will draw Opposition fire. But we shall never make progress unless we take risks; and I hope that my colleagues will agree that announcement would be right. If they do I would discuss the terms with the*

Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and then submit it to the Cabinet. (CAB 129/110, para.s 58, 59, 60, p.9).

In the Draft White Paper circulated to the Cabinet in 1963, marked 'Secret' and entitled: London: Employment, Housing and Land, the Minister of Housing and Local Government set out his intentions for a public announcement of his Ministry's proposals for housing. In it he projected the need for 500,000 homes within the next 10 years, both private and public. These would be needed to house London's existing population (C(63)22). The dichotomy, apparent in housing policies, between quality and quantity is ever present in these documents; with each Party (or period) giving priority to one over the other. The number of houses was at this time viewed as paramount.

In 1964 the Labour Party came to power and in 1966, the Central Housing Advisory Committee's Sub-committee on Standards of Housing Fitness, issued a report which was later published as: 'Our Older Homes, A Call for Action' (HMSO, 1966). The Committee was under the chairmanship of Evelyn Denington, distinguished by her membership of various professional and state bodies (CBE, GLC. Hon. FRIBA) who reported on the state of standards in existing housing, expressed satisfaction with the way the standards set in the Housing Act of 1957 had operated as a means of dealing with unfit houses (HMSO, 1966, para.14), however warned that the proposed standards had to be taken only as a start and as a minimum: *'We begin with the setting of a standard for a satisfactory house which we believe is the minimum that ought to be regarded as acceptable now and for the foreseeable future'*.

The public health aspect that had helped define standards for much of the earlier decades in the century was no longer the main criterion. New and higher standards were envisaged and called for. Denington raised the point that poor standards in housing were not socially acceptable: *'quite apart from health, many of the conditions which exist are totally unacceptable today.'*

This applies as much to the environment in which houses are set as to the structures themselves. We have tried to set a standard that is neither unrealistically high nor so low that it will be out of date within a very short time (HMSO, 1966, para. 16).

The report clearly called for universal standards that are befitting the social values of the time, and moreover, the higher standards were not to be limited to the fabric of the house but would include the environment as well. The sub-committee declared: *'We attach great importance to the environment in which houses stand. As we get away from the concept of the 'unfit' house, the 'slum' and its link by definition with physical health, we move to a situation in which it should be generally accepted that everyone should live in a house which is in every way satisfactory for habitation by the social standards of the day' (ibid)..*

The call for improvements on the housing environment again signals to the underlying sense of social housing being an integral part of the whole city, connected and the same: *'As these standards and people's expectations rise, we are sure it will be realised that a house cannot be satisfactory if its environment is not satisfactory. The satisfactory house in a satisfactory environment must be the aim and the standards set for both must be achieved and then maintained. The quality of urban life depends on this and could be much higher than it is today, if the achievement and maintenance of these standards had been seen in the past as a matter of public responsibility, which we believe it is' (ibid, para. 18).*

Universal values are spelt out in different sections of the report, suggesting that the contemporary orthodoxy was based on the idea that the state would concern itself with the well-being of all. The universalism and modernist views of the authors are apparent in the passage: *'All our recommendations are concerned with houses regardless of ownership. We see no reason for distinguishing between privately rented, owner-occupied or publicly owned property. Local authorities should be required to apply the same standards to*

their own houses as they would require in those which are privately owned' (ibid).

In the view of Denington's sub-committee, the state's responsibility extended beyond state-owned stock. She suggested: *'It is arguable that the conditions in which owner-occupiers live are their own business. Nevertheless, it is wrong from the point of view of the public interest for one house in a terrace, for example, to be allowed to lower the standard of the remainder because the owner is unwilling or unable to keep it in a reasonable condition. We realise that this will bring problems and we make proposals about the means of financing the necessary repairs and improvements (ibid, para.24).* This spirit of universalism appears to be close to absolute. The standards of housing were seen to be of concern to everyone. There is a sense of a shared environment, a shared public space and a shared responsibility for raising the standards to one that suited the society's image of itself – of a new, inclusive and progressive society.

The document, 'A Call for Action' followed the recommendations of the earlier 'Standards of Fitness for Habitation Sub-Committee' for a satisfactory house, with a number of alterations. The latter document was itself based on the definitions used for administering the system of discretionary improvement grants payable under the Housing (Financial Provisions) Act 1958, and contained what was known as the '12 point' standard. The recommendations of the Standards of Fitness for Habitation Sub-Committee are cited in Appendix A. They listed state of repair, freedom from damp, proper light and ventilation, supply of water inside the dwelling, hot water facility, internal water closet, bath or shower, sink and means of disposal of waste water, proper drainage, gas or electric supply, heating, facilities for storing, preparing and cooking food and storage of fuel.

On the environment, the requirements cover *'freedom from excessive noise (including traffic noise), serious flooding, liability to subsidence, smoke, dust, vibration, and offensive smells'*. It also recommends that *'provision should be*

made for enough garaging or car parking space; for children's play spaces; for access to other open space, schools, shops and public buildings such as churches and libraries; for easy access to public transport, and very important, adequate space and air around the houses or flats which, to provide a pleasant outlook, needs to be more than the bare minimum necessary for health' (HMSO, undated, para.35).

In paragraph 36 entitled: 'The standard', the sub-committee made its own recommendations for new standards for a satisfactory dwelling, in the light of the evidence they had received. The number of requirements rose from twelve to eighteen. The new additions included: satisfactory internal arrangement within the dwelling, adequate natural lighting to each habitable room including the kitchen, separate shower or bathroom, more detailed specification of the sink, work surfaces, cooker and the like in the kitchen, space for washing and drying clothes, storage for refuse, satisfactory access to all doors and outbuildings, and lifts for blocks of five or more storeys.

The layout of the dwellings is where the main allusions to space standards lie. An explanatory note for the revised minimum fitness standard, explains what is meant by '*free from internal bad arrangement*': '*Internal bad arrangement is any feature which prohibits the safe or unhampered passage of the occupants in the dwelling e.g. narrow, steep or winding staircases, absence of handrails, inadequate landings outside bedrooms, ill defined changes in floor levels, a bedroom entered only through another bedroom, and also includes a wc opening directly from a living room or kitchen.*' (ibid, para. 51.j). This approach indicated an acknowledgement of the importance of good design as well as concern about space standards.

When in 1967, the public expenditure and welfare provision were considered, housing policies were directed firstly with alleviating the shortage of housing units. However, at this time, the existing stock was also being scrutinised for its 'fitness' and quality. In June 1967, a paper entitled "Some thoughts on policies for existing houses", by J.B. Cullingworth was

presented at a two-day conference on the improvement of old houses and their environment. The Conference, under the chairmanship of Lord Kennet, Joint Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Housing and Local Government, was held at New Hall College, Cambridge and was attended by delegates from local authorities, universities and other bodies concerned with the problems of housing and environment.

Initially the discussion on quality centred mainly around what constituted a dwelling fit for living in. The early standards focus on the characteristics that have to do with health issues and safety such as excessive damp or defective structures. There are also concerns for services and amenities, such as provision of an internal WC and bathrooms, functional kitchen facilities and the like.

A definition of the acceptable housing standards emerged from the study of the discussions of the time. Following the conference, E.W.L Keymer, Assistant Secretary to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government wrote a cover note to the published paper entitled: Royal commission on Local Government in England – Housing Policies for Existing Houses. While Keymer stated the purpose of the paper as that of outlining '*the issues which should be taken into consideration in formulating policies*', and the focus of the paper was the existing housing stock, comparison with subsequent papers sheds light on how the definition of quality – of what is 'fit' for habitation - changed over this time. The elements under consideration were classified into five headings: Standards, Physical aspects, Social aspects, Economic and financial issues and Administrative and planning issues.

The inclusion of 'social aspects' in the headings is significant because it opens the debate about the effect of the standards and how they will be received by the user group. The acknowledgement of the effect of housing on the tenants opens the discussion to the socially acceptable standards which are themselves influenced by the social values of the time.

Cullingworth asked questions in his address to the June 1967 Conference that remained pertinent 20 or even 40 years hence. Even though his main concern was the existing stock, his arguments apply equally to new developments. He argued for expanding the state's role from the provision of new housing to managing existing housing stock as well, so that in time, the deterioration of the existing housing would not impact on the whole housing condition. He argued: *'Public action is therefore needed, first, to minimise the replacement need and, secondly, to maintain environmental quality'*. Having made the case for state intervention Cullingworth distinguished between condemnatory standards and target standards, and agreed with the Scottish Committee's point: *'The standard for a satisfactory house must always be higher than a condemnatory standard which carries with it legal sanctions. Though both standards will change over time there will always be a difference between them'* (ibid, para. 9).

The study of the above papers maps out a sequence in the consideration of housing shortage, alleviation of the quantitative problem and subsequently of focusing on the quality of housing. The priority in resolving shortage of housing delayed the consideration of space standards and housing quality beyond the minimum to achieve acceptable standards of fitness. As soon as it appeared that the numerical shortage of housing had been resolved, a determination to improve housing quality became apparent.

Government Ministers were reflecting similar universalist tendencies in their speeches as was seen in the assertions of specialists and government commissioned bodies. In 1964 the Labour Party had come to power under the leadership of Harold Wilson. In the years they were in office one of the most significant changes to the provision of social housing was made – making compliance with the Parker Morris recommendations obligatory.

Anthony Greenwood, the Minister of Housing of the time gave a speech at the annual conference of the Association of Municipal Corporations in September 1967 (HLG 69/959). His speech included references to the

number of dwellings available in the country and the number and quality of those to be built. Greenwood expressed some of his aspirations and values with regards to housing, in his address, suggesting: *‘So let us consider together today some of the issues which will not be finding their way into draft circulars, White Papers or legislative proposals for quite some time to come’* (HLG 69/959). He continued: *‘We are rapidly approaching a watershed in post-war housing. Ever since the war, the primary objective of housing policy has been quite clear and unambiguous – to build more houses’* (ibid, p.3). Having gone through the numbers being built he went on to state the concern over quality: *‘We therefore proposed both an acceleration of the housing programme towards 500,000 houses a year by 1970; and, since we were interested in quality as well as in numbers, a general raising of housing standards to those recommended as long ago as 1961 in the Parker Morris Report but which had not yet become mandatory or even common place’* (ibid).

This was a great moment in the history of social housing in Britain, as the Parker Morris recommendations were given an obligatory status. Whereas previously they might have been adopted according to the priorities of the developers albeit state or private, after 1969, government-funded projects were to be constructed with standards no lower than those recommended by Parker Morris’s committee – in 1967 compliance with Parker Morris standards became mandatory for homes built in new towns and in 1969 they became mandatory for all council housing. In this sense, Greenwood’s move is critical in determining the standards of social housing until the reversal of the obligatory status of Parker Morris standards in 1981. The background to this decision is considered below by reviewing the text of the speech.

The issue of raising of standards is discussed in the report: *‘we shall look at some of the highly significant changes in the housing situation – the effective demand for new houses; the emergence of new standards and requirements, with their emphasis on quality; the changing patterns of*

tenure; the problems of obsolescence in housing; and the organisational problems thrown up by large scale redevelopment and improvement' (ibid). There is a distinct sense of an aspiration to better quality as more reference is made to standards: *'So I want today not to make precise proposals about the future development of housing policy, but to provoke thought and discussion about the sort of new houses we should build and how to get them built; the standards, including environmental standards, that should be set; the extent to which our older stock can and should be subject to long-term improvement; and the role of local authorities in this work. It may well be that the habits of thought about housing, and about the tasks of local housing authorities, which have grown up over the past fifty years, will need radical revision as we move into the 1970s'* (ibid, p. 4). There is no ambiguity about the fact that making the changes was an imperative that had to do with political, even ideological decisions, one that would over-ride financial/economic considerations.

The Minister lists some of the problems the government has been facing and reports on the progress to date: *'The White Paper said that the Government intended to give a greater priority to housing than it had had for many years and to push up the rate of building as fast as resources and improving techniques allow. We have held to this policy of priority for housing, **despite the period of severe economic difficulty** with which the country has been faced and the problems of finance and resources that it has involved* (my emphasis, ibid, p.4). This statement is significant in that it rules out the issue of economic expedience or difficulty as a cause of policy formation in this instance. There is repeated emphasis on this when Greenwood continues: *'I think I am justified in claiming that this success is one of the fruits of the Government's priority for housing throughout a period of considerable economic difficulty. We have established new machinery bringing together the builder, the building material producer, building societies and local authorities for regular discussion of progress and prospects. This has been*

invaluable in bringing about a common understanding of problems and a common determination to overcome them successfully' (ibid, p.4). Although, there is an acceptance of the role of home-ownership which was to emerge with greater emphasis in the 1980s, he states: *'We shall continue to do all we can to make it possible for families to buy a home of their own'* (ibid, p.5), an ideological basis is revealed in the intention to raise standards in social housing in statements such as: *'We must never lose sight of the truly vital importance of good housing. A decent house is the basis for a decent home; and decent homes are basic to a decent life and a satisfying society'* (ibid, p.5).

Very significantly, Greenwood expresses the social values of the time and the sentiments of the people as the Minister understands them: *'We have got to will the means as well as the ends, and I do not think that there is any need to despair of human nature on this point. I was in fact greatly heartened by the public opinion polls which showed that between 44 percent and 55 percent of those polled were in favour of better housing, even if it meant higher taxes for them'* (ibid, p.5). The fact that public opinion was so clearly expressed in the society's aspiration to higher standard of housing even at the expense of higher taxes is the clearest indication of the social values of the time and of the congruence of government policies with this social expectation.

The tussle between the priority with resolving quantity or quality is tackled by setting a level for quantitative provision after which the quality of housing becomes a priority. The point that the policies of the government were heading towards resolving the numerical problem of shortage of housing is made in the Minister's speech and then he concludes that what appears to be a numerical surplus should lead to a move towards improving the quality of the country's housing stock and removing those of the lowest quality: *'Not for a single moment would I suggest that this small surplus means that we have solved the housing problem. To do so would be ludicrous. In the first*

place, it takes no account of the standard of housing. It is simply a numerical surplus, including known slums and houses that are not far removed from slums. Nevertheless, it is far better than an absolute shortage, because it means that we are beginning to get into a situation where we can increase the pace of clearance and redevelopment, and so to remove the worst of our remaining housing problems; that in itself is a tremendous step forward. Secondly, a national surplus is misleading, because the pressure on housing is not spread evenly over the whole country, and this small margin conceals some very acute local shortages...And the margin, where it exists, is too small to give the adequate choice of different kinds and sizes of houses of the right quality needed if families are to be able to have the home best suited to their needs' (ibid, pp.6-7).

Greenwood was well aware of the consequence of raising the standards in the scale of remedial work that becomes necessary. He reports that since *'we have, for the first time, applied uniformly consistent standards of "fitness", there are now seen to be twice as many slums as was suggested by the earlier local figures on which the White Paper was based. This probably reflects both the accelerating pace of obsolescence and the wide variation in what was accepted as a "fit" house in different parts of the country.'* His assumptions about the preferences of the people are clear: *'Given the opportunity, most families would probably like to have a spacious, well-designed modern house, or a convenient compact flat or bungalow'* (ibid. p.8). The government was identifying with a new forward-looking society. Houses would be spacious and well-designed and flats or bungalows would be convenient and compact.

There was a strong focus on the need to resolve the shortage and quality of housing and the state was taking a leading role in this task. While there was no confusion about the role of the state in the provision of housing, policy makers considered the role of the market as complementary to that of the state and not its replacement and competitor. The Government was aware of

the economic and budgetary issues and that adequate funds would be a principal factor. These were needed to deal with new household formation and slum clearance. Besides these it was announced: *'additional houses will be needed to meet the demand for better housing'* and *'as real incomes rise in the 1970s people will demand better standards, and more people will want to buy new houses which include these standards'*. Later in his speech he stressed: In the 1970s *'there will be the strong demand – I think the increasingly strong demand – for better housing, to which I attach such importance'* (ibid, p.9, para. 4). The speech is continuously linking the numerical provision of housing with the opportunity to improve the housing stock.

Modernism appeared to be at the forefront of the Minister's mind not only in terms of the universal provision of better quality housing but also in terms of typology and the built form. Modern buildings are what the Minister believes will answer the demand. *'A higher rate of building (than the projected 450,000 houses a year throughout the 1970s), would make possible the replacement of nearly all houses built before 1875, except those of architectural importance or good quality'*. A larger number of dwellings would not equate to lower standards. The Minister acknowledges *'a demand for more housing, once shortage has been overcome, means a demand for better housing. It means a readiness to spend more on new housing of higher standards, and on the improvement of existing houses. It also means a lessening of demand for existing houses of lower standards or without the potential of improvement'* (ibid, p.10).

The wish to establish a better standard of housing, universally, was obvious in Greenwood's analysis of the Parker Morris report on the housing stock. By the end of 1961 only 14 per cent of the houses in England and Wales with approved tenders had met all Parker Morris recommendations, while 33 per cent met the space and heating standards. In public authority dwellings those meeting the Parker Morris recommendation rose to 63% in 1966.

Greenwood reported that *'the average size of a local authority dwelling rose from 731 sq. ft. in 1964 to 779 sq. ft. and the proportion with full Parker Morris standards rose to 40 per cent'*. In a clear move towards universalising the improved standards, the Minister announced that the Parker Morris standards would become mandatory from 1st January 1969.

The Minister put these changes in perspective: *'I think most people would agree that the Parker Morris house is a very good house indeed; and – although we can look for even higher standards in the future, since standards are always rising – there is no doubt that the objectives which we have now set represent by far the most significant improvement in housing standards at least since the war, and probably since local authorities began building houses to rent.'* There is an expression of optimism and a sense of state responsibility for improving the lives of the people. There is a great awareness of the value of the 'social'.

When criticised by a councillor about the sale of council houses, he reminds the conference of his disapproval. *'In March of this year I issued a circular on the sale of council houses in which I made it clear that I regard the sale of council houses as ill-advised and improvident. I think that it can be justified if there is a surplus of a particular kind of house, or if there is in fact no serious waiting list'* (ibid. p.26) and warns that: *'I have power to withdraw or modify my general consent to the sale of council house. I am watching the position extremely carefully, because I think that it would be a very serious thing indeed if there was any substantial erosion of the housing stock which local authorities have in their possession to meet the needs of the people who most need housing'* (HLG 69/959, p.26).

The criticism on economic grounds generally levelled at raising standards universally were dealt with in the Government's introduction of financial controls, with the main goal being the control of rent levels. The Minister declared: *'we have done all that we can do from central Government, I think. While we have been laying down the standards to which we think people*

ought to build- I feel that they are most desirable and most necessary – we have introduced cost yardsticks in order to keep down the cost of building of the flats or the houses concerned, and keep them down while enabling people to build up to the required standard’ (ibid, p.27).

The Government Minister made clear that through the control of social housing standards, he was setting the standards for all housing stock in the country. In his reply to a Councillor’s suggestion that there ought to be a *‘measure of compulsion in the private sector in order to bring the privately-built house up to Parker Morris standards’*, the Minister reveals the position that public housing was viewed to hold in setting standards. He said: *‘I think that this introduces an interesting philosophical problem. One has to try to strike a balance between the freedom of the individual on the one hand, and the maintenance of reasonable standards on the other. One cannot pamper the public too much. There must in fact be some responsibility on people who are buying private houses to make sure that they are buying houses of reasonable standard- in fact, up to the kind of standards of the houses local authorities are building’ (ibid).*

The Housing Minister’s (Greenwood’s) attitude towards social housing may be summarised in his emphasis on quality at the same time as considering quantity (para2, p.3), acknowledgement of the need for new standards with higher quality to suit a new society (para. 5, p.3), giving priority to housing despite economic difficulties (para. 1,2 &5, p.4), wishing to meet a demand for home ownership, acknowledging the readiness of the population to accept higher taxes in support of better housing, attention to the people’s needs for spacious, well-designed modern houses, putting housing within a strategy for long-term social advance (para2, p.13), the new housing cost yardsticks (para1, p.12), and a general emphasis on the responsibility of the government to improve housing standards for all.

The review of the position of Minister Greenwood shows a resolve to raise housing standards for all. This universalist approach is in keeping with the

social attitudes and values of the time, assessed to lean towards the creation of a fair and modern society, for the benefit of all. The distinctions between private and public sector and between the need to raise quality or the number of dwellings are all dealt with in an effort to ensue an all-inclusive society, where all citizens could enjoy the benefits of progress. While the literature reviewed highlighted the next watershed in policies that affected social housing to have been 1979, the documents reviewed of the earlier period in between show a state of flux as well. Universalism was being challenged by the end of the period 1960-1979.

6.4.2 Universalism Challenged – Seeds of Selectivism

The buildings that were built in 1970s were funded according to their compliance with the Parker Morris report as well as the funding instrument the government had devised in order to control the expenditure on new developments – the housing cost yardstick. This system worked on the basis of funding per floor area with some allowance for up to 10% over-spend in specific cases, when specialised solutions were called for hence greater expense.

In 1977 the Labour Secretary of State for the Environment, Peter Shore submitted a Green Paper and invited a debate on housing policy. The Foreword of the Paper suggested that *‘Any review of housing must be governed by a proper sense of its importance to both the community and the individual’* and *‘Housing policy is not simply about finance and resources; it is about homes for people’* (Foreword, Green Paper, 1977). The idea of selective housing policy was raised in the paper albeit hesitantly. *‘We and our colleagues believe that we should adopt a more selective and discerning approach to housing policy – one which will ensure that the most pressing housing needs of individuals and areas are tackled effectively and urgently, whilst at the same time making it easier for more people, and their children as they grow up, to get the kind of home they want. But we certainly do not*

believe that the household budgets of millions of families – which have been planned in good faith in the reasonable expectation that present arrangements would broadly continue – should be overturned, in pursuit of some theoretical or academic dogma’ (ibid, Foreword, 1977).

The above Consultative Document on Housing Policy presented to Parliament by the Labour Secretary of State for the Environment in June 1977, summed up the state of housing and voiced a number of concerns. Among these were the fact that *‘the national figures [did] not show that some areas were left behind by the general improvement in housing standards, especially in the inner cities, where there [were] concentrations of run down housing and the problems [were] compounded by other social and economic difficulties’ (Cmnd. 6851, 1977, para. 2.06).* The report expressed concern that due to the inadequate definitions of unsatisfactory housing conditions, households living in houses that were in a serious state of disrepair but were not technically unfit fell through the net, as did households living in housing that was sound but unsuited to their needs, and those who had difficulty getting suitable housing. The house price explosion of 1971-73 did not help the local authority tender prices. The need to balance the assistance to home-owners with that given to the council tenants is also considered. It urges local authorities to develop their existing relationships with other bodies such as the Housing Corporation, registered housing associations, local house builders, building societies, new town corporations, county councils and tenants’ and community organisations – concerned with housing in their areas (Cmnd. 6851, 1977, para 6.08). The Green Paper recommends that *‘Policy changes from this Green Paper must make a full contribution to the problems of inner city areas, particularly where the familiar problems of decay and neglect are compounded by high building costs and a persistent lack of housing of acceptable standard’ (ibid, para. 6.09).* While giving much consideration to home-owners and home-buyers, the report is clear that *‘Local authorities have become and will remain the*

chief providers of rented accommodation. Before 1939 they were required to provide for the housing needs of the 'working classes'. That limitation was removed from the statute in 1949. The Government do not intend to move back to the days when housing tenure was a matter of social class. Local authorities cater for a wide cross-section of the population. The Government believe that they must continue to do so, and must also continue to shoulder a particular responsibility for those with specialised or urgent needs' (ibid, para. 6.29).

The Secretary of State's document had a hint of the selectivist approach but this was confined to an argument for keeping costs down. He stopped at asking for a change of policy and supported the 'general needs' approach of local authority housing. However, there are different signals in the document with regard to targeting specialised or urgent needs. In addition the report encouraged local authorities to meet 'newly emerging needs' and advised all local authorities to improve their housing management and maintenance and to aim to reach the standards of the best (ibid, para. 6.30 & 6.35).

The focus of emerging needs was explained in the following clauses: '*New public sector housing should provide a carefully worked out range of dwelling types and sizes, taking account of needs which are not being met by the private sector*' (Cmnd. 6851, para. 9.14). The space standard requirements were considered open to interpretation and manipulation: '*The use of older housing requires an imaginative approach to such matters as space standards, room arrangement and the type of households whose requirements can be met by a relatively narrow range of housing types.*' And '*Steps should be taken to promote and encourage the provision of a range of housing types in the private sector to meet local requirements. Housing and planning authorities should bear in mind that the internal arrangement of dwellings is not a matter for development control; and Parker Morris standards are not applicable to the private sector where authorities have no*

control over the size of household occupying the dwelling' (Cmnd., 6851, para 9.14).

The Minister encourages flexibility in public sector standards: *'The increasing range of housing requirements will make new demands on the public sector and will make it necessary to ensure that housing standards are not drawn up in a way that discourages variety of provision. The Department of the Environment and the Welsh Office are reviewing the scope for introducing greater flexibility into public sector standards, and will be consulting local authority representatives'* (Cmnd. 6851, para. 9.15).

Cost-effectiveness is an important issue and the report asks London authorities to have regard to the importance of cost-effectiveness of public sector housing. The problems recognised at this time were five-fold and space standards within the dwellings did not feature among them, but the general external environment was a constant factor: run-down housing and shabby neighbourhoods; bleak local authority estates; a limited choice of tenures; disproportionate numbers of people with special housing needs; and problems of housing mobility.

The issue of sale of housing was re-emerging at this time and the report expressed *'concern about the damage done to an authority's ability to meet housing need, particularly in areas where there is a shortage of rented accommodation, through the loss of relets...There is also a fear that the most desirable stock will be sold, that is houses with gardens, leaving the authority with the properties that are more difficult to let'* (para. 11.36, Cmnd. 6851). The Labour government had a clear policy about the sale of the stock. The Government did not favour sales where this would reduce the provision of rented accommodation where there is an unmet demand, the report stated: *'That is why the Government rejects a statutory right for tenants to buy'* (Cmnd. 6851 para. 11.38).

At this time, however, the government's position regarding universal provision of good quality housing is qualified, and there is a suggestion of selectivist policies. While the paper asserts that *'the Government see no reason to object where the improving local circumstances are such that sales on reasonable terms would not impair an authority's ability to offer accommodation to rent to those in housing need or quality of their stock'* (Cmnd. 6851, para. 11.38), they accept that *'an authority's proposals to sell should be seen as part of the total approach to housing for the area, including in particular its proposals for meeting needs for rented accommodation of the right type and quality'*.

The terms of reference of the above review effectively demonstrate the concerns and priorities of the government at the time. These included: the arrangements for finance for the provision of housing, the assistance given from public funds; consideration of what changes would be desirable to facilitate adequate, timely and economical provision to meet differing needs with reasonable freedom of choice, and to secure a more equitable balanced distribution of assistance; and to make recommendations. This scope was widened subsequently to include fuller considerations of social aspects of housing policy. At this point, the idea of private ownership was a major issue and local authority housing was no longer seen as the dominant and desirable form of tenure. This is evident in the specific studies that were undertaken by other groups working alongside the authors of the Review. The studies included *'possible ways of making mortgages available to people who cannot obtain them under the present arrangements'* irrespective of their incomes over their lifetimes, *'scope for encouraging new forms of tenure'* and a study of the *'scope for the leasing of privately owned property by local authorities and housing associations'*. The report had also taken account of the work of the Housing Services Advisory Group, whose members included local authority members and officers, representatives of voluntary housing movement and other housing specialists. As will be seen

in the following sections, many of the principal issues were repeated again in the climate that came to dominate two decades later. The comparison between the Conservative Party's policies in the 1960s and those in the 1980s shows a significant ideological shift and demonstrates what a difference the dominant political climate made.

6.4.3 Significant Housing Policies in Party Manifestos and Policy Documents: 1979-1997

In its first term in Government, the Conservative Party carried out many of its manifesto pledges that involved the withdrawal of the state from the provision of social services. Its manifesto discourse was engineered to suggest a Party representing every household. The Party's housing policy was set out in their 1979 manifesto, under the heading: *'Helping the family – Homes of our own'*. Reference to Homes of OUR own suggests a Party at one with the people – social class is absent, the inference is that the home of a member of the Conservative Party is in the same situation as everyone else and vice versa. Moreover, the manifesto promised tax cuts to help deposit for a mortgage and claimed that *'As it costs about three times as much to subsidise a new council house as it does to give tax relief to a home buyer, there could well be a substantial saving to the tax and ratepayer'*.

In its manifesto the Conservative Party promised the sale of council houses by giving council and new town tenants the legal right to buy their homes with a discount on market values. *'Our discounts will range from 33 per cent after three years, rising with length of tenancy to a maximum of 50 per cent after twenty years. We shall also ensure that 100 per cent mortgages are available for the purchase of council and new town houses'*. The promotion of the market and the limiting of the powers of the state (in the form of elected local government bodies) formed the pillar of this policy. The promotion of the private rented sector was another part of this strategy.

In 1987, for a third consecutive time the Conservative Party won the election heralding better times: *'Founded on this new prosperity, we are building a better Health Service and providing more care for those in need. Living standards are higher than ever before. Our people have the protection of a stronger defence and more police'*. This time again heralding a better future and a revival, the manifesto promised among other changes: *'to give people greater choice and responsibility over their own lives in important areas such as housing and education; to improve the well-being of the people through better health care, and to safeguard the living standards of those who have to depend on the community'*. In its second term, the Party's terminology was becoming more distinctive with greater emphasis on the slant of neo-liberal ideology, namely that of *choice* and *freedom* – the same freedom the Labour Party manifesto of 1945 was trying to define and qualify.

The Government's Housing Proposals of 1987 had as its main theme increasing choice and reducing the role of the state sector. Housing standards did not feature in its concerns except in terms of forms of tenure. The 1987 proposals had four main objectives: to continue to spread home ownership as widely as possible, through encouraging suitable market conditions, tax relief on mortgage interest and pressing on with the right to buy; to put new life into the independent rented sector; to encourage local authorities to change and develop their housing role, diminishing the role of local authorities as landlords in the provision of housing and increasing alternative forms of tenure and tenant choice; to focus the use of scarce public money more effectively so that tenants are given a better deal (Cm 214, para.s, 1.14-1.17). At this time new Central Government agencies named Housing Action Trusts (HATs) were developed to follow on the work of *Urban Development Corporations in focusing national resources directly on particular problem areas.*' HATs were to *bring public and (crucially) private sector resources to bear on some of the most intractable areas of*

mainly local authority housing, so that they can be renovated and their tenants given a better housing environment and a wider choice of landlord’.

The pillar of the government’s policies became deregulation. This was a major factor in the trend to abandon many standards. The dropping of Parker Morris standards was one of the most significant measures taken by the Conservative government that came to power in 1979. Its commitment to the market was so strong that even the new providers of low-cost housing – the Housing Associations – did not remain immune from cuts and restrictive conditions. Among these was the requirement for the Housing Associations and the Housing Corporation to seek private sector finance. The local authorities were equally required to conduct their work in ‘*a businesslike way*’ stating: ‘*A more businesslike financial framework will also make it easier to assess the true nature of the task facing each council, and their success in tackling it. This will help to ensure that resources can be targeted on those areas with the greatest needs*’ (Cm 214, para. 5.7). The main thrust of the policy was clearly selectivist at this point. In their summary of the Proposals and the intentions for future policy reference to deregulation is repeated – deregulation of new lettings by private landlords, deregulation of housing association new lettings, a new local authority financial regime, Housing Action Trusts to renovate run-down local authority housing; a simplified and better targeted system of improvement and repair grants; detailed changes to the right to buy (Cm 214, para. 7.6). Targeting is entrenched in the policies related to housing developments at this point.

The idea of an optimum size of the public sector housing stock as described earlier (HC 366), is an important one because of its connotations of a marginal sector. Moreover, the Conservative Minister argues that the market will determine which dwellings will be purchased. In response to the Committee’s concern ‘*that sales will be disproportionately of houses rather than flats, and that sales of houses will tend towards the better quality properties in more attractive areas, or in areas in which there is already a*

high proportion of owner-occupation' (Cmnd. 8377, para. 10) the government replied that the committee's view is flawed because it does not give 'full weight to the wider and contrary evidence of the housing market. The attraction of property is reflected in its price. It is clear that there is a widespread demand for lower-priced property, both in the private and public sectors. Local authorities, such as the GLC, which have undertaken homesteading schemes have found very little difficulty selling properties that are severely dilapidated or in some cases complete wrecks. Indeed, demand has usually been vastly in excess of the supply and provides demonstrable and hard evidence that properties which are very far from the best can be successfully sold' (ibid).

The policy intentions of marginalizing local authorities as social housing providers was further evident in the fact that the government refused to allow receipts from the sale of properties to be used to offset cost of replacement of dwellings sold, arguing that *'Given that not all council houses sold will necessarily need to be replaced, as the Committee recognises, the Government do not agree that the sale of receipts should be related so directly to the cost of replacement of dwellings'* (Cmnd. 8377, para. 12).

The Government pointed out that the sale of council houses would redistribute wealth in favour of tenants who purchase. What was achieved would be *'a transfer of assets from the public sector to private householders, most of whom could not otherwise have hoped for the opportunity to buy their homes'* (para. 23, Cmnd. 8377). In his reply to the criticisms of the Select Committee, the Minister, referred to a paper written by Frank Field, the Labour Member of Parliament expressing similar views about the sale of council houses, stating that he had highlighted in the CHAS Occasional Paper *Do we need Council Houses?* that handing council estates over to their tenants on the basis of owner-occupation would provide a *'massive redistribution of wealth in our community'* and *'would be a direct attack on the cycle of poverty in that we would for the first time be giving many poor*

people that crucial thing they lack – and that is access to wealth’ (Cmnd. 8377, para. 23).

The Government replied to the report and the reservations of the Committee stating that *‘the Government firmly reject the criticisms made’*. It re-iterated the statement of the Secretary of State for the Environment in moving the Second Reading of the Housing Bill on 15th January 1980, saying: *‘The right to buy has two main objectives: first, to give people what they want, and secondly, to reverse the trend of ever-increasing dominance of the State over the life of the individual. There is within this country a deeply ingrained desire for home ownership. The Government believe that this spirit should be fostered. It reflects the wishes of the people, ensures the spread of wealth through society, encourages a personal desire to improve and modernise one’s own home, enables parents to accrue wealth for their children and stimulates the attitudes of independence and self-reliance that are the bedrock of a free society’* (Hansard, col.1444-5, 15 January 1980).

