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**MULTI-STOREY HOUSING ESTATES IN CONSTANTINE: A STUDY
OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DESIGN AND BEHAVIOUR**

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Abstract

Even though the importance of the social and environmental problems associated with multi storey social housing that was created in Europe soon after world war II and during the 1950's ; 1960's and early 1970's and still nowadays widely built in Algeria, has been increasingly recognized, the relevant literature has been characterized by conflict and controversy about the causes of such problems. The general purpose of this study is: First to investigate the debate around this issue in order to understand its confusing totality and help uncover some of the mechanisms by which it functions. An attempt to assess objectively the relevance and the importance of the conflicting claims about the causes has been made. Second, is to try to assess empirically the performance of the multi storey housing estates in Constantine with regard to Anti Social Behaviour in particular.

This first part of the study has been carried out in two complementary ways. The first part, looked broadly at the debate as a whole from which the main issues were identified and the second concentrated on the issues in detail in order to assess their importance and validity. The analysis confirmed that this issue is the concern of many diverse individuals and institutions belonging to various scientific and non-scientific disciplines, and that the debate is often confusing, complex and controvesial. The presence of a multitude of inter-dependant factors, the determinism of some researchers and the confusion of some others are very much at the root of this controversy. Second, it was revealed that there are three main ideological beliefs about the causes of these problems and consequently the blame has been cast in three directions. First, architectural design. Second, the social and the economic status of the residents. Third, lack of adequate management, control and tenant's participation. The content of these groups has been investigated in order to assess their validity.

The second part "the case study" concentrated on the assesement of the level of the performance of nine housing estates in Constantine through a survey measuring the level of satisfaction of the residents with regard to various factors especially those related to anti-social behaviour. The study concluded that the factors best correlating with tenant satisfaction were the physical layout and condition of the flat , peace and quiet, absence of traffic, noise, well maintained and cleaned staircases, absence of mischief and graffiti, a sense of security and prompt intervention against disturbances. On the other hand, this study has assembled a great deal of information about the way that people experience Anti Social Behaviour and talk about its causes.

However concerning aspects of anti social behaviour, it is difficult to say whether it is better understood in terms of a general decline in standards, in terms of luck of education and civic responsibility or in terms of the social exclusion of some groups that is created by the growing inequalities. It must stressed that people did not subscribe simply to one or other narrative about ASB. Not only professionals but the residents we interviewed often recognized the complexity of the factors underlying ASB. The development of ASB strategies should be thought in ways that recognise the need to be not only tough on ASB but tough on the causes of ASB. It is also revealed that strategies have to be worked out to deal with anti-social behaviour.They should include tough mesures as well as a continuing effort of prevention and education.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction:

Housing conditions have always been believed, even in the early years of the 20th century to be a major factor associated with behaviour. Ever since, a debate about the role of housing in shaping people's behaviour has taken place and it is still continuing.

'It is not too much to say that an adequate solution of the housing question is the foundation of social progress ...the first point at which the attack must be delivered is the unhealthy, ugly ,overcrowded house in the mean street...if a healthy race is to be reared, it can be reared only in healthy houses; if drink and crime are to be successfully combated decent, sanitary houses must be provided.'(1)

Much of the multi-storey social housing which was created since the early 1950's, in Europe and even today in Algeria is now widely criticised for its social, economic, technical and aesthetic failure. This failure led to various pieces of research which purport to analyse the reasons for it and often present proposals for improvement by a variety of means, which range from physical design changes to management. Interventions and alterations of ownership patterns. Moreover, on the basis of the results of such studies and from the experience of local authorities, attempts have been made and are being made to alleviate the problems by implementing several of the solutions proposed.

The concept of social housing is difficult to define accurately; usually the term "social rental housing" is used as a synonym for it even though there are countries in which cooperative housing and even certain parts of the owner-occupied housing stock meet the criteria of "social housing".

Many countries have incorporated the definition of “social rental housing” into their legislation. There are differences in national legislation; however, similarities between laws in different countries are sufficient to justify statistical comparisons between individual nations. Likewise, the proportion of social housing in the overall housing stock does not in itself reveal how much attention is given to social considerations in the country’s housing policy.

The following are the most important factors enabling a distinction to be made between social rental dwellings and other types of dwelling:

First, it should be pointed out that in international housing statistics, rental housing stock is often divided into “private rental” and “social rental” dwellings. Administrative considerations play a role in the defining of social rental dwellings. After all, they are usually constructed with public sector support which means that it is necessary to determine criteria for granting such support. However, this does not mean that all rental buildings that are eligible for such support come under the social rental category. There are also other matters which must be taken into account. Public sector support for social rental housing corporations may be in the form of loans granted by the Government, interest subsidies, grants, guarantees or tax reductions. Different types of support can also be combined. For example, a market loan may receive a Government guarantee, while interest subsidies can be used for lowering interest payments. Production support may be granted to both new construction and major repairs in existing buildings.(2)

Production support has helped to increase housing production and improve the quality of dwellings, to promote renovation and to lower capital costs. As part of production support, many countries also regulate rents and keep them below market levels so that tenants also benefit from lower capital costs. In it, capital costs and all operational expenses paid by the owner, such as administration, maintenance and repairs, are included in the rent. This makes it easier for the owner to run a social rental housing corporation as all cash flow needed is paid for by tenants or, in exceptional cases, by public authorities.

Allocating dwellings to the neediest population groups is often a more important objective in social rental buildings than in other types of housing. This can be done using the selection criteria set by central and local government, which can be on the basis of income ceilings points system in which various factors affecting housing needs can be emphasized.

In some countries, such as Algeria, authorities can also select residents for certain social housing units on the basis of social criteria. In addition to such general resident-selection criteria, there are also systems in which an owner of a social rental building specializes in offering housing for certain special groups such as students, the elderly or the disabled. In many countries, the ownership basis of social rented housing is subject to restrictions so that the Government can guarantee that the support it grants actually serves the housing policy aims. The most common ownership arrangements are systems in which buildings are owned by local authorities or non-profit organizations. A municipally-owned building can be directly owned by a local authority or, more commonly, belong to a municipally-owned company.(2)

Social rental buildings are also characterized by the fact that their residents usually enjoy better protection against eviction than residents in ordinary private rental dwellings. Another characteristic concerns the involvement of residents in decision-making (tenant participation). In this respect, there are special laws on tenant participation in social rental housing corporations in many countries.(3)

In developing countries there is no common definition of social housing. In many countries it is understood that publicly supported rental housing stock is targeted above all at low income and generally disadvantaged households. This interpretation usually comes close to the “narrow definition according to which only the sector of rental housing designated for the lowest income households with the highest social need (unemployed, etc...) is considered. This rather narrow definition of social housing is understandable due to the general situation (poor economic conditions and strong social housing problems) which pressures Governments to help only the most needy households.(4)

An extensive literature has built up over the years reporting the results of individual case studies of some ‘problem’ housing estates, and although this form of housing is no longer being built in the same manner in the most developed countries, there is still considerable research devoted to it as many, living in such housing estates are suffering from its effects. However a preliminary review of the debate about problem housing estates, revealed that a consensus view does not emerge from it . It is characterised by disagreements, conflict and controversy. (5)

The powerful and simple models proposed by Oscar Newman in his theory of “defensible space” and reinforced later by the publication of Alice Coleman’s book *Utopia on trial* have attracted and continue to attract politicians, authorities and academics. They seem to offer a simple panacea to complex problems. (6) Such works are welcomed partly because they seem to be ideologically in tune with the thinking of decision- makers. And sometimes they are welcomed by those who seem to be unaware of their ideological implications and whose political position is quite different.(7) The absence of other alternative powerful models may have encouraged decision-makers facing vast housing problems willing to grasp at any straw.(8)

However, in parallel to some acceptance, there have been mouting attacks on work for its unsound basis. It is sufficient to use certain words to damn a research project or an idea. ‘Determinist’, ‘positivist’ and ‘reductionist’ are common examples used to discredit work, even by critics who have but the faintest understanding of the philosophical and scientific roots of these words.On the other hand, many warn explicitly or make evident implicitly the fallacy of searching for simple or once-and-for-all solutions. A powerful elaboration of this warning was made by some researchers stressing the dangers of simple certainties.(9) Some even warn against the idea that there are solutions in the first place.(10)

While there may be considerable agreement about the problems with multi-storey housing. Why this is so is hard to identify. In any complex field there are many variables, many opinions, many values and ideologies. Often these are implicit in works carried out rendering a complete understanding difficult to arrive at.

The overall aim of this study is, therefore, to look broadly at the whole field of multi-storey social housing debate in the public sector with three objectives in view. One is to examine the language and concepts used by various researchers in order to understand the mechanisms by which this debate functions and what its implications are. The second is an attempt to critically evaluate some of the research methods and findings in order to assess the importance and the relevance of the claims made about the causes of these problems. The third and the last is a case study in a selection of housing estates in Constantine in order to assess the level of the performance and satisfaction of the residents with regard to various aspects especially those related to anti social behaviour.

1.2 Research programme:

First, in chapter two, some aspects of the history of public housing in the world are explored in order to reveal the context, the circumstances and the factors that favoured the adoption of multi-storey housing in the public sector.

Although well known, this is necessary because some of these factors are sometimes claimed to be at the origin of the problems facing tenants. The examination will cover aspects such as, state intervention in the provision of mass housing for the working class and people with low income; the evolution of housing standards; the factors that are at the origins of multi-storey housing; the factors that favoured the adoption of this kind of housing; the shifts in housing policies, the management of the housing stock, and the variety and nature of the problems found on some housing estates.

To achieve the objectives of the first part of this study, two separate but complementary types of analytical approaches have been attempted with a view to tackle the problem of understanding this complex issue; both methods deal with texts and their compatibility can be assessed as a result of analysing their treatment of the same problem area.

The merit of looking at texts is to survey and assess the range of ideas that exist in any given time. There is a distinction between studying housing, e. g design and housing policies, and studying the debate around it (results of studies, arguments, ideas ect.) . This part of the study is concerned with the latter.

In chapter three, the debate surrounding the problems associated with multi-storey housing estates is under examination. There is an attempt to be as detached as possible from the problems, and for analytical reasons, it was decided to look at the literature in a period of time when the failure of high-rise housing in the public sector has both been realised, and widely discussed—that is from the late 1960s onwards.

There is a shortage of analyses of texts suitable for this task. However, one possibility could be, a report of an intelligent reading and deduction of certain patterns to be able to draw some tentative conclusions. Second, would be content analysis, which might consist of objectively assessing the arguments put forward in a particular text.

Third, would be a discourse analysis, which looks at several texts and tries to understand the structure and the mechanisms by which the debate around a complex and controversial topic functions. This approach seemed to be appropriate for the first part of this study.

Discourse literally means ‘speech’, but here it means the statements, the terms, the words and the concepts used in the debate about a specific problem. Discourse analysis in this sense was first developed by the French philosopher Foucault, who studied several discourses such as the ‘medical discourse’ and the ‘sexual discourse’. (11) And Teymur studied the ‘environmental discourse’. (12) Many current discourses about some matters could also be identified, e.g. the ‘feminist discourse’; the ‘AIDS discourse’ and the more recent one the Warming of the planet ‘discourse’.

An attempt is made to analyse what I decided to call the Multi-Storey Housing Discourse. (MSHD). (Further explanation is to be found in the introduction of chapter three). The examination of debate around ‘problem’ housing estates revealed the existence of three basic ideological messages. These ideas have been taken as criteria for a broad classification of the claims about the causes of the problems. In each group of claims; a historical end-content analysis on hypothetico-deductive mode is attempted. An objective judgement is made about the importance and the validity of the claims, on the basis of the qualitative and quantitative results of surveys and the judgements of experienced researchers.

While this part of the study may not arrive at definitive answers or solutions. It is hoped that the nature of the analysis might lead to greater understanding of this complex subject and provide a basis or at least some ideas for further research.

The second part developed in chapter 7 is a field work of a survey type, carried out in 9 major housing estates in Constantine, belonging to different epochs (1950's ; 60's ; 70's 80's and 90's).

The overall objectives of this part of the study is to evaluate the performance of these housing estates on one hand through " a residents satisfaction survey "with regard to several factors such as: the state of the common grounds; flats; utilities; human services; play grounds foot paths etc....(further details are given in chapter 7).

On the other hand the survey tried to assess the severity of anti social behaviour on those estates and how the residents deal with these problems. What is the degree of the satisfaction; and hopefully what can be done to alleviate the malaise.

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CHAPTER TWO

BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

2.1 Introduction:

This chapter examines the social housing sector in Algeria and the rest of the world its origins, development, and decline since the Second World War. The first part consists of an historical review of the housing situation before and after the Second World War.

The second part is concerned with the factors which contributed to the adoption of social multi-storey housing in the public sector. Such as the building industry and the modern movement in architecture on the one hand , and the factors which favoured the shifts in housing policy during the 1970s on the other. The third and last part reviews some housing policies and their evolution since 1945, the management of social housing and the nature of the problems found on some estates.

It is, however, difficult to cover this huge subject with all its complexities and contradictions in this rather limited study. But this review attempts to be as brief and accurate as possible in order to present general understanding of mass-housing in the public sector, how it came to reality and how it functions.

As the purpose of this study is to examine the social and environmental problems in this particular form of housing and the variety of the often controversial claims about their causes, a general understanding of the above mentioned problems is important in many respects. The role of architecture, the role of the building industry , the way local authorities manage their housing stock etc ... are all relevant to this, as many studies are implicitly or explicitly critical of these aspects.

2.2 Public multi-storey housing: An historical review

The development of the housing situation is influenced both by the housing policy and by a number of external factors, such as the socio-economic and demographic situation, political, administrative and legal factors and so on. These external variables together with the housing policy form different characteristics of social housing. An understanding of the historical development of social housing contributes to better comprehension. The following paragraph describes briefly the development of social housing in the context of housing policy and of socio-economic development in many parts of the world. However, it must be kept in mind that this is only a general overview of past developments and contemporary trends in social housing.

The situation in individual countries is always unique and in some cases it might substantially differ from this general description. The same applies to the housing policy and its historical stages, which can in individual countries have specific timing, duration, intensity and so on.

Before the Second World War, housing policies in most European countries was characterized mainly by market forces; public involvement in housing markets was insignificant. This situation began to change after 1945 when the active role of Governments in the housing area increased strongly. The development of housing policies in western European countries after the Second World War can be divided into three major phases.

The first phase, was aimed at the elimination of war damage and the alleviation of housing shortages; the main issue was housing construction that was heavily subsidized or financed directly from public resources - "mass" social housing. The second phase, (1960-1975), brought about new issues – mainly a focus on housing quality and urban renewal. Besides social housing, home ownership became a major issue.

The third phase, (1975-1990), was caused by the changing economic context. The role of the State in housing provision began to change and in most European countries this resulted in a reduction in public housing expenditure. On the contrary in developing countries like Algeria public expenditure increased. In general, housing became "more market oriented, competitive.