The questions and statements by the Environment Committee (DOE, 1981) reveal a serious concern for the potential of shortage of housing of suitable standards and the effect of a substantial reduction in public expenditure on the quality and number of housing units available. The response of the government Minister to the concerns voiced by the critics of the proposed housing policies was dismissive and, the Minister continued implementing the proposed policies. The monetarist ideology and policy was going to be implemented irrespective of its obvious flaws.

In 1980 the Environment Committee of the House of Commons (consisting of eleven Members with a quorum of three) met to discuss the Department of the Environment’s (DOE) housing policy and delivered their Third Report for Session in July 1981, having heard evidence from Ministers and experts.

On 7 July 1981 the committee received the Secretary of State for the Environment, Michael Heseltine, and the Minister for Housing and

Construction, John Stanley. The response of Michael Heseltine who was at the time, and remained, a prominent political figure within the Conservative party, to the misgivings of the members of the committee about the proposed policies demonstrates the strength of the ideological weight that the policies carried. The state was to be withdrawn from the provision of housing and the market was going to become the main instrument of distribution. To this end the funding for social housing started draining away.

In its report, the Environment committee of the House of Commons (DOE, 1981) noted the following in relation to the government information on Housing Demand and Supply:

‘As a proportion of the planned total public expenditure, housing accounted for 5.4 percent in 1980/81 but will account for only 2.9 per cent in 1983/84’ (Third Report from the Environment Committee, Session 1980-81, HC 383, HC 383ii).

‘The Committee notes that the Public Accounts Committee in its First Special Report commented: “The present position is that a Minister often does not have the information he reasonably needs in order to control the public expenditure for which he is responsible. This means that the form of public expenditure is often not sufficiently tested to see whether the same results could be obtained for less money or indeed better results for the same money.” And it concludes: ‘In the field of housing it appears to the Committee that the Government has, as a matter of policy, deprived itself of information which is necessary for sound decisions to be taken’ (ibid, chapter 2).

The policies, it was clear, were designed ideologically and not on the basis of pragmatics of resolving existing needs or problems. On the Supply of Public Housing, the Committee reported:

‘The Committee notes the argument – used frequently in oral evidence by both the Department’s officials and the Secretary of State – that the

increased discretion given by this Government to local authorities, through the new capital allocation system and the incentives to maximise revenue receipts, makes it no longer relevant to relate Government expenditure decisions or responsibility to the numbers of houses built and renovated. The Committee is not persuaded by this argument. After taking account of the changes in local discretion, which are limited in their effect, the committee concludes that they are far outweighed by the Government's overall housing cuts which remain the overriding constraint on the housing output achievable in the public sector. The Committee considers that it is part of the responsibility of the Secretary of State to initiate immediately an enquiry as to the number, type and location of the probable output of new and improved dwellings in the public sector and to relate this to estimated output in the private sector, and to an updated assessment of housing demand in both sectors' (ibid, chapter 3).

The committee considered the Private Sector Contribution and Government's Policy Initiatives, and drew a number of conclusions, among which were:

The Right to Buy measures are, of course, likely to increase the numbers who can change from being tenants to become owner-occupiers of their existing homes. They will not, however, improve the opportunities of many other people who wish to move into different homes.

The committee then identifies the shortfall in the government's commitment. In item 12: *'To meet its own criterion all the Government's measures should contribute significantly to increasing the availability of acceptable accommodation, at least in the two sectors – Owner-occupied and private rented – at which they are aimed.'* The Committee concludes: *'This contribution remains small even in the context of the present exceptionally low level of the housing programme'*. The shortage of housing remains a concern: *'The Committee notes...that most of these (the government's measures) were in existence before this Government came into office and*

that their recent additional strengthening, relative to their overall impact, seems in some cases fairly marginal. Their total contribution will have to increase dramatically in order to meet the Government's own expectations' (ibid, chapter3).

In chapter 5, the report deals with Housing Requirements and Policy Analysis. Here the committee criticises the Minister for his lack of cooperation. *'In all matters affecting housing supply and demand, the Committee has been unable to obtain confirmation or denial from the Secretary of State of its own projections, or to dissuade him from his policy of not making any analysis of the impact of the reductions in public expenditure on housing. The denial of this background information to the Government's housing policy precludes properly informed public debate and inhibits the progress of work with which Parliament has charged the Committee'* (ibid, para. 16).

The Secretary of State tried to justify his policies of reduction of support expenditure on the provision of housing by reference to a *'crude housing surplus over households'* (quoted in para. 17). The Committee considers the Minister's statement as *'misleading as the numerical surplus does not reflect the need for housing in different locations – having the wrong types of dwelling in the wrong places for people's requirements'* (ibid, para 17). 'The Committee' concluded that *'such an oversimplified and unreliable measure as the "crude housing surplus" should not weigh heavily in the formation of housing policy and that this surplus does not undermine the case for a higher level of housing output'* (ibid).

The issue of transfer of support for public housing to private renting and owner-occupation is pointed out. The Committee reflects its concern over the revelation of *'sharply rising levels of mortgage tax relief costs and a planned reduction of over 40 percent in public sector general subsidies'* (ibid, para. 23) and the *'clear trend towards relatively more favourable treatment of owner-occupied assistance, which seems likely to accelerate'*.

In para. 24, *'the Committee' noted 'that rent rebates are a means tested benefit analogous to social security, which tax relief on mortgage interest most emphatically is not'* (ibid, para. 23). Significantly the Committee notes that the government is overstating its expenditure on housing, declaring: *'The Committee continues to believe that it is important that the money required to finance housing should not be overstated in ...the White Paper and invites the Treasury to correct this anomaly.'* (ibid. para. 28).

The insistence of the Government to proceed with the policy of privatisation of local authority housing stock despite the misgivings based on past experience, is an example that suggests that the policy was ideologically driven and not based on the policy being the studied solution to a problem. The policy of withdrawing local government from the provision of social housing continued to evolve further.

In 1983 the Department of the Environment issued Circular 14/83 in which it set out new arrangements for the administration of housing association projects funded by local authorities and the design and cost criteria against which such projects would be assessed from May that year. This Circular announced the abolition of the Housing Cost Yardstick (effective from May 1983) and introduced the new cost criteria (Total Indicative Costs – TICs) which were intended to serve as guidelines or average figures rather than *'cost limits'*. On the subject of Design Criteria, the Circular announced that the Government believed that the introduction of Total Indicative Costs should be associated with simpler arrangements in standards and design. As a result *'existing mandatory design standards for fair rent and shared housing projects will therefore cease to operate in England on 16 May 1983. Local authorities will thenceforth have the option of ensuring that projects are prepared in conformity with the guidance on standards set out [by] the Housing Corporation (Circular 14/83, para. 11).*

The government set out its policy on the role of local authorities in the provision of social housing for rent in the White Paper: 'Housing: the Government's Proposals' (Cmnd. 214) replacing the Circular 23/82.

In 1988, the Circular 5/88 on Capital Expenditure by Local Authorities, (under Part II of the Housing Act 1985: Admissible Costs for Subsidy) set out new objectives, these were: *'greater freedom for local authorities to make their own decisions about the costs and quality of housing which they renovate or provide, while continuing to encourage the economic use of public resources and discourage extravagance'* (Circular 5/88, para. 5). The government explained that the reason for this was to find greater commonality of approach between the criteria applied to local authority housing schemes and those applied to housing association schemes, while also recognising the differences between them.

In September 1987 the White Paper entitled Housing: The Government's Proposals was presented to the Parliament (Cm 214). The Paper which was extensive with seven chapters, set out the Government's plans for further reforms to the housing legislation with four stated principal aims: to reverse the decline of rented housing and improve its quality; to give council tenants the right to transfer to other landlords if they chose to do so; to target money more accurately on the most acute problems and to continue to encourage the growth of home ownership.

Crucially the problems that the Government sought to address were more about choice than standards. The Paper described the problem as: substantial numbers of rented houses and flats that were badly designed and maintained and failed to provide decent homes, due to too much preoccupation with controls in the private rented sector and mass provision in the public sector; inadequate return to the private landlord and hence their withdrawal from the market or lack of investment in maintaining their property; too little attention paid in the state sector to the wishes of the

tenants choice which has in the worst cases led to resentment and lack of commitment to their homes.

The Government's proposal was to reform private letting; to give greater consumer choice to tenants in the state sector through a variety of forms of ownership and management and to break down the monolithic nature of large estates; to improve the environment of estates; greater involvement for the private sector resources and local enterprise, among others. The solution, in the Government's view was Choice which was one of the principal objectives of the manifesto was being sought in the area of housing. The Government's answer was to limit state involvement and to move the provision of housing, as far as was possible, to the private sector.

6.4.4 Comparisons and Conclusions

The material analysed demonstrated the difference between two types of housing policy. The earlier period (1945-1979) was dominated by the idea that the state is in charge of improving the living conditions of the citizens. This view ran through the discourse of the period of social democratic consensus. Regulation was seen as one of the tools at the disposal of the state for setting standards and implementing them. The idea of a forward looking and fair society with equal value for the citizens is implied in much of the discourse. The Parker Morris report was the embodiment of the universalist approach that was expected to be associated with the social democratic consensus. The decision by the Labour Government in 1967 to make obligatory the standards of Parker Morris was a clear indication of the entrenchment of the universalist agenda as far as social housing was concerned and the improvement in quality that was expected of it.

The contrast of the latter period under study (1979-1997) is clear in its shift in emphasis away from the state and in its focus on the market as a substitute in regulating the provisions that were covered by the welfare state. The de-regulation that has been associated with the neo-liberal consensus in

post-1979 period was seen in the policies analysed. The idea of the market as regulator was strong in the policies reviewed and the discourse focused on the concept of choice and the individual rather than equality and citizenship within a progressive society. The differences in social values were clearly identifiable in the discourse given the identifying concepts set out in chapter 5.

The documents supported the hypothesis that the period of the social democratic consensus coincided with the universalist approach in social policy and showed a tendency for better standards in social housing. The period of neo-liberal consensus, on the other hand coincided with the selectivist approach towards social policy with a tendency towards deregulation and abandoning of standards.

The study of housing estates that follows was aimed at assessing how the abandonment of standards affected space standards in social housing.

6.5 Study of Housing Estates 1945-1997

The selection of the housing estates was influenced by a number of factors. In order to ensure the validity of the comparisons, a number of underlying criteria had to be set. The estates had to be examples of housing standards in the state sector as the field of the research did not extend to the standards of housing produced in the private sector; and the estates had to have been 'vetted' in some way for the acceptability of their standards at the time of their construction. Housing estates that were produced by award-winning practices were selected in order to ensure that the comparison of the standards in the different cases remained valid. These were projects that were designed by practices of similar calibre with a proven professional and technical track record. They had shown that they could produce work that excelled within the orthodoxies of the time.

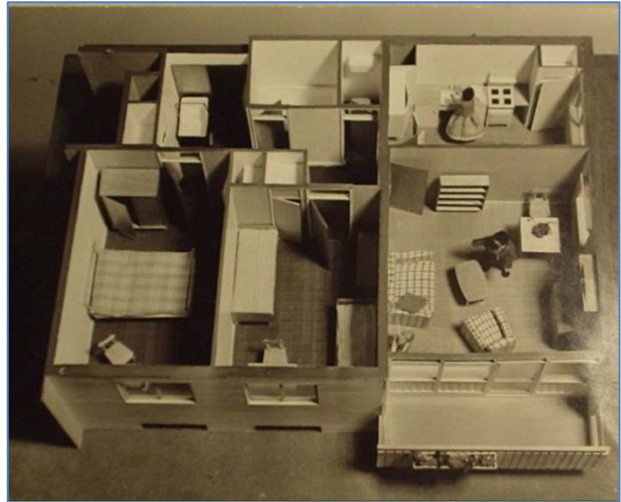
Churchill Gardens, Lillington Street, Robin Hood Lane, Alton Estate, Rossetti Court, Hawksmoor site, and Dover Court were selected as examples of approved housing standards for each preceding decades. They were built during periods when different standards were required of housing developments as provided by the state. The comparison of space standards and amenity spaces in each would help map changes in standards and would help test the propositions of the thesis in terms of the con-incidence of any changes in standards with any changes in social policies. Below the housing examples are described briefly.

- **Churchill Gardens 1948-1962** - Churchill Gardens was built on the bombed industrial area in Pimlico and covers a 33 acre site overlooking Battersea Power Station across the Thames. Known originally as the 'Pimlico Housing



Scheme' it was part of an architectural competition conducted by Westminster City Council. The architects Powell and Moya won the competition in 1946. The scheme provided 1700 flats for around 5000 families. The construction of the project began in 1948 and lasted until 1962 (Stancliffe, 2001). When Churchill Gardens started, the 1949 Housing Manual was current, setting minimum space standards for dwellings (Colquhoun, 1999). The dwellings were formed in terraces of three-storey town houses, four storey and seven to nine storey blocks of flats. The taller blocks were set at ninety degrees to the river Thames and with the smaller blocks created courts with lawned gardens, trees and children's play areas, while the development had a district heating system pumping hot water from

Battersea Power Station supplied through a tunnel beneath the river. A glazed cylindrical accumulator would store the heat before distributing it to the blocks. The first phase of the development won a Festival of Britain Award in 1951 (Colquhoun, 1991).



- **Alton Estate 1952-1959**, Alton estate, Roehampton was built by the London County Council and designed by the Architects to the Council, R. Barnes, led by Leslie Martin. The estate was designed in two phases East and West and estate was built between 1952-1959



(Colquhoun, 1991). Roehampton East contained 744 dwellings with ten eleven-story blocks mixed with four storey maisonettes and two-storey houses. Alton West was designed later and contained 1,867 dwellings overlooking Richmond Park. This phase included twelve-storey point blocks together with five to six-storey slab blocks, maisonettes, terraced housing and bungalows.

- **Lillington Street 1964-1972** - Lillington street, in Pimlico was a

development stylistically very different from Churchill Gardens, or Alton Estate. It was built for Westminster City Council and designed by Architects Darbourne and Darke. The brief which was part of an



architectural competition required accommodation for 2000 people including sheltered housing for the elderly, two doctor's surgeries, three public houses, ten shops, a community hall, a public library and some ancillary uses. The first phase contained 350 dwellings in three, six, and eight storey blocks. The blocks are deck access at two levels and look on to courts, changing direction to open onto wider spaces. Roof streets were a characteristic of this development.

Colquhoun (1991) reported on this development to have had dwellings smaller than Parker Morris standards



in the first phase while the two later phases had to comply with the housing cost yardstick. The development received the Greater London Region Award for public sector high density housing (The Architects' Journal Information Library 5th Nov. 1969, p. 1154).

- **Robin Hood Lane 1966-1971** - Housing in Poplar for the London Borough of Tower Hamlets was designed in 1952 by Alison and Peter Smithson. The blocks consist of flats and maisonettes with deck level access and landscaping. The development covers a gross area of 4.9 acres and houses 698 people.

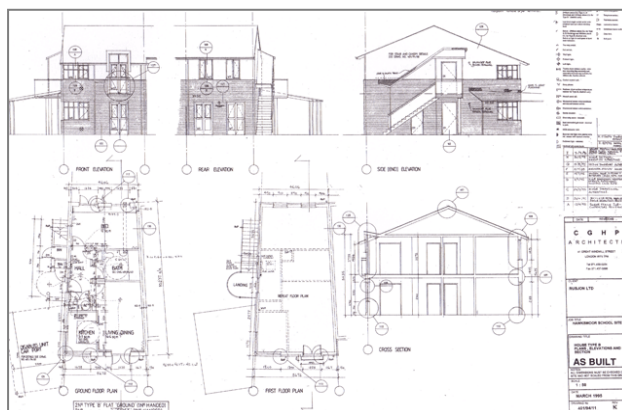


- **Rossetti Court, 1993** – In Ridgmount Place, London, Rossetti Court is a high density development in Westminster built for Soho Housing Association. The site was left vacant since being bombed in WWII. The development consists of 11 houses for families designed around a central mews which forms the main amenity space. The houses are three storey units with the top storey fashioned out of the roof space by means of mansards.



- **Hawksmoor Site Housing, 1995** – Built in Fulham, London, Hawksmoor site housing was designed by CGHP Architects for Shepherd's Bush Housing Association. The development was built on the site of Hawksmoor School which was demolished as a part of a

strategy followed by many local authorities in order to free land for housing by demolishing schools that were ostensibly surplus to requirement. The development comprised of 26 houses and 4 flats.



- Dover Court 1997** – In Swiss Cottage, London, Dover Court was another housing development designed by CGHP Architects for Soho Housing Association and was constructed in 1997. The dwellings comprised of flats and maisonettes built in a 4 to 5 storey blocks with car parking and rood terrace.



6.5.1 Analysis of Space Standards in Examples of Housing Estate 1945-1997

The quantitative data from the housing estates mentioned above were compiled into a table to ascertain changes in space standards. The areas of dwellings were measured from architectural drawings accessed in archives and compared with Parker Morris standards as set out in 1961 (Table 6.1).

Table of recommended standards relating to floor space (converted from Homes for Today and Tomorrow, p.35)						
Number of people to occupy each dwelling and the least net floor area recommended	1 person sq. m.	2 person sq. m.	3 person sq. m.	4 person sq. m.	5 person sq. m.	6 person sq. m.
3 storey house (int. & ext. storage)					93.8 4.6	97.5 4.6
2 storey centre terrace (int. & ext. storage)				74.3 4.6	84.5 4.6	92 4.6
2 storey semi or end (int. & ext. storage)				71.5 4.6	81.8 4.6	92 4.6
Maisonette (int. & ext. storage)				71.5 3.2	81.8 3.2	91.9 3.2
Flat (int. & ext. storage)	29.7 2.6	44.6 2.8	56.7 3	69.7* 3.3	79 3.3	
Single storey house (int. & ext. storage)	29.7 2.8	44.6 3.7	56.7 4.2	66.9 4.6	75.3 4.6	83.6 4.6

Table 6.1 – Original Parker Morris Standards - 1961

For ease of reference the content of the 1967 circular was simplified (Table 6.2) by adding the required storage area to the required floor area of the dwellings.

Parker Morris Standards as modified in Circular No. 36/67	All dimensions in metric units & including storage	Number of people (i.e. Bed-spaces) per dwelling						
		1 person	2 person	3 person	4 person	5 person	6 person	7 person
	1 Storey House	32.5	48.3	60.9	71.5	79.9	88.2	
	2 Storey House (Semi or end)				76.1	86.4	96.6	114
	2 Storey House (intermediate terrace)				78.9	89.1	96.6	114
	3 Storey (excluding garage if built-in)					98.4	102.1	118.4
	FLATS: *(minus 3.2 if balcony access)	32.3	47.4	59.7	73	82.3	89.7	
	MAISONNETTES:				74.7	85	95.1	111.2

Table 6.2 – Modified Parker Morris Standards - 1967

In the table produced, areas of the rooms in the dwellings including kitchen and bathroom were recorded and separate WCs were identified. The provision of built-in cupboards and outdoor space in the form of gardens, balconies or terraces and planters were also recorded. Tables 6.3 and 6.4 list areas of dwellings, the shortfall or excess in relation to Parker Morris

standards, room areas and known amenities such as access to external green space.

The following factors affected the margin of error in the figures for the space standards. On all samples except Alexandra Road and Holly Street, the dimensions were derived at by scaling original prints. These were mostly drawings that were originally submitted for Building Control approval and are being kept in various archives in London. The drawings were in imperial scale and dimensions were taken by measuring the prints with imperial scale rules and converting the figures arithmetically to metric. The two processes together would inevitably produce inaccuracies. However, as the process was similar in nearly all cases, the results should still be comparable.

The overall area of each dwelling was calculated by taking measurements from the internal face of the external walls of the dwelling and included the thickness of inner walls. The floor area of each room is taken from the inner face of the walls and excludes storage areas unless stated otherwise.

Development	Dwelling Type	Area of Dwelling in sq.m.	Parker Morris Standards 1967	Shortfall or Excess in sq.m.	Percentage change	Percentage Rise or Fall compared to Parker Morris	Number of Bedrooms	Area of Living Room	Area of Kitchen	Dining Room	Separate WC	Bathroom	Area of BR1	Area of BR2	Area of BR3	Area of BR4	Environmental Services
Churchill Gardens Housing - Powell & Moya Architects -1950- 1953	Bedsit - Type 1B (with bed recess in LR)	31.1	32.5	-1.4	95.8	-4.2	Bed recess	8.0	6.2			3.3					
	Bedsit - Type 1K	31.1	32.5	-1.4	95.8	-4.2	BS						8.0				
	1B - Flat Type 2B - 8th floor only	39.5	47.4	-7.9	83.3	-16.7	1	14.4	6.2			3.3	12.6				
	1B - Flat Type 2C - 8th Floor only	43.9	47.4	-3.5	92.7	-7.3	1	19.4 L/K				4.2	14.4				
	2B - Flat 3A - Gnd to 7th Floor	62.3	73.0	-10.7	85.4	-14.6	2	17.8	8.4			4.0	12.7	10.2			
	2B - Flat 3A' - Gnd to 7th Floor	62.6	73.0	-10.4	85.8	-14.2	2	18.1	8.4			4.0	12.7	10.2			
	2B - Flat Type 3B - 8th Floor only	54.2	73.0	-18.8	74.2	-25.8	2	19.4 L/K					14.4	7.4			
	2B - Maisonette - Type 3K	65.7	74.7	-9.0	87.9	-12.1	2										
	3B - Maisonette Types 4D & 4E - Top Floor only		85.0	-85.0	0.0	-100.0	3	18.0	7.9				12.4	10.4	6.5		
	3B - Maisonette - Type 4d	72.2	85.0	-12.8	84.9	-15.1	3										
	3B - Maisonette - Type 4e	74.8	85.0	-10.2	88.0	-12.0	3										
Alton Estate- LCC Architects- 1954	Bedsit - Flat Type B	35.2	32.5	2.7	108.3	8.3	BS	17.4 LR/bst	5.8		-	3.9	-	-	-		
	Bedsit - Flat Type C	29.3	32.5	-3.2	90.1	-9.9	BS	18.4 LR/bst	2.6		-	2.4	-	-	-		
	Bedsit - Flat Type D	30.5	32.5	-2.0	93.8	-6.2	BS	17.5 LR/bst	4.5		-	3.0	-	-	-		
	1B - Flat Type H	50.6	47.4	3.2	106.7	6.7	1	18.1	7.0		X	3.6	11.1	-	-		
	4P - 2B - Flat Type K* (*Number of persons assumed)	60.5	73.0	-12.6	82.8	-17.2	2	17.8	8.8		X 1.2	3.0	11.7	9.5	-		4.9 Balcony
	4P - 2B - Flat Type L*	64.0	73.0	-9.0	87.6	-12.4	2	16.2	8.8		X 1.2	3.2	10.2	9.7	-		4.9 Balcony
	4P - 2B - Flat Type M*	61.3	73.0	-11.8	83.9	-16.1	2	15.8	8.8		0	2.8	11.7	9.6	-	-	
Lillington St - Darbourne & Darke-1964-1972	3P - 2B Maisonette Type M4LA - Gnd and 1st Floor	80.3	74.7	5.6	107.6	7.6	2	20.9	11.5 K/D		X	3.3	14.2	10.2	6.8		
	5P - 2B Maisonette Type M4LB - Gnd and 1st Floor	80.3	85.0	-4.7	94.5	-5.5	2	20.9	11.5 K/D		X	3.3	14.2	10.2	6.8		
	6P- 4B Maisonette Type M4G - Gnd and 1st Floor	93.9	95.1	-1.2	98.7	-1.3	4										
Robin Hood Lane - A & P Smithson -1966- 1971	5P - 3B - Maisonette Upper & Lower Deck* (*P no. assumed)	75.5	85.0	-9.5	88.8	-11.2	3	16.7	12.7 K/D		X	3.3	12.9	13.1	6.7		
	6P - 4B - Maisonette Upper and Lower Deck*	86.2	95.1	-8.9	90.7	-9.3	4	16.7	12.7 K/D		X	3.3	12.8	7.9	7.5	7.92	
	6P - 4B - Maisonette Upper and Lower Deck*	86.2	95.1	-8.9	90.7	-9.3	4	16.7	12.7 K/D		X	3.3	12.8	7.9	8.3	7.92	
Rossetti Ct - CGHP - 1993	6P - 3B - House Type A (Number of Persons assumed)	104.5	102.1	2.4	102.4	2.4	3	16.4	18.8 K/D		2.0	5.6 + sh 1.6	12.6	10.6	10.6	none	6.7 Terrace
	6P - 3B - House Type B	101.0	102.1	-1.1	98.9	-1.1	3	17.0	18.3 K/D		2.0	5.6 + sh 1.6	13.4	10.4	10.4	none	6.5 Terrace

Table 6.3 Data on Space Standards from Housing Estates 1945-1997

Development	Dwelling Type	Area of Dwelling in sq.m.	Parker Morris Standards - 1967 - in sq.m.	Shortfall or Excess in sq.m.	Percentage change	Percentage Rise or Fall compared to Parker Morris	Number of Bedrooms	Area of Living Room	Area of Kitchen	Separate WC	Bathroom	Area of BR1	Area of BR2	Area of BR3	Area of BR4	Environmental Services
Hawskmoor School - CGHP Architects - Shepherds Bush Housing Association -1995	2P - 1B - Flat Type B (Number of Persons assumed)	44.1	47.4	-3.3	93.0	-7.0	1	14.4	5.1	none	5.6	12.0	none	none	none	
	4P- 2B - House Type G (mid-terrace)	79.5	78.9	0.6	100.7	0.7	2	14.9	12.3	1.3	4.6	12.2	13.1	none	none	
	4/5 - 2/3 B - House Type E (mid-terrace)	76.6	78.9	-2.3	97.1	-2.9	2 convertible to	14.0	11.6	1.8	5.1	11.5	14 (7)	-7.0	none	
	5P - 3B - House Type C (end of terrace)	83.0	86.4	-3.4	96.1	-3.9	3	21.5	11.9	1.5	3.3	14.2	12.0	7.3	none	
	5P - 3B - House Type F1 (mid-terrace)	85.4	86.4	-1.0	98.8	-1.2	3	17.7	13.0	1.4	4.5	12.0	10.0	7.6	none	
	5P - 3B - House Type F2 (mid-terrace)	87.2	86.4	0.8	101.0	1.0	3	17.0	13.0	1.4	5.2	12.0	10.1	6.7	none	
	5P - 3B - House Type F3 (mid-terrace)	88.3	86.4	1.9	102.2	2.2	3	17.3	13.3	1.4	5.3	11.7	10.0	7.0	none	
	5/6P - 3/4B - House Type A (mid-terrace)	88.0	89.1	-1.1	98.8	-1.2	3 convertible to	15.7	14.1 K/D	1.4	3.4	11.9	14.1 (6.1	6.6	6.12 converted	
	6P - 4B - House Type D (end of terrace)	102.4	96.6	5.8	106.0	6.0	4	15.7	13.3	2.4	4.9	13.0	12.0	8.0	6.5	
Dover Court - CGHP Architects - Soho Housing Association -1997																
	2P - 1B - Flat Type G - 3rd Floor	45.8	47.4	-1.6	96.7	-3.3	1	18.0	7.2	none	3.9	11.9	none	none	none	4.76 Balcony
	2P - 1B - Flat Type H - 3rd Floor	44.0	47.4	-3.4	92.9	-7.1	1	14.4	5.5	none	3.4	11.4	none	none	none	7.0 Balcony
	3P - 2B - Flat Type D - 1st Floor	54.4	59.7	-5.3	91.1	-8.9	2	16.1	5.8	none	3.0	11.0	8.5	none	none	7.0 Balcony
	3P? - 2B - Flat Type E - 2nd Floor	56.2	59.7	-3.5	94.2	-5.8	2	18.8	7.0	1.6	3.7	12.2	7.2	none	none	4.76 & 3.12 Balcony
	3P? - 2B - Flat Type F - 2nd Floor	57.0	59.7	-2.7	95.4	-4.6	2	16.3	6.5	none	4.1	13.5	7.2	none	none	5.2 & 3.12 Balcony
	4P - 2B - Flat Type A - Gnd Floor	60.6	73.0	-12.4	83.0	-17.0	2	16.8	7.0	1.6	3.7	12.2	10.7	none	none	
	4P - 2B - Flat Type B - 1st Floor	59.6	73.0	-13.4	81.7	-18.3	2	15.8	7.0	1.6	3.7	12.2	10.7	none	none	4.8 Balcony
	4P - 2B - Flat Type C - 1st Floor	60.3	73.0	-12.7	82.7	-17.3	2	16.3	6.5	none	4.1	13.5	10.7	none	none	5.2 Balcony
	4P - 2B - Maisonettes 18 & 19	69.4	73.0	-3.6	95.1	-4.9	2	17.0	7.6	1.3	4.1	11.3	10.2	none	none	3.0 & 2.8 Balcony
	4P - 2B - Maisonettes 20	70.8	73.0	-2.2	97.0	-3.0	2	16.2	7.2	1.1	3.6	11.0	10.0	none	none	3.0 Balcony

Table 6.4 Data on Space Standards from Housing Estates 1945-1997

The comparison of the areas of dwellings with those recommended by Parker Morris showed variations.

- In **Churchill Gardens** the bedsits, flats, and maisonettes all fell below the Parker Morris standards ranging between 4.2 to 25.8 per cent shortfall. The flats show a combination of dwellings with living room and kitchen combined, a feature that appears both in one bedroom and two bedroom units. Dwellings with 3 bedrooms, for five persons, are the ones with separate kitchens in the estate. There are different bedsit types in the mix, where there is a recess in the living room to accommodate the bed. At 31.1 sq.m., these are one of the smallest dwellings in all the samples studied.
- **Lillington Street Estate**, standards of space in maisonettes, showed a fall of 1.3 to 5.5 percent on the 5 person and 6 person dwellings while the 3 person maisonettes exceeded the standards by 7.6 percent. This estate had generous living rooms and combined kitchen and dining rooms. At 14.4 sq.m., the main bedroom was the largest in the samples studied. The design of access balconies that replicated streets at high level, gave some individual external space to the dwellings.

Lillington Street estate was the result of the competition win by Darbourne and Darke. The brief of the competition was based on the space requirements of 1959. The lower standards where they occur can be explained by the fact that although the project was constructed between 1964 and 1972, the standards to which the dwellings were built appear to have remained as the pre-Parker Morris brief.
- **Alton Estate** in Roehampton had space standards predominantly below Parker Morris standards with two bedsit types falling 6.2 and 9.9 percent below and four person flats falling 12.4 to 17.2 percent below. Here, as in Lillington estate, one bedsit type was 8.3 percent above Parker Morris

standards, as was the 2 person flat type with 6.7 percent. The lowest space standard here is seen in Bedsit Flat type C at 29.3 sq.m., with the living room and bed space in the same room but with a separate kitchen. The four person Flat type K is the dwelling type that is smaller than Parker Morris standards by 17.2 percent followed by other types of dwelling for the same number of people with shortfalls ranging from 16.1 to 12.4 percent. This result was expected as the buildings built in 1950s were expected to be of lower standards.

- In **Robin Hood Lane Estate** the shortfalls seen in the 5 person and 6 person Maisonettes were between 9.3 to 11.2 per cent. It is possible that had the sample examined on this estate been larger, more conclusive evidence would have been found of the general trend in the space standards of the units. However, on the basis of available information it may be concluded that the standards here were similar to those on the Alton estate. At 16.7 sq.m. the living rooms are smaller than comparable ones in Lillington estate, while the size of the combined kitchen/diners are slightly larger.

The design and construction of Robin Hood Lane Estate date to the period before 1967 when compliance with Parker Morris standards became obligatory. The shortfall from Parker Morris standards detected in the samples measured may be partly attributed to the assumption of the number of persons intended per unit, based on un-annotated drawings from archives, thus over-burdening the space standards with greater number of occupants than expected, as well as the possibility that the design was not in compliance with Parker Morris standards as these were not obligatory at the time of their design.

- In **Rossetti Court**, Ridgmount Place, one type of 6 person house fell 1.1 percent below Parker Morris standards and another exceeded them by 2.4

percent. However, here the types of dwelling were limited to houses. The living rooms for 6 person house types were similar to those in Robin Hood Lane, but the combined kitchen/diners were larger.

- In the **Hawksmoor** site housing the dwelling types varied from 2 person flats to 4 person houses, rising up to 6 person house types. These dwellings had shortfalls ranging from 7.0 to 1.2 percent, while some dwellings exceeded the Parker Morris standards by 6.0 percent.
- The **Dover Court** development built in 1997 to the requirements of the 1980s is remarkable in its consistently lower standards. Every dwelling type showed a shortfall in space standards. These shortfalls start at 3.0 percent and go on to as high as 17.0 percent in some types. An important feature of this development is the fact that not only does every dwelling type fall below Parker Morris standards, but the degree to which they do is consistently high in the majority of cases.

The study of the housing examples across the five decades from the mid-twentieth century produces a tentative map of the general direction of the changes experienced in social housing developments selected. While the limited number of samples is acknowledged the variations in the space standards do appear to show patterns of change. These corroborate the expectation that the 1950s housing policies would show smaller dwelling sizes, the dwellings built to Parker Morris standards the most generous, and dwellings built during the years when the Parker Morris standards were no longer obligatory would show a drop in standards again.

What was of particular interest was the fact that the rises and falls in standards were not consistent in each set of samples. Each development showed 'blips' in space standards and did not meet the expectations fully. In order to investigate the reason for these inconsistencies, two estates were studied in greater depth

as samples of the standards of social housing of each period under study as part of the proposition of the thesis – Alexandra Road as an example of a housing estate built to Parker Morris standards and Holly Street Phase I as an example of housing built after the de-regulation of the 1980s.

6.6 Analysis of the Main Case Studies: Alexandra Road and Holly Street (Phase I) Housing Estates and Analysis of Interviews

The selection of Alexandra Road and Holly Street (Phase I) is justified on a similar basis as that of the cases studied earlier. These were both designed by award-winning architects and practices. This guaranteed that the results would be the outcome of factors other than the expertise and the ability of the architects namely the restrictions or demands that were made on the designers outside their design capability, such as planning requirements and minimum space standards (or their absence).

Alexandra Road Housing Estate was a significant example of social housing which tried to re-define the approach towards this building type. The study of this estate is of particular interest because of the values associated with it by those who designed it and those who write about it. The Conservation Area Statement (2000) referred to the estate as an '*essay in high density development*' of '*stacked dwellings and the considered sequencing of spaces moving from public and semi-public to private and semi-private*' (p.6). Writing in 1980 in the November issue of a+u architectural journal, the project architect, Neave Brown wrote: '*it was our intention to produce an architecture composed of elements belonging to a common culture, and render irrelevant the sad distinction between public and private housing*' (a+u, 1980). Brown also referred to '*high social and political ambition*' of the '*newly reorganized London Boroughs*' (ibid) in creating the estate.

The estate which is now listed grade II* was part of a larger project. In 1966 the Ministry of Housing and Local Government part funded the purchase of the 13.5 acres of land by the Council. The Camden Architects' Department drew up proposals for a high-density mixed-use development, which included housing for 1660 people in 520 dwellings, a tenants' hall, underground car parking, shops, workshops for Camden's Building Department, a school for children with learning difficulties, a children's reception centre, residential accommodation for young physically handicapped people and a public open space. A youth club was later added to the brief (Conservation Area Statement – Alexandra Road – Camden, Environment Department, Camden Council, 2000). The project was granted planning permission in 1968 under project architect Neave Brown. The housing is contained in three blocks A, B and C which vary from the tall seven storey (plus basement parking) Block A to the four-storey Block B with flats or maisonettes facing Rowley Way with their own terrace or gardens and parking below, and finally to the lower Block C which consists of three storey blocks plus parking in the basement. The main spine of the intermediate spaces between the blocks is formed by dramatic axes along the whole length of the estate (Rowley Way) punctuated by the ziggurat-like profile of the blocks on the side.

The initial brief specified a density of 136 persons per acre and the planners requested 150 persons per acre density. The scheme had a density of 210 p.p.a – the highest density achieved in a low rise project at the time and conformed to Parker Morris standards and the housing cost yardsticks, as well as incorporating social facilities, public green space and car parking. When in April 1969 the scheme was approved by the planning committee it was applauded (Freear, 1995). The project which is here taken as an example of Parker Morris standards in social housing began in 1972. The estate was partially occupied in 1978 and fully occupied in 1979.

Formally, Alexandra Road estate broke with the orthodoxy of the time in that it provided high density social housing in a low rise development. However, in terms of its adherence to space standards it was typical of the housing estate

complying with Parker Morris standards. The house, maisonette and flat dwelling types were all incorporated in the project. Each family dwelling had access to a green open space. Integral parking served the tenants while a central boiler room connected to the district heating system providing heating to all dwellings.

Landscaped gardens in the development are an integral part of the design, creating outdoor pockets of space of varied size and character. The development is served well by planted areas and soft landscaping. The estate is built in fair-faced white concrete with chamfered arises, black stained timber joinery and aluminum fenestration (to the north of Block A). The whole of the layout of the development replicates that of streets around a central park, similar to the pattern seen in the vicinity as well as in London as a whole. Two parallel internal streets serve the development, with the higher, eight storey block acting as a noise barrier to the railway track and turning its back onto it. The dwellings set back from the front as they rise to the higher levels and provide balconies that catch the sun from east and west as well as the south. The blocks are punctuated by staircases and lifts giving access to dwellings at different levels as well as the garage on the lower floor. On the eastern end of the site are located the building department offices, two schools, and a community centre by Evans and Shalev, (with the boiler house below).

Holly Street, Phase I, for the London Borough of Hackney was part of a regeneration scheme involving the replacement of existing high density system built blocks. It was designed and constructed in six phases starting in 1998 and ending in 2008. The new build construction of the development comprised of 743 dwellings which the publicity material claimed were high quality and energy efficient homes within a street layout. The development also included 167 new build units for private sale together with other development associated with the estate including the redevelopment of the local community centre, nursery and children's playground, and the construction of a youth club, foyer, café and family health care centre. The clients were the London Borough of Hackney and the Holly Street Consortium which included a number of housing trusts and Housing

Associations (Circle 33 Housing Trust, Samuel Lewis Housing Trust, North London Muslim Housing Group, Comprehensive Estates Initiative, Estate Development Committee, Kush Housing Association). The architects for the project were Levitt Bernstein Architects.

The first phase of Holly Street development was said to be an example of the low standards resulting from the absence of space standards as part of the Conservative Party's de-regulation (refer to the transcript of interview with Levitt Bernstein). The space standards in this development were expected to be much lower than those in the Alexandra Road estate. The development is based on the street layout and comprised different dwelling types: flats, maisonettes and houses.

The first phase is part of a larger master plan and as such follows the pattern of the whole estate. The houses are laid in a north-south and east-west orientation to form a street pattern. Blocks of flats form nodal points on street corners or interrupt the rows of houses, breaking the roof line or the outline of the boundary.

The dwellings are generally built with red and buff brick with pitched roofs and reflect the revival of the vernacular styles of the period. There are small patio gardens to the front and small lawned gardens to the rear of the houses. There is a doctor's surgery incorporated in the street. Some flats on upper floor have small balconies mimicking the frontage of the Georgian and Victorian buildings nearly but without their generous proportions. There were to be housing for rent, for sale and for shared equity.

6.6.1 Analysis of Space Standards

In order to test the propositions of the thesis and augment the analysis of the estates from five decades, shown above, the space standards of Alexandra Road estate and Holly Street Phase I housing, will be analysed as examples of the two contrasting periods of social democratic and neo-liberal consensus.

Alexandra Road estate shows floor areas consistent with expectations. Four person and five person maisonettes show they exceed Parker Morris standards by 5.2 and 7.9 per cent respectively. However, the two person units show an unexpected drop of 0.8 percent. This however, may be explained by possible error in measurements taken from drawings and inaccuracies in scaling drawings. The Holly Street quantitative study of space standards yielded an unexpected result. This phase of Holly Street development was built at a time when Parker Morris standards were abandoned. The architects themselves stated that space standards in this phase of the development were as much as 10 percent below Parker Morris standards. However, the total area of the dwellings showed a fall of 1.5 percent in 2 person flats, 2.8 percent in one type of 4 person house. Whereas there was drop of 13.5 percent in two types of 4 person flats, the 5 person houses showed a surprising 8.5 to 9.9 percent increase above Parker Morris standards.

One explanation might be that the larger houses have a greater circulation space and as the areas of the whole dwelling are considered houses with greater number of floors may exceed the expected floor levels. As will be seen in the account of the interviews the smaller houses which were referred to as “skinny” houses (by the architects) because a person could stand in the middle of it and touch either side of the house with the tips of his fingers. Whereas Holly Street did not match the expected results most of the remaining developments did. What was important to explain however, was the rise in standards where a fall was expected. The other explanation may be the fact that with a certain size dwelling, no economy may be found by reducing the footprint of the building, leading to larger overall areas (Table 6.4).

Development	Dwelling Type	Area of Dwelling in sq.m.	Parker Morris Standards - 1967 - in sq.m.	Shortfall or Excess in sq.m.	Percentage change	Percentage Rise or Fall compared to Parker Morris	Number of Bedrooms	Area of Living Room	Area of Kitchen	Dining Room	Separate WC	Bathroom	Area of BR1	Area of BR2	Area of BR3	Area of BR4	Environmental Services
Holly Street Estate - Phase 1 - Levitt Bernstein Associates (and Laing Developers) for Hackney Council - 1966-1976	2P - 1B Flat Type A Mid-Terrace Version	46.7	47.4	-0.7	98.5	-1.5	1	16.2	7.3			3.7	11.9	N	N	N	smI airing cpd
	2P - 1B Flat Type A End of Terrace Version	46.7	47.4	-0.7	98.5	-1.5	1	16.1	7.3			3.7	11.9	N	N	N	
	4P - 2B Flat Type C Ground Floor	63.2	73.0	-9.8	86.5	-13.5	2	15.5	11.4	N		4.5	11.9	10.8	N	N	smI airing cpd
	4P - 2B Flat Type C Upper Floor	63.2	73.0	-9.8	86.5	-13.5	2	15.5	11.4	N		3.5	11.9	10.8	N	N	smI airing cpd
	4P - 2B House Type D - Ground and First Floor	71.0	73.0	-2.1	97.2	-2.8	2	14.0	11.9 K/D		Y	2.9	11.3	10.6	N	N	smI airing cpd
	5P - 3B Maisonette Type F End -Terrace Version 1	93.4	85.0	8.4	109.9	9.9	3	15.6 +cpd	12.8 K/D		Y	3.6	11.3	11.1	6.3 +cup'd	N	airing cpd
	5P - 3B Maisonette Type F Mid-terrace Version 2	92.2	85.0	7.2	108.5	8.5	3	20.0	11.0		N	4.2	11.0	10.9	6.3 +cup'd	N	airing cpd
	5P - 3B Maisonette Type F End of Terrace Version	93.4	85.0	8.4	109.9	9.9	3	19.1 +cpd	16.9 K/D		Y	4.2	11.3	11.1	6.3 +cup'd	N	airing cpd + understair cpd
Alexandra Rd Estate - Camden CC Architects - Camden Council - 1966-1976	2P Unit Typical Plan - Level 6,7&8 (Type C&D, E&F, G&H)	47.0	47.4	-0.4	99.2	-0.8	1	17.76 L/D	6.0		Y	2.5	13.6	N	N	N	9.2 Terrace + Planter
	3P Unit - Typical Block B Maisonette	63.6	59.7	3.9	106.5	6.5	2	15.3	5.07	7.8	Y	3.1	12.6	8.16			12.5 Terrace + cpd
	4P Unit - Typical Block B Maisonette	83.3	74.7	8.6	111.5	11.5	3	14.0	8.5	10.5	Y	2.4	10.7	7.9	7.9		12.9 Terrace + cpd
	4P Unit - Upper and Lower level Maisonette (Types J &K)	78.6	74.7	3.9	105.2	5.2	2	13.2	6.0	8.7	Y	3.0	12.2	11.7	N	N	12.9 Terrace + Planter
	5P Unit - Upper and Lower level Maisonette (Types A & B)	91.7	85.0	6.7	107.9	7.9	3	15.4	8.3	9.5	Y	3.6	12.3	11.0	10.3	N	
	6P Unit - 3 Storey House	99.9	96.6	3.3	103.4	3.4	4	22.0	5.9	10.9	Y	3.0	9.1	8.7	6.9	6.9	Dressing room-3.9, Utility room 3.1, Terrace 5.6

Table 6.5 – Data on Standards from Alexandra Road and Holly Street Housing Estates

The comparison of the areas in the two projects with the Parker Morris space standards reveals a predominant tendency for Holly Street Phase I to have smaller dwellings than Alexandra Road. As expected Alexandra Road estate shows that the 4 person and 5 person maisonettes exceed the Parker Morris standards by 5.2 and 7.9% respectively. The 2 person flats show a drop of 0.8 percent. This is unexpected and may be explained by the inaccuracies in scaling the areas from prints. In Holly Street Phase I the difference in types appears to make a difference. The smaller units with 1 bedroom fall by 1.5% while 2 bedroom flats and 2 bedroom houses fall below Parker Morris standards by 13.5% and 6.8% respectively. The space standards for 3 bedroom, 5 person maisonettes rise however and exceed the minimum Parker Morris standards by an average of 9.4%.

The only estate that was clearly built in compliance with Parker Morris standards was Alexandra Road estate and the results bore this out. However, with the exception of Churchill Gardens built in the 1950s and Dover Court built in the 1990s, which showed a consistent shortfall from Parker Morris standards in areas of every dwelling type, every development showed variations with exceptions to the rule. Beside the possibility mentioned earlier regarding the circulation areas adding to total dwelling area, other explanations were sought. The qualitative data which follow will be analysed below and will be considered for explanations for the 'blips' and discrepancies found above.

6.6.2 Analysis of Interviews

The analysis of the interviews that follows is based on detailed notes and transcripts from meetings with David Levitt co-founder of Levitt Bernstein Architects, Neave Brown the project architect for Alexandra Road Housing Estate and the interview with Clive Clowes Head of Procurement at the Housing Corporation and for many years in various posts in the Housing

Association movement. The conversation with the David Levitt and Neave Brown, confirmed the view that in their capacity as architects they could and did make a difference to the quality of the life of the tenants of state-funded housing. There was a sense that they regarded their role as guardians of quality of ordinary people's housing as well as the city as part of their environment. The protection of good design and good modern architecture was also evident in the interviews.

The key issues that this analysis will consider are those related to the subject of the interviews: what were the standards they had to comply with, what determined the level of the standards, what influence did they think they had in improving the quality of housing for the people. The content of the interviews is analysed on the basis of the following factors: the perception of the interviewees about their role and effectiveness, their perception of the factors that led to changes in standards and their information and experience of the change in standards in social housing. Other concepts the occurrence of which was analysed included concepts such as: universalism or targeting, regulation or de-regulation and state versus the market and choice. The interviews were significant in the richness of the additional information they yielded and in the way they affirmed or altered the direction of the research.

The interviews yielded significant insight into the attitudes of agents involved in the provision of housing and in various ways they affirmed or modified the detailed direction of the research. There was a strong sense that David Levitt and Neave Brown as architects saw part of their role as guardians of quality in social housing. This was expressed both in terms of form and content of housing, in other words in terms of the architectural solution to a brief and site, and in terms of finding the best result within the parameters set by funding and planning regulations. They felt they were putting their professional training, aesthetic judgment and creativity at the service of

improving the quality of social housing and the architectural quality of the environment.

The comments of Neave Brown reflected the social and political context within which Alexandra Road estate was designed and built. The choice of Alexandra Road Estate is poignant due to the peculiarity of the local authority that developed the estate. Camden Council had been formed from completely diverse political backgrounds of its constituent councils of Holborn, St Pancras and Hampstead, Neave Brown believed that despite this the Council acted as one, albeit with that *'there is always a conflict between the values of the officers, who are trying to do things, and the committees that are political'*. This confirmation of the difference between the action of the agent and the policy affirmed the view that there is scope in the intervention of the values of those who are active in the provision of social services. The social values and beliefs of the actors involved in social housing design and provision were making their views count.

Asked about his views about whether it is the economics or ideology that defines the shifts that occur in standards, being lowered, raised or simply dropped through deregulation, Neave Brown referred to the Parker Morris recommendations as ***'an essay on housing standards and their ideology'***. An example of this was given as the introduction of the heating system in the Parker Morris standards. The problems that were faced in the homes of worse-off tenants were that of condensation among others which resulted from the use of paraffin heaters which give off large amounts of vapour and sealing of openings to conserve heat. To resolve this problem, the Parker Morris report proposed whole house heating under landlord's control, which would produce a 'basic background heat' such that those who could not afford to heat their dwelling could at least have a comfortable existence.

Neave Brown's view of what was the current social value of the time is clear in his statement about the intentions of those within the councils: *'Whether*

you were exactly a socialist or communist or to the Right or to the Left, accordance was that out of the ruin of the war and the world that was remerging to maintain the idea of a controlled and egalitarian society.' This is a clear statement of the common values that were perceived to be shared among the council officers.

Another aim Neave Brown mentions is that Alexandra Road estate was an attempt at creating social housing that would fit the environment and **would not be 'visually class distinctive'**, while acknowledging that different people are different and have different incomes, and the like. To expand on how this might be achieved Neave Brown gave the example of Siegfried Gideon's reference to parts of London where there is a unified environment that manages to integrate people of relatively modest incomes with people with high incomes.

Neave Brown emphasised the point that Parker Morris space standards were strictly adhered to in Alexandra Road estate. In order to demonstrate compliance, the drawings were *'measured and re-measured by us [the architects], by the quantity surveyors, by the Department of the Environment and so forth'*. Brown stressed the importance of the role of the architects in providing good design and applying space requirements imaginatively in order to make the most of them. While emphasizing the point about the absolute nature of the standards, he said *'when they got our plans at first they could not believe that they were to standard because they looked so much bigger and better'*. Not only was the estate an example of good design by the local authority architects but it was an example of space standards superior to what was produced in the private sector. In comparison to private housing for the middle class in the affluent Swiss Cottage/ Camden Town area – built on Adelaide Road and completed before Alexandra Road was finished - the Alexandra Road estate is said to have excelled: *'we measured them [the middle class houses] and they were to lower standards than our local authority house was'*. Parker Morris standards produced social housing

to higher standards than the private sector was producing for the middle class. Brown attributes a backlash to the Government's later refocusing of policy towards the promotion of prefabrication, industrialization, bulk buying and consortia, and sees a consequent lowering of standards.

The relevance of the actors involved in the provision of housing is re-iterated in Brown's assertions. There was an ideological input from the central government to '*local authorities who are pressure groups*' in charge of implementing policies and '*at the receiving end of the decisions*'. The local authorities would have their own way of implementing policies and conflicts within the authorities were known to have occurred. In the case of Alexandra Road, it is relevant to note the Director of Planning had refused to recommend it because of his objection to the form of the building that did not allow for equal amenities between the dwellings on the lower levels and those on the higher levels. This point, which may be argued to be ideological, had stopped the Director of Planning from supporting the application, until literally the last minutes.

The important point that emerges from the content of this interview is the evidence of the role individual actors and their views and ultimately, their social values played in the outcome that was social housing.

Referring to individuals in positions that had dealings with the provision or allocation of social housing, David Levitt also attributed improvements to procedures or processes that came about as the result of conviction and effort of such agents. His reference to the former director of Shelter and the Director of the Joseph Rowntree foundation and their efforts in trying to establish housing standards to replace the absence of Parker Morris standards is a case in point. It seems these actors see regulations as a means of saving the quality of housing. In order to help with setting new standards they had taken account of the fact that the Government, under Margaret Thatcher, was '*unlikely to look at space standards because their whole approach was based on the market*', Sheila McKechnie and Richard

Best had decided to produce a set of standards from the point of view of the consumers, as consumer preference was a major part of the Government's policy drive.

David Levitt's re-collection of the conditions at the time is that the Housing Corporation would allow low standards. However, the (inner) conflict within the architect is clear in Levitt's reply when asked if he was always trying to achieve the highest possible standards. With an emphatic 'yes', he pointed out that there are different types of architects – those who just build what they are told – and *'those who use their education to do some good in the world'*. There is heavy emphasis on the social responsibility of the architect.

The interviews confirmed a number of issues presented in the literature about the changes in the quality of social housing and how the social policies of the time had affected these. David Levitt found the changes after 1988 to be a great regressive step in the quality of social housing. The abolition of the Housing Cost Yardstick meant that architects and local authorities could not argue for more funding due to unforeseen circumstances. This reduced the flexibility which they needed. The switch to Design and Build contracts after 1988 meant that space standards were reduced when money had to be found to make up for cost uncertainties elsewhere.

The lowering of the standards in the post 1981 years was a major pre-occupation for David Levitt. The story of John Major's visit to Holly Street in 1995 was an indication of the low space standards for a family of four, with no storage space is a compelling one. Faced with the obviously low space standards the Prime Minister had remembered that the Government *'hadn't done anything on standards for a long time.'* Levitt offered a different way of considering standards and pointed out the role of the enlarged private rental sector: as a great deal of housing is being built for investment purposes and being let out privately, many families that are not eligible for social housing have no choice but to over-occupy a small flat. This describes a definite system for lowering of housing standards for the less well-off.

The interview with Clive Clowes confirmed a number of facts and figures on the opposite side of the scale as far as the agents involved in the provision of social housing are concerned. Clowes confirmed the view that the shift from pre-1988 competitive tender method of procurement to design and build signalled the lowering of standards. He associated the trend to the period between 1988 and 1993, because of the time that was required before the results of the policy were seen in built form: *'it took a few years to realise that actually these dwelling that are being produced aren't really that fit for purpose'*. This was because if the dwellings had to be put back on the pool of rentable houses, the standards were inadequate so they would not be useable.

However, there was some blurring of the boundaries, where the quality of housing was concerned, between what was produced for the market and what was produced for the Housing Associations to let. The concept of choice was an integral part of the argument for the lower standards in the private sector housing – a family could decide whether they wanted to buy the dwelling or not. If it wasn't big enough, it was argued, they had the choice not to buy. This argument has a counter balance as well – that the fact that council tenants do not have the option to select their dwelling, potentially they suffer more when standards are lower.

The way standards affect those in social housing is explored and confirmed by Clowes, declaring that the private sector occupants can choose to leave when there are changes in their circumstances. The fact that those in social housing are predominantly those *'on social aid and non-working'* means that they spend a great deal of time at home, and if you spend most of your time at home, you need space. The above statement emphasises the point that the marginal sections of society and the unemployed form the main recipients of social housing following the changes brought about by the Conservative government after 1979. This is directly related to targeted

social policies and marginalized housing that has been in evidence especially after 1988 and the effective privatization of housing.

Significantly Clowes states that in around 1993 the Government's priority was the number of units and it did not wish to get drawn on the issue of the correct size; and although this wasn't communicated in any directive, it was understood that when size was mentioned, approval would not be given (for funding to housing developments). Instead the Housing Corporation had tried to identify Performance Standards and this was demonstrated by the spaces accommodating certain number of furniture, equipment and the like. The test for this criterion was necessarily subjective and the way it was determined was by the officers visiting sample dwellings and if the space 'looked fine' and 'felt right' it was deemed to have complied. There is corroboration of David Levitt's point about the provenance of the Scheme Development Standards 1993 that became the document that set standards in social housing. With its revisions produced after reviews of 1995, 1998, 2000 and 2003. The Development Standards 1993 and 1995 predicated the internal environment on the basis of performance standards suggested by the Building Research Establishment (BRE).

The next document for assessment of the quality of housing was the Housing Quality Indicators which were developed with HTA, DEGW and the Housing Corporation. Each development would need to have a minimum score in order to obtain funding. This, Clowes considers to have been the introduction of space standards 'by the back door'. There is an impression that actors involved in housing provision were following an agenda of their own.

The study of the policies showed a drop in standards in social housing during the 1980s and 1990s when selectivist policies dominated. The documents shed light on a number of issues: social conditions of the time, how these were viewed by politicians and their advisers, social values in

terms of needs and entitlements, as expressed by those in power and the state of debate at the time with regard to housing standards.

Interviews with Neave Brown the architect of the Alexandra Road estate and with David Levitt, architect of Holly Street development carried out to assess the difference between the approach and aspirations of the two architectural practices and individual architects and their understanding of the general ethos and policies of the time, found a similar approach in that they both considered their role as that of safeguarding the quality of the social housing they designed. There was a distinct determination to keep the standards as high as possible within the given criteria. Neave Brown's intentions were clearly that of complying with the Parker Morris standards and achieving the best possible design outcome. The funding limits were partly overcome by making requests for allowances for technical challenges thrown up by the site and building construction. However, in the comments the architect made at the interview there was a clear sense of a mission, one that might be said to be ideologically driven.

Working in opposite circumstances in the post-1981 political climate of neo-liberal values, Holly Street architect David Levitt was clear that the quality of dwellings in Holly Street were not as they should have been because of the pressures from the client and the absence of minimum standards. His anecdote about John Major's comment on seeing one of the units that it was time the government introduced required standards to social housing is an indication of the level of dissatisfaction with the outcome. The fact that the procurement of Holly Street gave prominence to the role of the private developer both complicates the issue of Holly Street Phase I and shows the effect of the neo-liberal emphasis on the involvement of market principles in the provision of social housing.

The interview with Clive Clowes the Head of Procurement at the Housing Corporation and for many years an active official in the Housing Corporation reflected the official interpretation of the policies. Here too, the comments

make it clear that there was a concern about the lowering of standards, but there is a greater tendency to try to overcome the problem through other measures. Somehow the architects and designers are charged with making the most of a small space, against great odds.

The expectation that the 1980s would show a substantial drop in space standards was partly based on the fact that a great number of dwellings were built in the period that were smaller than their equivalent predecessors in earlier decades. This was markedly so in the private sector. Private developers took advantage of the shortage of housing to build large numbers of dwellings to appeal to the lower-income families who took advantage of encouraging mortgage terms and interest rates to purchase their first home. These houses – a popular typology at the time – were invariably of smaller space standards. Radif (1995) showed the scale of the drop in standards in a comparison of the private and public sectors (see Table 2.11). This thesis sought to show the difference that the social values made within the social sector and its findings are significant in that they distinguish between the two. In the social sector, even total de-regulation is re-defined, as shown here.

This thesis has tested its propositions partly through the stated social values of the architects of the two estates and that of the Head of Procurement as guides to the positions of actors involved in the provision of social housing. These are in no way exhaustive of the agents in the field which are numerous and involve the client, consultants in the design and construction team, planners and building control officers and officers in housing associations and local authorities.

What the findings of the research suggest is the significance of the role of individuals in the client body, Hackney's staff who included the amended GLC standards in the design guide for the contractor/developer, and the architectural practice with its many staff. In this process each individual may

have played a different role. Just as the local authority tried to influence the final design outcome by incorporating a pre-tested guide and the architects tried to avoid reducing space standards using the guideline as a lever, each actor could have interpreted the requirements differently. The fact that the standards in Holly Street do not show as high a drop as expected can only be attributed to the cumulative effect of the efforts of the actors in the same direction. This is borne out by the fact that the comparison between private sector housing of this period and this case study shows a greater drop in the former (see Radif, in Table 2.11).

6.7 Conclusion

The documents studied covered a number of issues inferred in the propositions of this thesis. The political climate of the time and pressures on politicians was evident in the study of the manifestos of the Labour and the Conservative Party. Irrespective of their colour, they were shown to moderate their voices in order not to alienate the electorate, except when they had massive majorities (as with Michael Heseltine's arguments against the criticism of the Commons' Select Committee). The manifestos betrayed the associations with different social classes and the different interpretations of a classless society especially when expressed by the Conservative Party in Government. The politicians' view of the responsibilities of the state was the area with the greatest distinction between the two major parties. This was similarly reflected in the Parties' views on the potential and limitations of the market, definitions of choice and freedom and their ideological associations with the state and the individual.

The role of universalist or targeted social policies in determining the quality of social housing was not conclusive. The tables mapping the change of space standards showed a general trend towards higher standards in the period identified as the period of social democratic consensus and lower

standards in the periods before or after that, especially falling within the period identified as that of neo-liberal consensus. However, the result was not deemed conclusive as it did show variations in standards within the same estate and in the same period.

The analysis of the interviews was carried out mainly for their content in terms of the issues raised as opinions as well as the affirmation or otherwise on the assertions of authors regarding specific time periods. The role of the interviewees in the process of housing provision was also considered through the analysis of the interviews.

A significant finding of the research was the importance of the role of individual actors who were involved in the provision of social housing and their role in interpreting regulations in favour (or against) promoting higher or lower standards. This was best manifested in the assertions of the interviewees and what they expressed as their understanding of their role. The architects believed their role to be that of safeguarding higher standards in the face of pressures of de-regulation to do otherwise. They associated with their profession a responsibility to make a difference for the better by ensuring higher standards whenever possible. This was probably the most unexpected finding of the research and is best demonstrated in the diagrams showing the comparison of space standards in the two case studies.

Chapter 7

Conclusion and Comments

This thesis set out to establish whether there is a relationship between social values and standards in social housing. The issue of standards in social housing which was dormant for at least two decades has started to gain centre ground in recent years, and once again has become the subject of conferences and statements by politicians.

The question that this thesis sought to answer was what triggered changes in housing policy that affected standards in social housing. It considered the quality of social housing in London in the second half of the twentieth century. Having deemed housing policies to be a function of the general social policies, it researched the standards in the period after the World War II up to the coming to power of Margaret Thatcher in 1979, and contrasted them with the years 1979-1997. The research concerned itself with the ideological and historical background in which changes in social policy came about. The problem that the thesis addressed was the difference in approach that existed in the different time periods, towards the distribution of economic resources to social services in general and housing in particular.

The first proposition was that the most important attributes that characterize the changes of policies are the principle of universalism - favoured at the time of the social democratic consensus - or selectivism at the time of (neo-)

liberal consensus. The research found that during the former period in Britain, there was a spirit of optimism and sense of common purpose. There was value attributed to citizenship just as it was to the state and its function in the provision of a fair share from the public purse, to the citizen. In contrast, the periods of the dominance of the (neo-) liberal tendency, there was a greater emphasis on the individual, with the role of society and the state heavily questioned. While the former period coincided with the adoption of universalist policies, the latter saw a rise in selectivist policies.

The Party manifestos and policy documents shared an idea of a nation with a common destiny. During the period that this thesis has termed social democratic consensus, the different political Parties did retain their core differences, however, their rhetoric reflected an attention to the idea of solidarity. This was reflected differently in each Party's discourse, from the idea of oneness in the Conservative Party manifestos to references to the value and rights of the working class and the poor, in the discourse of the Labour Party. The first proposition of the thesis was supported by these findings.

The second proposition was that the adoption of one or other approach was determined by the dominant social values of specific periods and expressed in social policies in general and social housing policies, in particular.

Chapters 2 and 3 showed the emergence of the universalist and selectivist policies corresponding to specific periods. The data analysed gave empirical evidence that these periods coincided with the dominance of social democratic consensus or that of the neo-liberal consensus, respectively. This consensus was apparent and there appeared to be a similarity of policies adopted at specific periods despite the varying economic conditions that may have prevailed. In order to test the proposition on social values, the discourse of the period as shown in the text of policy documents and manifestos was analysed and found a predominance of certain concepts in each period. Through the association of the terms identified with each

concept, the dominant social values were identified. As chapter six showed, the terms associated with the social democratic approach were mostly related to equality, social justice and fairness, modernization and progress and the instruments used to achieve these were described in terms of state regulation. In contrast, the (neo-) liberal approach was identified by the use of concepts of freedom, individual responsibility and choice and the instruments used to achieve these were described in terms of de-regulation, market freedom and competition.

The material researched in the period 1945-1979 reflected a spirit of solidarity augmented in the 1960s with an optimism and energy that had to do with the making of a new society and accompanied with expressions about modernisation. The Labour Party of the 1960s was the forward looking Party that identified itself with modernization. In the built environment created at this time there was a reflection of this in the embrace of modernism as the style of the new, of the time. The ideas that were embedded in the manifestos and policies had inherent in them the notions of fairness and social justice. The state's role in this period was seen as that of regulator of financial resources to ensure a life of socially acceptable standards for all citizens. The idea of citizenship and by inference, equality, although not referred to in the texts, is one that permeates the discourse of this period.

The comparison of the above period with the years 1979-1997 on the other hand, showed a reversal of the social values reflected above. The ascendancy of neo-liberal ideas challenged the idea of entitlement of an equal share of all from the public purse and emphasized the role of the market in wealth creation, removing the state from the role of regulator, except in facilitating the function of the market. In this period the idea of the society was replaced with that of the individual. The notions of freedom and choice that appeared over and over again in Party Manifestos and policy documents of this period were the anti-thesis of those of the earlier one. The

corollary of this position was the extensive withdrawal of the state from the provision of services and the imposition of market relations on all aspects of social or by then individual life.

The text of documents in the two periods showed a correspondence between the adoption of universalist policies and social values based on egalitarianism and a belief in the worth of citizenship and the collective, on the one hand, and the adoption of selectivist policies and social values based on individual effort within a market economy based on competition, on the other. Thus the social values of each period were linked to the adoption of each policy approach. The second proposition is therefore supported.

The third proposition was that social housing policies based on universalist principles lead to higher space and environmental standards in social housing. The policies of the time related to housing showed two opposing approaches in the two different periods. The most obvious difference was the existence of social standards in the former and the abandonment of standards for publicly funded housing in the latter. The Parker Morris report has been taken as the definitive document associated with higher standards in social housing since its implementation. The literature on social housing reviewed in chapters two and three showed a clear expectation of a fall in standards during the period after the coming to power of the governments of Margaret Thatcher and John Major. This research aimed to test whether these assertions were accurate.

To set the background of the changes in standards in social housing under different regulations a number of housing examples were selected, one from each decade as representative of the regulations of the previous decade. These were award winning estates or examples of projects by award winning architectural practices. The space standards of these estates were measured and tabulated. The exercise showed that changes in standard were in keeping with the assertions in the literature. However, there were exceptions within various parts of the data.

In order to verify the change of standards definitively between the two periods under study, the two estates of Alexandra Road and Holly Street, Phase I were analysed. The interviews with the architects of both estates were additional tools in ascertaining the aspect of the hypotheses that dealt with the intentions, role and consequently the social values affecting the standards of the estates. What the study found was a confirmation of the lowering of space standards in the latter period as expected. However, in this study as with the broader study carried out earlier, there were 'blips' which did not match the overall pattern. While the majority of the dwellings built in Holly Street, Phase I of 1993 had lower space standards than the Alexandra road Estate of mid-1970s, a number of houses and maisonettes matched those of the Parker Morris standards. This was a surprising result and contrary to expectations. When the architectural practice, Levitt Bernstein were asked about the discrepancy between the expected lowering of standards and the result, they could not explain the findings.

While the quantitative data raised questions, the qualitative data in the form of interviews, helped explain the results. Both interviews with the architects showed that they attributed to themselves a massive responsibility as the guardians of standards in social housing. The very fact that they thought of the standards required by the clients as unsatisfactory – in the case of Holly Street, Phase I- showed that their value judgment was at the forefront of their mind as they worked on the projects. Both Neave Brown and David Levitt referred to the architect's role as that of improving the quality of social housing.

What will also help explain the results is the effect of actors other than the architects in the resulting standards, however random the result may have been. The client brief for Holly Street, Phase I project contained a set of standards presented as a Guide to the developer and hence the architects. The table of standards was drawn up by the former Greater London Council (GLC) and was a re-interpretation of the Parker Morris report. Whereas the

Parker Morris report set the overall area of the dwelling as a requirement, the GLC translated the areas into room sizes and used them in the briefs of local authority housing while it was in existence. The fact that the London Borough of Hackney retained these standards in its brief albeit as a guide and not as an essential requirement may have made a difference in giving greater freedom to the architects to impose as close a space standard to the guide as they could.

The interview with Clive Clowes the Head of Procurement at the Housing Corporation was similarly indicative of the role that the officers of the Housing Corporation saw for themselves in safeguarding a sensible set of standards. What the thesis and the analysis of data have shown is the impact that the social values of actors, involved in the provision of social housing, have in the quality of the final result.