There is a strong evidence that in the 1990s and at the beginning of the twenty-first century the general trend has been much the same. Where as there has been a decline in Government funds in most European countries, in Algeria there is an increase of public spending. The ambitious mass housing programme aims at delivering a million units by the year 2009. Statistical data show that housing conditions have in general improved in most countries, but at the same time there is clear evidence that new problems have emerged. The changing demographic and social composition of the population, growing social polarization and variations in income distribution have influenced demand dynamics.

On the one hand, this leads to a more diverse pattern of lifestyles and housing choices. People with more disposable income seek better living standards and move upmarket to more attractive environments. On the other hand, poverty manifests itself through the growing number of people on welfare assistance, and a general degradation in living standards. The emphasis is put on the importance of financial instruments to facilitate access and choice.

However, the gap between income and entry costs has continued to increase for low-income. Households, making affordable housing of decent quality more and more difficult to obtain. Growing inequalities are threatening to have a negative effect on the quality of urban life. These new social problems have naturally influenced the orientation and objectives of national housing policies. In addition to common housing policy objectives such as accessibility, affordability and quality of housing, an emphasis on social cohesion and the creation of sustainable communities have, among other things, become increasingly emphasized.

This development of social housing, which seems still to be continuing, brought about unintentional consequences - social and spacial polarization and segregation. As a consequence, the social housing sector or its parts has become more and more stigmatized. A narrowing of social housing together with the continuing market orientation of most national housing policies, have also influenced the “policy” of some of the non-profit social housing providers. Under these competitive conditions they are increasingly less able to serve low-income households and try to focus more on middle-income households.

Nowadays most countries in transition are labelled “nations of home-owners”. It must be borne in mind, however, that this tenure structure reflects not only the process of privatization but in some countries also the traditions and legacy of the former socialist housing system.

Attitudes to owner-occupied housing varied significantly, but despite this fact there was one common feature – this tenure was subsidized in different ways so that it was “universally affordable”. Due to this fact the lines between ownership and rental, private and public, were often fuzzy; home-owners’ rights were limited to personal consumption whereas tenants’ rights were very close to the rights of home-owners (such as the right to transfer or to inherit housing). Privatization of public housing has taken different forms; public housing has mostly been transferred (either sold or transferred for free) to sitting tenants.

Mainly privatization to sitting tenants, resulting in home ownership housing, has had a profound impact on the redistribution of wealth in society. There are winners who acquired quality, tradable property at a big discount; there are also losers - not only people who gained no housing via privatization and have difficulties finding decent housing because of their low income (this applies to most young people in the Algeria), but also people who via public housing privatization acquired deteriorated properties which are in such a bad state that their maintenance and repair requirements constitute a huge financial liability for their owners.

From the selling price point of view, different strategies of public housing privatization have emerged: free-of-charge privatization, low-price privatization and mixed low and high price privatization.

Low price strategies (that is, “give-away” privatization) have mostly prevailed - in the first half of the late 1980s and 1990s. Privatization has frequently been preferred because it has enabled Governments to get rid of deferred, loss-making housing stock and responsibility for it. This strategy can be advantageous in the short run, but in the long term it involves, “...by not selling at prices close to or at the market level, the loss of accessible and affordable rented housing (an important social asset), and the difficulties faced by low-income buyers in funding the costs of repairing and maintaining their properties.”

The interest of people in buying their flats has been influenced not only by selling price but also by rent policy. Although this factor has not usually been used intentionally, there is evidence in some countries that there has been a linkage between level of rent (process of rent deregulation) and the call to buy housing. The present shares of owner-occupied housing are an outcome of both housing stock privatization and the tenure structure before transformation.

This fact indicates that the position and importance of home ownership in individual countries in transition should be considered from two points of view. The first is the share of owner-occupied housing before transformation; the other is the size of the change resulting from housing privatization. The public sector has become marginalized and “even the most vulnerable and lowest groups of society have to find the solution to their social housing problems in the owner-occupied sector”.

Present problems with former public housing which is now owner-occupied are caused by three main factors. The first is the physical state of this housing stock which consists mostly of deteriorated multifamily buildings with neglected repairs and serious technical deficiencies. The other is the fact that the ownership of this housing stock was passed to individual owners, often low-income households who are not capable of paying for maintenance of and necessary repairs to their properties. The third factor is the fact that the responsibility for this housing stock was passed to the new owners without ensuring proper financial, legal and organizational conditions.

Besides insufficient or almost non-existent financial funds, there is also a lack of legal regulations concerning owners' associations and management of multifamily blocks, and a lack of cooperation among the new owners. There are no efficient enforcement methods against owners who do not pay. The insufficient legal framework regarding home ownership in multifamily buildings sometimes results in a very strange situation where home ownership is still treated as public housing – the land is owned by municipalities, municipalities provide new owners with fixed-price services and so on.

There is a widely held view among housing experts that in highly privatised housing systems in countries in transition the maintenance and affordability issues are more serious than the need for new construction.....”. The conviction is commonly held that special attention must be urgently paid to two, so far neglected, aspects of housing policy: to the maintenance/renewal problems of the privatised multi-family housing stock, and to the housing problems of the poor.” “...more differentiated policy must be established towards the owner occupied sector; one part of this will easily turn into the market sector, while the other must be subsidised in order to be able to house the poorer segments of the society, living in abandoned multi-family buildings.”

2.3.Before 1945:

Social rental housing emerged on a larger scale in some European countries for the first time in the 1920s as an instrument for solving the housing crisis. These housing programmes were targeted predominantly at the middle class households. The true mass programmes of social rented housing occurred for the first time after 1945 with the aim of eliminating the housing shortage. Social housing was chosen as a key instrument to solve the housing crisis and was funded mainly from public resources.

The emphasis was mainly on housing construction, whereas management issues and other economic aspects were neglected. During the second phase the growth of social housing continued in the same fashion as in the previous period. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the 1970s some changes occurred which were driven by economic prosperity, elimination of the post-war housing shortage and enhanced home ownership.

These factors, together with some negative consequences of post-war social housing programmes (low quality of social housing estates and their insufficient management), caused demand for this housing to diminish and the first vacancies occurred. Real substantial changes in social housing occurred during the third phase. These changes were caused by economic recession in the second half of the 1970s, the consequence of which was an overall aim to reduce inflation and to cut budget spending. Under these circumstances, when housing policy became more market oriented social housing experienced considerable challenges. In Algeria the 1970s saw the surge of huge housing developments on a large scale.

Up to world war I, in many parts of the world especially in Europe , the belief was that the private builder would continue to meet normal housing needs, as he always did in the past . But already a recognition existed that private enterprise would not be able to supply houses of the quantity and quality at rents which many of the working classes could afford. (1)

At the turn of the twentieth century a report concluded that **“private enterprise has always been, and, so source of the provision of houses for the working classes”**.(2)

The idea that central governments finances in Europe particularly in France and the United Kingdom should be used to subsidise mass housing at a local scale gradually became acceptable. For instance, in Britain up to 1910 about 85,000 new houses had been built each year. Then followed 4 years of war in which a mere 50,000 houses were added to the stock. (3) The shortage of houses in England and Wales was estimated in 1918 at 600,000 and by 1921 no less than 805,000. (4)

This crisis of housing constituted a quantitative problem, which was sufficient to need a major change in housing policy. The war had also stimulated a social conscience about the quality of working class life which regarded much pre-war housing as unacceptable.(5)

The recommendations in 1918 of the Tudor Walters committee on the standards of post-war local authority housing were revolutionary . The report drew upon the earlier experience of model towns and the garden city movement of Ebenezer Howard and Raymond Unwin.(6)

On the siting and layout, the report recommended a maximum of twelve houses to the acre and a minimum of 70 ft between opposite houses. On the houses the report recommended that there should be a variety of types to suit different needs, and space recommendations were 855 sq ft for the three bed roomed house. (7) The Tudor Walters recommendations were to remain a standard throughout the inter-war years. (8)

The Addison Act passed in 1919, required local authorities to survey the needs of their areas for houses within three months, and then to make and carry out plans. For the provision of the houses needed, and provided central government funds and guarantees of local authority loans for the purpose.(9)

The inter-war years saw a great output of new houses, greatly improved in terms of physical standards both internally and externally .(10) In twenty years before 1939 , millions of new houses were built throughout Europe most of them by the private enterprise. .(11) This meant that in 1939 one third of the housing stock was new. At the eve of world war II, about one third of the population were housed in new healthy accommodation , a second third inhabiting older sanitary but lacking in modern amenities , and a remaining third in very sub-standard poverty, much of it slum or rapidly becoming so' .(12)

In Algeria, a country under French rule at that time, not severely hit by the ruins of world war I, very little has been done, the private sector remained the unique provider of the housing needs. In the city of Constantine most of the population of Arab origin lived in the old city.

2.4. After 1945:

Many countries in the world suffered as a result of world war II. There were labour and material shortages. In 1939 the labour force in Europe in construction had exceeded 10 million , but six years later had fallen to almost the third of that figure. By 1947 , the workforce on new housing has risen significantly, and this was still about 1,000,000 short of what was required.(113) With respect to materials there were from time to time shortages in the supply of plaster, cement , brick , iron castings , paint , steel and softwood. (14)

Additionally there was a large stock of unfit housing from before world war I and between the wars. In England and Wales for instance 750,000 dwellings were needed to provide a separate dwelling for every family desiring one , and 500,000 were required to complete the slum clearance programme .(15) In France the shortage was 950,000 units .(16) Also by the end of world war II, many of the housing stock was destroyed especially in England where two out of seven houses were either damaged or completely destroyed-in parts of the east end of London the ratio was ninety six out of every hundred.(17)

The provision of houses fell short of demand and consequently many people became homeless, and others were living in unsatisfactory conditions. Obviously new housing was desperately needed, and all governments and the main political parties treated the level of housing completion as a major issue.(18)

In Algeria after the independence in 1962; the country was confronted to an acute housing crisis, for two main reasons: The aspiration for the population for a better accommodation and a massive exodus from rural areas. Governments of the socialist era considered the question of housing a key issue. vast programmes of social multi storey housing estates were initiated, and slum clearance began on a large scale.

2.5 Outlines of the multi-storey social housing after 1945:

2.5.1 In Europe

In France a country with a long tradition of multi-storey housing, most of the dwellings were concentrated on the inner city centers, blocks of flats of 5 to 7 storeys. Where as in England virtually all the council housing in the 1940s was built on large low density sub-urban estates of cottage houses, usually semi-detached. At the end of world war II, when public development expanded in Europe, governments decided to retain a subsidy system which will allow to accelerate the building of new houses and flats for low income families.

This system of subsidy varied from county to country, but it mainly consisted of paying for a period of time up to sixty years for each social house, flat or dwelling to offset the interest and repayment burden on local authorities. The rents were 'determined by average incomes' .(19) But this requirement was gradually abolished when governments were keen to raise rents to 'realistic' levels and to throw the balance of housing provision towards the private sector.(20) Initially all new housing was built by local authorities and private building was restricted. Very little slum clearance was undertaken, although a few blocks of flats were built on bomb sites .(21,22)

Every country severely hit by the bombing during the war pledged to complete hundreds of thousands of new houses every year. To boost the housing effort governments passed acts, laws and regulations which increased the level of subsidy for social housing and encouraged the re-emergence of private sector house building.(23) The effect was to put considerable strain on construction industry resources and government finances which was alleviated mainly by drastic reduction in the space standards and in the amenity of public housing-the so-called 'people's house' .(24)

Space standards had been subject to many changes from the pioneering standards set in housing manuals following the Tudor Walters recommendations. In 1944 the Dudley committee had reported on the design of dwellings, and its proposals included a substantial increase in space standards in order to incorporate a utility room and a kitchen. (25) In England the minimum recommended floor space of a three bedrooms house was 83 m² and 66 m² in France. The proposed cost brought a 39 per cent increase over the cost of a standard 1939 house .(29)

Health standards were implemented. The average area of a three bedroomed house increased by twenty percent; greater than in the six years 1934-39. (27).

The beginning of the decline can be attributed to the early 1950's when most governments promoted the reduction in 'circulation space' whilst maintaining living space standards. Within three years the average area of three-bed-space houses in approved tenders had fallen by the astonishing figure of 11 m². (28)

The general subsidy which has been paid since the end of world war II was phased out by the end of the 1950's with the housing subsidies in which central government help on areas where it was most needed .(29) For a brief period the governments relaxed their programming controls on public social housing building, but these were soon reimposed .(30).

These changes had dramatic impact. 'Public completions fell by nearly a third between 1957 and 1959 and housing standards fell even further' .(31) While local authorities could still finance housing, many of them with the most difficult problems could not afford to go ahead with programmes on the scale needed and were forced to raise rent levels because of government policy .(32)

By the end of 1960 it was clear that a new initiative was necessary . A report which reviewed the standards of housing provision concluded that "there are already large stocks of houses and flats that are becoming out of date and recommends not to build more of them."(33)

In the 60's most of the European countries were committed to subsidise mass housing programmes.(34) In England for instance if the cost of a housing scheme exceeded the yardstick the local authorities would have to finance the excess from their own resources. (35) More over there were additional subsidies given to built over a certain height. This system favoured undoubtedly certain forms of housing especially high-rise blocks of flats with high densities.(36)

The expansion of the public housing effort was brief. public expenditure cuts reduced the amount of public housing approvals throughout western Europe by nearly half between 1965 and 1970. As public spending was restricted and inflation rose, overall house sizes – volume as well as area- were reduced. Public housing developments were victims of public spending cuts. Increases of subsidies allowances rarely kept pace with inflation. (37)

In the late 1960's and early 1970's the emphasis was put on rehabilitation of buildings rather than clearance. One of the motives of this shift in housing policy was perhaps to tackle the problem of the mysterious way in which unfit housing seem not to diminish despite all the activity and the efforts made.(38) Rehabilitation policies were regarded as temporary expedients to raise the standards of selected houses and flats, and might therefore be treated as second best to clearance.(39)

In the same period alternatives of new forms of tenure were tried in France, Germany and England. They consisted of the creation of Housing Associations to whom the provision and running of new housing developments were attributed.(40, 41) A further development were the Housing Co-operatives. Housing co-operatives had to register with the housing corporation, and they were then entitled to the same funds for new buildings or rehabilitation as housing associations and local authorities.(42) In the 1980's tenants were given the right to buy the dwellings they occupy from local authorities. (43)

Thus housing policies and house standards have been subject to many changes during the period reviewed above. These changes were due to many factors, the necessity to use all the potentialities to meet housing demands, the rising expectations in the quality of life and the political tendencies and strategies.

2.5.2 In Algeria and countries in transition

In developing countries Algeria for instance, and countries in transition, the development of social housing must be perceived in the framework of socio-economic development

However differences among individual countries must be accepted. In the first half of the twentieth century, the housing situation in the countries in transition was influenced by the process of industrialization and urbanization. It was very similar to that in western European countries. Besides this, rent regulation as well as the first programmes of social rented housing occurred between about 1919 and the mid-1920s, and were targeted above all at middle class households.