This finding may be generalized in the broader sense of social policies as well. It is an echo of the finding of the research by Davies and Reddin (referred to in chapter 3) about how the perception of the recipients of free school meals of the staff in charge of distribution, made a difference in their decision, whether to continue claiming that benefit or how they felt about doing so. This research tentatively concludes that the individuals involved in the provision of what is ultimately a social service, social housing, can and do make a difference in the final outcome.

This research found a link between social values and social policy at policy-making level it traced it to housing policies and finally found them playing a part at the level of professionals and individual actors at the point of implementation of policies in the form of housing standards. Future research should consider investigating a larger sample in order to test these results more conclusively.

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Appendices

Appendix I – Transcript of Interviews

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Appendix I

Interview with David Levitt (DL) 25th July 2007, London WC1

Interview with David Levitt (DL) 25th July 2007, London WC1

Due to technical difficulties the conversation was recorded only partially. The following text is partly quoted from recorded conversation and partly from relatively detailed notes from the meeting.

Keys: David Levitt – DL Jamileh Manoochehri - JM

DL: *Giving a background on the work on housing standards and the recent reports published. "... the last Conservative government. Sheila Mackecknie who is unfortunately dead now, she died of cancer very young –She was the director of Shelter, then moved from Shelter and became Director of the Consumers' Association. And when she was the Director of the Consumers' Association she had a conversation one day with Richard Best who was the Director of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation and said that nothing had been done about space standards really since Parker Morris and wasn't it time that they were looked at again. And they got together and thought well given the attitude of Mrs. Thatcher's government there wasn't the slightest chance that the Conservative Government would look at space standards because their whole approach was based on the market and so they devised an idea which was that if you looked at space standards from a consumers' point of view nobody could resist that because the whole point about the market is that it is dictated by consumer preferences and if you say what consumer preferences are, so I chaired this thing and the idea was that we would work out a set of questions that the average tenant or the average purchaser ought to ask when they are contemplating moving into a new place, so we, there was a lovely woman, who also died young of a heart attack, she was at Birmingham, she had been used for research projects by JRF quite a lot. So she did a research which was published as a sort of a checklist. Then JRF wanted to give it a wider audience and so they approached one of the clearing banks that was responsible for quite a lot of mortgages for what is now HSBC and was the Midland Bank, for a while the Midland Bank handed this document to whoever walked through their door wanting a mortgage, and then they decided that there wasn't any point in promoting it as the Joseph Rowntree Foundation. It would better if it was promoted by the Housing Corporation."*

The following are JM's notes from the meeting:

The conservatives would look at space standards as dictated by the market, and being determined by consumer preferences.

David Levitt chaired the meeting set up to devise the questions to be put to the consumers.

Another research was published by JRF as a checklist.

HSBC and Midland banks co-operated with the production of the questionnaire. This was later promoted by the National Housing Federation instead of the JRF. This was the document that was to become Standards and Quality in Development.

DL's response to my comment that I was considering the Brunswick Centre as an example of social housing in the 1960:

Brunswick Centre is not a good example as it has only 2BR flats. It is ideal for a brief period in people's lives. Like the microflats – but you cannot regulate microflats.

There is a growing body of small developers building 1BR flats of 29 m2 for single people. One room flats with a separate bathroom.

Brunswick centre has bedsitting rooms as well. It started as private housing with:

1 BR flats

2 BR flats

Maisonettes

There are no family-sized flats.

Alexandra Road would be a better example to study.

JM: What was the brief and what were the requirements for standards,

What was your definition of standards and what were you trying to achieve?

DL: In Brunswick Centre there was a changeover from private to council tenancy in 1965. Parker Morris Standards were adhered to.

Doesn't remember Camden ever producing a brief, and suggests Alexandra Road as a good example. Neave Brown the architect is still around.

Sydney Cook was the Camden Borough architect and oversaw other significant housing such as Branch Hill, Maiden Lane and the scheme on Parliament Hill.

Of course what is important to remember is that these schemes would have had to satisfy the requirements for the Housing Cost Yardstick as well.

The Quantity Surveyors prided themselves in making it possible to get round the Parker Morris Standards and make the scheme work within the Housing Cost Yardstick.

The Housing Corporation continued with the Housing Cost Yardstick as a requirement until 1988. Until then you could go back to the government and say there are unforeseen circumstances here and we need more money and get it.

Margaret Thatcher stopped this in 1988. Design and Build contracts became very popular during this time and space standards were reduced to make up for the uncertainties of cost elsewhere.

Good examples of 1960s projects are by Benson and Forsyth and Neave Brown.

Parker Morris standards were actually smaller than the standards of 1948, but it was the organisation and use of the spaces that was considered carefully.

'Space in the Home' is a document of a series of digests that gave guidance regarding furniture and spaces and minimum dimensions in kitchens and Bathrooms. The Greater London Council published their interpretation of this is a table.

By 1980 with Michael Heseltine and Margaret Thatcher the government's view was: who better to judge standards than the open market.

JM: In my search I looked at housing estates from the 1950s to 2000, including Alton Estate, Churchill Gardens, Robin Hood Lane and the Greenwich Millennium Village. The space standards did not show the drop that I expected from 1960s onto the end of the 20th century.

DL: But you did not consider the buildings in the 80s.

JM: Yes I included Jubilee Gardens project and Dover Court by CGHP.

DL: But those aren't good examples. Jim Monahan wouldn't lower the standards for social housing. Holly Street is a better example for 1980s buildings. Holly Street was originally an appalling 1970s estate of 4 tower blocks with 600 flats all in one building. It had internal corridors like Unite d'Habitation with maisonettes wrapped around it. All by the People's Republic of Hackney. In 1988 David Levitt's practice were asked to redesign the estate.

The Central Estate Initiative, social services and housing and planning department all came together. They went into partnership with private developers: Laing. Estate Action was going strong at the time. Borne out of the idea put forward by Anne Power (of the LSE) that focused on management.

DL did an options appraisal of Holly Street. At the time George Young was the Minister in charge. He asked for the buildings to be torn down.

A competition was set up. The proposal for 1000 flats by Laing won. They would replace 1000 households with a mixture of houses and flats no more than 4 storeys high. This was in the early 1990s. Laing proposed 3BR houses to be built for sale. In 1995 John Major – at his most unpopular – was Prime Minister; Margaret Hodge was involved in some capacity, probably as leader of Hackney council, and conservative ministers visited Holly Street.

DL showed John Major into one of the houses. He shut the door and decided to stay for as long as possible to avoid the hostile crowd outside. The 3 BR house was home to a single parent with 3 grown up sons. There was no storage. This prompted John Major to say to the minister: 'we haven't done anything on standards for a long time'.

Guidance documents of the Housing Corporation would be essential to look at because between 1980s and 1988, the Corporation was issuing guidance and had its own standards.

There was somebody at the Housing Corporation called Clive Clowes. The standards were very low, lower than Scheme Development Standards.

Transcript of recorded conversation:

DL: The Housing Corporation would let you build anything at that stage. It would be very interesting for you to dig into the Housing Corporation archives.

JM: *asks for contact details for Clive Clowes and Neave Brown - Telephone conversation between David Levitt and Neave Brown. DL arranging for JM to contact Neave Brown.*

JM: Lovely. Thank you very much for that. I've asked all the questions I wanted to ask. I think I will focus more on Alexandra Road than this building [Brunswick Centre]. But there was something that you said that was very much in line with what I'm researching. You said 'well Jim Monahan wouldn't have built buildings any smaller than he had to'. That is exactly the sort of insight I'm trying to delve into. The way those who were involved in this chain of provision of housing, each played a part by the values that they had in determining the final product. Would you say that you were doing the same in your work?

DL: Oh, yes.

JM: So you were always trying to go for the highest possible standards?

DL: Oh, yes. We were always coming up in terrible rows with the funding authorities over what we were designing. You know, architects fit into lots of different categories. But there are architects who just like designing buildings and they'll take the brief and enjoy spending as much money as possible. And it doesn't matter particularly what it is. And there are other architects who use their education to do some good in the world and our practice started in 1968 – the year of all the student riots – 67/68; and the first people that we employed turned up from the AA, didn't even bring portfolios of drawings. They didn't have any drawings, were just talking politics all the time. And so for the first few years we were, well my original partner – David Bernstein and I – we started a charitable housing association and we didn't do any architecture for five years at all, we were housing the poor and indirectly employing Jim Monahan. And lots of things - housing co-operatives sprang up as an off-shoot of what we were doing. You know a lot of people living in

that sort of world - almost all of them well left of centre. After Margaret Thatcher came to power in '79 it all changed, we kind of went under ground. I mean for years I'd come past this building and I would shudder because it was in a terrible state, wasn't a good example of anything really and as far as architecture was concerned it was absolutely out of fashion. Post-modernism was coming in rapidly. So knowing that you knew Jim that's why I made that remark. Jim was firebrand at that time and he wouldn't, he'd rather not build something at all than design sub-standard housing. The burning issue now is that so much housing is being built for investment purposes in cities that have been let out privately and in many cases the flats are being rented by families because they are not eligible for social housing, so the only thing they can do is to over-occupy a very small flat."

Appendix I

Transcript of Conversation with Neave Brown (NB)

Transcript of Conversation between Neave Brown (NB) and Jamileh Manoochehri (JM) on 1st August 2007 - London N19

Keys: Neave Brown – NB Jamileh Manoochehri – JM

Subject of discussion: Mainly Alexandra Road estate in Camden, completed in 1978, accommodating 520 apartments, a school, a community centre, youth club and public park.

JM: mentions subject of research as housing standards and the ideology of policy-makers and those involved in the provision of social housing.

NB: mentions Housing Manuals and policies and changes associated with reforms of the local government and boroughs.

JM: I have studied all of those, but because of the requirements of the PhD, I need to have a lot of depth.

NB: What?

JM: Depth.

NB: Yes.

JM: It has required me to limit... certainly the scope of the timescale.

JM: Initially I started looking at social policy quite a lot and some theory from that point of view and almost everything to do with housing standards, so I did look at Homes for Heroes, 1919 Tudor Waters Report.

NB: Yes.

JM: Dudley report.

NB: Housing Manual?

JM: Yes, Housing Manual of 1944 - all of these - and then onto the Parker Morris report.

NB: Parker Morris report?

JM: Yes, I do have a copy of that. A friend has lent me the Housing Manual of 1944 for several years now, so I have all of those available; but initially I wanted to compare the 1960s to the 1980s. The main idea behind the PhD, the main hypothesis, is that housing standards vary not because of the economics and cost but because of ideology. That's really the gist of it, and it may well be that because my time scale is very short and I need to submit it very soon, I may limit the testing of the hypothesis to the 1960s, but ideally, I want to have the comparison between 1980s and 1960s.

NB: Do you see this also in a political-social context of change?

JM: Absolutely.

NB: From the change in the Labour Party during the war, their ideas of housing,... the housing manual then the Parker Morris, associating that with the forms of local government and the boroughs and the ?

JM: No, I am not going into that because it'll be too much for me to deal with.

NB: Ok, well the best thing to do now would be to ask me some questions. How can I help? I was a simple architect in the 60s.

JM: Not so simple, but earlier on I thought I would take, well I will give a brief background to what I've done so far, at one point I wanted to map the changes in housing standards that have happened since 1950s onwards, because 1950s still had that sense of optimism that had come out of the second world war and money

was being spent and centralised government...not so much centralised government....

NB: Ermmm.

JM: Not so much centralised government.

NB: Yes, yes.

JM: ...programming and I took many of the housing schemes that were award winners so that was the methodology I was going to use. Housing estates that were award winners

NB: Churchill Gardens?

JM: I took Alton Estate as well, my award-winning requirement fell by the wayside after I didn't manage to find enough of them, spread out within the period but the ones that I did look at were Alton Estate [Roehampton], Churchill Gardens, Lillington Estate...

NB: What was the first one?

JM: Alton Estate.

NB: Oh Alton Estate. Sorry. yes, yes.

JM: So I had the 50s covered as well, then Robin Hood Lane or Robin Hood Estate, Smithsons.

NB: Yes, yes.

JM: Smithsons, and then in the 60s ...

NB: Robin Hood Gardens is late, end of the line, along with Alexandra Road and others, end of the line...

JM: Exactly, it came late. I wanted to bring my spreadsheet but I couldn't find it just before coming. Then I took several that belonged to later. For the 1980s I took some from Covent Garden Housing Project you know CGHP Architects - there was Dover Court and Jubilee Gardens that they had done.

NB: Which architects?

JM: CGHP [JM confirms and repeats the name of the company and the names of the estates].

JM: Then one for the 90s, and then GMV, Greenwich Millennium Village by Proctor Matthews.

NB: Yes

JM: I took the original architects' drawings , I measured the exact floor areas, the room areas and did a database of all of these and what I expected to find was a major drop after the 1980s but I did not find that, which was very puzzling for me so it appears to me what happened was more the other aspects of the quality of housing dropped, environmental issues, and also probably density to a degree; or views...that sort of thing, things that in the end determine the quality of life of the tenants. But I have narrowed down everything to simply look at a housing estate and the way the approach of the policy makers influenced the standards - in other words one from the 1960s one from the 1980s.

NB: And which ones did you choose?

JM: For the 1960s I decided I would go for the Brunswick Centre, but when I went and saw David Levitt, he thought it was a very unsuitable one because Brunswick Centre has only.

NB: That's right.

JM: ...And it was he who suggested Alexandra Road. Previously I was very much aware of Alexandra Road but the reason I didn't pick it up was partly because of the problems that had arisen later, partly because so much had been written on it, and I was worried that the conversation would be too much about the architecture, while it was the process that I was after. But having talked to him and having gone through all the other estates it seems as though Alexandra Road really is the best. Another concern I had had earlier was that it finished in the 70s...

NB: In 76.

JM: In 76, but because the standards you were adhering to were Parker Morris it doesn't make any difference when it finished as long as it was built to Parker Morris standards. So I've gone a full circle and I've come back to Alexandra Road. Again, I have to go through all the tests and floor areas and everything else that Alexandra Road has, so if you know where I could get access to actual drawings so I can get floor areas or if that research has been done already. That would be very helpful.

[NB: searches for papers]

NB: First of all what I don't quite understand is we were working to, as everybody was, to the Parker Morris standards and requirements of the Department of the Environment and the Ministry of Housing in order to get approval, and you only got loan sanction if you conformed with Parker Morris. There was leeway, a certain degree of leeway, 10%, but there wasn't leeway in terms of house area, it was for higher standards. I cannot remember what the actual areas were but you had to adhere to them.

JM: Sure.

NB: And you were clever if you did get it right, on the nail, and if it seemed big. You weren't so clever if you got it right and it seemed small, that's a design issue. But when we designed it, to begin with, we were working to the basic Parker Morris areas, measured by us in the Architect's Department measured by the quantity surveyors in the Architects Department. Measured in detail by the quantity surveyors, before they were ever doing quantity surveying they were doing quantity assessments that was tested again and again. It was measured by the housing

people, they didn't really know what they were doing but they measured it. Then when we submitted it to the Department of the Environment, finally and formally after all sorts of long conversations, discussions and so forth, they measured it. And you had to be right, well we were right, if you were on the nail because we were on the nail, and we pushed it that way. That is simply in terms of the basic standards that were required by Parker Morris including their overall space standard. So it's a formal process, and you were exercising every possible ingenuity you could to maximise within that, so that within that basic overall area the flats were as spacious as you could make them appear to be. As well as functioning, and then you had all the other requirements...So I'm not quite sure what it is you are after. The sizes of the dwellings then dwellings size? The formal process, then from time to time they went wrong, there were examples when schemes sort of got under way and didn't quite conform and cases where things had to be submitted or resubmitted, or where the initial assessments they found could no longer prevail because of changes and so forth. In a way, there were normal hitches in the application of the system, which are insignificant and pretty direct. Which had little to do with architectural policy as to do with space standards. If the space standards are too low you can't achieve what you want, if they were too high you wouldn't get the money to do them. But that doesn't deal with the social, architectural, conceptual, spatial, aesthetic, technical problems, which had to do with designing the building.

JM: That is true, there are a number of issues, one is that Parker Morris standards weren't compulsory until 1967/68.

NB: Oh I thought they [were compulsory] before then, because we designed to Parker Morris in 1965/66. We experienced it in a sense of the application of Parker Morris to the new authorities that were formed out of the reorganisation of the (London) boroughs and the reorganisation had taken place in the central government department in order to adjust to that. So we had new political parties with the new local authority parties, with a new director of housing, a new director of planning, all these different departments who were reinventing themselves with their new boroughs and new politics. So it's not the same thing. The point I'm trying to make is: you would have found the old housing manual would have applied say to the London County Council and everyone would have known exactly what it meant,

including the housing department and the planners and everybody; all knew what the housing manual was. And Parker Morris was extraordinary because it brought in ideas that were interpretation and freedom and leeway, experimentation and doing things differently, in the light of the aspects of the work that was done after the war that were less successful. Inviting people to rethink housing, well that rethinking of housing was done, fortunately at a time when the boroughs themselves, the local authorities were not ...did not have an ongoing long stable traditions of doing things in certain ways. So you had new departments, trying to apply new standards, going through to the Department of the Environment with new procedures, the HCY1, the Housing Cost Yardstick, all of which had an area, a degree of,...a sense of invention and pioneering that went with these new standards. That was extraordinary because Parker Morris not only dealt with housing areas, it invited all sorts of ideas about heating, landscape, higher standards...car parking and, all of these things. Car parking for instance was an essential ingredient, which was not there before in the Housing Manual. All of which had a degree of ability to be isolated, formulated, estimated for, and argued in the HCY1 against what would be the total standards. So in that sense it was a very creative aspect to that moment in time, but I can't remember, you would know, I can't remember exactly the date when the (London) boroughs came into existence 1961 or 1962?

JM: I don't know I have a text that refers to it, when Holborn and the other two became Camden but I haven't a note of that.

[Post-interview note: Political boundaries of London were redrawn in 1965, and the boroughs of Holborn, St Pancras and Hampstead were combined into the Borough of Camden, by Andrew Freear, The Last Great Social Housing Project, AA Files 30]

NB: St Pancras, Holborn and Hampstead became Camden, so there was an astonishing - astonishing for us - mix between the lefty, privileged, educated, expensive, historically and culturally-loaded Hampstead, which was rich but not in the sense of business; Holborn, which was an enormously rich central urban borough, and St Pancras which had some of the worst housing and social problems in London. And you put that package together... St Pancras had it's old Labour and Communist tradition, Hampstead had been sort of Lefty and Holborn was Tory in the old days...and you put that group together and you had a very extraordinary political mix, with at that moment in time, and it was a very rare moment in time, a

feeling that things had to change, seemed to be going to change, the Government wanted things to change. Housing had shifted into a new agenda in the political arena, again because of what had happened politically before and a recession before, but suddenly there were these new boroughs with new authorities, with new standards and with the desire to progress, to make it. You see what I am a little bit uncertain about what you told me is how you take housing standards, like areas, and make them the focus of a PhD study.

JM: Well ...

NB: What is the proposition?

JM: Really, the case becomes an issue when you look at key points, when the standards change, when the shifts occur, and in fact that is what I am looking at, at the times when the shifts occur between standards being lowered, being raised or being dropped that happens not because of economics, as is always said to be the case, but because of ideological positions.

NB: It's written, it's in Parker Morris, it's an essay on housing standards and their ideology, and it came because of disillusionment with the Housing Manual not meeting... required new standards and some of it was highly pragmatic, to take by example, dwelling heating, prior to Parker Morris most local authority houses and flats had partial heating only that was paid for by the tenant. Many of them with slot meters for gas fires that gave a limited amount of heat to the budget of the tenant in their living rooms. The consequence of that was dire, because when there was a bad time financially, people taped up their windows, tried to borrow heat from their neighbours, brought in paraffin stoves, the paraffin stoves released an enormous amount of water vapour into the atmosphere of the dwelling, so the window frames rotted, the wallpaper peeled off walls, the dampness produced fungus, carpets rotted on the floor, this was serious, very serious. Well one of the things that Parker Morris addressed was heating, it brought in the idea of whole house heating and not partial house heating and it brought in the idea that this would not necessarily be under tenant's control but under landlord's control, and brought it so that the same sort of problems could not happen as had happened previously. It brought in the option of central boiler systems for whole estates, conducted heat to all the

dwellings, that was an enormous increase in standards, in order that it should be viable, it was 1960 to 1965, if I remember correctly - you can look that up, the temperature norm, the phrase being 'basic background heat' such that if you could not afford any more you would at least be comfortable and if you could afford more you brought in your own heat, electric heaters or because the basic fabric of the place was warm you could bring in that terrible paraffin and you wouldn't get the condensation. Now, that was a complicated argument and to put in full central heating with basic systems from the centre required a use of the 10% leeway that you had in sense of the Budget.

JM: Would you explain the 10% leeway?

N B: A. Well, dear me it is going back a long way, there was a basic allowance, and there was the notion that in certain places...you could have higher standards, and the higher standards were within the 10% leeway... it applied to such things as the heating standards, I can't remember actually - Hello! (to third party entering – general greetings and introductions) - NB (continuing)...the result is that in the beginning, since the process was basically very new, after all when you bring in a new process, it takes a while, you don't suddenly find yourself applying it, something that has been negotiated, worked out over years to let's say the housing (INDISTINCT) and they then change. You don't immediately change schemes that have yet to fully have their consents, so there is an overlap, there is a while before the new system comes in. And that more or less coincided, as I recall with the reorganisation of the boroughs, so we were rethinking housing to new standards to new government set processes, as described in 'Homes for Today and Tomorrow' condensed into the applications for allowances to the Housing Cost Yardstick. The Housing Cost Yardstick contained in it the 10% for higher standards if the local authority wanted to have them, which they did. Camden certainly did everything we could backwards to wangle everything we could out of it. A further aspect of these standards was that if there were exceptional circumstances which prevailed then that automatically helped you negotiate for special allowances, for example at Alexandra Road we got special allowances, beyond the normal HCY1 to deal with the railway, railway noise and the vibration. The HCY1 was more...each section was subject to formulation and negotiation than had previously been the case. It gave a

degree of flexibility leeway and negotiability that hadn't existed before. It made that scheme possible.

JM: When I talked to David Levitt he thought that was very useful, it was a serious advantage compared to what came later and I had never thought about it as a positive. The Housing Cost Yard Stick has always been looked at, or referred to, as a bit of a hindrance...

NB: I don't think it was, it allowed us to negotiate.

JM: Yes, that's what he (David Levitt) was saying.

NB: But you did need people who would do it, we had a really good quality surveyor and very good people within Camden themselves and quantity surveyor, we had Michael Dunstan, someone called Neil Camworthy, he was brilliant. Another thing that was allowed or became, I believe, I'm not talking about my experience but I'm talking about others' experience. If you had.... one of the things that characterised the new briefs, which came out at the time, was the organisation of the boroughs, was because there had been a backlog, sites were becoming available, by compulsory purchase, Macmillan released a thing called twilight areas, local authorities could acquire sites in a very little time in a way that had not previously been available, at the same time they had a backlog, not only of their needs in housing but also social buildings, bearing in mind that at this stage nothing much was built that wasn't public. Therefore, we got complicated briefs, briefs that would include on the same site, housing, a school, a clinic, shopping, public open space, all of which had to be part of the overall plan that the local authority had to produce. Now what happened with the HCY1 is that you could have a school, and lets say a community centre in a brief, all being built for public authorities with public money, they could over-lap, share walls and things, and it allowed the quantity surveyors to take allowances from one and allowances from another and put them together, say that this bit fell to that area and this other bit fell to another area, it gave a degree of freedom that made it possible to bring these budgets together; which, of course then had to be paid for by Health or Education or Housing or what-have-you. But once the planners had put it together in a complex brief it was possible to design

continuous buildings and the continuous building meant that we could get a continuous environment.

JM: You said that housing standards were fixed anyway and the architects had to comply, you then said something about the ethos having changed, the ethos of the period effectively and that would in a way be the key to my inquiry that would be...

NB: You see that takes us into the relationship between an architectural, I suppose you would call it an ideology, and the changes since the post war period, in the immediate post war period there wasn't anything, then things started to happen up to the Festival of Britain (1951), and then housing programmes started to get underway, interesting ones like Churchill Gardens, other ones, mixed-use and mixed developments likely to happen, Roehampton, the LCC had various models in England which were taking the pre-war Modernist visions, either from the South, from Le Corbusier or from Scandinavian typologies of tower blocks and slab blocks and mixed development, and taking the cleared sites after the war, because you were starting with bomb-sites and the notion of the building in space which came from pre-war ideology, and the [indistinct] in which the ideology was soon lost in sensible pragmatics, it seemed the only way to do things, plomp!. plomp!, plomp!, plomp! Plomp... you arranged these buildings on sites, and if you needed some high ones you put these like that...or if it was not quite so dense you used a low block, or what-have-you. It really was a picturesque arrangement of lumps, done as cheaply as possible to the standards that were set by the Housing Manual. These started to spring up in the 50s and by the early 60s there was a growing sense of dissatisfaction. The notion behind all of that was that a new world was going to be made and the old world was simply to be erased, a tabula rasa kind of thing, the new building blocks would be applied. Well new thinking took place in that period of time, and there was a minority who simply rejected that and said: No, this is not the way to shape the world - we have to think things out in a more complex way, because the one thing the city is, is continuous. And notions of continuous form and continuity of cultures, so the rethinking that took place at the time of the reorganisation of the boroughs, and Camden was in the lead but there were other ones - Islington and so forth - rethought it from an ideologically different standpoint. And it was a revised idea of Modernism, not creating a new world, since the old one no longer existed - respecting, valuing cultural and social continuities and making

an architecture that would do that. Now that is not the same thing as housing standards.

JM: No, it is not.

NB: Or the size of a living room, or whether you have full house heating or partial heating, or whether you have 1 to 1 car parking, that's another thing

JM: Yes, but there is something else also, you know when I was talking to David Levitt, I said that I had looked at these various standards at various times and that I had found that there was not sufficient change, sufficient drop after the 80s, when I said what examples I had taken, the CGHP ones, he said "but of course, Jim Monahan would not have dropped the standards".

NB: Beg your pardon?

JM: Jim Monahan - he was in CGHP, he was an activist in Covent Garden. And that was a very interesting comment, because what he was saying was that whatever the standard that a Housing Association required, or the Housing Corporation required, there was an element of will on the part of the architect or whoever was involved in the provision of housing that refused to drop it below a certain amount. And when you say that in your design, what you were trying to do was to maximise the spaces that you got within the budget, and also to get the best possible spaces you were doing something beyond complying with standards. I am sure there were architects who weren't necessarily trying...

NB: Some people were better at it than others, had better ideas.

JM: Absolutely; but, somehow I am trying to find out whether outside the quality of the designers, because that is without doubt a very key element in the goal, of achieving quality in design. But outside this, whether there is an element of wanting to achieve the best possible for everyone across the board.

NB: Well that's undoubtedly what we were doing, the goal behind it all, in everyone's minds - what was the social-political goal - whether you were exactly a

socialist or communist or to the Right or to the Left, accordance was that out of the ruin of the war and the world that was remerging to maintain the idea of a controlled and egalitarian society.

JM: Yes, this is very relevant...

NB: Really a social goal - the local authorities like Camden for instance, with the new legislation that was available, were buying up streets and areas, like the one below us in Kentish Town, good Victorian houses and they had no hesitation in demolishing them, they had become converted to flats, and it was partly to maintain a balanced society. The cynics would say that this was simply to maintain the political vote in a particular constituency, well of course, there would be an element in that.

Take Alexandra Road, South of the railway the border, between it and Westminster happened to be Boundary Road. (referring to published site plan) here's Alexandra Road, these were housing blocks, quite good ones that were built in the 50s. That is Boundary Road - it is the boundary between Camden and Westminster. It's strange because you would have thought that the boundary would run along the railway. So this is a piece of Camden that "trespasses into one of the richest areas in London - St John's Wood - the first of the early Victorian suburbs done with individual and semi-detached houses, and it is enormously valuable, with barristers, surgeons and rich businessmen and goodness knows what, who objected to the idea of Camden putting on top of them a local authority housing scheme. And when it came to the scheme going for final submission, they caused a road closing enquiry because Camden had not negotiated the fact with Westminster that the only vehicle exit from the scheme went into their road. That delayed the scheme by about nine months. Now here we have rich housing and here we have Camden putting, to the highest density allowable, 220 persons to the acre, putting the lid so to speak, on the richest Victorian suburb that happened in Central London. That was maintaining social mix. That is the Point Block scheme here.

JM: One of the things that as far as social policy is concerned I am incorporating is the element of universalism as opposed to selectism, so ...

NB: How do you mean that, as far as housing is concerned?

JM: As far as housing is concerned the difference becomes what social housing does as a state provided housing and what the market mechanism does, that is the only way you then can compare or distinguish, because when there is a universalist social policy at work, you have Parker Morris, you have authorities like Camden trying to do what you say, providing good quality social housing and effectively saying there is no difference between the different social classes, somehow it tries to erase social classes, whereas later on, when it becomes selectivist, when social policy becomes selectivist, what they say is, "OK there will be a market where people who can afford it will go and buy and for those who cannot buy will be taken care of by the state". But immediately what happens is that the standards drop, because what you are looking at is a marginalised housing. That is why I will have to compare 1980s, I would have to compare the period when social housing effectively gets privatised and the role of the market gets strengthened, you buy if you can, housing standards drop.

NB: Tenants and leaseholders get the right to buy.

JM: Well there is that.

NB: There is that indeed!

JM: Absolutely, but the thing is that at the beginning all those who can sell desirable units sell, and the ones that are less desirable remain.

NB: Yes, catastrophe.

JM: Absolutely, a catastrophe, so the marginalisation becomes complete.

NB: Yes, I should have said that at the same time what we were doing here was housing that did not conspicuously describe a difference between the applied new housing that we have been talking about before, housing that would fit the environment 1, and 2 would not be visually class distinctive. Now the model that

would have a universalist idea, but you do have to acknowledge that people do have different incomes, and different standards.

NB: Siegfried Gideon wrote about the 18th and 19th century street, and he wrote that above the lowest working class level the street environment was such that you made a continuous environment that didn't distinguish class or interest even though the houses were getting bigger or smaller. You had four classes of house, like in areas of London and so on or in Dublin, you can get a 1st class house, which would be five stories high with a grand front door and windows, iron railings and steps and around the corner you could get a single or two story house with iron railings and steps up to the front door that is entirely compatible. That made a single, unified environment that managed to integrate people of relatively modest incomes with people with high incomes and Siegfried Gideon referred to it as a model for democratic architecture. Now that is the model that people like me were turning to as opposed to the Modernist box when we did things like Alexandra Road.

JM: Do you remember which book of Gideon this was?

NB: That would have been in "Space, Time and Architecture" - I think. It says that in the end the space made by that kind of housing would not be suitable for modern housing. He was wrong about that, but never-mind...

JM: You were going to tell me about the dimensions of spaces etc. and you brought this, Do you know where I would be able to find those?

NB: You want to measure the dwellings?

JM: Yes, well I think I need to.

NB: All I can tell you is that they were to Parker Morris standards interpreted at the maximum, at 1,130 sq.ft., and you had 960 sq.ft. and whatever might be, and they were measured and remeasured by us, by the quantity surveyors, by the Department of the Environment and so forth. When they got our plans at first they could not believe that they were to standard because they looked so much bigger and better.

JM: That's wonderful, well I am sure I can find them in the archives, the most difficult has been the Barbican, I just could not manage to find the Barbican, but Alexandra Road I'm sure I will be able to find them with Camden...

NB: But is it worth it - to spend a long time looking for those and then sitting at home and measuring them?

JM: Well I've done these for about 10 estates already so this one would be the only one I have not done.

NB: OK.

JM: You may be right, I'll have to see, if I find sufficient information that means I will be able to make a case about ideology and standards and how one affects the other.

NB: About what and standards?

JM: Ideology and standards

NB: Well ... ideology ... at that stage, the standards were set. Now there would be a complicated argument about the ideology that went in to make those standards and you could read into it many things.

JM: Yes. Yes, you're right.

NB: Once those standards are set then they're standards, then we reinterpret them. Somebody did one way, another did it another way and someone did it another way. Now you were nuts if you tried to exceed the standards, and you were silly if you got it wrong so there was a standard. One thing that is quite interesting, when we were doing Alexandra Road, not far from here down Adelaide Road, you know Adelaide Road goes from Camden Town to Swiss Cottage, with the big point blocks, on the other side of the road there is a housing development, quite a big one, that was done before Alexandra Road was finished as private housing for

middle class people, we measured them and they were to lower standards than our local authority house was.

JM: Yes, that is always an interesting point, that the market always has the tendency to drop below the local authority, the social housing.

NB: Of course they do. Only because it was statutory, every pragmatic argument and every basic economic argument said that if we reduced the standards by a set percentage, reduced the costs, blah, blah, blah, of course, the standard thing we were talking to were mandatory. Then, of course something else happened, when we started out on Alexandra Road we started with the full agreement of the local authority and the Department of the Environment and we went ahead and did it. During the course of doing Alexandra Road more big buildings were being built to high density and high density itself became associated with low standards, which was wrong, it was bad design. Before Alexandra Road was finished, the Government, I think, in Circular 76, recommended to local authorities not to exceed 100 persons to the acre if they could help it and with 60 units to the acre which was actually a suburban density.

JM: Would you say those densities again?

NB: 100 persons to the acre, they recommended that as the maximum density. We did 220, not to have family dwellings above ground, not to have staircase access higher than one and a half floors. They recommended that instead of the local authorities, yes I recall this but my memory may be faulty... they recommended, and I think I am right, that local authorities should not go for what they called big comprehensive redevelopment projects, Alexandra Road was a comprehensive redevelopment project. All of which led a big swing in opinion against the sort of things that had taken place in Alexandra Road and at the same time, before Alexandra Road was completed, and I think this is the Tory Party, because the politicians realised that housing numbers, housing gain was politically very important, they changed the Housing Directive. On the other hand Government policy was to go for heavy industrialised buildings, prefabrication, industrialisation, catalogue components, bulk buying and consortia. All of which went entirely against the type of thinking that had been going on till then, virtually going against

Parker Morris, and Government policy went that way. You got the developments in Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool and so forth and the big developments you got were all a product of that, which went on till you got Ronan Point.

JM: Now one more question.

NB: Now why I am whittering on about housing it does not put it down to housing areas and housing standards.

JM: Yes, I realise.

NB: These two are not, they scarcely overlap.

JM: Yes, in fact I need to look elsewhere as well, I can see that, for instance, what it is that leads to "Homes for Today and Tomorrow" being commissioned is equally significant in terms of where social values are going.

NB: Well it was a Government sponsored report from the Department of Housing in view of the growing dissatisfaction that was taking place with the achievements of housing after the war. Much of that housing after the war was of a higher standard than than was built subsequently the 70s with prefabrication.

JM: There is a lot written about the drop in standards in the 1950s, from 1951 onwards, did you find this?

NB: I was a student in 1950, so I really didn't know. And by 1959, not an awful lot had happened, there were those schemes that were being promoted to go along with the Festival of Britain (1951) that had an amazing aura afterwards.

JM: There is lot written about the Conservative Government dropping the standards in the 1950s, which I have not found any evidence of, but I am sure I will, I just need to find it.

NB: If they did drop the standards it would have been statutory, it would have been statutory, in Government reports and in standards and allowances.

JM: You are right, yes.

NB: ...You do go back to "Homes for Heroes", you have read it? It was very good, it had nothing to do with urban form or high density, cultural continuity and all that. It had to do with Government setting standards for the first time for what the left politicians would have called the proletariat, people who, historically had never ever had the opportunity or been able to afford to choose to have decent housing. The urban proletariat lived in slums and "Homes for Heroes" simply said we can't go on with this after the war, we have had this terrible war, government will intervene and there will be a programme which will start to provide new housing and also it was associated with the ideas of slum clearance.

JM: Yes, that was very significant.

NB: And then, to go back to what is really significant, is that the standards were correct, good standards, along came the economic decline and the depression and they could not afford those standards and they cut them. They set up a financing programme that unbeknown to them would effect the whole way housing finance went on from then onwards and we are still suffering from.

JM: Indeed.

NB: Which was that the local authorities would run a housing budget that would pay for itself, they would borrow money at a low interest rates from the central government, which would turn into an advantage, and they were given a further advantage as the mortgage loan was changed to 60 years. Well, right from the start they were never able to balance the books and so it has been a problem ever since and what Prescott is trying to do now is to side step the issue because no Government will take on the issue. They still can't afford it. Adequate housing for people on low incomes, where they need to be to good standards that people can afford, and will pay for themselves, they still can't do it. Now I think you see that those issues that I have talked about, I find it a bit difficult to see how you can isolate housing standards, housing areas and housing sizes.

JM: I think you are right, it's more about housing quality, and to take that into account, the environment and the facilities, the amenities that are available will need to be looked at as well, In a way, in my spread sheet I have incorporated those as well, but if I could

resolve it within space standards it would have been much easier, it would have been measurable, quantifiable.

NB: I don't see how you can for you can have very good houses that are done within the same standard as some very bad ones, you can have high densities and low densities under the same standards. Those are the issues. It would be wonderful to have higher standards. It would be fantastic if the bedrooms could be done to higher standards.

JM: Earlier you said everything was to Packer Morris standards but Parker Morris standards were supposed to be minima not maxima.

NB: That's right.

JM: So you would have gone beyond that...

NB: Minima always become maxima.

JM: But not at your time, not with Alexandra Road.

NB: Oh yes, we had to do it within the standards. The one scheme that exceeded the standards is the one up the road here, in terms of space standards. Those were minima. If you exceeded those standards, you had to produce an argument for them. In order to get the government to give you the allowances.

JM: I see.

NB: Local authorities weren't able to just build housing, you had to keep to budget and had to be agreed by the Department of the Environment.

JM: And it would be that plus ten percent at the most.

NB: Yes, but the ten percent was higher standards, and the higher standards were heating, car parking, open space, for the dwelling itself. I cannot remember the degree of leeway over space standards, these quickly disappeared.

JM: Yes, you said earlier something about the difference between the politics of the three boroughs that became one. Would there have been clashes in approaches, or in inclination between the staff of the different ones?

NB: No it became a single staff. They didn't take the office of one, and an office of the other and an office of the other and just squash them together in one building. No, it is a completely re-organised way of bureaucracy. Remember in a local authority Housing Department, Department of Architecture they are apolitical, they deal with political bosses. It doesn't make them ideological.

JM: Yes.

NB: There is always a conflict between the values of the officers, who are trying to do things, and the committees that are political.

JM: Right, the next question is: do you still have any of the old contacts in Camden who may have been in the group one may call the 'political bosses'?

NB: No, it was a long time ago. The important one is Ivor Walker.

JM: Do you know if he's around?

NB: [to third party] ...Do you know if Ivor Walker is still around?

JM: 3rd Party: No idea....Chair of Planning.

NB: He was one of my heroes, Chair of Planning at one stage, and he did the unprecedented thing of supporting the architects in a dispute between the architects and the planners.

JM: Lovely. OK.

NB: You see the policy makers were formulating, as in Camden, strategies they thought appropriate, the sort of things we have been talking about previously and were in contact with the Department, the head of planning, the Chief Planning Officer Bruno Schlaffenberg. You should bear in mind that all of this was done within something called the Plan. Local authorities had to produce a plan which went to the Department of the Environment which was the local authority plan, which conformed with planning requirements from Abercrombie in the 1943/44 requirement for local authorities to produce development plans, I can't remember what the periods were, local authorities had to produce plans for a certain number of years, let us say three years (or maybe seven), but take my example, the local authority had a plan which gave use and density and development potential for every local authority site. In that, density proposal had to conform to the overall ideas in the Abercrombie plan. Within that the local authority people themselves then interpreted that as best they could, relative to the sites that were available. One of the problems was that post First World War housing was supposed to address housing need, but when they did the first housing, housing need was not reduced, the housing lists were increasing, so local authorities had to find other ways, and then all kinds of redevelopment happened and then comprehensive redevelopment and compulsory purchase became possible. That's all a mix between ideological input into the political system at central government level. And local authorities who are pressure groups to get that sort of thing done are at the receiving end of the decisions. After getting the political decision, the local authorities had to do their own thing, as Camden did and Camden certainly did it to the absolute limit that it could. With extreme conflict within itself, when we developed Alexandra Road, for example, the Director of Planning refused to accept it and recommend it.

JM: Yes, I've read about that.

NB: Up to the very end, literally the very end, when the Director of Architecture took the unprecedented decision to go to Committee without the agreement of the Director of Planning because the Director of Planning refused to accept things on Alexandra Road, until the bitter end! Literally, two days before we were due to go to

Committee he acquiesced. Now that is just a measure of difference within a local authority.

JM: What was his main objection?

NB: His main objections were the closeness, of proximity, the boring conformity, the problems of daylight, what he felt was the compromised environments of the lower areas and he felt that all of this had to do with the concessions he had made. He had been deeply involved with ideas of space about building and buildings with equal standards from top to bottom in the LCC, and of course, if you do something like this you can't do it like that.

JM: Right, and this is Bruno Schläffenberg. That's interesting.

NB: What will be the sort of summary conclusions that you are moving towards in your PHD?

JM: It shifts and changes all the time I am afraid, given what it is that I find. But I started off with the proposition that what changes the standards is ideology - that the driving force for change in standards in social housing is the ideology of the policy makers. The tools for testing it would be whether universalist policies are pursued or whether there is a shift to targeting.

NB: To what?

JM: Whether there is a shift to targeting, to selectivist policies as New Labour is basically pursuing, where they say the market does most of the supply of what people need and whatever it can't answer then the state picks up, so that is basically it.

NB: It's a critique?

JM: Yes absolutely.

NB: So you are arguing in a way, in your thesis, that in a complex society such as ours, there is an aspect of universalism that goes with the idea of architecture that ought to modify everything it has done.

JM: In a way. What I'm saying is that universalist policies give rise to higher standards whereas targeted policies result in lower standards. Somehow that isn't the way I'm formulating the hypothesis at the moment because it's too broad, I can't test it within this PhD. Also within various other fields there has been some research that has led to this. For instance in education, and in health, where you have a similar concern whether, in need, you can access certain services. The same service come what may without market dynamics coming into it. But housing is different. Part of the difference is that it is effectively a commodity because of its concrete nature, the fact that it sits on land and it's bricks and mortar, so somehow the dynamics of it are totally different. Nevertheless I think that the same rules apply and hopefully I can test it. The issue of universalism and ideology.

JM: Have you had any involvement in social housing after the 1980s?

NB: No, not in England, I have in the Netherlands.

JM: Oh right.

NB: Because I did a big scheme outside The Hague. That was interesting because it is about as many buildings as Alexandra Road. Whereas here it was entirely social housing, the scheme that was done in the Netherlands was - as is normal there - complicated pieces put together. We had a number of housing associations and housing societies which is the way they do their social housing. They run their programme entirely differently, from a financial and management point of view - far better. Moving on from England where originally a philanthropic society ran housing from 1880s to 1890s [and which] was dissolved when it became government programmes. Elsewhere in the Scandinavia, the Netherlands [and] Germany used a housing association, housing society idea from the start to set up their programmes on subsidised social housing with their various standards that meant that each one of the associations had the responsibility of the product before it happened, during

its construction and its management to a national end. Which made a unity of good standards all the way through in terms of management and so forth, but also financial equity. So, the housing associations and central government worked together to refinance the next schemes, so the housing association could not get support unless it had done as well correctly. Central government was always at a certain distance from the instruments that actually did the housing and managed the housing all the way through. A great deal of our housing has failed not because of bad design - some was because of bad design - but because of finance and management schemes not architectural ones. And we still have not solved that problem.

JM: No, and there are so many other problems now. Thank you so much for your time.

Appendix I

Interview with Clive Clowes

Interview with Clive Clowes,

Head of Procurement at the Housing Corporation 05.10.07, London WC1

Keys: Clive Clowes – CC Jamileh Manoochehri - JM

JM: Just to recap, the thesis is about the effects of social values and the values of policy-makers on the standard of social housing at any one time. Now, if find sufficient information on two different periods, the 60s and 80s, that'll be ideal, if not then I will focus on the one period. So far, obviously the information that is available is from the publications that are obvious, from the earlier part of the 20th Century: 'Homes for Heroes', then the Tudor Walters Report of 1918, then the Dudley Report, then it comes to...

CC: I only started with Parker Morris.

JM: Exactly! That is a good place because that's where my focus is.

CC: Cost Yardsticks and Parker Morris.

JM: That's fantastic, because it is Parker Morris that forms the basis of the whole conversation in a way, because it is the one standard that becomes universal at one point and then ceases to be, and later on after 1988 when more changes are made and when local authorities are no longer the main providers of social housing and housing associations come in as registered social landlords come and effectively the standards change. Now my hypothesis is that it is at such times when there are universal policies adopted in social policy and in social housing specifically, standards are higher but when it becomes targeted towards those who can't afford better housing or the market prices then standards drop. This is generally the hypothesis.

It'll be good to have your reaction to that point. The other point is that the 60s and 80s mark two watersheds in the rise and fall of social housing standards.

CC: Another watershed moment is about 2000, you know 60s, 80s; it's a 20 year shift.

JM: Exactly. That's a very good point.

CC: You sent me some questions.

JM: Yes, that's right.

CC: Let me go through these. In terms of the first one about my background what my role was, I came into social housing in '78. And so between '78 and '84 I was regional surveyor in the West Midlands and before that I'd been with Dudley Metropolitan Borough and my role in Dudley was, part of my role was, negotiating with the Department of the Environment at Birmingham over the Housing Costs Yardsticks schemes that were produced so our architects would produce a scheme and I would then be charged, either using our Housing Cost Yardstick as a tool, to argue for as much money as I could, to produce that scheme. So I'm quite familiar with how one used to tend to manipulate, if you like, the costing. The cost criteria. It was noticeable in that period that, if there was a government tightening up of cash, arguments that you used to put forward to get extra money out of the department hit a blank wall. Therefore, you had to cut your scheme accordingly and again when things were not so tight it was a lot easier. You could actually get increased standards. So in the era of Parker Morris and Housing Cost Yardsticks, I think, there was a baseline there, always the baseline of Parker Morris, which was a pretty good standard. There was always the opportunity to go above that, perhaps not in terms of the size of the units but the bits and pieces that went around the scheme to make a better scheme as a whole.

JM: Environmental?

CC: Environmental landscaping and hard landscaping etc. In '84, I came to Headquarters here as a Development and Technical Adviser and I've been here ever since. The titles changed a few times but essentially, I have been responsible

for maintaining standards. Up until a few years ago the cost criteria as well negotiating with Central Government over what the costs would be. TCI's have gone now. There are no cost criteria as such currently.

JM: Since when have they gone?

CC: They went in about 2003, I would say. That sort of time.

JM: And when did they come into force?

CC: They came in around '90, '88 actually with the housing act when things changed then, there was a change...Housing Cost Yardsticks died quite early on in the '80s and then there was the Total Indicator Costs or something; and when we changed it again it became Total Cost Indicator just to get the difference. Originally when it changed the cost criteria were related to the works themselves, and the land element, as long as the land cost came within the District Valuers valuation for that land, that cost was paid fully. And then there was a cost yardstick the building. Subsequently, because the decision was, well in some cases you could buy the land cheaply, why shouldn't we be able to spend more on the building to compensate for that. And so the Total Cost Indicator came in whereby there was an allowance made for the land works and the odd costs, so that was given as, if you like, a bench mark to housing associations and as long as they could develop within that figure, it was classed as value for money. Only when it went over that figure did we actually scrutinise it.

JM: And what set the figure? Was it previously base on some sort of, unit costs perhaps land and...

CC: For those costings, we commissioned the valuation agency, and the valuation agency gave us land costs per hectare for every local authority, for 354 local authorities and equally, for rehabilitation when you're buying properties for the lowest 25% of that base cost. Then they also gave us their idea of what the likely inflation would be over the next 12 months or so. So we would start making assumptions about density. What density they were going to be what was a normal density in a particular area because density varies. So we would allocate an amount

of money for land in a particular area we would do a similar thing for works and then we would have different percentages of odd costs which would include the cost of buying the land the solicitors costs the architect, the engineers etc..So it could well be something like 13% on top of the acquisition of works costs which made that our total cost. And then we would add the 354 local authorities and then we would round them and put them in broad cost groups, so we'd have probably 6 cost groups over the country and would allocate local authorities into those groups. Then what we found we had to do was to actually have a map and we'd have to colour in the local authorities to make sure that there was no local authority where there was an overlapping of costs of more than one group. For instance, you might have London in one of the outskirts of London in group A and you might have an adjoining local authority at group C and that would be a big difference. And although that's what the costs were showing we would then do a logic check on it to say that means that at some point there's a road and where this imaginary line goes one side of the line is too far different than the other side of the line. So we have to say O.K. you will come up to...Within one of it and then you had to...You had to smooth it so that there was what we called a map logic to it.

JM: What is interesting is that it appears as though in making these decisions you... as I understand it... you were taking the cost of the land as per market price presumably or a percentage of the market price.

CC: The Valuation Office were briefed on exactly what we were providing i.e. social housing.

JM: Right.

CC: So that they would value it on the basis that there may well be some sort of planning condition, here or there might make it less valuable.

JM: So you made up for that.

CC: We never priced, for instance, I can recall at one point the information coming through from London many years ago, was £24 million pounds a hectare. There is no way that we could put in that sort of value, so you would say what is the

maximum level that we think we could put in without distorting everything and we put in something like £10 million. And it did mean that in some areas social housing didn't get done. In Kensington and Chelsea for instance, with the best will in the world they were way outside our cost criteria. So it was always more difficult for them to actually achieve it, unless the local authority or somebody was providing the land that was significantly discounted basis. In return for (inaudible) etc..

JM: Right. And as far as the construction cost was concerned and you mentioned density. Obviously, density affects the space standards also. What was...

CC: I'm trying to remember now, because it's a long time ago and I haven't done TCIs for a long time...I've got a feeling that over a period of 10 or 15 years the average size of units across the whole new build programme was remarkably consistent and it was either 72 and a half square meters or 74 and a half square meters, or something like that and it very rarely altered more than half a square meter, it was a very small amount, because we used to try and adjust for this year on year. Density was also consistent and overall density used to be something like, for social housing, it was something like - overall average for England - it was 46 dwelling per hectare. That was at a time when private developers were producing stuff at 25 dwellings per hectare. The reason we were of higher density is because of the old Circular 24/75 where it said you cannot provide garages.

JM: Right.

CC: So private developers were always providing garages - housing associations couldn't provide garages, they could only provide a car space. So the car spaces tend to be in front of the house.

JM: That's interesting because in social housing these day, architects argue - at least when I was in practice - architects argued that in social housing people are less likely to use cars, so the allocation for cars or the provision of car parking spaces was always argued to be unnecessary.

CC: (disagrees).

JM: You think? But I promise you we did manage...

CC: I don't personally think that there's any less use of cars...

JM: You may well be right but the argument has been made.

CC: I know. And the argument is often made by planners as well and this idea that in order to save the planet, you know, what we will do is provide less car parking because then people will not have a car is absolute... totally flawed. Because people will do what they want to do regardless of the planners. So we see so many schemes now where inadequate provision is made by the planners for parking, and people will park their cars on the pavement, on the grass verges, on the landscaping. Possibly people in social housing who are renting the car is the most valuable thing they've got so they want it where they can see it.

JM: You're right.

CC: So they park it outside their house and if you haven't made provision for it...

JM: That's true.

CC: And that's where I, nowadays, tend to have an issue with CABE (Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment) and people who argue that cars should not dominate the landscape, of course they shouldn't but you cannot ignore cars. You've got to make sensible provisions for them. It may mean we have to start putting them underneath, that means government has to accept that the amounts of units that they get for their grant is going to be less. There's no sign of them wanting that because who wants both? We want more for less.

JM: Absolutely, I agree with you there. One more question regarding this before we move on. You've mentioned density that is greater than in the private sector and also land costs. What established the construction costs?

CC: What we did is we commissioned BCIS (Building Costing Information Service) and they took something like, I can't remember exactly what, 10 housing archetypes and they used drawings that had been used by Housing Associations that

developed schemes that met our minimum standards. They then fully costed them up, each one of them they fully costed up. Then they plotted them, you know there's the area, how many square meters it is and here's the cost and they plotted them, and it was this sort of thing. Then they used a mathematical calculation to get the best fit. So what we used was the best fit calculation, and it was something like, just off the top of my head, there was a fixed cost and it was something like £4,365 + £563 times the floor area. So you could actually calculate what the works cost was for any particular type of square metreage. And we used that throughout the TCI era.

JM: What is interesting is that there is always a distinction between social housing and other housing, the market basically.

CC: Distinction in?

JM: In all of the criteria that were set, you said that at first they made an exemption, in a way, for social housing because the valuation of the land was based on social housing.

CC: We have to differentiate because there isn't. You can't use the cost of house builders because we don't know what it costs house builders. You can't use the price that house builders pay because house builders normally make their profit out of the land, don't they? So it is not pure land, it's land and they put their profit in there. And in terms of being able to break down the cost they don't publish their costs. House builders don't use bills and quantities; they don't work on that basis. [Indistinct] used to use bills and quantities because they were going after the competitive tender somebody had to price it. So that's what they used and certainly, pre-'88, competitive tender was the norm. Post 1988 design and build started to come to fruition, if memory serves me right, low-cost home ownership started coming in post '88. Whereas before, it didn't exist, certainly not in any of that form. And that's when standards took a dip.

JM: That's interesting, so you recognised that at the time, when the standards took a dip?

CC: It was '88 to about '93. I think what happened is housing associations got caught up in the fact that they could do something that hitherto they couldn't do. That was 1) negotiate with rather than have to go to competitive tender, we actually allowed negotiations, and we also allowed design and build, because the government eased up on that. We have only ever done what they have said. I think associations [thought] 'Oh low cost home ownership we'll have some of that'. They went out to contractors; contractors said 'Yeah we can design that, no problem at all'. They produce the stuff, it's reasonably cheap, they wanted it cheap, as they were having to see a portion of it, they felt they were in that sort of market and I think it took a few years to realise that actually these dwelling that are being produced aren't really that fit for purpose. Because if they had for instance somebody who can't afford to pay for their house and they have to take it back and rent it, as a rented house it's inadequate. It's this business between, this argument that the private housing market has a degree of choice, so they can decide whether they have the house in front of them or not. They have the choice to buy it or not, so they go round it, see if it's big enough for them etc. If it's small they have a choice about whether they buy that or go and find another one.

In the renting market somebody at the bottom of the ladder who has been on the housing list for a long time and is offered a place - this is what you are offered. Therefore, their degree of choice is very limited. Once they're in it, they are in it for a long time. Whereas the private sector are 'in it, then we have a family and we're out'. It's completely different. Also it is likely that in social housing with a higher predominance of people on social aid, non-working, they are at home most of the time. If you're at home all the time you need space.

JM: That's right.

CC: We've always accepted that there is difference between the markets. Currently we strongly encourage and incentivise housing associations even when they are providing low cost home ownership not provide to the same standards as we require for rent. That's what we do at the moment. But that wasn't the case back in 1988. I couldn't find it but I know that all those years ago, we did plot what the average was and it took a dip in those five years.

JM: If that could be found it would be fantastic.

CC: But it did take a dip. The person I would encourage you to contact is a chap called Andrew Drewry, HATC Housing Association Training Company.

JM: Housing Association Training?

CC: Company, but it's known as HATC. He [Andrew Drewry] did a report for GLA, I think, last year some time on space standards and as a result of that he did an awful lot of research.

JM: Was this published in 2006 around August? Because there is a publication by GLA in 2006?

CC: It maybe the same one.

JM: In that case, I know, it but he may be a useful contact.

CC: Certainly I know that we had some dissuasion with the National Housing Federation at the time about that trend. We learnt by that and we didn't like it, we started trying to toughen up a little bit. We did start to change our approach on standards. We brought in Housing Quality Indicators which you've probably heard of, which have got size bands, size bands within it.

JM: When did these become compulsory? Was it 1998, that sort of time for Housing Quality Indicators?

CC: Let's just go back to your questions. We've done number one. Number two, 'Could you discern any changes in quality pre-1981, post-1981?' Now pre-'81, we were using something called HCP22, room sizes where specified in that. It did actually say what the size of a kitchen would be, what the size of a living room should be, what the size of a kitchen/diner should be, or a double bedroom/main bedroom. What we didn't do was say, what the overall size of the units should be.

JM: Yes.

CC: And from what I can see these were based on the Parker Morris principle. I think the theme going through all of this is, despite the fact that sort of pre-1981 Parker Morris was no more, officially. Nobody ever threw it away. Local authorities have constantly referred back to Parker Morris throughout the years. It is still a reasonable standard I mean there is a piece of work that Andrew Drewry is involved in trying to do some research on what space standards ought to be. In fact probably reinventing Parker Morris for today's needs. I think they were going to call the seminar Parker Morris revisited or something similar. I think it's on the 23rd November they're having a seminar and we're involved with English Partnership and communities and local government and CABA and the RIBA. We're all interested in space standards because...

CC: ...We'll use it on that basis and therefore it is not a sustainable basis and we want it to have something like HQIs in there to say you should have a minimum size. They didn't do that, they had the opportunity [but] ministers did not want to do that. Probably because house builders would lobby strongly against that, they are a strong lobby.

JM: Absolutely. This is when? Are we talking about now or early 90s?

CC: The cult for sustainable homes came out in 2006, was it?

JM: Yes it's quite recent. It's just been made a requirement.

CC: If we continue to work through these, so post-'81 we had something called Design and Contract Criteria. Which was this document here, and for new build design you can see that it sort of... again follows that same sort of principle that it starts telling you the sort of things you should allow for etc... What it doesn't do is actually state floor areas so we've moved away from HCP 22 which did specify some areas so post-'81 we went away from areas completely. That ran through before '88 and after '88. Design and Build Contract Criteria went right through until 1993, and in '93, which was... where I started producing documents, that was Scheme Developments Standards '93, review '95, '98, 2000, 2003. Now in the '93 and '95 editions the internal environment was predicated. These were predicated on performance standards and we used the BRE handbook as the basis. So the way we adopted that we were still if you like precluded in principle from mentioning

size, you know, it was a bad... Government wanted units and didn't want to get in this [issue of] the correct size.

JM: How was this communicated? How did you know that?

CC: There was never anything written but we knew when they went away from Parker Morris that all discussions over standards...as soon as you started getting into 'there should be a certain size', you never got approval. Whereas what we did in this was try and identify what the performance standard should be. So this was the first time we started to say, you know that... should be capable of sensibly fitting this sized furniture equipment, blah blah blah. And then, so you say the first question again, well that's subjective, how are you going to do that? In assessing this we will have regard to that. So effectively we are saying that's what we're required to do and we will have regard to what it says in here, and my line to ask that was to say if you go and see a... if you go and visit a house on audit and you go in and everything looks fine, you know, just feels right, that's all right. You don't have to go measuring the walls etc. but if you go in and you think this just isn't adequate, you then look at this and say 'Is it unreasonable in regard to what is said in here?' If it was unreasonable then we come down on them hard so if you like this was the touchstone but again they didn't put sizes in there but they did put sizes of the furniture and the circulation area.

JM: And that would have been read in conjunction with all of these.

CC: That would have been in '93 - '95. That one and that one - when I said to you BRE manual. Now in '98 the national housing federation published this document, which I'm sure you've seen.

JM: Yes.

CC: They were adamant. Anyway, Joseph Rowntree were putting money into this and I remember going up to York and I was permitted to sit in on the meeting and the things that I kept pointing out were... you have got essential items and recommended items...

JM: Yes.

CC: We had already got essential items and recommended items, but yours are different to ours. This is potentially confusing to people. I tried to make them come more in line with ours and of course they are saying 'We're paying for this, this is our advice not your advice, this is independent advice', and they publish anyway. That said, generally, it was not a bad document, it was more up-to-date than that one and so from '98 through to the latest one in 2003, we said in assessing the whatever, we will have regard for this document. But once again, that did not include any standards even they didn't include standards, space standards in there. In the meantime, we had been pursuing housing quality indicators on our own basis. HTA Architects were the ones who suggested to us that you know you really need to have a measure of housing quality and so we spoke to them.

JM: Bernard Hunt...he was the...

CC: Yes that's right. We spoke to the department and said we'll put some money into this, I think £300,000 or whatever, and DEGW created the first HQI's. We piloted them and for a couple of years they were, from '98 they were recommended you do these but without any minimum level to be archived, just you know to get people. This is good that you consider these things, but in 2000 we went from saying that we think you ought to do them, we say you must do them, you must do a calculation, so we cranked it up a little bit. In 2004 we cranked it up further and said for the unit size unit layout and services / noise we set minimum HQI scores. Now that was the first time that we managed through the back door to get a space requirement in there. Now, in 2004 to 2006 bid round we didn't differentiate between rent and low cost home ownership. At that point, just in that small snap shot anybody who produced low cost home ownership had to do it to the same standard. Subsequently in 6-8 when we looked at the standards again, there was a big debate about do we still keep this or do we differentiate between the two as we were getting quite a bit of lobbying from house builders and from RSL to some extent to say that low cost home ownership is a different product so we should accept that it doesn't have to comply with the same basis. So what we did and certainly what we are doing at the moment in the current bid round is saying O.K. low cost home ownership doesn't have to meet our mandatory requirements. The only mandatory requirement it has to meet is the code for sustainable homes, that's

because it's a government thing. As far as size, it doesn't have to but what we've done is in our assessment of bits that come in, we've introduced something and we've introduced this about 2006-2008 bid round, something called a Grant Index. It's a complicated little formula which takes into account the cost the quality and the timeliness. So on the cost it takes in the amount of grant per unit, the amount of grant per person, and costs as well, and on the quality, it takes into account what their HQI scores are. The timeliness is about... if it's a two year programme, if they are producing units that are going to complete in the first year, we give them a benefit, because we want units early. What this formula does is... It adjusts from a neutral position; it adjusts the value of their bid up or down. For instance in 2006 the average HQI for unit size was something like, don't quote me on it, in the area of 55 that was the average. Our minimum requirement was 41, so what we said was if you put a bid in at the average that's neutral, if you only put a bid in that just meets our minimum we will disadvantage your bid by 10% in quality terms. If you produce one that's higher than that, we will increase your value. So there was a clear steer to people.

Yes, we want it cheap, but yes, we also want some quality in there as well, and what we have done on low cost home ownership is, we have not got a standard, but the grant index really, if they do not come up to the normal 41 score, they get penalised, so we are expecting that most of them will not want to be penalised, you know, they will want their value assessed at the top quartile rather than at the bottom. So it seems we are incentivising it.

JM: When you are talking about low cost home ownership you are talking about those that are part rent part purchase.

CC: Yes, that is units that are part rent part sale - not developments.

JM: Exactly, one question, I looked at the Greenwich Millennium Village which has a 'for sale' section that is a private development and one that is for housing association rental and they somehow suggested that the standards were different, now does this make sense to you?

CC: Well the standards do tend to be different, but we try to discourage as much as we can the 'there's the rented section over there, that block, here's the 'for sale' over here' we very much encourage that they are mixed because it encourages the creation of sustainable communities. I recall - occasionally I am asked to go on judging panels for design awards etc. – and I remember one scheme, [if say] I'm on my own and haven't got any children then... O.K. this is very fine, nice little balcony looking over such and such, laminate floor, a sort of bar type of arrangement of a kitchen, all very nice all very modern fittings etc., this is one that is for the sale market. I asked how a rental property would differ, he said if this was for rent then there wouldn't be any laminate floor, there wouldn't be all of the nice trunk lighting fittings etc., the basic size would be the same but the kitchen would have more units in it, they would not have to make the kitchen larger because of our requirements. So they do differ, I have got into trouble before by making reference to 'one's got the bling' but I do find it frustrating and upsetting going in some units, rental units, which are super units but there is no floor finish, you know there are children playing on the floor of their bedrooms on flaxboard or whatever it is. And you think you can go down to B&Q and buy laminate board for next to nothing, and that does frustrate me. I can understand, when you talk to people they say you cannot put in laminate because of the noise going through, so that is an issue. I do think that housing associations do a splendid job in difficult circumstances, we are constantly asking more and more of them. And they generally come up with the goods, I think they do a bloody good job; I really do, in difficult circumstances.

JM: I know, I worked in the Architects' Department of Shepherds Bush HA and I do know how hard they try to squeeze that little bit more out of the fixed budget.

CC: I do get cross. I go to a unit and I say O.K., where do I put my ironing board, and the development officer looks at you blank and they go... O.K. I'm going on holiday this is a three-bedroom five person house, where do I keep my suitcases, they answer well we have this space under the stairs... along with everything else, your four suitcases are going in there! I do find this frustrating. [I was] on holiday in France, when staying with some friends near Strasbourg, they have a flat, the space was much better, the light was much better, the quality of the fittings was much better, storage fantastic, they have storage nearly the size of this room because they accept that people have got lots of stuff to store. The kitchens are

smaller and the kitchens tend to be part of the general room, which would not suit me. You know all the clutter that goes on in a kitchen and the noise, washing machines, toasters, steam everywhere, cabbage smells, it is nice to be able to shut a door on all that and open a window. People do not live in the way show houses are set up, we only ever see it in magazines, people do not live like that.

JM: Can I take you back, you mentioned, from everything you have said it is plain that you and others, on the delivery side, have this concern about keeping standards reasonable.

CC: Yes, I think reasonable is right.

JM: Now the question is what makes the judgment of what is reasonable and we have partially discussed here, but when you said there was a time when the numbers were more significant but the Ministers preferred not to talk about numbers or standards.

CC: You have one here [referring to the list of questions] "how do you prioritise between quantity and quality"? Well, I think the answer is that we set a minimum standard, we don't profess that even the minimum standard, yes of 41 in housing quality terms. How we do it, we have a requirement that you hit 41 as a minimum, if you were to tick, that means meet the range, so if you got a two storey, five person unit and you were in the range of 82 to 85 you would tick that box, that would get you 38 points, you get your remaining five points by making sure that you have got at least the number of rooms required. It says in here how many rooms you should have, if you have a five person unit you need three bedrooms, one bathroom, two WCs, blah blah. So if you only did the minimum you would get 41 points, now we are not saying that 82 to 85 produces a good size, it's just adequate, it's the safety net, less than that, you've got a struggle. We would like people to be up here and a lot of them are, but we set the minimum standard, we recommend that they go higher, and we will provide a little bit of incentive for them to do so, not extra money, but you stand a better chance of your bid being chosen. Two of you competing in the same area, you have better standards, similar price then we'll choose you. So there is an incentive. But numbers is always the prime priority and I don't care what anyone says that is a true today as it was back then, the only difference now is, I

think you can reasonably say that since about 2003 there has been an acceptance by Government that we need better quality housing, because it is better long term value for the country. [One paragraph omitted from text as the content was off the record]. So I think that when push comes to shove if I was a housing association in this current world I would be just doing the minimum, and a little bit more if I could do that without it impacting upon my costs, if I could organise my designs so I actually got that through good design that is great, but if it is going to start impacting on my costs then I can't afford to do that.

JM: Yes, I have been in practices where this business, this art, this skill in working out how to get the maximum funding or budget for the work with just the minimum floor area was amazing, they [the architects] had formulae and had calculated [all this] so that they cut it fine, achieving the maximum grant, and usually it was one square meter that made the difference.

CC: That was in the days of TCIs, because there is a point, point 6 and it therefore goes into the next band, so they might get another £2,000 a unit, we don't have that anymore, there are absolutely no cost bench marks and the Government's line on that was when you set a TCI nobody has any incentive to come to you with less than the TCI, but they will all come to you with special cases to go over it, but there is nothing underneath. You take that away and then everybody is competitively bidding against each other, and that is actually, what we have found, the amount of grant per unit that is going in, is going down and down and down and output has gone up and up.

JM: And the standards?

CC: The space standards, they have been having to hit 41, I mean if there is a way round it they will do it. Last year what we were finding was that some units were less than 41, how is that possible? How has that got through? When you look into it, you find that it is a scheme [that] has some units under 41 and some over, so the average is 41. So this time we have said that the 41 is for each individual unit, you must not fall below that and we have also said that your storage must not fall below what it says in HQIs, because again they can hit that size but still provide little to no

storage because they want to make the living rooms bigger. So you have got to hit that and you have got to hit the minimum storages for each unit. Mark Cowerly, who used to be in Barclay Homes, a developer, he's been telling his RSL clients that we have got to increase by 2 to 3 square metres because of that change.