The situation in all countries in transition changed completely after 1945, when Europe became politically and economically divided. From that time, housing policies in these countries were subordinated to centrally-planned economic systems which spread across the countries. Above all, housing was understood as a social right directly guaranteed by the Government. Housing was in general not perceived as a commodity, and market principles in the housing area were suppressed. There was direct State control over production, allocation and consumption of housing.

Housing was very cheap for tenants and for home owners but very expensive for society because of the high level of subsidy on the one hand and a very low level of (economic) efficiency in housing production and management on the other hand. Housing quality during this period was rather low.

This housing system was very costly and inefficient and did not manage either to provide people with quality housing or to eliminate housing shortages despite the fact that housing production in the 1970s was comparable to production in western European countries. Despite these common features, there were huge differences among countries concerning the housing situation and housing policy.

There were huge differences from the tenure point of view among former communist countries. For example in countries like Yugoslavia and post-Soviet States, State housing had a strong position. In all these countries, however, private rental housing was completely or almost completely lacking and disposal of home ownership was restricted.

Although in some former communist countries huge parts of the housing stock was publicly owned, the public sector did not have any explicit social housing function - it was just a general supply of housing for all households.

During this period it was impossible to declare the existence of social groups suffering homelessness, or poor people, or to admit shortages in general in the provision of this basic need. As a result, social housing in the western European meaning was never recognized as a necessity. However, large parts of the housing stock, had features that are usually understood as the main characteristics of social rental housing (such as price regulation, non-market allocation, subsidization, public ownership).

Housing policy in these countries changed completely after 1989 when individual countries began their transition from a centrally-planned housing policy towards a market-oriented one. From at least the very beginning of the 1990s the main goals of housing policy in most countries in transition were declared: "...to apply market principles as much as possible....and to adjust rents, prices of apartments and houses, gradually but not slowly, nearer to market price relations." As a consequence of these aims, housing policies in countries in transition became in many instances more liberalized.

The most important features of housing policy reforms were overall deregulation of the housing area and decreasing public intervention, privatization of the housing industry and housing services, privatization of the housing stock (mostly to sitting tenants) and support of home ownership, and decreasing public subsidies, especially in regard to housing construction. These profound changes revealed that the main inherited problem in most countries in transition is not a general housing shortage but rather a supply and demand mismatch and deferred maintenance.

There are also new problems which must be solved. All-inclusive liberalization of society brought about growing social differentiation, and increasing differentiation in house prices. As a consequence, a growing section of the population may experience problems with access to adequate and affordable housing. In this changed context, the social housing stock is beginning to be perceived as an important tool, which can help to ensure affordable and decent accommodation for households who cannot pay market prices for housing.

In most countries in transition there has recently been a clear endeavour to establish a social housing sector similar to that which exists in most western European countries. There are only a few cases where social housing programmes exist in countries in transition.

In the early years of the independence of Algeria, the priority was the completion of the housing programmes initiated in the 1950's and early 1960's belonging to two major agencies HLM and CIA. In the city of Constantine some of the housing estates were still under construction (eg: La cité Filali; les Terrasses et Benboulaid).

Soon after the independence a vast programme of slum clearance was initiated and unfortunately is still going on to nowadays. The early 1970's witnessed the birth of the first large scale policy in the mass housing provision. The concept of ZHUN (Zone d'Habitat Urbain Nouvelle) was introduced.

This concept consisted of the construction of integrated complex of housing developments with all the facilities needed to allow people to live in a decent and sane environment. The concept was essentially inspired by the politics of " Les grands Ensembles" in France; Germany England and many more.

In the 1970's and 1980's large housing estates were built throughout the country. Eg. in Constantine (La cité du 20 Aout 1955; La cité Daksi; la cité du 5 Juillet; Ziadia; Sakiet Sidi youcef ; Boussouf etc..) They were supposed to solve the housing crisis or at least alleviate the problem of shortage. But they proved to be inefficient as very little facilities were built at the same time. These huge housing estates became a "big dormitory" (des cités dortoirs).

In the 1990's a major shift in the politics of mass housing began. The emergence of "new towns".eg. Ali Mendjli and Massinissa on the outskirts of Constantine.The concept goes back the late nineteenth century.It consists of the construction of a whole city which integrate accommodation as well as all the infrastructure and facilities at the same time. Ali Mendjli for instance (under construction) will house more than 300.000 inhabitants once completed.

Tenants were allowed to buy their flats or houses at a reasonable price phased out over a period of 30 year. Many opted for this solution. Even today it is still possible to buy the flat you're renting but the prices have increased dramatically. Most of the social housing stock built during the 60's 70's and early 80's is sold.

The vast majority of the blocks of flats are the so called "habitat social" in the form of flats of around 65 m² (F3) run by the "Office de Promotion et de Gestion immobiliere" (OPGI); this latter is currently struggling in running ; maintaining and repairing this huge park of houses More over recovering the rent from tenants is not an easy task.

Both central governments and local authorities became more and more involved in the provision of multi storey housing for the working classes. In the next section the provision of multi-storey housing in post-war policy both in Europe and in Algeria will be examined in order to asses the significance of this housing form in the public sector.

2.6 Multi-storey housing policy:

Soon once the World War II was over, subsidy scales were increased and a significant increment per flat added for flats in blocks of at least four storeys with lifts. And the tendency of subsidy increase continued all over the 1950's. There was even a new storey-height subsidy in England and France. Above six storeys the subsidy rose by a fixed increment for each additional storey. (44) According to some researchers , this encouragement was justified primarily by reference to the increasing cost of high-rise construction associated with the need to include lifts and to shift from brick construction to more expensive materials. (45) Another reason of this encouragement was perhaps the confidence of architects at that time . This subsidy structure was largely maintained unchanged until the mid 1960's. (46)

This subsidy system led to a major change in multi-storey flat building . However the increments of progressive storey-height subsidy above six storeys was abolished by the year 1965.(47) Under growing pressure and criticism of high rise blocks of flats the system was abolished. It became clear to discourage high-rise building. New restrictive density ceilings for public housing schemes were imposed and the yardsticks were calculated on the assumption that the most economical mix of building forms would be used at each density level. (48)

These changes in subsidy system had a direct impact on housing construction policies of local authorities . Hence after the late 1960' in Britain and the early 1970's in France very little high-rise building was still possible.

2.7 Statistical summary

Flat building increased significantly in the 1950's, however mostly in low-rise blocks up to 6 storeys. By 1953 in Britain , 77 of public housing approvals were of houses, 20 of low-rise flats and only 3 of high-rise flats.

An average of fifty thousand units was delivered during the 1980's.By the end of the 1980's and the beginning of the 1990's the pace of completion programmes falld dramatically due the years of terror that Algeria has gone through. However soon after, ambitious programmes were lunched in order to face the crisis. In 1994 a total of 81 584 were delivered; 131 522 in 1995 and 132 285 in 1996.The government intends to achieve the goal of around a million units by the year 2009.

The number of houses in local authorities approvals fell by 61 between 1953 and 1958 . The proportion of houses in public housing approvals continued to fall until 1964, when it reached a post-war low of 45 . The proportion of low-rise flats rose to just under a third where it remained until 1966. High-rise steadily increased to 15 in 1960 and to 26 in 1966. The number of high-rise dwellings approved rose from 6,000 in 1956 to 17, 000 in 1961 , 35,000 in 1964 and 44,000 in 1966. Approvals of high-rise fell by 31 between 1966 and 1968 , by more than a half in the following year and by 38 in 1970. Fewer than 10,000 high-rise flats were approved in 1970 and only 2,750 in 1973. (52) This shows clearly the rise and fall of multi-storey housing in the public sector. It started in the early 50s , reached its height in the mid 60s and started to collapse in the early 70s.

The next section deals with the way the housing stock in the public sector is managed. Management is one of the major arguments in the explanation of multi-storey housing 'failure' ; it is worth reviewing at this stage how local authorities allocate their dwellings , and manage them.

2.8 Social housing management:

The management of public housing in both in Algeria and France rests in the hands of state agencies such as OPGI (Office de Promotion et de Gestion Immobiliere) or HLM (Habitat a Loyer Modéré). (50) In Britain council housing is run by local authority housing departments where, they have almost a free hand in devising policies to suit their own area, particular housing problems, resources, aspirations and prejudices' . (51) This situation derives perhaps from the view that local authorities know best the local context, how to meet the needs and fulfill management responsibilities.

Management involves a number of responsibilities and obligations. The purpose of public sector is to provide housing for working class people who cannot afford a decent accommodation in the private sector. This involves decisions by managers. As to who should be admitted to the public sector, and who should get which sort of housing. Managers have to mediate between the demands of households and the supply of dwellings. However, the supply is outside the direct control of the managers and it is demand which is necessarily organised and controlled.

Management also involves other tasks which include maintenance and repair of the dwellings to ensure that properties are kept in good order.

2.8.1 Selection households:

The public sector is viewed both nationally and locally as a welfare net for those unwilling or unable to provide themselves with adequate accommodation in the private sector. (52) Given the general demand and supply in the public sector , the selection of households necessarily involves decisions about which household should or should not be offered a social dwelling.

Generally there are four sorts of demand from -people living in dwellings to be demolished by local authorities - the homeless – other households wishing to move into the council sector – families already living in a council house but wishing to move to another dwelling in the control of the same authority.

2.8.2 People in clearance areas:

Local authorities have a duty to rehouse people made homeless as a result of local authority demolition activity or slum clearance. Despite all the efforts made the operation of slum clearance throughout the country is still continuing; Algeria faces an acute crisis of slums mostly in the major cities. In Britain, local authorities are allowed some choice in whom they rehouse and consequently various groups are excluded. In Britain for instance clearance area, couples without children , former council tenants with a history of rent arrears and households otherwise though ‘ unsuitable ‘ for the council sector (sometimes including single parent families). (53)

In most local authorities the decision as who should be excluded is made by housing investigators or visitors who interview the household concerned whilst still living in the dwelling to be cleared.(54) In Algeria investigators from l’APC (Assemblée Populaire Communale) decide who should be excluded according to criteria close to those used in Europe and the rest of the world.

2.8.3 The homeless:

Local housing authorities have the duty to provide accommodation for certain groups of homeless. Their typical response is to place people in decent accommodation.(55)

These households are outside the sector of the council or (la commune) , but seeking to become local tenants. In this case preference is given to persons who occupy insanitary or overcrowded houses, have large families or are living in unsatisfactory conditions.(56) Local authorities manage these demands by means of waiting lists.

The decision as to who should be offered a dwelling is determined on 'merit' by an official or according to a formal waiting list in which applicants are ordered according to specific criteria such as date of applying or nature of present accommodation and household, where points are given to factors such as overcrowding or unsatisfactory housing.(57)

2.8.4.The movement of existing tenants

This sort of demand comes from tenants wishing to move within the local sector. Usually applications for transfer favour the most popular areas which are not always available. For this reason the demands for transfers and exchanges far exceed the number of council tenants who succeed in moving.(58)

This complex system of priorities varies from authority to authority and over time, depending for example on the amount of clearance, the number of homeless families coming forward, the vacant dwellings available and so on. Similarly selection is also a complex system of queues for different sorts of dwellings. Such queues may relate to the size of the property, its location, type, age and reputation. The length of these queues depends on the availability of dwellings with the relevant characteristics and demand of households.(59)

In Britain; France Germany and elsewhere in Europe it appears that local authorities have a tendency to allocate dwellings in the poorest and lowest status areas to various minority groups, such as 'unsatisfactory tenants', 'problem families', 'black people', 'single parent families', 'the low status' and so on these groups are located in areas variously termed as 'ghetto', 'sink', 'stigmatised' or 'residual estates'. "banlieues" etc.. 60)

2.9 Maintenance and repair

Local authorities are supposed to provide resource for the maintenance and repair of their housing stock to prevent deterioration. For various reasons, dealt with in chapter six, local authorities seem to have failed to fulfill their responsibilities.

The next section deals with the role of architectural ideology in bringing about multi-storey housing.

2.10 Multi-storey housing and the architectural ideology

It does appear evident from several studies that multistorey housing is associated with the emergence of the 'modern movement of architecture' . (61,62) The movement has its roots in the early nineteenth century and arose in reaction to three things : The inadequacy of nineteenth century architecture, the challenge of a new technology , and the needs of a democratic society.(63)

Among other things, housing was much of a concern in the ideology of 'modern movement' . Its proponents believed that it held the solution of providing decent and modern housing for the masses in which their basic needs could be met through construction of buildings without any preconception, guided only by the formula 'form follows function' and produced in large quantities by industrial processes and the use of the technology .(64)

In 1928 , the first CIAM (congres international de l'architecture moderne) held in La Sarraz emphasised the mass production of houses by using industrial processes , as described in this extract from la sarraz declaration:

The most efficient method of production is that which arises from rationalisation and standardisation act directly on working methods in modern architecture (conception) and the building industry (construction).

Rationalisation and standardisation react in a threefold manner:

A/ They demand of architecture, conceptions leading to the simplification of working methods on the site and in the factory;

B/ They mean for building firms a reduction in the skilled labour force; they lead to the employment of less specialised labour working under the direction of highly skilled technicians.

C/ They expect from the consumer (that is to say the consumer who orders the house in which he will live) a revision will be manifested in the direction of readjustment to the new conditions of social life. Such a revision will be manifested in the reduction of certain individual needs henceforth devoid of real justification; the benefits of this reduction will foster the maximum satisfaction of the needs of the greater number, which are at the present restricted .(65)

But the ideas of mass-housing came from many sources. However le Corbusier's work during the 1930's and 1940's made by far the greatest impact on the profession. He wrote in 1946

'The problem of the house in the problem of the epoch. The equilibrium of society of today depends upon it . Architecture has for its first duty of bringing about a revision of values –We must create the mass-production spirit-the spirit of constructing mass-production houses-the spirit of living in mass-production houses. '(66)

After world war II , many architects put forward the concept of 'social responsibility' as an intergral part of architectural ideology.(67) Social responsibility means incorporating in multi-storey flats design features which, it was supposed , would produce desired forms of social behaviour. Success for these architects was actually to build what they learned at architecture schools about the role of architecture in social life and to put into practice its ideology in creating socially desired values.(68) It was assumed that 'as part of this movement the debate amongst architects shifted away from whether or not building high-rise-this was taken for granted-and towards detailed design and technical issues' .(69)

Architects tended to justify the necessity to build multi storey accommodation in terms of social, economic and technical changes. They had a stong belief that design would have a direct and important influence on social relations.(70) A leading instance was the adoption of le corbusier's idea 'streets in the air' at (Sheffield in England; cité El Bir Constantine etc..) to improve contact between neighbours, an objective which apparently it failed to archieve .(71)

The high-rise phenomenon reached its height with the increase of the industrialised building systems, when architects lost any real control over the building design.(72) In a 1968 article headlined high-rise is inevitable, Norman Wilson argued: **'It is important to avoid the rigidity of present day high-rise and move further beyond the 30-40 storeys to the hundred storeys.'**(73)

Another influential idea , 'The new brutalist' manifesto of the Smithson , led directly to the development of a new design approach which consisted of the production of hard designs with a great deal of exposed concrete.(74)An instance of this idea is the long deck access blocks of la cité des chasseurs in Constantine or park hill and hyde park in

Sheffield, two of largest public sector housing developments ever built in Britain.(75) The new brutalist was a direct approach to what the architects perceived of as present problems:

Any discussion of brutalism will miss the point if it does not take into account brutalism's attempt to be objective about the reality - the cultural objectives of society, its urges, its techniques and so on. Brutalism tries to face up mass-production society and drag a rough poetry out of the confused and powerful forces which are at work. (75)

2.11 Multi-storey housing and the building technology:

The idea that the 'building technology' has played a major influential role in the adoption of high-rise buildings, is false according to most researchers . Building technology was of minor influence, the argument is that since the basic technological skills for high-rise existed well before 1939 and steel frame construction was developed by the 1920s , reinforced and precast concrete by 1938 and even the heavy prefabrication systems adopted during the 1960s such as Larsen Nielson and Camus in England and Pascal and Vareco in France and Algeria were widely used by 1949, though not usually for housing.(80)

This suggests that the technology for building high-rise existed before the high-rise housing boom got under way and advances in this technology can in sense be seen as a determining or even influencing in major way the adoption of high-rise housing. While the technology was of minor influence, the relationship between high-rise housing and the building industry is of great significance . It is the subject of examination in the next section .

2.12 Multi-storey housing and the building industry

A number of factors are associated with the building industry, which include land acquisition , forms of tender, the role and pressure put by some large firms on governments and the cost of industrialised high-rise flats will be examined.

2.13 Land acquisition

In Europe generally land is largely owned by private individuals and institutions. Thus local authorities must enter the land market in order to acquire their sites. The acquisition price was based on the market price in its existing use. This excluded the development value of each plot and helped the local authorities to keep down capital expenditure in their housing programmes .

During the 1960's and 1970's , the acquisition price was based on market prices which included any development value, and this led to an upward shift in costs. As a result the land acquisition per dwelling rose from 2 to 3 of total capital costs in the early 1950s to a figure of 19 in 1975.(81) on the other hand the land scarcity put enormous pressure on local authorities ' to create land via slum clearance' .(82)

In Algeria since the 1973 act (la loi sur les reserves foncieres) allowed local authorities to nationalise land and therefore the problem of acquisition was solved.The 1973 act was abandoned in 1990. Today local authorities must buy land from private individuals.

Some have argued that high-net residential densities find their roots in high land prices, but it seems that there is no definitive study to explain the spatial patterns of densities. (83) On the contrary the adoption seem to have nothing to do with land prices, because when the building of such developments started land prices were very low. So the adoption of high-rise housing is not a necessity directed partly by high land prices.

2.14 Forms of tender

It seems that corruption did happen and is still happening between some local authorities and private firms . It is thought that this factor is of great significance. Corruption is possible because some forms of tender offer an opportunity. It is worth reviewing certain forms of tender.

There are four basic forms of tender:

a/ Open : The contract is advertised and any firm may compete and the lowest bid gets the contract. The major disadvantage of this form of tender is that the lowest bid may

come from an incompetent contractor who is not likely to carry out the work in the time and the quality required.(84)

b/ Selective : In this case there is a selection of a number of firms to compete , all of who capable of executing the work to a recognised standard of competence. Over half of all housing is now built using this tendering procedure.(84)

c/ Negotiated : The client approaches a single contractor, often one with whom a satisfactory relationship has already developed , on the basis of open or selective tendering . This procedure is generally two or three times more common in the case of system buildings than it is with traditional building, but it has a major drawback. There can no be doubt that a negotiated contract concluded after discussion with only a single firm virtually eliminates price competition on that specific scheme. The risk of corruption is much more greater under form of tender .(86)

d/ Paclage deal: This is where design and construction are united within a single firm. It is the less common direct nor implicit procedure .

Some argued that both negotiated contracts and package deals were stimulated originally in the mid 1950's when both building costs and interest rates were rising and when the switch to slum clearance encoureged government to seek all the means and when political promises meant emphasis on speed. This practice is still going on in Algeria. Speed is of a great importance.The country intend to deliver 1.000 000 units between the period of 2004 and 2009.

The persuasion and the pressure of construction companies on government policies at a central and local levels is, according some research , prbably the hidden thread in housing history.While no comprehensive documentation exists of the industry's influence, it does seem that some of the largest firms were encouraging the new trends. In Algeria , since most large companies are stae owned the pressure is more obvious.

A factor which probably encouraged the large firms to promote high rise flats was that this form of work is not suited to the managerial, technical and financial capabilities of small and medium firms.Therefore this new form of building constituted a profound advantage for the big capital sector of the industry.However the precise relationship

between the building industry and central and local authorities is unclear, although there was a continuing interchange no one would seek to deny or hide. (89)

2.15 Cost with industrialised high-flats

In 1960 all forms of high-rise dwellings were more than twice as expensive per square meter than three bedrooms houses. This differential began to fall by the mid 1960's onwards. Costs per dwelling and per square meter were less with the industrialised high-rise than in traditional blocks. This cost differential widened during the early 1970's. By the mid 1970's the market collapsed and with it any cost differential. (90)

2.16 Some of the problems associated with multi storey housing estates

This section looks briefly at the nature and the variety of the social and environmental problems found on most of the housing estates.

2.16.1 Environmental problems

Environmental problems are numerous and of different nature. Vandalism occurs in a dramatic scale in almost all the social estates. The damage inflicted to buildings is enormous. Glass smashed; letter boxes vandalised ; clothes drying rooms destroyed; wall and ceiling panels wrenched off and every space covered with graffiti; litter and rubbish. It is estimated that vandalism alone cost a fortune to the agencies in charge of the maintenance and repair of the housing stock. These sums of money concern only the damages repaired of course. (91) There is also interference with letters; rubbish thrown from upper floors; solid things smashed; fireworks dropped through the doors and sorts of odours. On the other hand in some extreme housing estates crime flourishes as concomitant to decay, burglary and car theft. (92)

Many housing estates are criticised for their poor construction, design and visual impact. Large areas of space between the blocks have no real usefulness and have been turned into wasteland. (93)

2.16.2 Social problems

Multi-storey housing, according to the literature poses different sort of problem to different types of people. Many studies concentrate on specific aspects of the effects of such living conditions on families especially on children and mothers; who found difficulties of manouevring in stair cases and lifts with their young babies. (94) Other studies refer to the isolation experienced by young mothers ; a prolem , however that seems to be of less importance in countries with different culture. (95, 96) Also some refer to the low barriers of balconies, the dangers of corridors, stairs cases and lifts, to the difficulties of surveillance and the absence of play spaces. (97 – 101)

It is also believed that certain kind of illness tend to be more frequent in flat dwellers. (102) The relationship between neighbours is often very poor or even conflictual. (103) In Europe many flat dwellers often feel too shut off. Loneliness seems to affect women especially those who dont go out for work or have young kids. (104) On the other hand, some residents of blocks of flats are highly critical of their appearance. They dislike greyness, dark colours, poor design esthetics etc....They frequently compare these estates to prisons, barracks, ghettos or even concentration camps. (105)

These are some of the many problems which the claims about their cause are the focus of this study.

2.16.3 Anti Social Behaviour

Anti-social behaviour (ASB) includes a variety of behaviour covering a whole complex of selfish and unacceptable activity that can blight the quality of community life.

Examples include:

Noise; nuisance neighbours; harrassment; intimidating groups taking over public spaces
vandalism and graffiti; people dealing and buying drugs; people dumping rubbish
the misuse of fireworks etc...

Anti-social behaviour doesn't just make life unpleasant. It holds back the regeneration of disadvantaged areas and creates an environment where more serious crime can take hold. On any measure of polling or survey, anti-social behaviour matters - it has a negative effect on far too many people's quality of life. We are committed to tackling this problem. Many factors have been identified that, while they do not cause anti-social behaviour, do increase the risk of it happening. Four main areas have been identified.

1. Family environment: such as; parental discipline and supervision, family conflict (between parents or between parents and children), family history of problem behaviour and parental involvement

2. Schooling & educational attainment. Such as: aggressive behaviour, lack of commitment to school, school disorganisation, school exclusion and truancy patterns, low achievement at school.

3. Community life / accommodation / employment: such as: community disorganisation and neglect, the availability of drugs and alcohol, lack of neighbourhood attachment, growing up in a deprived area within low income families, high rates of unemployment and a high turnover of population areas where there are high levels of vandalism.

4. Personal and individual factors: such as :alienation and lack of social commitment, early involvement in problem behaviour, attitudes that condone problem behaviour, for young people, a high proportion of unsupervised time spent with peers and friends or peers involved in problem behaviour, mental illness and early involvement in the use of illegal drugs and crime. Further explanations are given in chapter 7

2.17 Conclusion.

There are some conclusions that can be drawn from this brief review of the history of public multi-storey housing in many parts of the world; especially western Europe and Algeria. First, state intervention in providing housing for the working classes and families with no or low income came gradually after World War I, when Europe was facing an acute shortage of houses and the private sector was no longer able to meet the demands in the quantity and the quality required. Second, the adoption of multi-storey housing is a product of certain number of factors which simultaneously exerted pressure on the decision makers.

The strong appeal of the 'Modern Movement' of architecture seems to be the starting point. It preached the creation of a new form of housing, which it claimed would be cheap, sanitary, quick to build and favour desirable contacts between neighbours and favour good behaviour to take place.

This appeal, received a degree of acceptance at different levels, social scientists, politicians and the media. Subsequently, as doubts and criticism started to appear, the pressure continued, this time by the large firms in the building industry, which for perfectly understandable reasons did every thing they could to maintain their profitable business. This might partly explain the poor technical performance of many high-rise buildings, as they sought to cut costs. Post independence Algeria adopted multi-storey housing as a solution mainly because the country inherited some know how in the building industry from the French. Unfortunately the provision of housing is still of the same kind till nowadays. The quality and standards have been worsening ever since.

Third, the building technology does not seem to have played a major role, since it existed well before multi-storey housing was adopted.

Fourth, the way this huge housing stock is run and maintained is very revealing especially in countries with little resources. These dwellings are allocated to the most disadvantaged people.

Fifth, shifts in the housing policies in most European countries in the 1970's were the result of many factors, such as the mounting volume of criticism expressed by social scientists and the media about the dissatisfaction and the problems facing people living in multi-storey accommodation and shifts in the architectural ideology from the 'Modern Movement' to the developments of new concepts with special emphasis on the users needs and participation such as 'Community Architecture'.

Finally, it appears that most of the public multi-storey housing estates are closely associated with a wide range of social and environmental problems.

Describing how multi-storey housing came into being, some of the reasons of its existence, growth and decline and the problems that are associated with it says little why it might have failed. The reasons are complex, the debate is still going on especially in developing countries and the reasons for the causes of such malaise are many and often conflicting. Yet the definition of the parameters of the debate are missing, and an assessment of the various claims is largely neglected.

This debate about the causes is explored in the next chapter. A discourse analysis is attempted in order to help understand the complexity and the confusion of this debate, by exploring its objects, its structure and the mechanisms by which it functions.

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CHAPTER THREE

MULTI-STOREY SOCIAL HOUSING DISCOURSE

3.1 Introduction

Discourse Analysis can be characterized as a way of approaching and thinking about a problem. In this sense, Discourse Analysis is neither a qualitative nor a quantitative research method, but a manner of questioning the basic assumptions of quantitative and qualitative research methods. Discourse Analysis does not provide a tangible answer to problems based on scientific research, but it enables access to the ontological and epistemological assumptions behind a project, a statement, a method of research. Discourse Analysis will enable to reveal the hidden motivations behind a text or behind the choice of a particular method of research to interpret that text. Expressed in today's vocabulary,

Discourse Analysis is nothing more than a deconstructive reading and interpretation of a problem. Every text is conditioned and inscribes itself within a given discourse, thus the term Discourse Analysis. Discourse Analysis will, thus, not provide absolute answers to a specific problem, but enable us to understand the conditions behind a specific "problem" and make us realize that the essence of that "problem", and its resolution, lie in its assumptions; the very assumptions that enable the existence of that "problem". By enabling us to make these assumption explicit, Discourse Analysis aims at allowing us to view the "problem" from a higher stance and to gain a comprehensive view of the "problem" and ourselves in relation to that "problem".

Critical thinking about and analysis of situations/texts is as ancient as mankind or philosophy itself. Discourse Analysis is generally perceived as the product of the postmodern period. The reason for this is that while other periods or philosophies are generally characterized by a belief-system or meaningful interpretation of the world, postmodern theories do not provide a particular view of the world, other that there is no one true view or interpretation of the world.

In other words, the postmodern period is distinguished from other periods (Renaissance, Enlightenment, Modernism, etc.) in the belief that there is no meaning, that the world is inherently fragmented and heterogeneous, and that any sense making system or belief is mere subjective interpretation - and an interpretation that is conditioned by its social surrounding and the dominant discourse of its time. Postmodern theories, therefore, offer numerous readings aiming at "deconstructing" concepts, belief-systems, or generally held social values and assumptions. Some of the most commonly used theories are those of Jacques Derrida (who coined the term "deconstruction"), Michel Foucault and others.

3.2 Uses of Discourse Analysis

The contribution of Discourse Analysis is the application of critical thought to social situations and the unveiling of hidden (or not so hidden) politics within the socially dominant as well as all other discourses (interpretations of the world, belief systems, etc.). Discourse Analysis can be applied to any text, that is, to any problem or situation. Since Discourse Analysis is basically an interpretative and deconstructing reading, there are no specific guidelines to follow. Again, the purpose of Discourse Analysis is not to provide definite answers, but to expand our personal horizons and make us realize our own shortcomings. In short, critical analysis reveals what is going on behind our backs and those of others and which determines our actions.

3.3 Types of Discourse Analysis

There are different "types" or theories of Discourse Analysis. Jacques Derrida's "Deconstruction" would be one; so would Michel Foucault's Genealogy and social criticism and analysis of the uses of discourse to exercise power (such as his analysis of how "Knowledge" is created in our societies and with what purpose or effect); Fredric Jameson's Marxist analysis of Postmodernism itself would provide another interesting reading on the dominant discourse of our time; as would Julia Kristina's Feminist interpretations of current social practices.

Numerous other theories or "readings" exist. Discourse Analysis always remains a matter of interpretation, the reliability and the validity of one's research/findings depends on the force and logic of one's arguments. Even the best constructed arguments are subject to their own deconstructive reading and counter-interpretations. The validity of critical analysis is, therefore, dependent on the quality of the rhetoric. Despite this fact, well-founded arguments remain authoritative over time and have concrete applications.

Discourse Analysis and critical thinking is applicable to every situation and every subject. The new perspective provided by discourse analysis allows personal growth and a high level of creative fulfillment. No technology or funds are necessary and authoritative discourse analysis can lead to fundamental changes in the practices of an institution, the profession, and society as a whole. However, Discourse Analysis does not provide definite answers; it is not a "hard" science, but an insight/knowledge based on continuous debate and argumentation.