JM: Interesting, another question, do you think there has been generally an acceptance or a presumption that the, that all these units are made for specific strata of society, in other words the assumption is that it is for the low income, and the clientele is very clear. So you provide only for the minimum quality of life almost, I'm not saying as far as you are concerned, [I mean] the policy-makers, those who set the budgets further up or guide you.

CC: I don't think so, I think the only place this shows up like the floor finishes, there is an assumption that someone will put a carpet down, but if they have not got the money to do that then it is not down and I suppose one might criticise some associations and say that when you visit these people and you find that this is the case what are you doing? Are you doing anything about it, are you if Social Services or some other means of assisting people can help with this. I can see that in the current climate of efficiency savings that the Government is setting us they would not wish to put carpet down or increase their costs. If we are not quite clear about that line in sand, we will not go below this standard. They will go below it; if we took it away, the standard would drop.

JM: What do you think determines exactly at what level that standard is?

CC: I think that people always have a view to Parker Morris, it might be at the back of their heads but when people are trying to say is this big or small, someone will always [consider] how many percent it is from Parker Morris: we are at Parker Morris +5% and if you are at that sort of level that house is going to work. There is no doubt about it, but I just think that RSLs are generally pretty sensible and they have learnt over the years that the amount of grief they are going to get by producing sub-standard units is not worth it, it is just not worth it!

JM: What troubles?

CC: Well, you constantly get people whose needs have changed and they have to then, write to the MP, this does not suit my needs now, I've got registered as mobility or whatever and in this bedroom I can't do this, you know, you have got to move me, and if they don't move them they write to the MP, the MP writes to us, there is a whole I am sure that after a while I am sure they realise that it is their own interests, they have much you can't have the flexible house in terms of use on the absolute borderline in terms of standards, I mean I was at a presentation a couple of years ago and I immediately thought of my three kids, the eldest was in an Edwardian semi [semi-detached house] and the wall between the two reception rooms had been knocked out making one large room, it had been changed since it had been built, it was now in the modern idiom, still a perfectly useful house. Now the second one - a daughter - was in a house built in the 60s or 70s when garages were often put in the front of the house. Well, who knows anyone who uses a garage in London nowadays, well that garage has a window in it now, has been insulated and a doorway knocked through from the house, it's a kids' play room. Once again, it was big enough to be altered. Last daughter was in a 1990s house in Aylesbury, nice very pleasant surroundings, with four houses in one block, she had a mid-terrace, stairs directly in front with a crank, kitchen on your left, very small, no room to put anything other than that which is already built-in so if you want a dryer, no, anything extra you cannot get in, you would have to take out your measly provision to do it. The store was in the living room because the stairs were going off it. It was supposedly two bedroom but just about two people could live in it, no space at the back, upstairs you could not do anything with it at all and I always think that that is not a sustainable unit as a two bed/four person unit, you would have to get out a fold up table every time you wanted to eat, they had to eat on their laps. But you have to live like that in these houses and they are just not sustainable in the long term.

JM: Yes, it is interesting that you are giving examples of housing in various periods, you mentioned a noticeable period when housing standards dropped and you said that Andrew and his graph show that, would you be able to say whether there are housing estates that show that drop in housing standards.

CC: I couldn't, all I'm saying that when this issue was knocking about there was this graph showing a drop and subsequently it was going up again.

JM: I did something similar in that I took examples of exemplary housing estates from the 50s, I took two estates from the 80s and 90s, award winning estates, and ended with the 2000 Greenwich Millennium Village. And the examples I took, oddly, did not show the drop that I absolutely expected, since then, certainly when I was talking to David Levitt, he thought that they were not the right examples because those architects, those practices had tried to keep the standards up, so it did not show the actual trend of the majority.

CC: I would expect that the trend showing is a result of the whole programme, this is the new build rent, if you take all of those things, then low cost is always below it and if you do that the next year then it is below that, this trend, it does not surprise me that you would not find it by picking individual ones, it's a needle in a haystack. You have got to take a much bigger sample.

JM: I'll do that

CC: Have you tried the National Housing Federation, in their records someone would have this sort of information.

JM: Do you know a contact?

CC: You might try Neil Griffiths, he might not be the right person but he is someone to start with.

JM: In 1981, there are so many references to this being the time when Parker Morris ceased to be compulsory, do you know of a document that decrees that it is no longer compulsory?

CC: I was certainly in the West Midlands office when it came out, I think it was something from the Department of the Environment, the DoE. It would have been something linked to the death of housing cost yardsticks. Because I recall that when I joined the Corporation HCY, Housing Cost Yardsticks were still there and

there was still double scrutiny, when we approved a tender we had to send all the details with a report to the DoE in Birmingham to get their approval before we would get a letter back saying that this was the amount of money we are prepared to allocate to this particular scheme. And those were based on HCIs, subsequently it was decided about 1980 that double scrutiny had got to end so the Corporation was allowed to assess the HCIs itself, and I remember that because we had from headquarters, from here, come up to our regional offices telling us how we should calculate it, I remember that, we already knew how to calculate it, we knew how the region had dealt with it, it probably was not how they thought it should be done at headquarters, so we nodded and listened and waived them goodbye and carried on doing as before. After that, there was something like that came through that said it was not going to be Parker Morris, I wonder if it coincided with HCP22. I think it must have been the time when HCP22 was published.

JM: And where would I find a copy of that?

CC: You wouldn't.

JM: Not even your library?

CC: Our library! It died ages ago, everyone goes through wanting you to throw stuff out, we can't keep the cabinet here, we are getting three more desks in here so we can only keep one cabinet so you have to throw stuff out, and they say what are you doing keeping stuff from 1978, so we all have to throw it all away, but I did actually keep it...this is the only copy of this I have managed to find, unfortunately it does not seem to have a date on it. Scribbled all over of course. Well, that is telling us that Parker Morris came in as the basis of subsidies from '69, so '69 is when the Ministry of Local Government and Housing set Parker Morris. I'll just see if there is anything here.....'88 is when they are abolishing the present control system...April '83 it saying here that housing cost yardstick and delegated cost limits will be abolished at that time, new cost criteria TICs will serve as the guidelines and on design it says TCIs should be associated with a single and more flexible arrangement existing mandatory design standards will therefore cease to operate from 16th May '83, and then it makes reference to our designer contract criteria.

Circular 82/69, the HCY was still going strong, we kept getting uplifts. I think you need DoE Circular14/83 .

JM: And another one you mentioned before this, this one HPC22.

CC: This is when Parker Morris came in.

JM: 36/67?

CC: Yes. These might be in the RIBA library.

JM: I'll check at the National Archives.

CC: That's when the '88 Housing Act came in... [Circular] 60/74... 72, I just save things that have got a relevance. When I was going through this I came across a Circular saying the Government wanted more housing and realised that delays in planning needed to be sorted out.

JM: Yes, ever present issue.

CC: Thirty Years ago!

JM: Yes, you go through these documents and it is as though they have been written yesterday.

CC: Well in '93 I noticed we were saying in our strap line, good quality housing mainly for those in need.

JM: Why have you written mainly 1993?

CC: Because I was looking for some proof, you know our strap line changes; I could not remember what the strap line was in those early days

JM: Can I ask something, you may not have come to this conclusion, when I last worked on social housing I think I was working with this document and the subsequent one and we kept going from one to the other, in fact these three documents were the ones I had in mind. When the final plans were drawn up somehow it appeared as though we were quite close to Parker Morris standards when we complied with these three document together. Was that your impression? Have you had that impression, ever? That schemes that comply with these three documents reach Parker Morris?

CC: Yes, I mean, I think that Parker Marker, when you speak to Andrew Drewery, Andrew will say that really Parker Morris is not a good enough standard for today. Because today, you know, different circumstances, you have to sort your waste out these days, children doing homework, computers, you know there are all sorts of things that were not about then that you need space for. But frankly, I think that if you do get Parker Morris you are not doing too badly.

JM: Absolutely! even though those were minimum standards.

CC: I was trying to do a little check this morning, and this is the Parker Morris one that I have converted and added on the internal storage that gives these figures and the ones in red are the bands out of HQI so when I was going down the six p ones I was thinking "they are spot on here" the only thing is that HQIs do not differentiate between flats and maisonettes, we are slightly out here, we don't make an allowance in here for a three story five person house but if we did it would probably be this one.

JM: There are other HQI?

CC: Yes, that would be 85/95 so on the 5 p we seem to be a square metre or so short, single storey is alright but generally short, 4 p, again OK here, just a bit short there.

JM: Those are quite substantial, those ones. These are noticeable too, as soon as the numbers increase suddenly they change.

CC: So we are OK at that end, and as you come down to the other end we are OK, it's those two that are a bit off the pace.

JM: Interesting, is it possible to have these.

CC: I'll copy it with that. 2 p 45 to 50 we are OK, I presume you have seen swing a cat.

JM: No.

CC: You have not seen swing a cat! It's a website, its Sunderland Housing Group in association with Dave Birkbeck and Andrew Dewery produced this website called swing a cat - not enough room to swing a cat. The idea is that you go into this website and there is a part that gives you a graph and you actually click on where your particular unit is. The idea is that someone going to buy a house on the private market should know whether this house is adequate or not, then click on here and you either get a happy cat, a not so happy cat or an unhappy cat. www.swingacat.info lots of other information on the site.

Basically what I did was to take their thing, here you give the square meterage and here the occupancy, orange is acceptable, that's good, that's bad, approximately those dotted lines are where our range of HQIs come.

CC: The square meterage, generally it's on that trajectory, I was really worried when they brought swingacat out. I thought Oh God, please don't tell us that our measures are going to fall in the red. That is worth looking at. We ask people as part of the pre-qualification for next year's bidding as to, on the basis of that, are you going to be within the range, the orange or above it, now the Section 106, in other words, straight forward RSL design schemes 73% said they would be within that average and a further 26% said they would be above it, yeh? Only 1% below and that could be some of the low cost home ownership stuff. The ones coming through the Section 106 have 85% in the range only 3% above. We have no minimum standards for low cost home ownership, we incentivise it but they can fall below it, but they do so at the risk of perhaps not getting an allocation, if there is one above then will choose that. This is on our website with much else.

JM: Does the final product match up with the proposals?

CC: We do sample, randomly, not every scheme, RSLs do know we sample. They do not like failing, there are letters to the Board and all that so they don't want to fail, the development director gets it in the neck and they don't like getting it in the neck.

JM: And then the aims and objectives in drawing up briefs for the designers and providers, and you have said good homes that will be fit for the purpose.

CC: I was not quite sure of what you are trying to get at there, I was thinking what are we trying to achieve by setting standards and that's what it is they've got to be fit for purpose, it covers a whole host of things.

JM: Absolutely, now to sum up everything, you heard what my starting point is what the assumption is, if I were to ask you, what would you say to the statement that reduction in housing standards is not a by-product of lowering budget, that it is not economical –economical: meaning that it is not a by-product of the economics, but that it has to do with the expectations and values of the policy makers.

CC: I think there is always a risk that when we have additional targets to meet that the pressure will always be upon standards, and we are generally talking about space standards. There is an economic element to this and it comes back to, we probably would have larger size units produced more frequently in times when there is less pressure on producing units on taking less grant, or on the cheap. We have set our line in the sand, so as long as we get that it's adequate, it's not great housing, it's adequate housing, it's a reasonable balance between the cost and the standard. I suspect that when there is less pressure on reducing that cost there is more chance of those standards being increased by choice by the RSLs themselves.

JM: And do you find there is **an inverse relationship between quantity and quality?**

CC: We go out there saying we want more for less, we want higher standards and we want less cost. Then you have to do that by creating organisational efficiencies, and we have been encouraging that by encouraging partnership working to try to get some economies of scale, to get some degree of standardisation. And I'm not sure that we have got that yet, I think at the moment we are getting less grant per unit but I suspect that housing associations are digging into their own pockets so their bank accounts are generally getting less. They are generally doing what they always did, I think in this next bid round realisation has come in that Government always wants 6% off per year, 6% off, 6% off, 6% off at the same time it is telling them that the minimum requirement in April is Code for Sustainable Homes, level 3 and then in 2012 it is going to be Code Level 4 and in 2016 Code Level 6. And we know it is going to cost at least £15,000 a unit, possibly more, to get to that level. So associations cannot keep doing what they are doing, they are going to have to do something dramatic. Which is why I think they probably will not be delivering the recommended extra items that otherwise they would have; because I think they are going to find it really tough. I do find it personally frustrating after 30 years in this to be basically always banging your head against a wall, when they say they want the additional quality standards, and you say yes, yes, we can do that and then they come back and say but your efficiency targets are 6% and we are giving you more money but you have got to produce 50% more houses than you would have done anyway. Any normal person would say this sum does not add up, it does not add up.

JM: So what do you think is going on in their heads, do you think they have an assumption of the level of efficiency that Housing Associations and the Housing Corporation can achieve.

CC: I am sure they have done the calculations, they are very, I mean a lot of this stuff comes from the Treasury, they are serious hard-nosed people, they take the serious big picture.

JM: But they must have a bottom line in mind, where do you think that bottom line is, will standards be reduced sufficiently for all the savings to be made or will

Housing Associations build so much in one area that they will benefit from economies of scale. Somehow as it stands it does not make enough sense.

CC: I think Government wants it's 45,000 units and I think that will be the priority, they are also saying to us you must keep the quality level, but I think that when push comes to shove they will back off from these high ambitions.

JM: Or they may think that the Housing Associations have reserves and that is unnecessary, perhaps they want to drain the reserves.

CC: No. No, we have published recently a document called 'Unlocking the Door' and that is on our website, and that is basically saying that Housing Associations have a lot more to give in terms of finance and it might mean that the ones that are developing at the moment have not got the capacity, but there are other associations that do not do much developing which have an awful lot of money in the bank, and it is a matter of bringing these together. Over all, I think you will find the document says that the social housing centre have a lot of finance, they are not on their uppers yet, they keep on saying that this or that scheme does not work, within thirty years. Well, I think the general view is, well hang on a minute, if you restructured your finances, if you used the money you have got in different ways you can actually be a lot more efficient and make it work. That's high level stuff, above my understanding, but yes, they are going to squeeze those pips so they are really squeaking before that stops. The Government has also felt that for years the house builders have been saying that we pay too much money for housing and that the private house building sector can produce it much cheaper than that. Well now, the Government has had its way and it is open for house builders to bid as anyone else so the proof will now be in the pudding. We have got something like 38 non-RSL partners, you know developers or ALMOs or local authorities or whatever who are going to bid for grant in this bid round. It will be very interesting to see what the results are and I think this is one of the reasons why RSLs have been digging in their own pockets because they think they will be undercut, well the RSLs undercut each other for a start, they are cut-throat with each other and now they are all afraid of house builders.

JM: One last question as far as density is concerned, density has been going up and down and then removed totally. Is there a maximum allowable density at the moment, there is not one?

CC: No, but I think if you talk to David Levitt, he will quickly tell you at what point it starts, you have to do so many more things to counter... I think it's about the mix of your...tenancies and all of that.... Certainly, at 200+ you are going to have to do something special. I mean it is either 70 or 80 dwellings per hectare that is classed as high density, but once you are doing up to "00 you had better have designed it properly or else you are seriously building in some problems. David Levitt has recently published something on this.

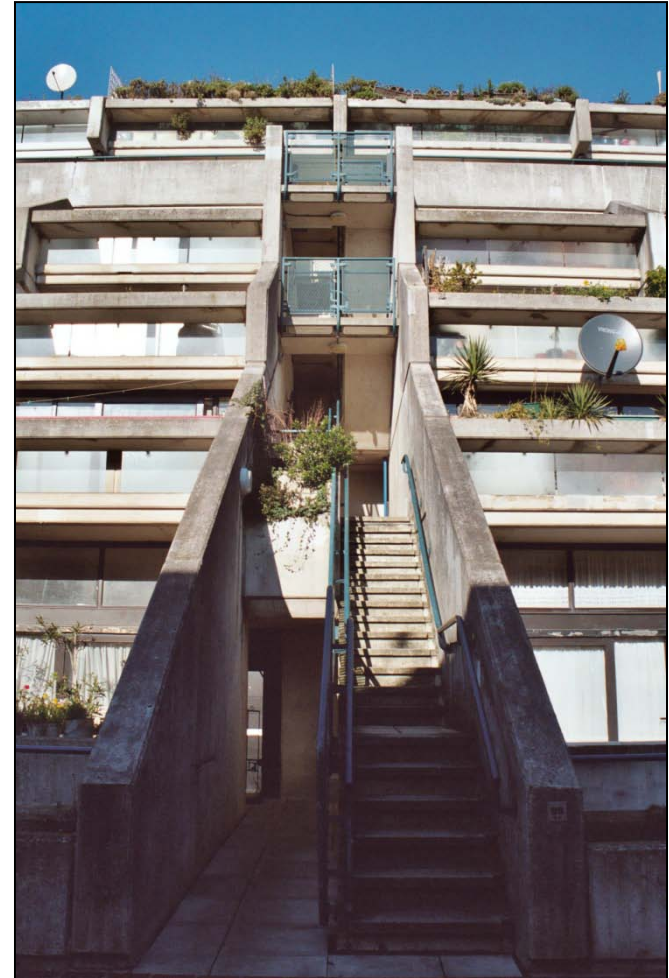
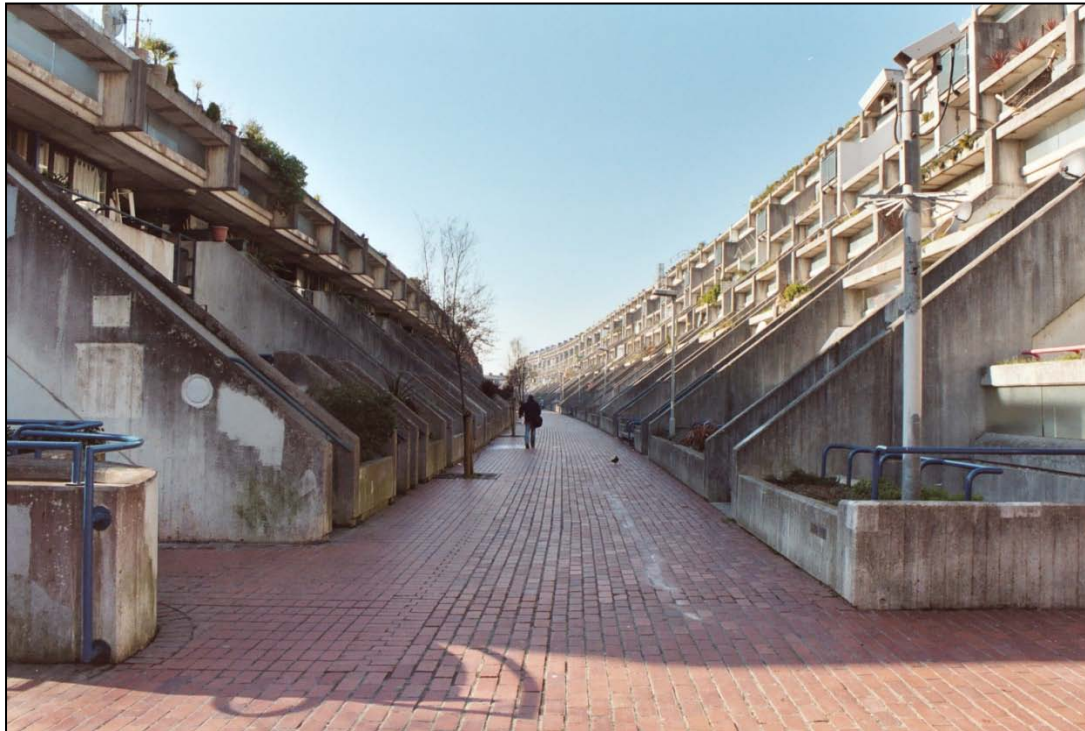
JM: Thank you so much for taking the time for this interview.

Appendices

Appendix II – Major Housing Examples Researched

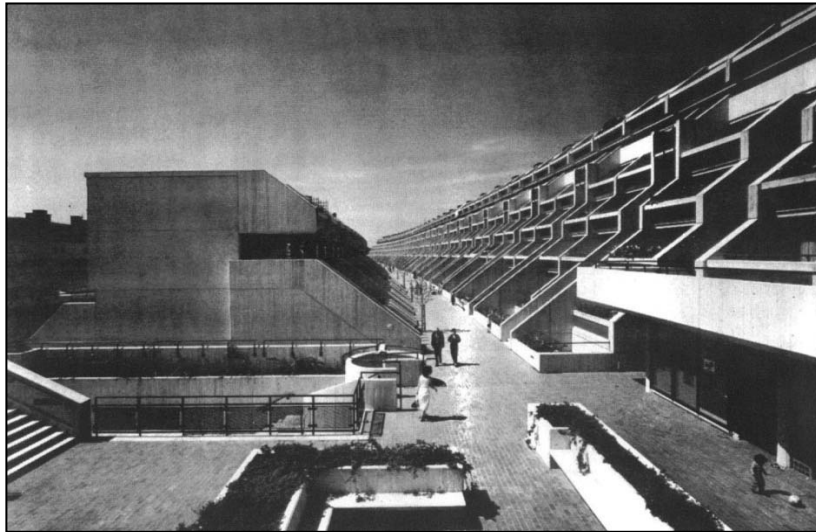
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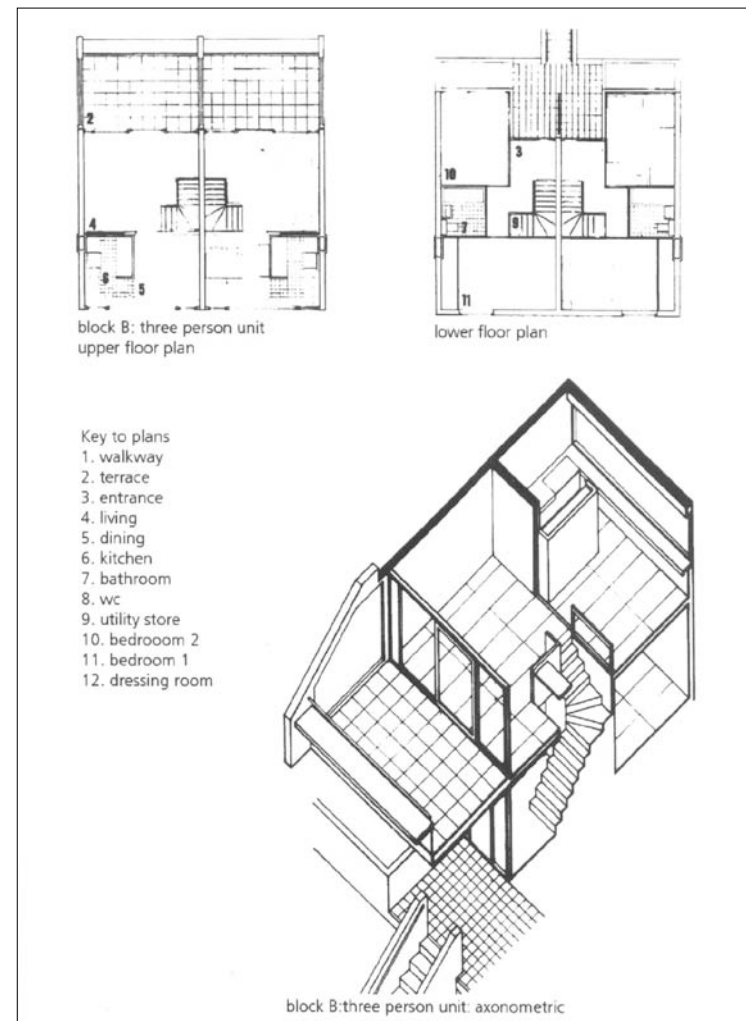
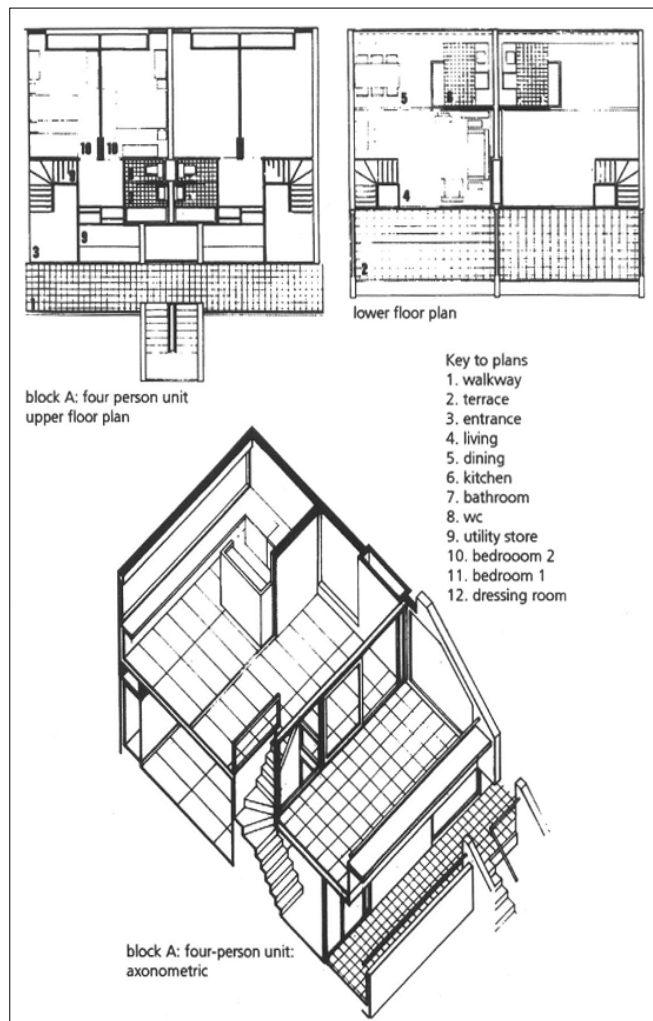
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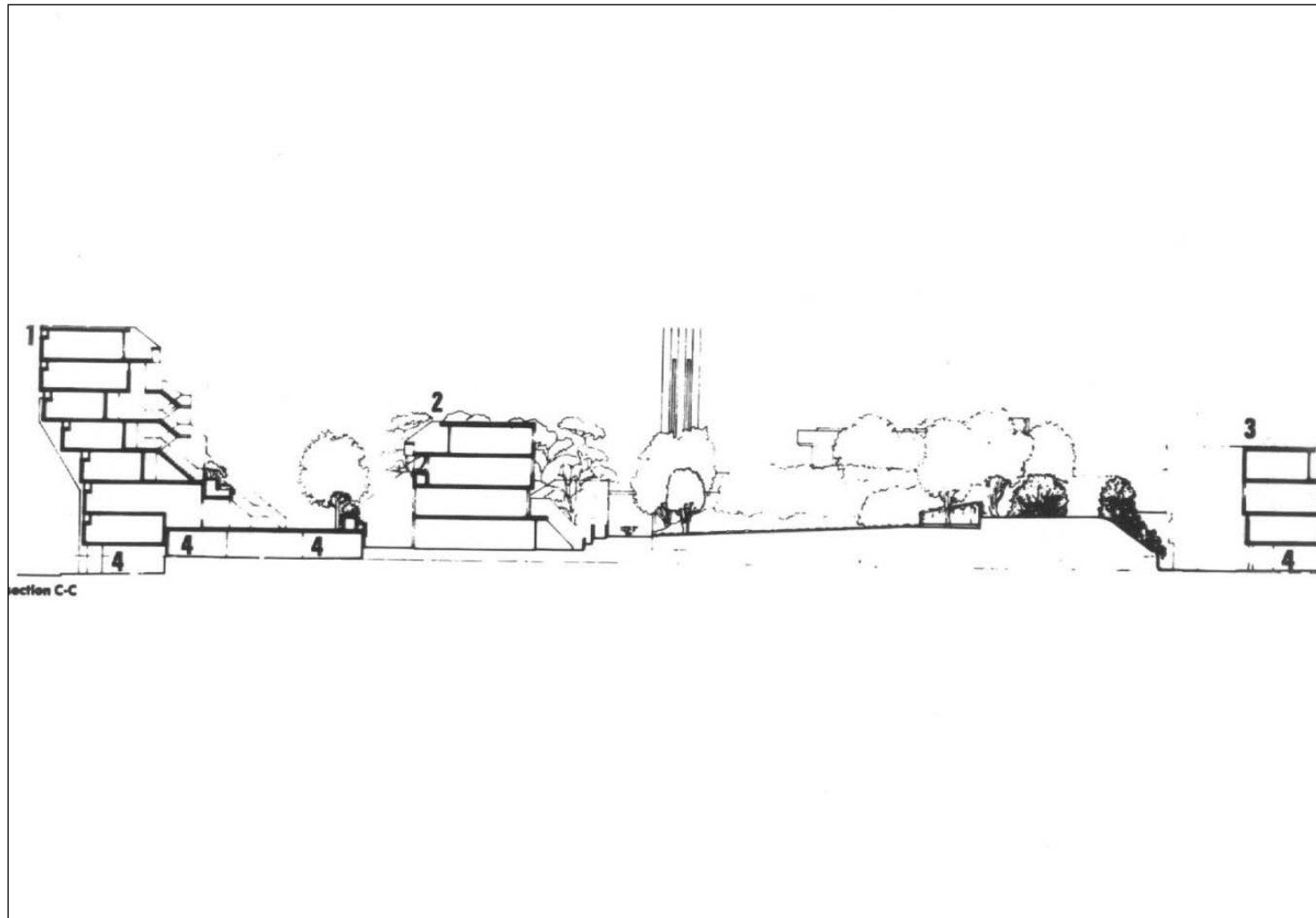


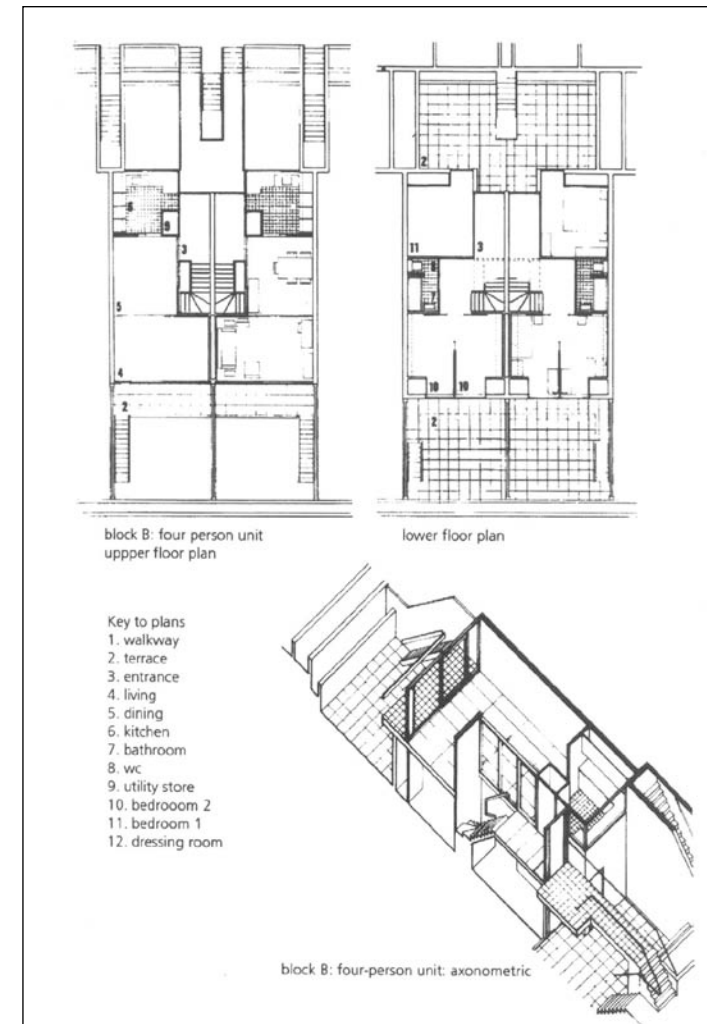
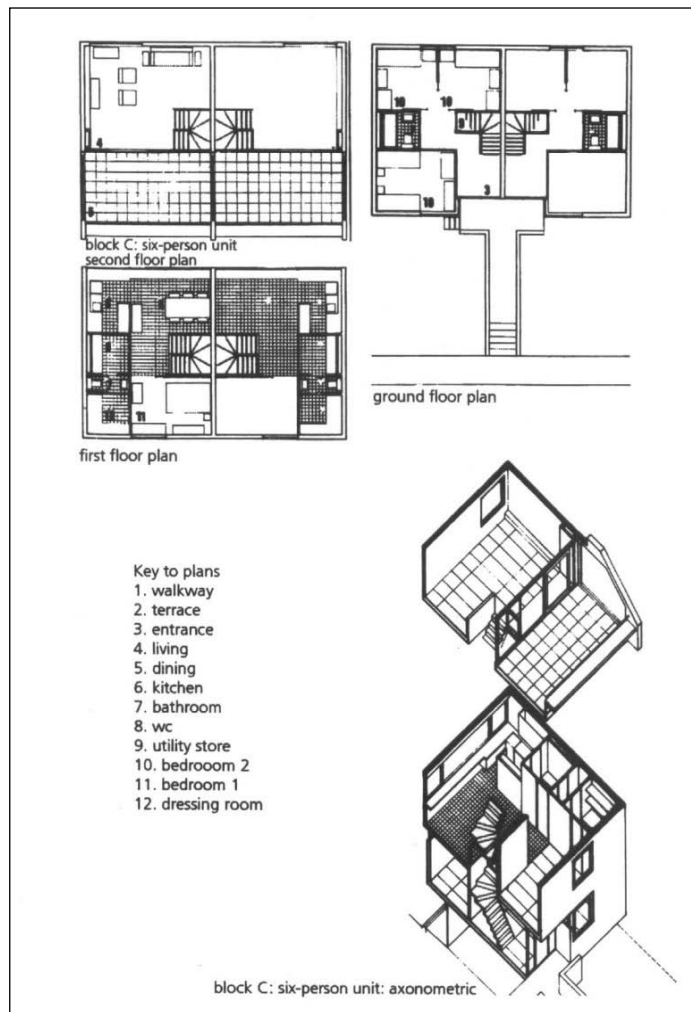