The provision of multi-storey housing in the public sector although favoured at the political and professional levels outlined in chapter two, did not in many cases produce the beneficial effects anticipated such as perfect social relations between neighbours and healthier form of accommodation.

The apparent failure of such housing in many parts of the world led to a major debate starting in the mid-sixties and still continuing about the causes of social and environmental problems that are often associated with this type of housing. The main characteristics of the debate are of conflict and controversy. Countless numbers of studies, carried out every year, attempt to analyse, understand and explain what went wrong and on the basis of their results state the causes and recommend solutions to the problems.

The subject is often referred to as 'problem' housing estates (1, 2), that is to say – stigmatised estates that became behavioural sink – estates in which all sorts of environmental and social problems are common features – estates where powerless people, often unable to move out or to make things change are trapped and forced to cope with a difficult and often intolerable life.

Housing is a very complex socio-spatial system that includes a variety of agents – people with their various complexities, techniques, ideas, materials, institutions, resources and so on (3) that either finance it, design it, produce it, distribute it, manage it or use it. At any stage the variety of factors involved are likely to affect in one way or another. Hence the role played by every single factor is vital to the eventual 'success' or 'failure' of any housing development.

The lack of an overview of housing is felt in many of the studies dealing with it. The majority present unilateral views, emphasizing one aspect and neglecting the others or simply discarding them as being unimportant. (4-7) Each study, with very few exceptions, look at the problem from a certain angle. Each one comes with different results that sometimes contradict, sometimes support previous studies. Many researchers over the last three decades have carried out empirical studies; they embarked on case studies, hypothesising, selecting, isolating, quantifying, measuring and testing variables against other variables to 'prove' one thing or another. (8-14)

However the task of isolating the variables in question from the totality – the interdependent and co-existing factors – would prove very difficult to carry out. While some studies hedge their conclusions with doubt and uncertainty, some are more daring in standing the presumed causes and proposing solutions often without a great deal of tangible evidence to support their determinism. (15-19)

The need to understand the debate surrounding these multi-storey housing estates, requires the use of a rigorous analytical method. A discourse analysis seemed to be appropriate for this kind of study, since it has for its prime objective the examination of the language, terms and accepts used in the debate in order to uncover the field, the objects, the structure and the mechanisms by which this debate functions.

The concept of discourse analysis is becoming more and more admitted as a methodological tool of investigating texts.(21-27).

3.4 Discourse and discourse analysis

A discourse consists of all the statements expressed about some objects (in this case, all the statements, terms and concepts used in the debate around the failure of multi-storey housing in the public sector). A discourse is different from a discipline and may involve many disciplines and other discourses. Discourses are analysed with respect to their objects, structure and mechanisms.

Such an analysis should not be seen as a substitute for the concrete analysis of concrete situations in the empirical sense (statistical measurements, evaluations and tests). It is simply a means of understanding the functioning totality. The terms, phrases, concepts and statements used in the analysis are taken from a variety of sources as they are expressed. They are not evidence or proof of arguments.(20)

First, a discourse analysis tries to define a field. In this case the field would be the actual statements, concepts, words, terms etc. used in the study of « problem » housing estates, which constitute the objects of the discourse, which here will be termed Multi-Storey Housing Discourse (MSHD). This in its turn is a part of a wider discourse - the housing discourse.

Second, the analysis attempts to identify the structure of the discourse. That is the system of relations and transformations in operation. The types of relationships that are at the heart of the points around which this debate is structured shapes the framework of understanding the complexity of the discourse.

Finally, the mechanisms of the discourse are to be identified. Briefly, this means exploring the ways in which the failure of such housing is dealt with. The correlations and causality of the problems as explicitly or implicitly expressed in the literature.

3.5 The field of the MSHD

The field of the MSHD includes parts of a large number of disciplines and discourses. Multi-storey housing estates and their accompanying problems are the concern of many individuals and groups and have been examined and studied by numerous researchers belonging to a variety of disciplines such as:

- Architecture (design, spatial organisation, type of dwelling etc.). (21)
- Psychology (psychological disorders, stress, privacy etc.).(22)
- Medicine (some health problems).(23)
- Building technology (materials, sound and thermal insulation etc.).(24)
- Management (repair and maintenance, caretaking, control, operation of waiting lists etc.).(25)

- Politics (degree of subsidy, selection of tenants, allocation policies etc.).(26)
- Sociology (poverty, contact between neighbours, behaviour etc.).(27)
- Economy (income, finance etc.).(28)
- Criminology (crime, vandalism, delinquency etc.).(29)
- Cultural studies (religion, ethics, history etc).(30-33)

So, why has it been thought possible to combine several scientific and non-scientific statements, philosophical notions, professional jargon and political rhetoric all within one framework; that is, people and their presumed relation to a given physical environment? How is it that different elements, domains and disciplines can co-exist in a single discourse?

It happens that the problems generated by or associated with multi storey housing have different natures, occurring simultaneously in particular environments. By their very nature, these problems were the subject of study by several disciplines which also differ in their nature. It is certainly not only say the doctor who is interested in finding out an eventual relationship between the occurrence of certain types of illness and this litter dropping and its relationship to design or to people and their characters. Thus, given the specificities and requirements of each aspect of the problem, the inclusion of many disciplines in the examination of « problem » housing estates is fully justified.

Almost all the apparently empirical studies tended to select a number of variables, depending on the area of interest, then isolate them, investigate them and test them against other variables. Because of the difficulty of reducing the problem to a manageable size, researchers somehow allow themselves to enter into others domains, hence helping to constitute new problematic. And it is these problematic and their overlaps which provide the basis for an identifiable discourse on the real objects of housing to exist and to function.

3.6 The objects of the MSHD

The formation of the objects of the MSHD involves a certain number of mechanisms and processes, some of which will be outlined below:

- a- The debate about problem housing estates has been conducted in ordinary words or terms. Good, bad, space, dispute etc. which are used every day language are given

to the discourse from largely non-scientific usage. The journalist as well as the layman tends to use these ordinary words in discussing these problems. E.g « tower blocks are ugly ».(34)

- b- The objects and the topics of the MSHD are shaped by comparisons and analogies. It is through comparisons of several housing estates that similarities and differences are highlighted and new concepts emerge and are added to the discourse. E.g the most important difference between a bad state and a good estate is the greater number of children on the bade state.(35)
- c- The outcome of the debate is influenced by determined points of view. Often because so many people are allowed to enter this subject because of its deceptive everydayness, individuals as well as institutions express opinions on the basis of their rather specialised knowledge and experience. E.g « the failure of multi-storey housing should be considered in terms of management, rather than architectural design ». (36) these points of view are of great importance ; some offer sound and convincing alternative explanations shaped in a range of consistent arguments ; some, however, are expressed without the slightest evidence to justify them. E.g « badly designed blocks of flats make children less easy to bring up ». (37) these points of view are often taken as hypotheses and serve as a basis for further empirical studies. (38)
- d- Many objects and concepts of the MSHD are borrowed from non-housing concepts. Most of the concepts used in the debate are not specific to housing; they are borrowed from other discourses and disciplines. For instance the concept of « territoriality » comes from ethnology and « faith » from religion etc. (39)
- e- Some of the objects of the MSHD are shaped and communicated by means of graphical representations. The modes of representation have significant effects on the formation of the objects of the discourse. For a representation is not simply a tool. It carries the permanent meaning of the object represented while imposing upon it a certain degree of conceptual content. (40) numbers, proportions and percentages can be misleading, yet are treated as proofs of arguments. In this case often the relationship between people's behaviour and multi-storey housing is represented by graphs, diagrams and tables. (41-43)

- f- The objects of the discourse are formed by political, ideological and economic views. Political tendencies, ideological beliefs, economic realities or individual interest can be contained in an apparently value-free investigation and report of its outcome. For instance, an individual with a Marxist view of society would obviously not see the solution of problems associated with high-rise in a return to free market. On the other hand, a capitalist with liberal views of society and a firm believer in free enterprise would certainly anticipate the return to a free-market for all housing provision.

3.7 The structure of the MSHD

The analysis tries to identify the structure of the discourse by exploring the often non-visible system of relations and transformations in operation. It attempts to clarify the types and natures of the relationships that structure the discourse.

Except a number of technical problems (misuse of materials, poor insulation, poor ventilation etc.) which are undoubtedly linked to design and building technology and which do not constitute a matter of controversy, because their solutions are technical and known to architects. Poor design can be seen to a certain extent as a consequence of a lack of resources which in turn can be seen as dictated by economic circumstances and financial limitations, and so the argument goes on. The majority of the problems which are the subject matter of the debate concern people's behaviour, from litter dropping to vandalism ; from neighbour disputes to crime. The possible relationship between people's behaviour and the type of housing they live in is the heart of the debate.

There are two main presuppositions about this relationship:

- i- First, a strong and direct link exists between behaviour and the type of physical setting
- ii- Second, there is no such relationship and people behave according to other factors.

Between these two extreme positions appear other positions which presuppose major to minor relationships between the two sets of variables.

This opposition of views is perhaps the most important factor behind much of the controversy of this debate.

There is a variety of expressed relationships between the subject (people) and the object (multi-storey housing). Through the analysis of about 40 texts related to this issue some variants of the subject, the object and the relationships that are supposed to exist or not to exist between the subject and the object which occur more frequently emerge and are listed below:

a- List of variants of the subject

Man	Women	Children
Culture	values	society
Agents	organisms	urban
Architects	councillors	planners
Scientists	doctors	researchers
Clients'	users	members
Tenants	neighbours	inhabitants
Delinquents	criminals	abusers
Law-abiding	law-breaking	caretakers
Authorities	privileged	marginalised
Deprived	poor	victims

b- list of variants of the object

Environment	Space	Habitat
Housing	Buildings	blocks of flats
Urban space	play areas	lifts
Halls	staircases	corridors
Design	estate	house
Flats	landscape	milieu
Overcrowding	defensible space	built environment
Spatial forms	properties	mass housing
Street	open space	cottage system

c- List of variants of relationships

Analogy	relationship	direct relation
Influence	adaptation	alienation
Abuse	appropriation	satisfaction
Contradiction	existence	causality
Effects	correlation	participation
Management	control	co-existence
Connection	creation	participation
Determinism	differential	dependency
Modification	order	law
Deduction	segregation	generalisation
Involvement	inflict	impose
Prediction	findings	conclusion
Hypotheses	theories	explanation
Description	speculation	concentration

Also see nested teymur ; enviromental discourse (london, ?uestion press, 1982) pp 87-90.

Obviously, there are enormous possibilities of relations, which either analyse, describe, prescribe, predict and explain phenomena. However these variants are randomly taken and the combinations that exist obey a certain logic. Below are some typical combinations taken from texts dealing with high-rise housing.

- high-rise influences behaviour. (44)
- there is a direct relation between vandalism and high-rise housing. (45)
- a relationship exists between poverty and delinquency. (46)
- high-rise is associated with poor contact between neighbours. (47)
- there is no relation between design and behaviour. (48)
- design prevents certain activities taking place. (49)

This indicates clearly the variety of relationships presumed between behaviour and design. They vary considerably. They are in opposition sometimes and sometimes compatible. It is partly because of these numerous combinations which illustrate an opposition of views and a conflict that the task of assessing the validity of the claims has been and remains a delicate one. The discourse is thus structured around these relationships between behaviour and the type of physical environment.

3.8 Mechanisms of the MSHD

In this section, the question of how exactly the MSSHD functions is examined further by identifying its mechanisms, that is the way in which the failure and the supposed causes of the problems are expressed and arguments formed in the literature.

3.9 Reducing, ignoring and obscuring problems

Often the problems associated with multi-storey in the public sector are not considered as a totality. Concentrating on one part and ignoring other parts of the whole is one of the mechanisms that facilitates, and sometimes justifies, reductions in the number of factors which should be considered,. It is easier in practice to ignore and proceed as if certain elements did not exist. Nevertheless, most of the existing empirical research probably could not have been possible without some form of reductionism.

Sometimes reductions are fully justified; they do not necessarily mean the omission of important factors. Researchers aware of the existence of other factors restrict themselves to a particular aspect or aspect in order to be able to draw conclusions, without neglecting the importance of the omitted factors.

- i- Researchers facing the difficult task of taking everything into account and wanting to be very specific for whatever reasons have recourse to certain unjustified reductions.
- ii- Most of the studies are sponsored by different organisations; researchers perhaps restrict themselves to what they are asked to do.

- iii- It might also be that some researchers carry out their studies with a set of preconceived ideas. Therefore the results are somehow known prior to the investigation or at least shape the choice of input.

In each of this above the basis of such studies is wrong and their results can be misleading to the extent that in some cases they have been taken as true in all circumstances and translated into rules and regulations. (50) However experienced researchers can, and have revealed the weaknesses of such studies. (51)

3.10 Confusions

Another mechanism of the MSSHD is confusion. It is often difficult to understand clearly the conclusions of some studies. Researchers are themselves left with a feeling of doubt and uncertainty, which they struggle to avoid. This confusion reveals the complexity of the subject on the one hand and helps to raise new questions on the other.

3.11 Correlations and causality

The examination of the structure of the MSSHD shows that the relationship between subject and object is stated in numerous variant forms. These relations include correlations (positive and negative) and causality.

These relationships although varied seem to follow a simple rule; they have for basis three main ideas. They occur frequently in several forms. Each one holds a particular view about the causes of the problems.

Thus, three basic ideological messages appear to confirm the argument of the failure. They are explicitly expressed or implicitly contained in the texts examined. For analytical reasons these three ideas have been taken as the sole criterion for a broad classification into three categories.

The first category contains the relationship which share the idea that architecture is closely associated with people's behaviour. (52, 53) Design is believed to cause or influence both desirable and undesirable activities to take place, depending on how the buildings are designed.

Although many share this view, the strength of association varies considerably from one researcher to another. Some consider design to be a minor influence; some however believe it to be a major one. Many studies have concentrated on behavioural issues such as crime, vandalism, health problems as well as general satisfaction and dissatisfaction and their relation to design. They are the subject of further examination in chapter four.

The second category concerns the concept that behaviour is related solely to the social and economic characteristics of people. The belief is that architecture has nothing to do with behaviour and the problems found on some local authority housing estates are caused by people themselves and society at large which is responsible for the very existence of such classes of poor, underprivileged and marginalised people on the one hand and the concentration of such groups in the worst and cheapest form of accommodation available. (54)

Studies based on this idea are the subject of chapter five, where many studies dealing with this particular issue are examined in detail in order to gain new insights.

The third and last category, has as its outcome a call for law and order and better management. Lack of order, control, organisation and consultation of tenants and the inappropriateness of systems of management used are believed to be the main cause of all sorts of social ills, not only in high-rise housing but everywhere. (55) The claim is that, given an adequate system of management preferably with tenant participation, there is no reason for this type of housing not to perform as well as it does in the private sector. (56)

Many studies are dedicated to this concept, ranging from proposals for new systems of management to tenant participation or ownership. Some of these studies are explored in chapter six in order to assess the validity and the relevance of the claims expressed.

However these three categories should not be seen as operating independently of each other. There are studies which fall under more than one category. This classification forms the basis of a systematic and objective analysis of clearly conflicting claims about the causes of the problems in multi-storey housing in the public sector.

In this chapter an understanding of the complex debate around ‘problem’ housing estates has been outlined. The aim was to reveal the variety and nature of the factors involved, how they are structured and how they function on the one hand and on the other to identify the complexity of the parameters that make this debate so controversial.

It appeared that the debate around ‘problem’ housing estates is the concern of a variety of disciplines which are more or less involved in this subject. The inspection of the discourse revealed the existence of a framework constituted by a subject/object structure and the various forms of presumed relations that link the two together. Many of these apparent relations are in conflict.

Also, some of the mechanisms by which this discourse functions have been identified. Reducing and ignoring the problems helps the creation of controversy and the confusion, determinism and uncertainty of the conclusions make it difficult to assess the relevance of the claims.

Further analysis of another type is needed to explore the claims contained in the three categories identified. This will be the concern of the following three chapters.

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CHAPTER FOUR

DESIGN CHARACTERISTICS AND 'PROBLEM' HOUSING ESTATES

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the relationship between design characteristics and behaviour. It tries to assess the significance of aspects such as crime and vandalism and their relation to architectural design.

The links between crime rates and physical environments, buildings, spaces and layouts were first recognised by Jane Jacobs in 1961. She contended that the public rather than the police is the crucial element in crime control and that ordinary citizens through their visible presence act to prevent crime in public places.(1)

In 1972, Oscar Newman claimed in this book 'Defensible Space' that there is a distinct correlation between urban crime and the type of urban dwelling (significantly high-rise blocks) and that physical environment directly influences human behaviour and encourages certain types of activities to take place. His work was largely influenced by Jane Jacobs and his arguments rest on two important concepts (territoriality and surveillance) which will be discussed in detail later. Since then many studies have been carried out ; some rejected 'Defensible space' theory and cast their blame on other factors, some however gave full or moderate support to Newman's findings, among them the most recent supporter, Alice Coleman, whose book 'Utopia on Trial' published in 1985 received a warm welcome by many and irritated many others who strongly criticised it and rejected it as non-scientific.

This chapter explores a number of relevant studies supporting or rejecting the idea that the physical environment influences in one way or another human behaviour and a balanced judgement based on the qualitative and quantitative evidence about the results of surveys and the reasoned judgments of experienced researchers in this field will be made.

4.2 'Defensible space' theory

Oscar Newman in this theory of 'defensible space' postulated that open or common parts of housing estates will be neglected and vulnerable to vandalism and all sorts of damage because no one has the responsibility for their care and protection. (2) Therefore, he concluded, physical environment has a direct and important influence on human behaviour. Oscar Newman used statistical research and 'territorial' theories of behaviour to suggest that architects can provide building layouts which would prevent vandalism, assault, rape, crime and so on and thus help the enforcement of law and order in cities and neighbourhoods. 'territory' refers to a specific place or area and 'territoriality' refers to the satisfaction of important needs and drives within that area. (3,4)

Damage occurs most frequently where there is little or no surveillance - garages, refuse chambers and lifts, for example. To this extent, certain building and estate layouts can be said to encourage vandalism. This idea has been developed most fully by Oscar Newman (1972), who calls such no-man's-lands "indefensible space".

Others postulate that ownership can be just as important as territory, and Sheena Wilson, in her 1986 survey for the Home Office Research Unit, gave Newman's theory only limited support. Her examination of 52 housing estates in two London boroughs suggested that the design of buildings did not affect overall levels of vandalism. Tower blocks, in particular, she found, were not more susceptible to vandalism than other types of buildings.

Following this line of reasoning suggested the demarcation of space in such a way that both residents and outsiders can recognize it. Therefore, he argued, the residents will be able to protect it and by doing so will protect themselves from unwanted intrusion. They thus feel that the space in question belongs to them and they have some control over it. The territorial instinct, Newman insisted, can be extended beyond the private space of the dwelling to key areas (halls, entrances, roads, lifts etc...), in response to design changes of these areas, fall.

This sort of space, known as semi-private (a neutral zone between private space of the dwelling and completely public space) can be protected if the extension of territorial instinct is achieved through the overlooking of streets, halls, entrances, play areas etc... by windows of occupied rooms.

This provides the inhabitants with natural surveillance, because the space belongs to a particular dwelling and will be defended against unwanted intrusion by the individual who is responsible for it.

This is in brief what Newman's 'defensible space' consists of. Since the publication of his book, there has been an increasing interest in his work, against and in favour of his theory. Generally people who disagree with Newman accuse him of being an architectural determinist and ignoring the social, economic and managerial factors which they argue are more important in the causation of vandalism and all sorts of crime.

Others like Hillier argued that 'territoriality' is an ignorant view of human behaviour which has been largely discredited by anthropological research and that Newman's book is 'symptomatic of modern architecture's rejection of history in favour of glib second-hand theories'. (5)

Newman's theory constitutes in fact a good starting point for the discussion of this issue, since it is the most notorious on linking design to behaviour. In the next section many studies reporting both against and in favour of this theory will be explored.

4.3 Space syntax theory

"Space syntax" is a theory and method for the description of built space. Space syntax has been used to treat spatial configuration as a variable in a variety of studies of the social functions, cultural significance and behavioural implications of layouts.

Space syntax has also been used to explore, predict and evaluate the likely effects of design alternatives. Finally, space syntax is increasingly being used to study design styles and the intelligibility of built form. Thus, space syntax has come to interact with a variety of fields of inquiry and to support a plurality of theoretical developments. "Space syntax" is closely linked to a set of theoretical ideas about space as a dimension of society and culture.

These ideas were first expressed in by Hillier and Hanson in their 1984 book *The Social Logic of Space* published by Cambridge University Press and have subsequently been developed and expanded in a variety of publications.

The choice of the words "space syntax" to describe a socially and culturally motivated approach to the description of space arises from the early history of this evolving body of work. Hillier and Leaman use the term "syntax" to refer to rules that account for the generation of elementary, but fundamentally different, spatial arrangements. They define syntaxes as combinatorial structures which order the world and also allow us to retrieve descriptions of it. They propose that there is a relationship between the generators of form and social forces.

Space syntax is a methodology, or a set of techniques for the representation, quantification, and interpretation of spatial configuration in buildings and settlements. In 1996 Hillier showed how the key configurational properties represented and analyzed by syntax, interact with geometrical properties and constraints. The expression "space syntax", therefore, reflects the idea that to understand spatial form we must understand the underlying rules and constraints that generate it.

The relationship between architectural design, programme and building performance remains a subject of some controversy. Against this background it is natural that there should be some interest in the contributions of "space syntax" to better understand the nature, the functions, the behavioural implications and the cultural significance of built space.

In addition, some aspects of the research program associated with "space syntax" merit special attention. The ideas developed inside the University have found increasingly wide application in practice as major architects, including Sir Norman Foster, Lord Richard Rogers and others have sought the input of the "space syntax laboratory" at University College London, to assist them with the design of the spatial layout of major schemes.

4.4 Vandalism, crime and design

Wilson and Sturman give modified support to Newman's theory, arguing that the way housing estates are designed and their influence on crime and vandalism is only one factor among many others. (6)

Bottoms and Baldwin in studies of crime rates in Sheffield found no evidence that multi-storey developments with lot of common areas have higher recorded offence rates than other developments with more enclosed space. (7.9)

A 'Daily Mail' article stated 'vandalism occurs everywhere ; in inner area slums, new towns, middle class suburbs, industrial cities and sedate resorts. There is no simple explanation for its occurrence'. (10) On the other hand McIntosh thinks that the problems found on some council estates may be attributed partially to their design and layout, but questions whether a complete explanation of the reasons why some estates sink faster than others can be found here. (11)

Baldwin thinks that physical environment is relatively unimportant in influencing social behaviour. (12) he also found that within the council stock he studied there were successful high-rise and disastrous low-rise developments ; the low-rise includes family housing with gardens, play areas, defensible space, pedestrian segregation, the lot... 'the problem has nothing to do with architecture, but is to do with social mix, housing administration and community facilities in the area'. (13) Reyner Banham states 'most of us can take a visitor to at least one estate we know that either flatly contradicts Newman's architectural determinism or just makes it look irrelevant to what is really happening to the buildings and the people in the project'. (14)

James Hunter is an architect who was commissioned to physically improve a small 1950s development of three storey walk-up blocks. He tried to include 'defensible space' devices in the estate and before that he had consulted tenants over their preferences, through meetings and questionnaires. He noticed within a matter of weeks after he had finished the project that all the external improvements were damaged, entryphones had been ripped out and entrance doors wrecked. Landing windows and light fittings were broken and graffiti reappeared on the stair walls. (15) He concluded that the housing management should have taken a much more positive role. And although not caused by architectural form, anti-social behaviour may be more freely expressed in certain designs. (16)

Sheena Wilson, a sociologist of the then housing Development Directorate of the DOE, who completed a piece of research for the home office Research Unit in 1977 which compared rates of vandalism in 52 housing estates in two inner London boroughs to see if they varied with factors related to building design and number of children in the blocks. She concluded that 'the shape of buildings can dictate patterns of use and the circulation of people around them and hence help to structure the networks of social relationships that develop.

In addition buildings by the amount of surveillance they afford, may prevent or offer opportunities for certain activities to take place unobserved'. (17) But the outcome of her study claims that child density is the major factor of causation of vandalism. (18)

Both Wilson and Hunter are moderate supporters of Newman's theory 'defensible space', the former emphasising the importance of child density and the latter housing management as being major factors.

In a conference held by the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of offenders in 1975, Oscar Newman was one of the participants. He denied the charge that he was an architectural determinist, stressing that social variables predict crime, vandalism and vacancy rates more strongly than do the physical variables of the project's design. (19) He insisted that his arguments were not directed against high-rise as such, but against this use to house social groups and social mixes to which it is not suited, and added that people with the same interests should be put together to create communities of interest. But what about the poor, blacks and single parent families, are they regarded as communities of interest? No, Newman said, it makes sense to put the most vulnerable families among the most stable families. The other people will object, but this in it self ensures that they will enforce appropriate standards of social behaviour. They are involved in a teaching process. (20)

This of course shows clearly a shift of Newman's views about crime and vandalism causation from 'defensible space' to 'communities of interest', a much more sophisticated concept, much more debatable and equally questionable. The emphasis this time is put on the role of the whole population as a catalyst in preventing crime and vandalism.

At the same conference, Derek Fox remarked that Newman's new thesis implied that we should be more autocratic than we are already in housing allocation policies. (21) Maurice Ash compared Newman to Machiavelli – 'a man of the left disguised as a right wing manipulator'. The theory of 'community of interest' in his view was one of the manifestations of alienation in our time. A kind of social apartheid, contrary to our liberal notions of that which is common. (22)

What is of interest in the report of the National Association for the care and resettlement is again the variety of views expressed surrounding the same issue. These views show clearly the controversy about the relationship.

One obvious point missing in her work, about which most of the critics agreed, is that she did not take into account a third set of factors (social and economic factors) such as problem families and low income, nor make sure that the correlations between a design feature and a 'malaise' indicator are not produced by these factors, which may in turn depend on the range of dwelling types, allocation policies and so on. (27-30)

Peter Malpass argues that 'Utopia on Trial' has a simple ideological message. Its purpose is to undermine public rented housing, thereby leading to the conclusion that the best way forward is to return to the free market for all housing provision. (31) The link between design and behaviour is much more complicated than Coleman admits, and the worst piece of faulty reasoning in the conclusion is that since planning and bureaucracy have produced bad designs, state intervention in housing provision should be discontinued, leaving everything to the market mechanisms. (32)

In Coleman's view the traditional house is the ultimate answer to this problem. In her cross-examination, she ruled out the possibility that social factors are as important as design by giving rather unconvincing and inconsistent arguments. She argues that if poverty causes anti-social behaviour, then the more pensioners there are in a block of flats the more vandalism and crime are likely to be found, since pensioners are poor. This proved to be false, so she concluded that poverty should be ruled out as a cause of such problems. (33) This obviously shows the inconsistency of her argument.

On more theoretical grounds, there is no absolute definition of vandalism on which all writers agree ; a few claim that it is no more than over-use of scarce facilities and open space. (34) Bengtsson for instance hypothesises that ‘vandalism is a product of uninteresting and unusable landscape and that play facilities should be more interesting and stimulating to children’. (35) The Architectural Research Unit supports this hypothesis by saying that ‘vandalism increases as the provision for children’s needs decreases’. (36) But Baldwin, Wilson and Sturman do not agree with Bengtsson and claim that their studies found that ‘vandalism occurs despite the provision of play facilities’. (37)

On the other hand Davidson thinks that the evidence of Oscar Newman’s ‘defensible space’ theory is ambiguous. (38) Newman suggests that crime rates in high-rise blocks are likely to be higher than in low-rise blocks or houses, but Baldwin in his study of crime rates in ten different housing environments in Sheffield shows that the high-rise areas were unexceptional in the levels of residential crime. (39) High rise blocks may have more offenders because they are less desirable to the average law-abiding citizens, or in the British situation, where high-rise is largely confined to the underprivileged, high-rise blocks may be used as a dumping ground for the less desirable tenants. (40)

Conversely Baldwin’s residential crime rates may conceal the fact that high-rise developments may be more prone to certain kinds of crime (e.g mugging and vandalism) while at the same time they reduce the risks of others (e.g burglary and residential theft). (41) At best, argues Davidson, ‘defensible space’ theory can only be a partial explanation ; at worst it can obscure the importance of other factors which might nullify attempts to use the theory to control crime. (42)

It thus becomes clear from this brief review of crime and vandalism in housing areas, that the influence and the role of design on behaviour is difficult to assess theoretically, since there is no definite evidence that the two are linked together. The presence of a multitude of other factors acting at the same time and which are almost impossible to isolate in order to concentrate on the design variables and correlate them with the problems, allows a great deal of subjectivity in drawing conclusions and makes the matter very controversial. On the particular point of vandalism, many relate it to child density. In the next section some studies dealing with this aspect will be explored to assess their importance and validity.

4.5 Vandalism and child density

One of the most recurrent complaints recorded in studies of council estates is vandalism, which the literature almost always relates to the incidence of a very high density of children on some estates. Sheena Wilson states that 'all building forms are likely to experience some problems of vandalism once the ratio of children aged 6-16 per 10 dwellings exceeds 5, or where the overall number of children at this age resident in the block exceeds 20'. She claimed that levels of recorded vandalism were no greater in tower blocks than in other building types and that, as with other designs, the problems increased with the number of children living in them. (43)

Wilson's 1986 survey of London estates showed quite clearly that child density was a critical factor in determining degrees of vandalism. She found that all types of buildings were likely to experience some vandalism problems once the ratio of school-age children went above five to every 10 dwellings, or where the overall number of children in a block exceeded 20.