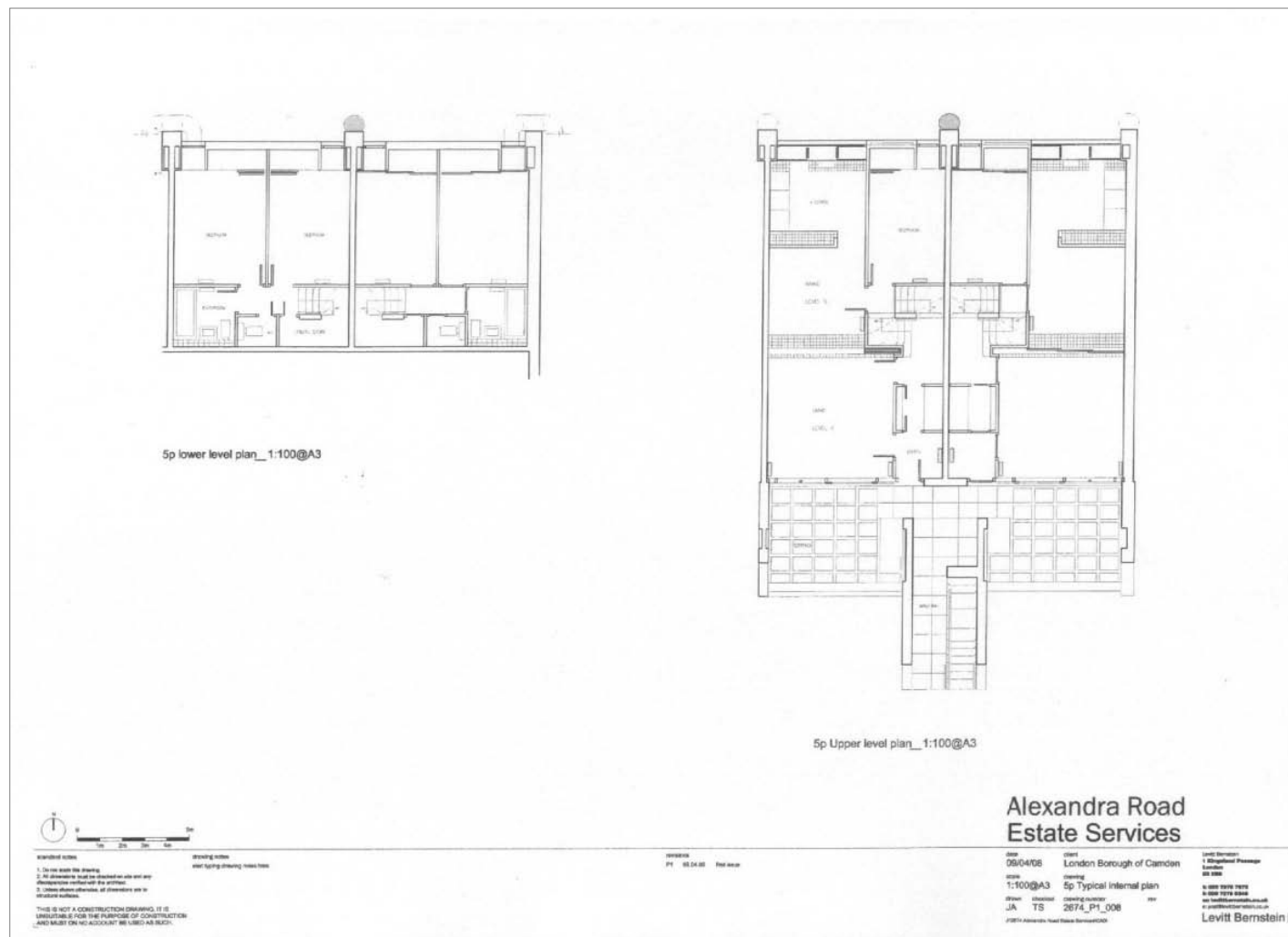


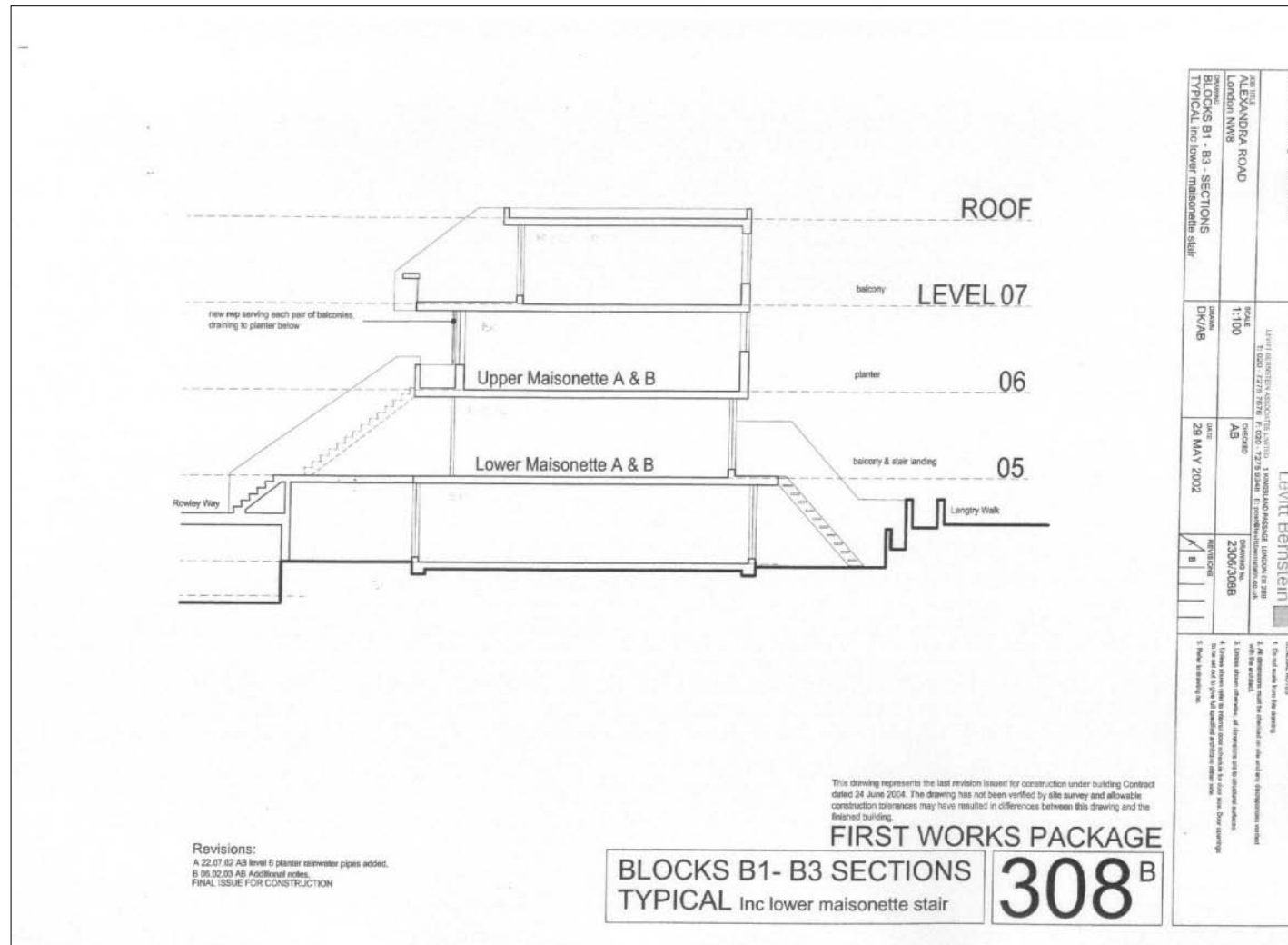








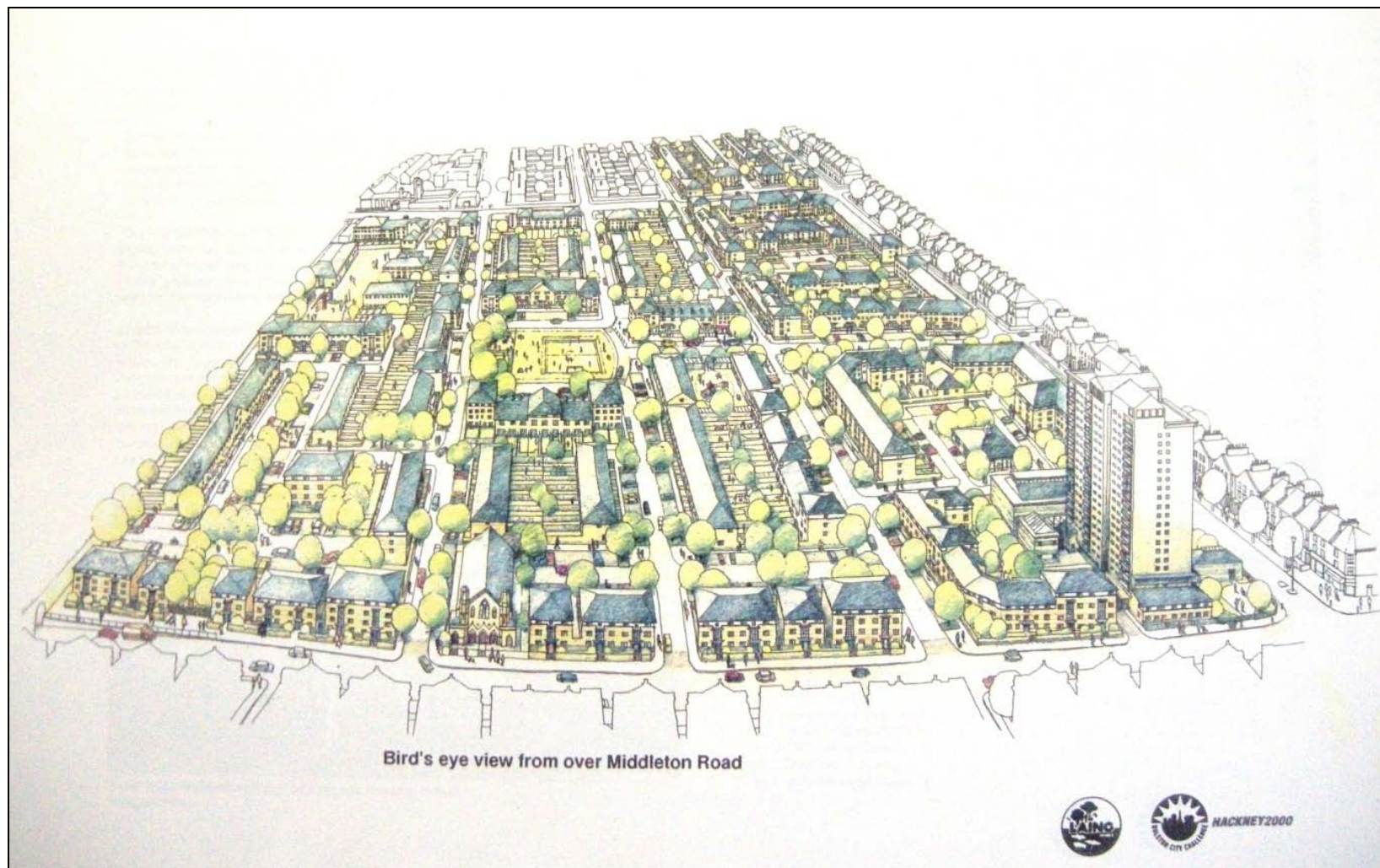


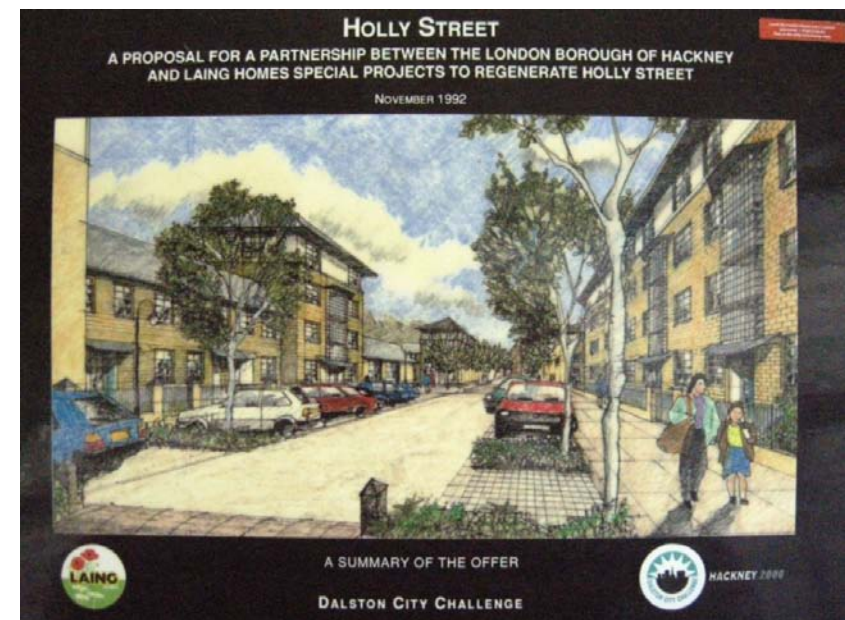
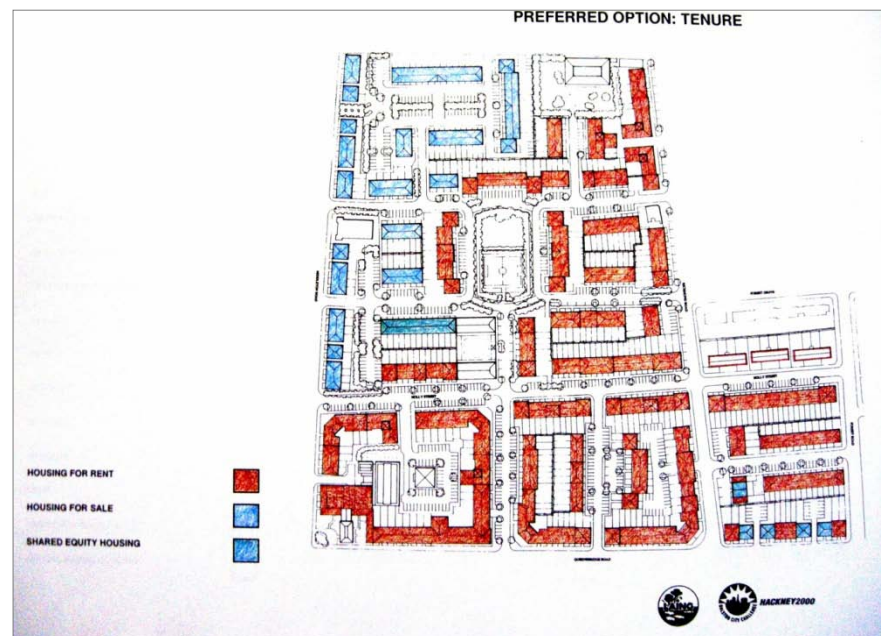


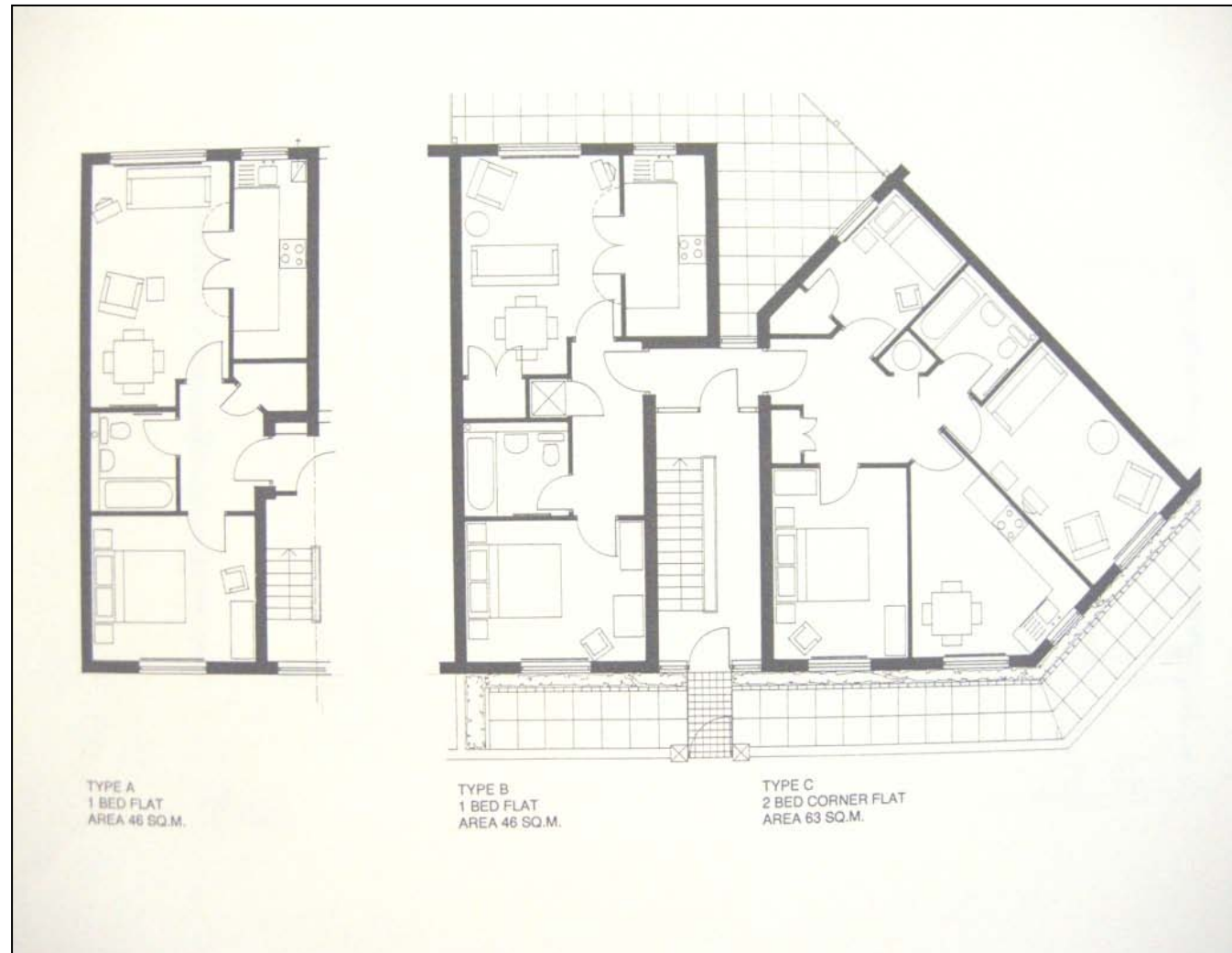
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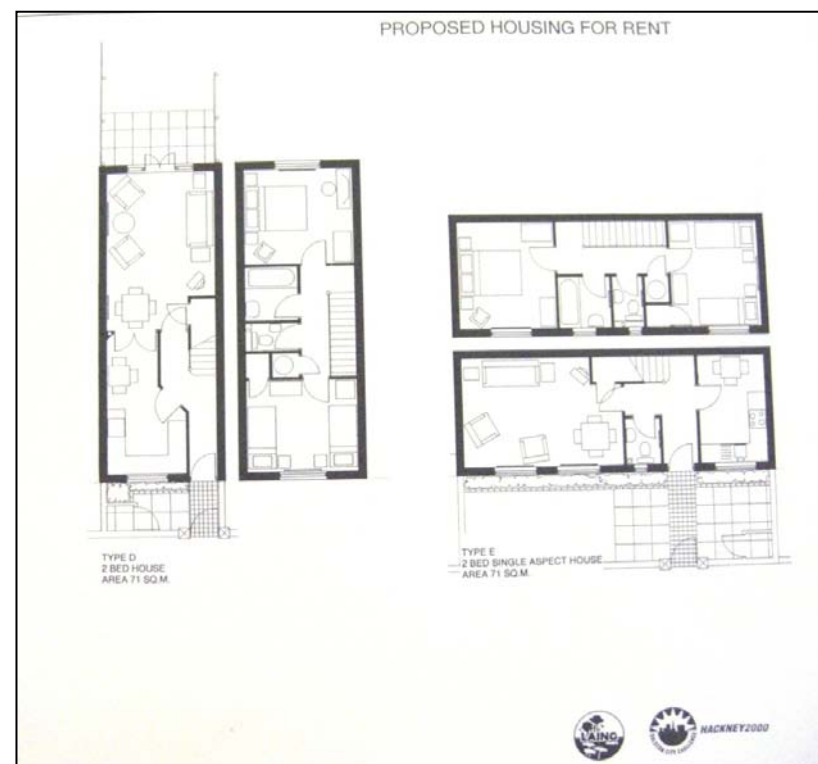
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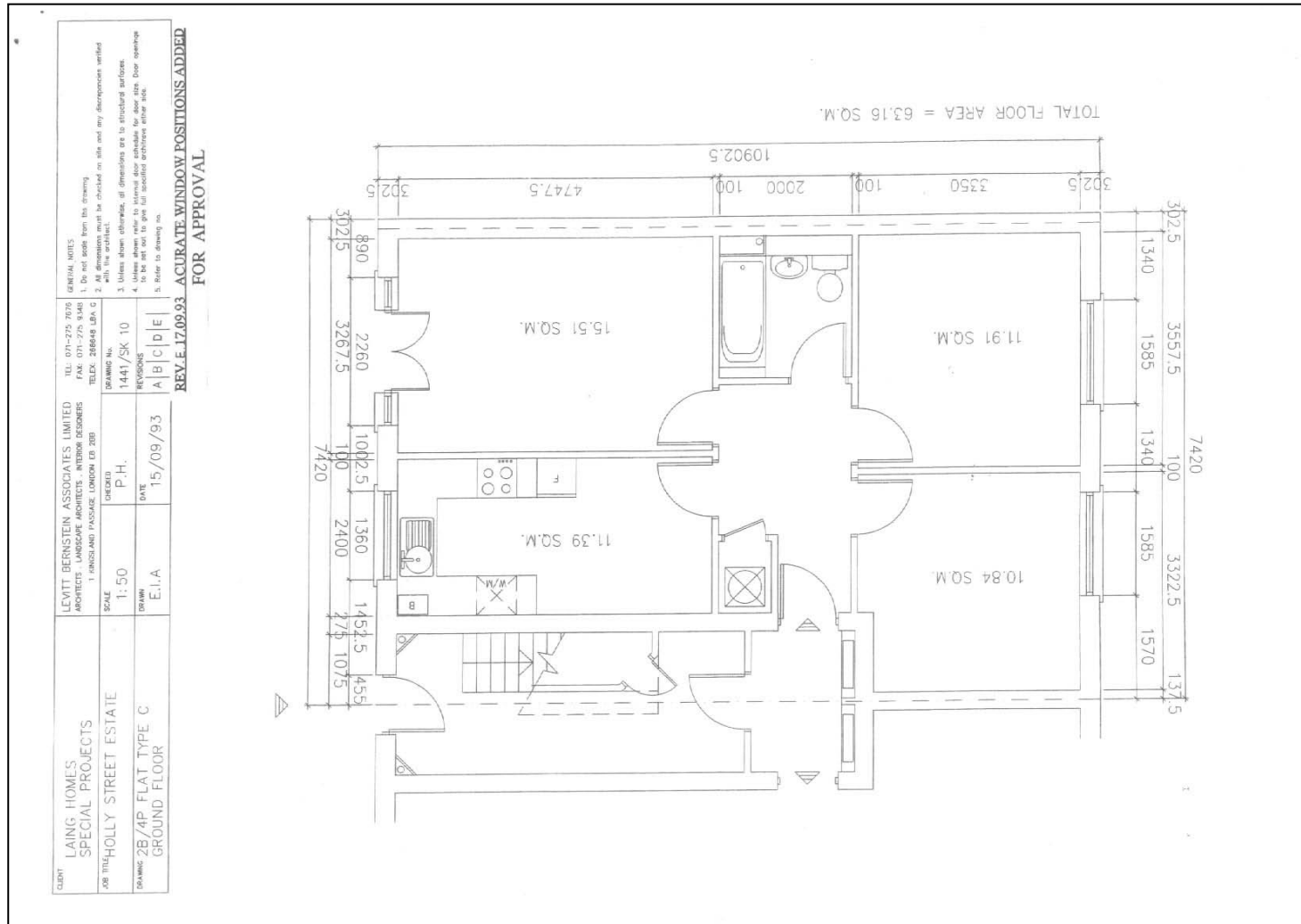
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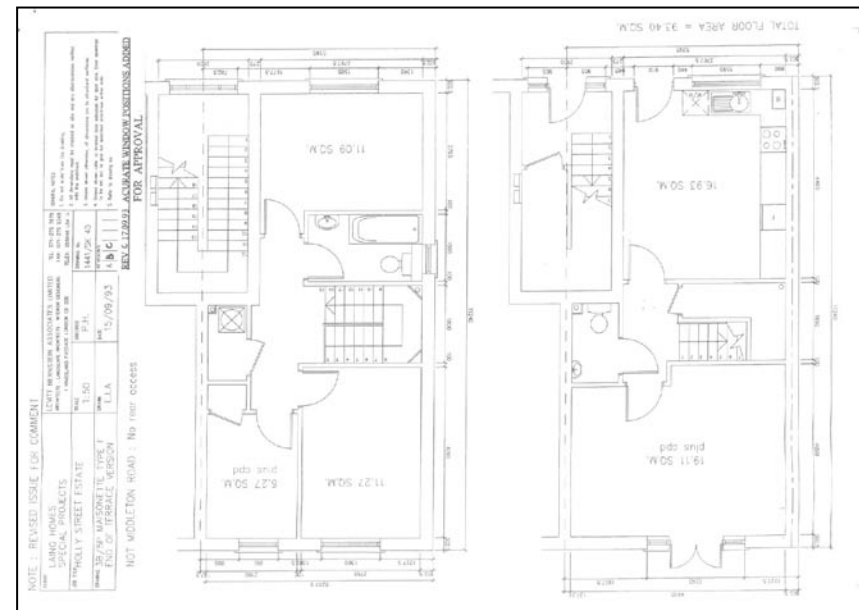
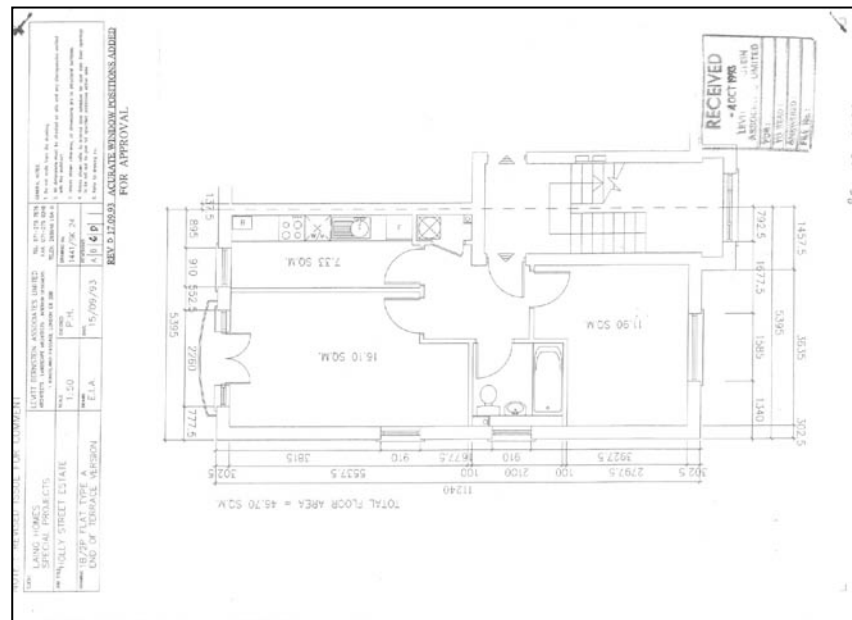


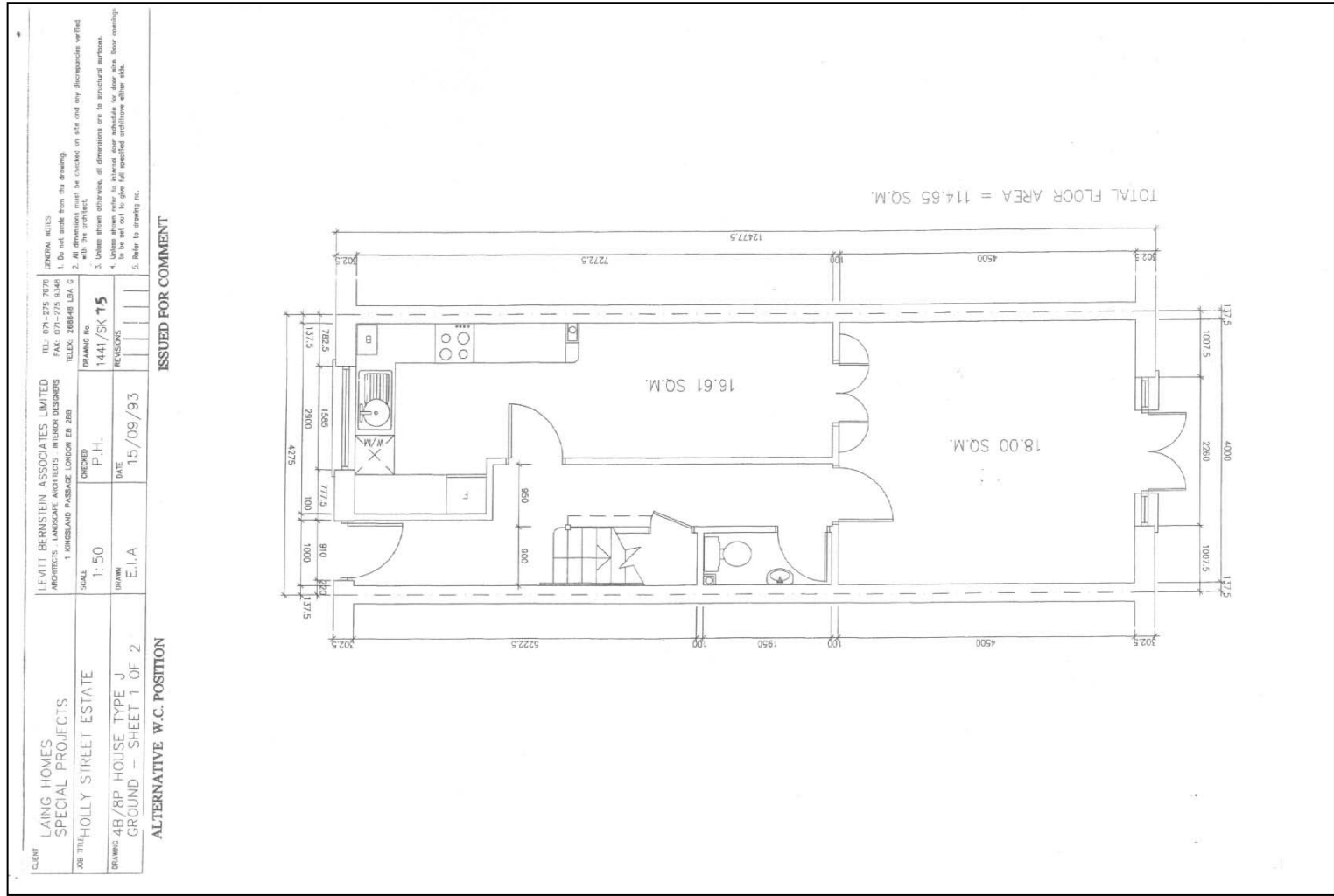


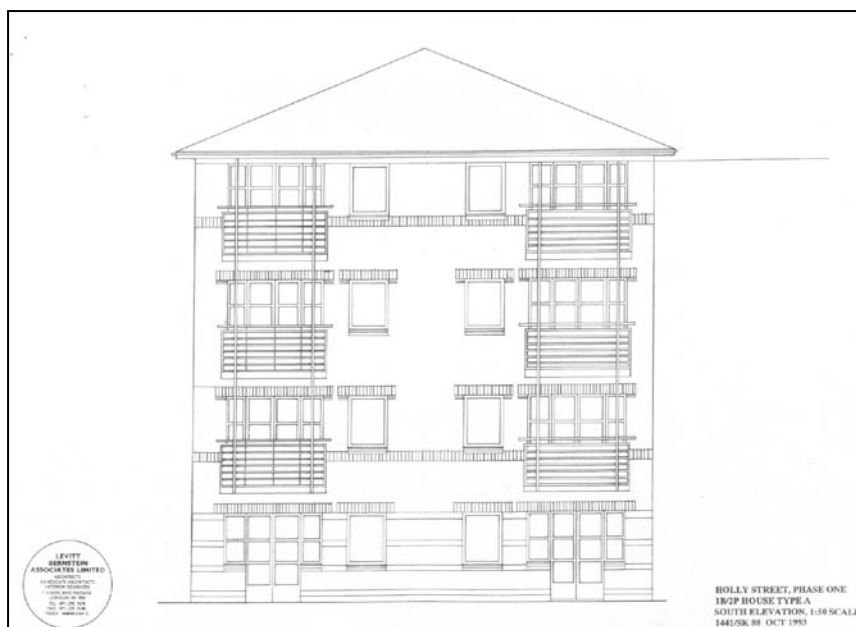


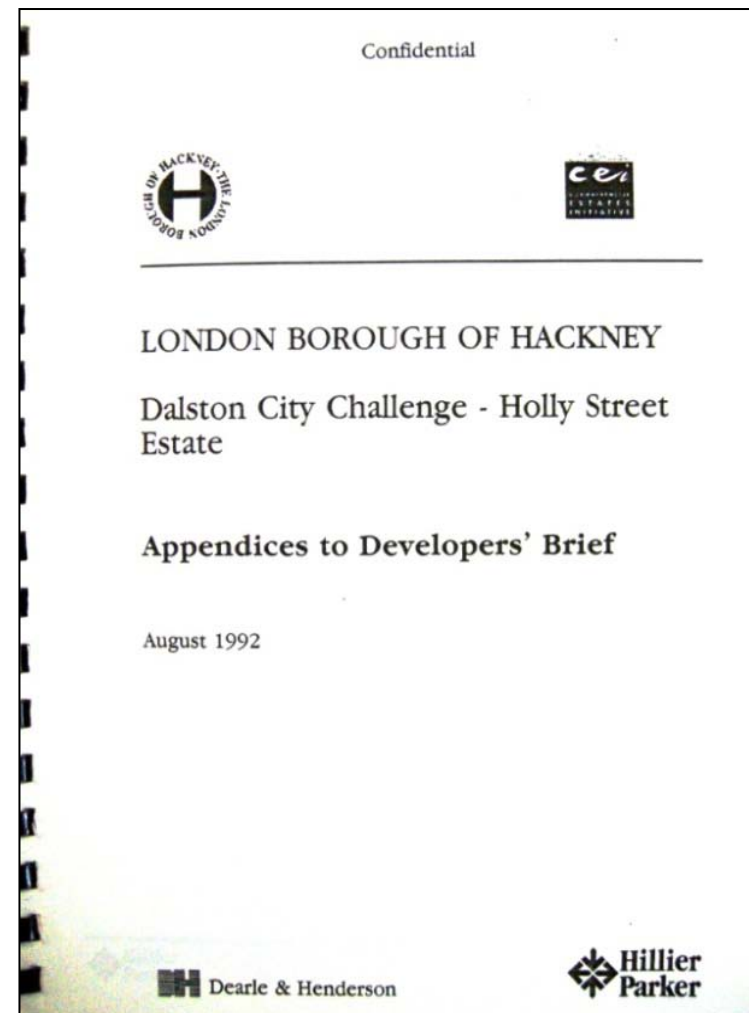
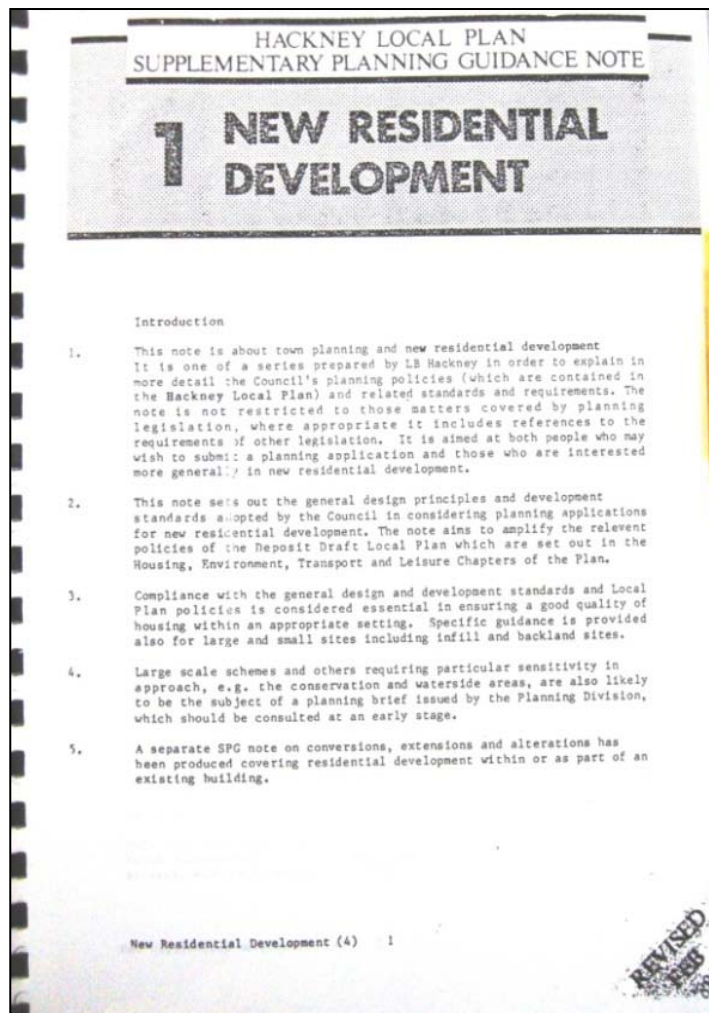












Shape

In addition to the above room dimensions all habitable rooms must be of a sufficiently regular shape so as to permit the effective use of their floorspace area for the purpose for which they are intended. Applicants may be expected to demonstrate the adequacy of proposed habitable rooms through accurate furniture layouts and other means as appropriate.