As high-rises exacerbate the children problem, local authorities should house families with children on or near the ground. Because a lot of vandalism is caused by children's play, one form of prevention is providing public play and leisure facilities. When siting such facilities, it is wise to heed research showing that children tend to play near to home and do not use flat and uninteresting playing fields.

An other study into preventing vandalism in public housing estates, Wendy Sarkissian (1984) made the following recommendations concerning children.

- Design becomes important where child density is high, the critical point being when the ratio of adults to children is less than 3:1, and where densities are more than 60 to 70 children per hectare.
- As children will play everywhere, noisy activities, digging, sitting quietly, etc. should be separated out to cause least disturbance to people in dwellings.
- One way of preventing children taking risks on buildings etc. is to build adventure play areas on site or nearby.

- Children like to play on footpaths, so they should be designed to accommodate this.
- Leave part of the site undeveloped for natural play areas.
- Playground equipment should be sturdy and good looking.
- Supervised after-school and summer holidays play is needed.
- To stop teenagers getting bored and vandalising, provide challenging, varied and exciting activities for them, as well as informal gathering places and indoor social places exclusively for young people.

The Lambeth study suggested that play areas be moved from one part of an estate to another - as in crop rotation - to give the grass a chance to grow and share the nuisance of living near a large playground among residents.

In some cases playground facilities are underused because children are not encouraged to use them. The Exeter Police Crime Prevention Support Unit increased the number of children using a playing field from 10 to 300 in a week by turning up to organise games of football. They then persuaded schools to open up their grounds in the evenings for children.

A major problem here is getting officials to bend the rules a little: often purely administrative objections were raised by officials who wanted to save themselves trouble and effort.

Projects which help reduce vandalism tend to have a strong creative element and give participants a sense of ownership. For example, as soon as Halton local authority in the UK organised mural painting by groups of adolescents, they stopped defacing the walls (Wilson 1979).

Although Wilson's major finding is that child density is the strongest variable associated with vandalism, she gives a moderate support to Newman's theory 'defensible space'. On the other hand, Payne and Smith talk about the excessive number of children (44) and Weinberger about rough noisy children who were disliked by a higher proportion of the tenants of four large estates. (45)

Moreover, Pickett and Boulton postulate that vandalism may be due simply to the concentration of children at their most destructive age. (46) Young reports that the population of the estate he studied had twice the average '0-17 years' age group. (47) Goodman found that 44% of the population of his estate was in the '0-14 years' age group. (48)

Wilson and Sturman found child density to be the single most important factor correlated with rates of vandalism, and state that 'it is inevitable that council estates with difficult tenants will have a small minority of boys and girls whose behaviour is likely to be provocatively anti-social'. (49, 50) Baldwin when comparing a 'good' estate with a 'bad' estate, says 'the most important difference between them as far as demographic characteristics are concerned is the greater number of children on the 'bad' estate'. (51)

Hence, there is sufficient evidence and it makes sense to suggest that since graffiti and all sorts of damage inflicted to the buildings are mainly done by children, it is likely and predictable that the more children the more vandalism is to be found. This raises the question of suitability or unsuitability of such a building form for families with lots of children which will be explored in detail in chapter six. While crime and vandalism have attracted a great deal of attention, indeed seem to dominate the debate about housing design and behaviour, there are other issues where claims have been made that design affects the users. One such issue is the supposed health problems caused by design. The next section looks at the incidence of some health problems, often claimed to be associated with high-rise housing.

4.6 Health problems and design

The association between multi storey housing and both physical and mental health, has long been recognised and is now generally accepted. Whilst there are a range of specific housing factors which affect health outcomes, the relationship between housing quality and health is complex, not least because the links between different dimensions of housing and health operate at a number of inter-related levels.

Housing does not simply operate in isolation to influence health, rather the interplay between structural forces, the broader policy environment, employment opportunities, educational achievement, neighbourhood conditions, social relationships, and housing conditions (as well as individual factors like lifestyle) essentially determine health and health inequalities in society. Research evidence examining the relationship between housing quality and health has largely been developed by two separate traditions of investigation – that of social science, and epidemiological and medical research. Between and within both traditions there is a lively debate about causal links. (52)

Health considerations may be seen as one of the driving forces of the development of social housing. In fact, the fight against such illnesses as tuberculosis or cholera in the nineteenth century focused on the improvement of housing conditions as such epidemics were seen as a threat not only to the poor but to society as a whole.

Accordingly, to the WHO, health is “not merely the absence of disease and infirmity but a state of optimal physical, mental and social well being”. Health is the result of the direct pathological effects of chemicals, some biological agents and radiation, and the influence of the physical, psychological and social dimensions of daily life. These dimensions can be considered in relation to the characteristics of housing units, the immediate housing environment, the residential building and the neighbourhood. These aspects are even more important in social housing as the poorer or more vulnerable households often have no alternatives to staying on their estate.

Health aspects – as focused on in the late nineteenth-century social housing programmes - have primarily included sanitation and natural lighting and the ventilation of rooms. Protection against noise has only been added later, mainly as a reaction to increasing car traffic (on the relation between noise and health: while the quality of indoor climate can be seen as a new challenge to be tackled both by technical solutions and by the education of residents.. But health in housing estates is also connected to the structural safety of buildings and to fire safety.

Another potential threat to health is overcrowding, which has been shown to be linked to increased rates of various viral and bacterial affections. Studies found the worst levels of overcrowding in countries of southern Europe, but even northern European countries show some higher percentages – more than 10 per cent - of overcrowded dwellings. Most social housing programmes aim therefore at reducing overcrowding rates, with the ideal of providing one room per person. Some countries – such as Austria – allow one more room for younger families, for example those with two adults aged under 35.

Damp walls or floors or insufficient heating are clearly potential health threats. Some 13 per cent of all European dwellings contain damp patches which are strongly associated with respiratory diseases. Insufficient heating rates are even more alarming, reaching up to 74.4 per cent in Portugal (45 per cent in Greece, 55 per cent in Spain, 21 per cent in Italy; while there are no comparable data available for a number of countries where the situation can be assumed to be even worse. While such “fuel poverty” is almost no problem in central and northern Europe, these countries have also made considerable efforts to reduce dampness, especially in larger housing estates. Social housing programmes have been used to replace old health-risky dwellings, giving residents of such buildings priority access to social (subsidized) housing.

Most social (or subsidized) housing estates include green spaces and open areas; their quality concerning maintenance and accessibility may, however, differ. This is closely connected to the quality and structure of the overall management, and to the degree of responsibility residents themselves feel – or are given - for their immediate housing environment. Some social housing programmes have therefore focused on integrating environmental improvement through relevant treatment of outdoor spaces and through stronger partnerships of all stakeholders – such as efficient cooperation with the tenants, which can avoid costs relating to vandalism.

This has, for example, been successful in the requalification of large social housing estates in France. It can also be used to establish or to improve children’s or youth playgrounds. Most European countries are facing new challenges as a result of their ageing societies.

While there is a general agreement to prevent, as far as possible, any kind of institutionalization, new solutions for care and for the provision of daily goods to senior residents, as well as for disabled persons, have come up. In the best examples these new solutions are being integrated into “normal” housing estates, and home modifications are carried out - and are subsidized by the state for those who cannot afford them – in existing social housing.

Health monitoring and rating systems –for both the public and the private housing sectors – have been established in some countries, notably in the United Kingdom and in France. They may be seen as early warning systems for potential health risks and as indicators for public intervention, primarily in social housing estates.

The quality of the research evidence gathered is often affected by the problem of ‘confounding’ factors. There has also been considerable research on ‘design’ by those involved in, or informing, the construction industry (both for housing and other buildings), but this often only informs new building (Building Regulations). Focusing on the socio-economic determinants of health and the increasing recognition that investing in housing stock may form part of a wider strategy of health improvement represents an important change of emphasis in policy. In addition, there is constant need in assessing health risks and health inequalities in housing (2005).

There is now growing interest in how investment in housing can lead to benefits in health and potentially lead to cost savings in other service areas. A number of recent reviews have also gathered and assessed the evidence of the effectiveness of housing interventions to improve health.

It is believed that multi-storey developments make residents vulnerable to certain types of illness. Some of the studies carried out about this particular aspect of the subject will be reviewed.

Goodman, in his study of morbidity rates on a large out-of-town estate, cites poor physical environment as an important correlate. He states ‘there was a high prevalence of physical and mental illness, much due to the physical factors associated with the estate’.

(52)

A study carried out in 1967 by Fanning compared consultancy rates of 1500 families in two housing developments of houses and four-storey flats. He found that respiratory problems, especially among children, were far more in the flats, while psychoneurotic disorders in women showed a similar pattern. In both types of diagnosis, there was direct relationship between the seriousness of the problems and the number of stories above ground. Fanning chose similar social mix and used a random assignment of data for variable control. McCarthy, Byrne, Harrison & Keithley (1985) in a wider study, which was controlled for social and economic state, support Fanning findings in relation to psychoneurotic disorders among adults.

Furthermore, they found a significant correlation between the problem and housing type in limited-income neighborhoods, but no significant correlation in higher income neighborhoods.

Further research explains the underlying mechanism of the relationships. Bone (1977), in a wide survey of the under-fives, shows that young children in houses play outside with and without an adult far more than children in flats, especially those living on the third level above the ground or more. Thus the additional time spent indoors could create both higher levels of respiratory problems for the children and psychoneurotic disorders for mothers with children spending more time within the home.

The absence of nearby amenities such as gardens and children playgrounds imposes further restrictions on activities. Richman (1974) in a study controlled for social and economic status, found that women who live in multi-storey housing express feelings that may contribute to psychoneurotic disorders such as being less happy and feeling isolated and lonely. Moor (1975) confirms Richman's findings. Moor's study also controlled in terms of social and economic state.

According to Dunleavy, respiratory infections are the main problems and the groups affected included children, young mothers and women over 50, but the evidence is by no means conclusive. (53) Hird, a medical practitioner, did a random sample of patients on the new estate where he practised and found that the upper respiratory tract infections were much commoner in children who lived in flats. (54)

Dr. Fanning studied the medical records of two comparable sets of patients, one group living in houses and the other in blocks of flats of three or four storeys. He found that the number of first referrals to the specialist of those families in flats was 57 % greater than of those in houses. (55) He also found that infections of the upper respiratory tract, bronchitis and pneumonia, were markedly more common in flat dwellers.

The greatest difference between flat and house dwellers occurred among women in the 20-29 age band, and a significant degree of difference also occurred between the two groups aged over 40. Children under 10 also showed a marked difference between flat and house dwellers, the former particularly having more respiratory disorders. (56) Dr. Fanning also claims that the classical reasons for respiratory disorders – overcrowding and ventilation – were not present in the flats. The main difference between flats and houses is ease of access to the open air, he thinks. (57) He also claims that the incidence of psychoneurotic disorders was twice as frequent in flats as in houses.

Moreover, Hird found that twice as many flat dwellers compared with house dwellers contacted the doctor with symptoms of emotional disturbance. (58) He thinks that the isolation of old people in flats leads to disorientation, sometimes precipitating psychiatric illness. He also claims that old people often feel dizzy when looking out of high-windows. On the other hand the housing development Directorate found that vertigo was experienced by one in five of those living in the sixth floor and above. (59) There is thus enough evidence concluded the HDD, that living in high-flats precipitates an increase in certain types of illness and that height of the dwelling above the ground may be significant. (60)

Dr. Daniel Cappon, a psychiatrist and professor of environmental studies, thinks that there is no incontrovertible evidence that flat living even in the high-rise produces impairment in mental health. (61)

So, it appears that there is some evidence that flat living can precipitate certain types of illness, although doctors are sceptical about this evidence partly because the classical reasons of these illnesses (ventilation and overcrowding) tend to be present in some flats.

4.7 Social contacts between neighbours

Often the poverty of social relationship on multi-storey housing estates is emphasised in the literature. The belief is that people living in such estates do not develop strong social relations which characterise a healthy community. In this section a number of studies about the patterns of social contact within multi-storey residential developments will be reviewed.

In 1971, Pearl Jepfcott in a study of neighbour relations in multi-storey dwelling in Glasgow noticed the general poverty of social life, the lack of human warmth and the loneliness of many of inhabitants. She made the suggestion, on the basis of a small sample of households, that 'the residents of flats with deck access had greater social contact than those in flats without deck access'. (62)

In a detailed study of two high-rise blocks she noticed that the residents of neither block took much account of people who lived in floors other than their own. (63)

David Bryant and Dick Knowles undertook a study of social contacts on the Hyde Park and Dick Knowles undertook a study of social contacts on the Hyde Park estate in Sheffield in 1972. They interviewed 1322 households about the number of visits they had made or received during the previous week. They received 570 replies, representing 43 % of the total number of households on the Hyde Park estate. They found that the respondents participated in a total of 1516 visits, an average of 2.6 social contacts per respondent. (64) They concluded that this average is well below other areas, such as Pitsmoor, an area of the late nineteenth century terraced housing, (6.6 visits per respondent per week) and Gleadless estate (8.8 visits per respondent per week).

They also found that the level of off-estate contact (49.5 %) was far higher than the contact either along the decks (31 %) or between the decks of the estate itself (19.4 %). This, they say, was in striking contrast to the situation at Pitsmoor and Gleadless where a high proportion of the contacts were between people living in the same street or block. They concluded that the inconvenience of lifts and stair access may be sufficient to deter casual, essentially local, neighbourhood contact. (65)

However, Bryant and Knowles admit that ‘irrespective of the constraints and opportunities created by the architect, neighbourliness will be influenced by a number of other factors, particularly the social character of the population and of individuals within it’. (66) Maximum levels of social contact, they say, will only be achieved after some years of residence by which time roles are established and various integrating agencies like club membership and involvement in the affairs of young children will have been effective. (67)

Although ‘neighbourliness’ did indeed vary according to certain specific human factors, Bryant and Knowles were left with the feeling that design was in some way inhibitive. (68)

A comparative study carried out between people living in flats and people living in houses and noticed that the most striking contrast was the lack of communication between families living in flats compared with those living in houses. (69) It concluded that the main inhibition of friendship formation in multi-storey buildings is that there are no neutral areas semi-public and semi-private (e.g gardens and front steps) – where people can stand without violating other’s privacy and make casual meetings ; hence people tend to shut themselves away. Privacy, they say, which is generally valued, can become isolation and it seems that for some, flat dwelling offers too much privacy. (70)

It is difficult to be conclusive about the role of design in influencing social contacts. There are so many factors involved which are likely to inhibit or to favour social contacts. However, the evidence available suggests that most flat dwellers are not happy with their environment including their neighbours. So, one would not expect perfect social relations when many sources of social malaise also exist. It also makes sense to suggest that individual social and psychological conditions affect the relationship between members of the society than does the layout of a housing estate.

4.8 Living in flats : satisfaction and dissatisfaction

Although many people have experienced flat life, the vast majority of those who had this experience would prefer to live in houses rather than flats, according to most studies. (71) In Glasgow however, only 8% of flat dwellers were dissatisfied. (72) It appears because in Scotland they have a longer tradition in living in flats, this might be one of the reasons of the great proportion of satisfaction with flat dwelling.