Natural lighting and ventilation

All habitable rooms must be provided with a glazed window. The glazed area should be equivalent to at least 1/10th of the floor area unless the wall in which the window is located does not extend 0.6 metres (2 feet) on each

side of the window opening. In this case the glazed area shall be equivalent to 1/7th of the floor area.

All habitable rooms must be so positioned as to be capable of receiving unobstructed daylight through an upward angle of thirty degrees.

All habitable rooms must be ventilated directly to the external air by a window which has an openable area equivalent to 1/20th of the floor area.

Sunlight and daylight

All habitable rooms should receive adequate daylight and sunlight, and developments will be expected to meet the standards

Requirements for Self-Contained Accommodation

Minimum room areas in square metres (square feet in brackets)

No of persons	1P	2P	3P	4P	5P	6P	7P	8P
Room Description								
Main bedroom	8.5 (90)	11 (120)	11 (120)	11 (120)	11 (120)	11 (120)	11 (120)	11 (120)
Other double bedrooms	-	10.5 (110)	10.5 (110)	10.5 (110)	10.5 (110)	10.5 (110)	10.5 (110)	10.5 (110)
Single bedroom	-	6.5 (70)	6.5 (70)	6.5 (70)	6.5 (70)	6.5 (70)	6.5 (70)	6.5 (70)
Living room (with dining kitchen)	11 (120)	12 (130)	13 (140)	14 (150)	15 (160)	16 (170)	17 (180)	18 (190)
Dining/kitchen	8.5 (90)	9.5 (100)	11 (120)	11 (120)	12 (130)	13 (140)	14 (150)	15 (160)
Living room (without dining kitchen)	14 (150)	15.5 (165)	17.5 (185)	17.5 (185)	19.5 (210)	21.5 (230)	21.5 (230)	23.5 (250)
Galley kitchen	5.5 (60)	6.0 (65)	6.5 (70)	7.5 (80)	7.5 (80)	7.5 (80)	9.5 (100)	9.5 (100)
Living room				14 (150)	15 (160)	16 (170)	17 (180)	18 (190)
Dining room				6.5 (70)	7.5 (80)	8.5 (90)	9.5 (100)	10.5 (110)
Kitchen				7.5 (80)	7.5 (80)	7.5 (80)	9.5 (100)	9.5 (100)
Combined living/ dining/kitchen area	(18.5) (200)	(18.5) (200)						

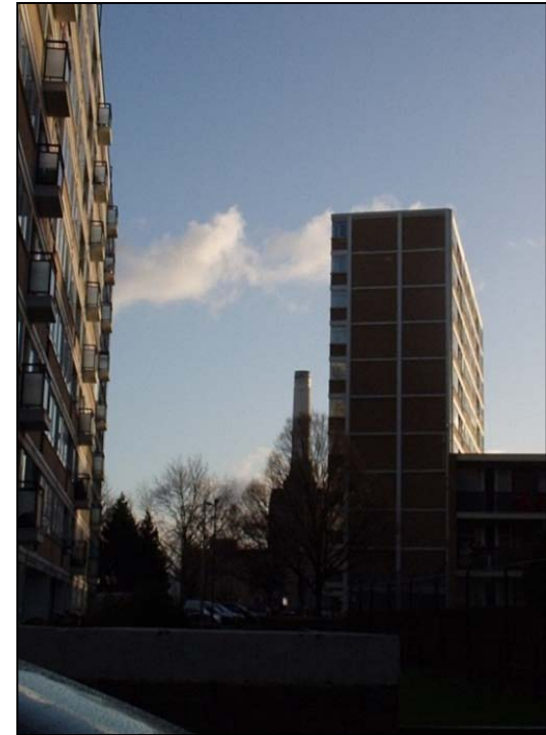
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Appendix V – Housing Examples Researched

Churchill Gardens - Pimlico



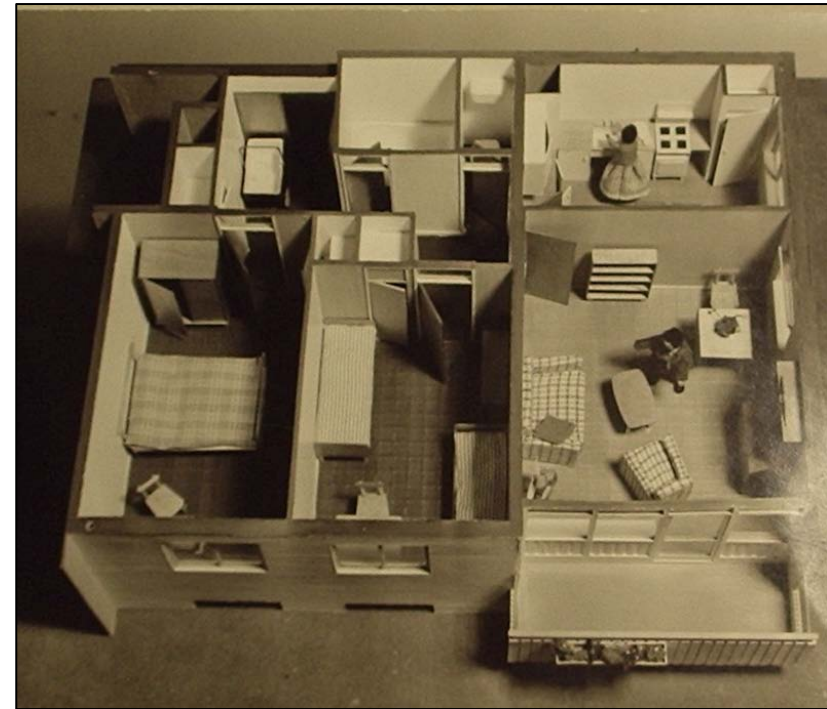


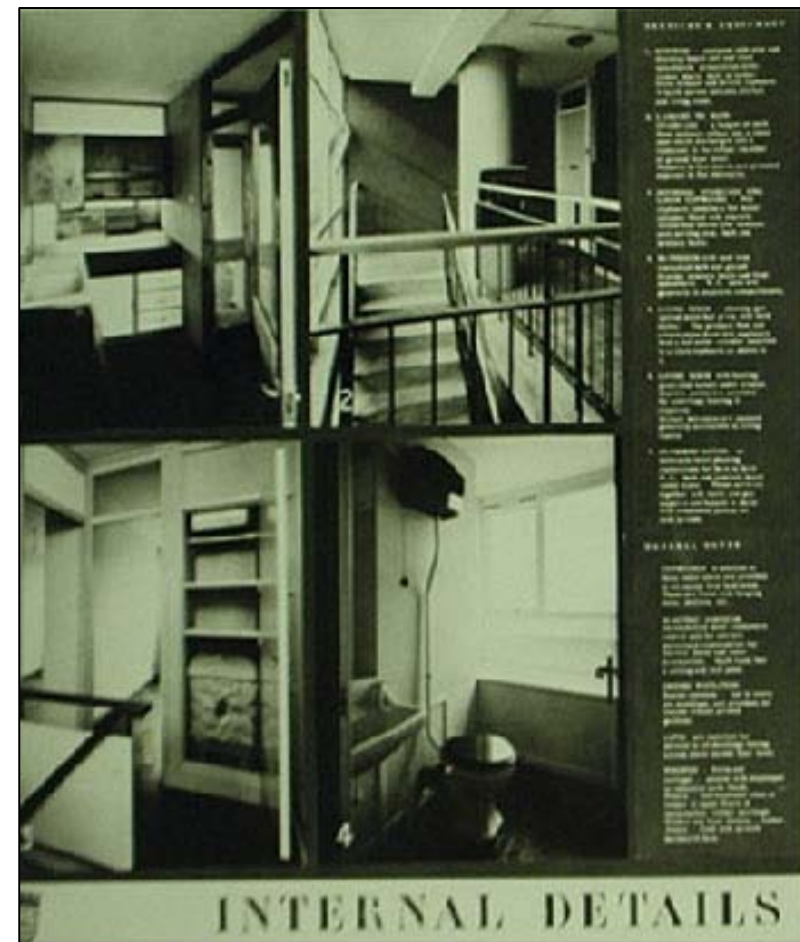


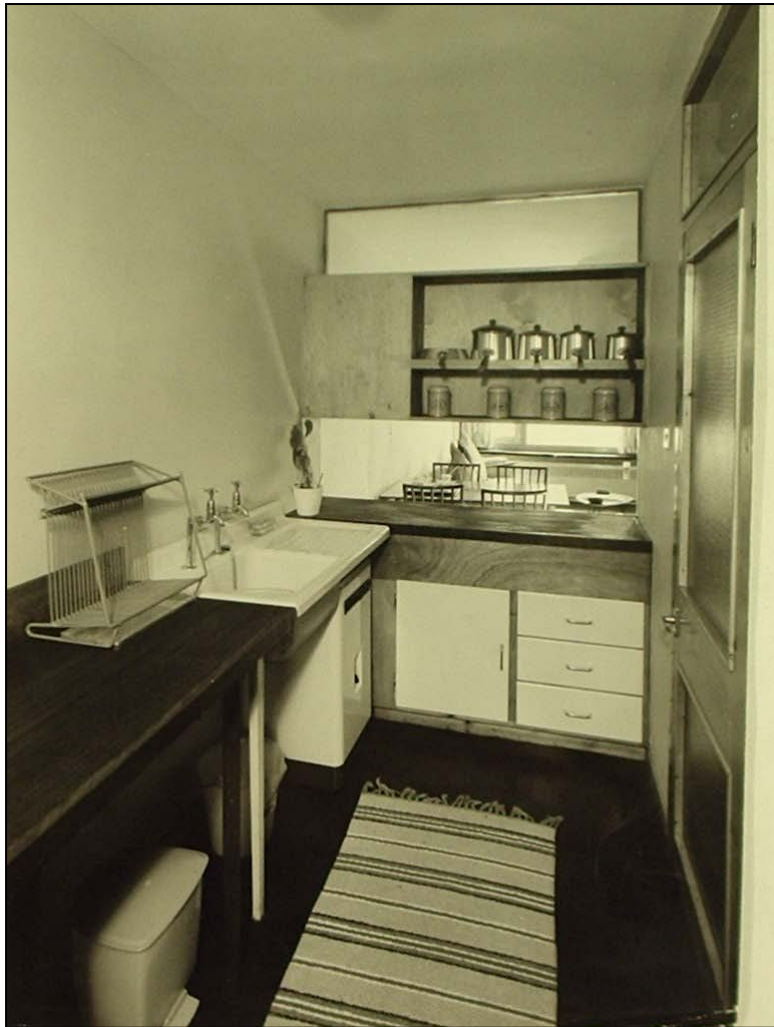
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Appendix II – Housing Examples Researched

Alton Estate – Roehampton 1954







Appendix II – Housing Examples Researched

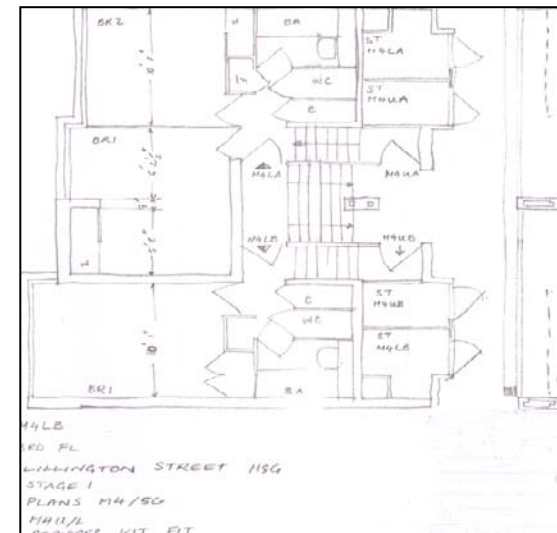
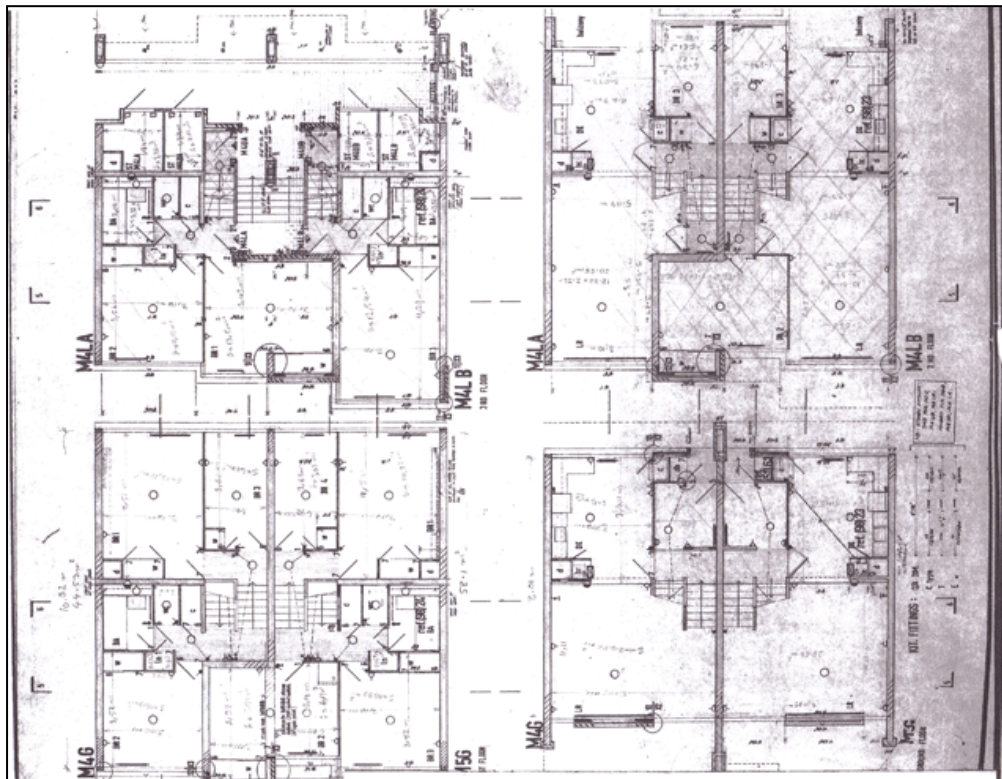
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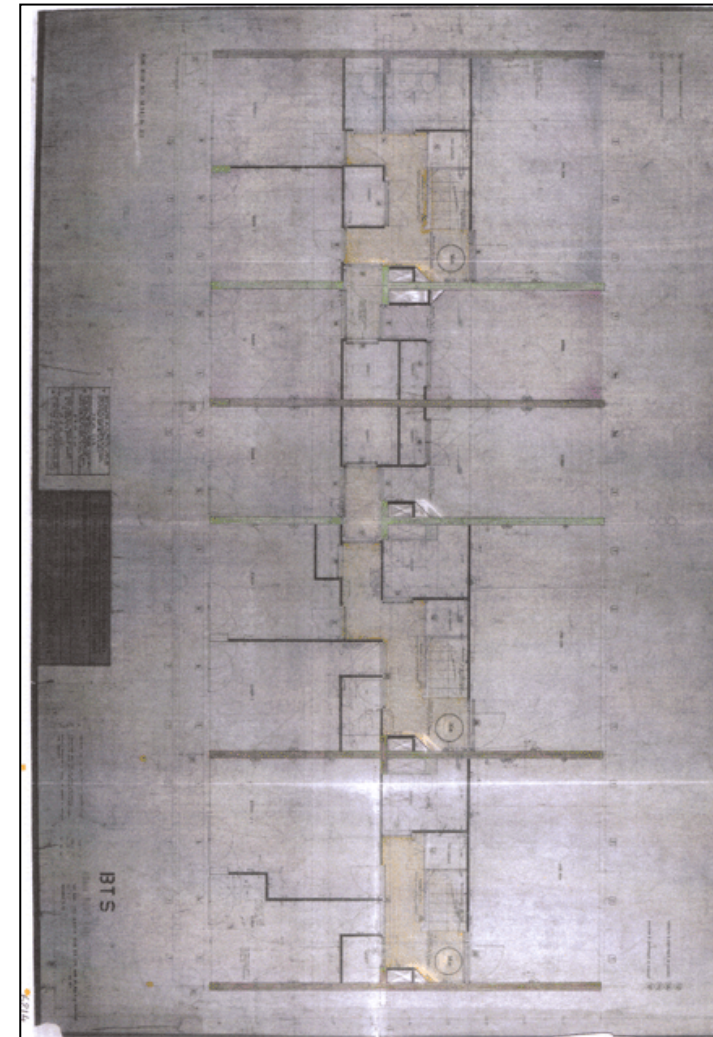
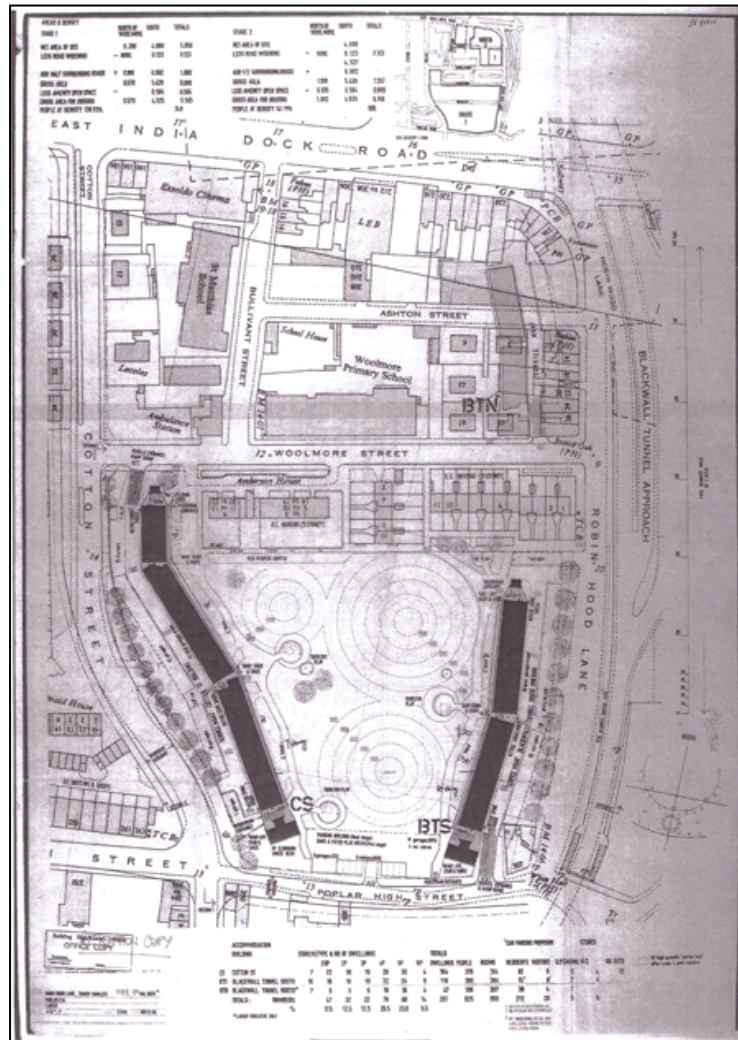


Appendix II – Housing Examples Researched

Robin Hood Gardens

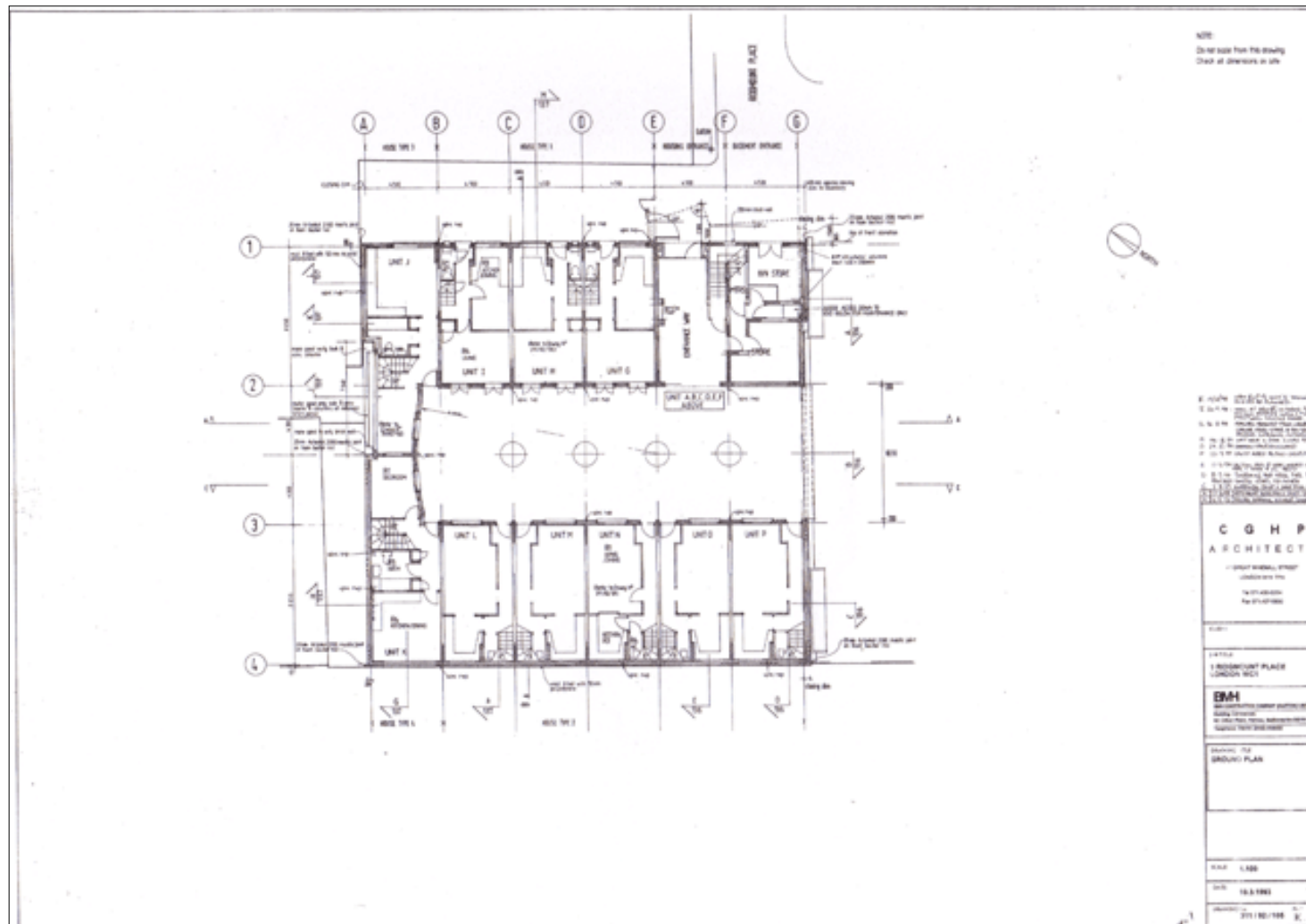






Appendix II – Housing Examples Researched

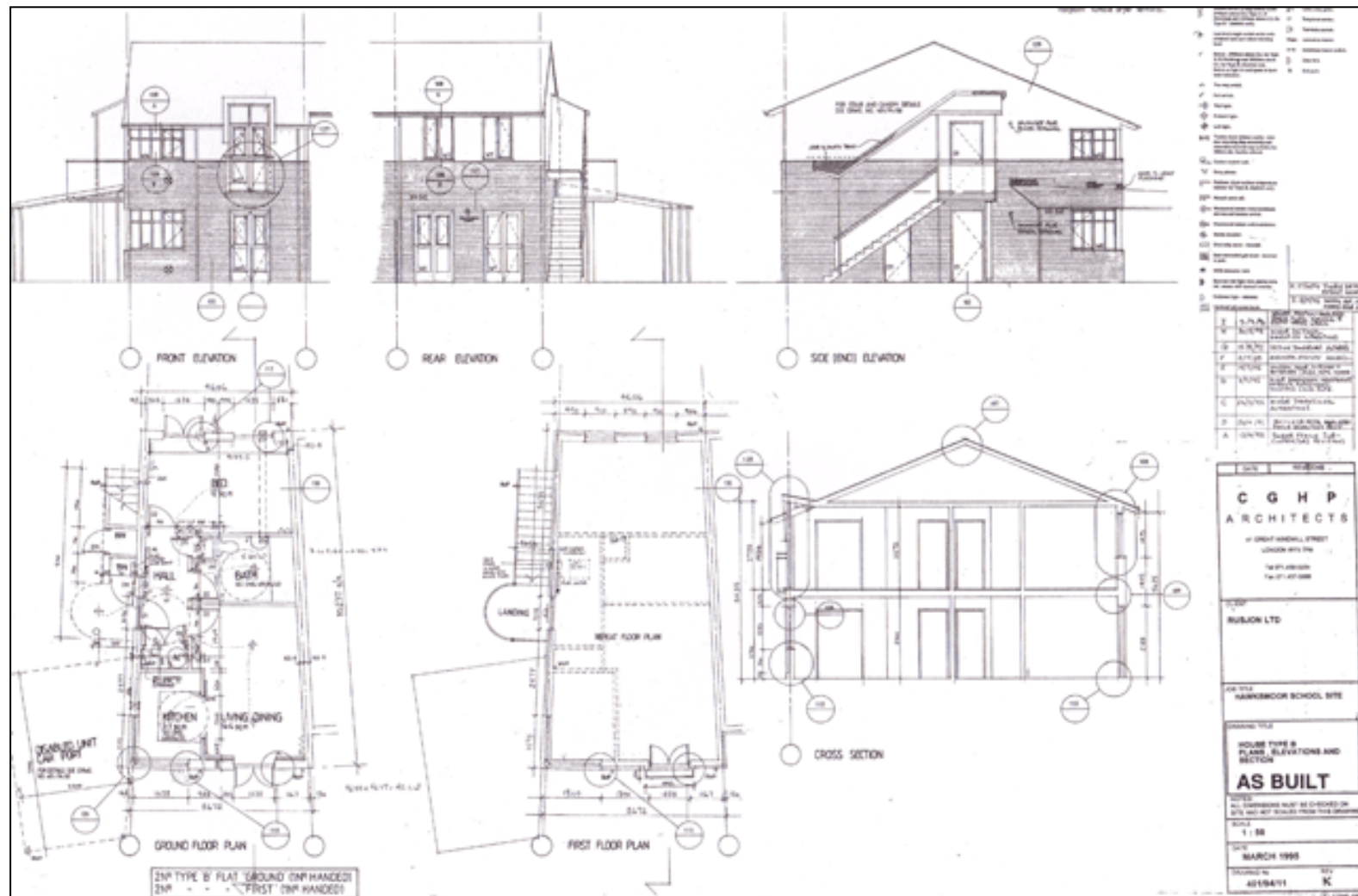
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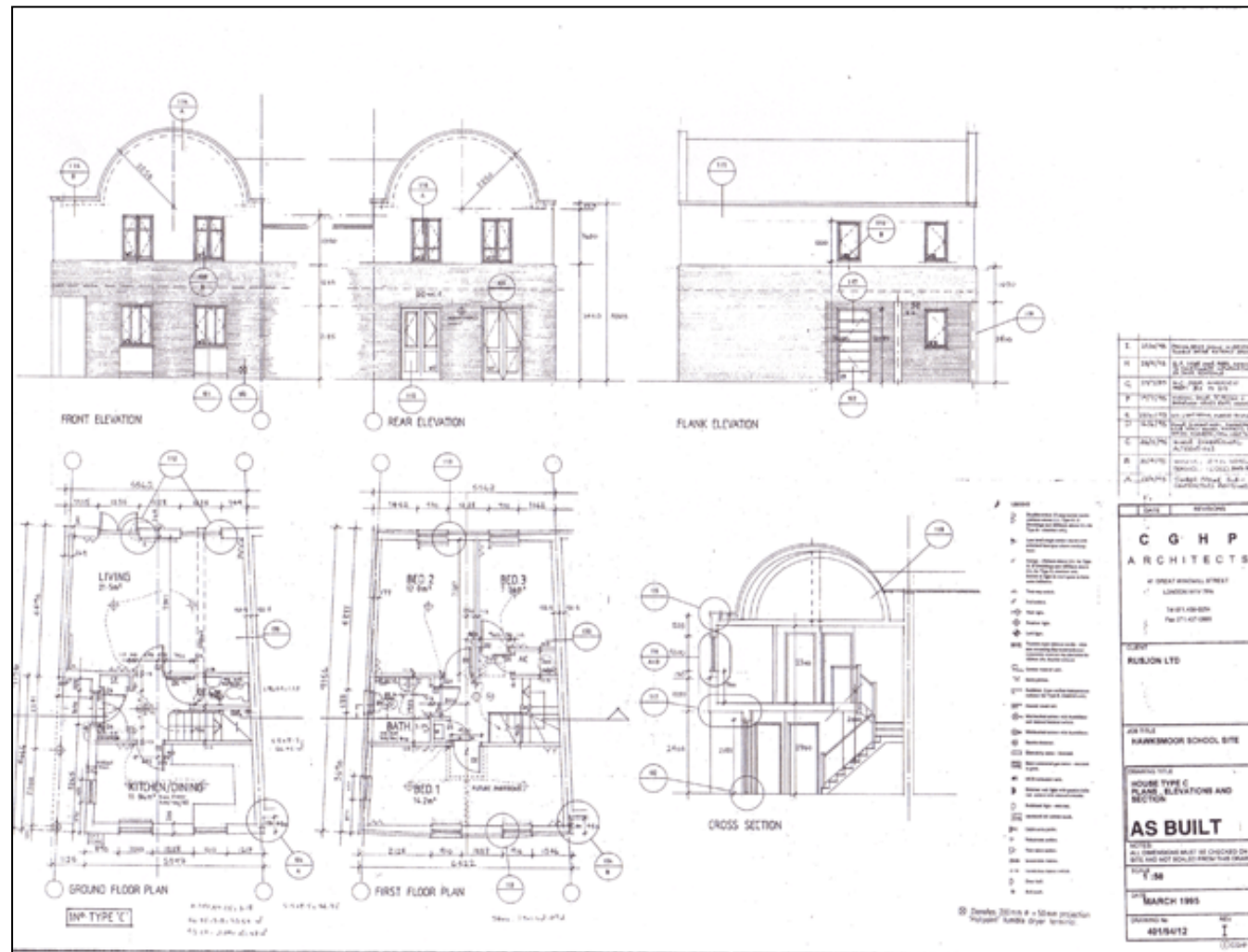




Appendix II – Housing Examples Researched

Hawksmoor Site – Shepherds Bush 1995





Appendix II– Housing Examples Researched

Dover Court – Lodge Road London 1997