The Housing Development Directorate of the Department of the Environment, in its study of modern high-rise developments, found that the physical attractiveness of an estate had an important influence on residents' satisfaction. (73) On two London estates studies by the Architectural Research Unit tenant discontent focused on density and layout, but appearance was not specifically mentioned. (74) Tenants of these estates gave higher priority to the solution of managerial and social problems than to physical problems. On the other hand some studies have found people expressing dissatisfaction in blocks of flats because of lack of privacy. (75)

Also the HDD found a relation between dissatisfaction and loneliness. (76) Further, tenants expressed dissatisfaction about the provision of community and amenity facilities, which are often lacking, particularly in the out-of-town estates. (77) McIntoch for instance talks about the estates he studied (which were good and well liked) saying that 'one does not enjoy any particularly good facilities and has no substantial open space nearby and the other has no community facilities, no off-street parking and no open space'. (78)

However, when expressing their dissatisfaction tenants tend to point to the lack of community facilities. Their neighbours and the inadequacy of management. These aspects, although perhaps closely linked to the design of buildings, would not allow one to conclude that multi-storey housing as such can be a cause of dissatisfaction. The fact that there are some successful multi-storey developments where tenants are well satisfied and that in Glasgow most of the residents are satisfied, leaves some doubt about multi-storey housing being an inevitable source of dissatisfaction.

An other aspect of the problems is related to the poor technical performance of many multi-storey buildings. The next section examines this issue.

4.9 Technical failures and design :

It seems that many multi-storey buildings present serious technical faults such as poor thermal and sound insulation, dampness and poor ventilation. (79, 80) Most commentators agree that these problems which are undoubtedly related to design affect seriously residents of such buildings.

Benton reports that the tenants on one council estate of poorly constructed dwellings, felt that they had been neglected and showed little loyalty to their homes or environment.(81) Some think that these problems are a consequence of restriction on public spending. They argue that if enough money was allocated to the construction of these estates such problems could have been avoided, because they are technical and require technical solutions. (82) Others refer to these problems as being part of maintenance. They argue that if buildings are regularly maintained and faults repaired there is no reason for such problems to exist. (83, 84)

4.10 Conclusion:

From this review of a number of studies dealing with the relationship between architectural design and the problems found in some local authority housing estates, the question of whether design causes or favours a particular kind of behaviour or precipitates certain types of illness remains difficult to answer. There are clearly conflicting claims. The task of showing statistically a correlation proved to be extremely difficult, and even if there is a correlation, its interpretation in terms of 'cause and effect' to is difficult.

Vandalism appears to be more associated with child density than with design itself. Negative behaviour, reflected by litter dropping, some kinds of crime, damage to the buildings and so on cannot be seen as caused solely or even partially by design as the presence of other variables (social, economic etc ...) makes it almost impossible to be certain of the role of design. Even in the apparently easy-to-test factors such as health problems, the literature is divided about the conclusions.

Some of the most apparent features and characteristics of vandalism and graffiti are:

1. High density.
2. It's public,
3. Buildings and flats are not designed in preventing vandalism and graffiti in mind
4. Maintenance is slow and inefficient.
5. High percentage of problem families
6. Too big to manage properly
7. Lack of special arrangements for play grounds, etc.....

Graffiti, vandalism and neglect problems on many housing estates seem to be stemming from poor planning and design coupled with poor management. The following suggestions have arisen from numerous case studies both in Europe and America.

1. In multi storey public housing estates where architectural styles, tenant programmes and management policies give tenants a sense of "owning" their residences seem to be less vulnerable to vandalism than huge impersonal estates where the tenants are alienated from the buildings and the management.

2. Architects and designers can minimise vandalism and graffiti by designing spaces which can be easily seen to belong to particular groups of people, which can be watched and thus guarded by residents or passers-by, and to which access is limited to those who have a legitimate right to be there.

3. In public housing estates, effective management involves developing a good working relationship with tenants, good maintenance and quick repairs, sensible tenant allocation and fair eviction policies, and an insistence on responsible behaviour by adults and children.

4. Faulty design and inappropriate material selection and specification result in building defects, which are widely regarded as one of the major triggers of vandalism. Architects and builders must be aware of the use to which buildings and fixtures will be put, making sure they are strong enough to withstand everyday wear and tear, careless use and misuse.

5. As much vandalism is caused by overuse or neglect of property, and as damage seems to attract more vandalism, well-maintained buildings and speedy repairs are essential.

On the other hand, there are some technical problems such as poor thermal and sound insulation that are undoubtedly linked to design. It certainly makes sense to say that these technical problems can be a source of malaise.

As will be seen in the following chapters, there are so many important factors involved in influencing behaviour that it would be naive to suggest that design alone can influence an individual to the extent of leading to 'deviant' behaviour.

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CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF TENANTS AND 'PROBLEM' HOUSING ESTATES

5.1 Introduction

This Chapter will concentrate on studies which support the view that the problems found on some multi-storey housing estates are primarily due to people and their background conditioning. Poor people with little education, many social problems and so on are more likely to generate problems in their housing and create a decayed environment and consequently will suffer from its effects. The belief is that people with certain characteristics are predisposed to behave anti-socially, participate intentionally or unintentionally in destroying the environment they live in, and therefore prevent the development of a healthy community.

There are many studies based on this assumption, and many theories have emerged as a result. This chapter will attempt to assess critically and evaluate the importance and the relevance of these theories on the basis of previous exploratory studies. This chapter will also examine the effects of social housing policies and their role in creating such environments on the one hand, and on the other the role of the stigma and the labels given to some estates such as 'Alkatraz' or 'Dormitories' etc..., believed to increase the initial deviance of an estate.

5.2 Social composition of council housing tenants

There is enough evidence on income and employment status differences in relation to housing tenure to suggest that tenants of the social housing are relatively poor (low income), live on social benefits or are unemployed.

The way social housing units are allocated indicates the social status of its inhabitants. Any explanation, some argue, of the current state of public housing must take account of the extent to which this tenure as a whole contains a high proportion of the poorest, economically marginalised households, and the tendency for the most disadvantaged to be concentrated in the least popular estates. (1)

The increase of the concentration of the poor in public multi-storey housing has been steady since the 60's, to the point where such housing programmes are exclusively destined for people with little income or no income at all. (2)

Studies in some European countries showed the increase of the concentration of people with little income over the years. For example in Britain a study based on census data for 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991 concentrating on socio-economic groups in relation to tenure showed the poor in council housing. (3) It showed that there had been a shift from over-representation of all manual worker groups in the council sector in 1961 to the position where skilled workers have moved increasingly into the owner-occupied sector, leaving behind them a council sector increasingly dominated by the semi-skilled, the unskilled and the economically inactive. (4)

Bentham also looked at the income evidence between 1953 and 1983. He used Family Expenditure Survey data to show how the income gap between owner-occupiers and council tenants has widened since the early 1950s. (5) The median income of council tenants had declined from only a little below the overall median in 1953 to only 58% of the overall figure in 1983. (6) He also looked at the income distribution within and between tenures :

Meanwhile, purchasing owners have become more concentrated in the highest quartiles. A study published by the Department of the Environment in 1984, found that ; in Gostcote (Walsall) 72% received some welfare payment ; in Lowgate (Newcastle) 59% of households had no earned income. (7)

Also, the Department of the Environment evidence of 1981 shows that certain groups were over-represented in council housing:

- 29% of all households in England were council tenants.
- 36% of all households whose head was aged 60 and over were council tenants.
- 56% of households headed by someone in an unskilled manual occupation were council tenants.
- 62% of households in receipt of supplementary benefit in Great Britain were council tenants. (8)

Council tenants are not only poor, but have certain social problems. Some 57% of council tenants are not parent families, and 41% are families with seven people and more. (9) add to that a system of allocation which gives priority to those with the worst social problems (single women who become pregnant are automatically rehoused by many councils making this the easiest way for a working class girl to acquire a home away from her parents. (10)

This tendency has been observed all over Europe. In Algeria there is a slight difference since and for years social housing was destined to all sorts of people including civil servants and even the well off. The shift in allocation policies changed drastically in the beginning of the 1990's and the year 2000. Nowadays social housing is exclusively destined to people in slum areas or people with low income.

Council housing appears to be the tenure of the poor and the disadvantaged, and the concentration of the poorest in the public sector has been on the increase for a long time. This migration of the well-off gives clear evidence of the unpopularity of public housing in general and multi-storey housing in particular. Those left behind are people who can not move out because they are economically powerless.

But why are poor people associated with appalling and unpleasant environments and how ? Over the years many studies tried to investigate this phenomenon, as a result many theories emerged which purport to explain why is this so. Some of these theories will be examined in order to assess their reliability.

5.3 Opportunity theories

Opportunity theories are based on the idea that some areas are more 'delinquency prone' than others ; they therefore provide more opportunity for certain types of crime than others.

Basically the notion is that in certain areas there are influences at work which increase the likelihood of an individual indulging in criminal activity. Some of these influences stem from the physical and social fabrics of the neighborhood. It is with the latter that we are concerned in this section.

5.3.1 Social status and social class

There is little doubt that areas predominantly accupied by the working class do have a substantially higher rate of vandalism, theft, robbery, offences and violence per inhabitant. Considerable research efforts have been devoted over the years to the issue of the effects of social class on these kinds of crime.

Braithwaite in his review of nearly 300 such studies concludes that there are distinct effects related to the social class of an area and social class of an individual. (11) While there is strong evidence that lower class people and people from lower class areas behave anti socially less is said about how class inequalities lead to such behaviour. (12) The question is whether social class works directly through the acceptance and transmission of particular value systems or indirectly through the environment provided by work, school or leisure activities?

The former is less likely according to Davidson, since there are many instances where crime rates are not high in areas of similar social status. He concluded that the 'connection between crime and social class is at best indirect and at worst quite false'. (13) It appears that differences in power, income, job security, spending habits, social networks etc... which are subsumed in the notion of social class have varying implications for crime and perhaps more importantly for different types of crime.

Though the theory offers an interesting view, it does not explain exactly how social class affects behaviour. Therefore it cannot be considered convincing in associating crime with social class.

5.3.2 Housing conditions and housing class

There is a long tradition associating crime with poor housing conditions. Factors related to housing conditions are regarded as important among other predisposing factors.

From the nineteenth century philanthropists to the many recent ecological analyses there has been an emphasis on the recognition of specific housing categories in which there are intimate connections between tenure, housing amenities, social and economic conditions and offending. (14,15)

One of the major conclusions of Baldwin and Bottoms in their study of Sheffield is the importance of housing tenure in explanations of criminal offence. That is, offending is much more common in rented areas. (16) but the theoretical implications of tenure arrangements as predisposing factors have not been fully reviewed, and explanation is likely to be given to explain why renting a house should be associated with greater likelihood of offending. Is the effect direct ? or is it just coincidental, because offenders of which the majority are poor are likely to be found in rented accommodation ?

Access to social housing is dominated by institutional criteria – the allocation rules of building societies and local authorities. Housing institutions which exercise financial criteria play an important role in the formation and maintenance of criminal areas through their differential selection and allocation procedures. (17) Building societies will not give mortgages to people with low incomes, especially if these are no-work incomes.

Contrarily low income levels are part of the criteria for initial allocation of social dwellings. Higher income earners will not be allocated council houses. (18-21) Another housing criterion regarded as predisposing to crime is overcrowding. Here again the debate has been controversial and inconclusive. The correlations used and the effects deduced differ and no study has yet provided definitive links between overcrowding and deviant behaviour. (22-24) There are two different approaches to this important issue. (25-27)

First is that of ethologists who make inferences from animal populations and the empirical explorations of crime and other social pathologies, using aggregate data. Essentially, the argument of this approach is that as population density increases there is a change in behaviour patterns which results in a reduction in population growth. Analogies are drawn from rat population which once concentrated develops a 'behavioural sink' and the population is reduced by combat. (28-30) The population of large cities is seen as analogous to the rat situation. The human 'behavioural sink' is comprised of political and social extremists, together with deviant individuals such as the mentally ill, suicidal or criminal. (31) The connection is that crowding leads to stress which in turn leads to one or more forms of deviant behaviour. (32)

Criticism has been levelled at the ethological argument on a number of counts. First, the validity of inferring human reactions from animal behaviour is questioned. Human beings appear to have greater powers of adaptation and in any case killing is rare. The fact that a great proportion of council tenants have big families, and there is no decrease in the population growth, reveals the fallacy of the analogy. Second, the implication that the behavioural response is inevitable is refuted. The theory does not explain why there may be deviants in uncrowded situations nor how normal behaviour can emerge in crowded conditions at one place and time while the same conditions may elsewhere produce deviancy. (33)

Second, there are empirical studies into crowding, which have been more or less consistent in reporting a positive relationship between delinquency and overcrowding (as we have seen in the case of child density in chapter 4). (34-38) Some commented that 'persons per room' is a more important prediction of crime rates than population density, but even so the effects are smaller than other socio, economic and cultural factors. (39)

It thus seems certain that crowding is an awkward explanatory concept. Like social class it appears to have a straightforward association with crime rates in ecological terms, but at the individual level the connection is neither direct nor implicit.

And crowding itself is difficult to define, as not only does the perception of crowding vary between individuals, but also between cultures. An apartment in hong kong for instance , is unacceptable in the west. Davidson argues that ‘some cross-cultural studies have indicated wide variations in perceptions of personal space, which if developed on a more localised level could do much to account for the difficulties’ .(40)

5.3.3 Social environment

Here, the contexts which form the basis for social interaction outside the home are considered. They include school, work, recreation and neighbourhood, in which norms and value systems are located and transmitted.

The significance of social environment lies in the way in which an individual’s behaviour is influenced by the values, attitudes and perceptions of the groups with whom he or she most commonly interacts. (41) About this , Mc Donald concluded that school together with social class and neighbourhood influences delinquency.(42) However, the reasons why the social environment acts as a predisposing factor in crime causation is complex and no study has yet given a full explanation .(43)

5.4 Social disorganisation theory

The belief is that poverty , poor housing , delinquency and crime tend to be located in the same areas; areas where the normal standards of society have broken down, areas where there is moral and physical decay , many newcomers of society. A society in which they feel excluded. So it would appear that anomie offers some sound and consistent argument of anti-social behaviour.

5.5 Sub-culture theory

Sub-culture theory was first developed by Sutherland. His formulation focused on the notion that delinquency is a product of the delinquents ‘situation in society’.(50) The law-abiding live in a situation which provides influences in the opposite direction.

Glaser suggests that there are four essential elements in this process of differential association. Criminal behaviour is learned from other persons within the intimate circle of the individual : individual encounter a mixture of legal and illegal behaviour patterns . An individual becomes delinquent when the mix of encountered behaviour favours law-breaking over law-observing; and the learning process is identical whether the behaviour is criminal or lawabiding.(51)

The last element of the theory is seen by Davidson as crucial, for it suggests that, given a bias towards criminal behaviour, the individual learns to break the law in exactly the same way as in other circumstances he would learn observe it . (52)

The ecological significance of this is that it implies the existence of neighbourhoods or areas in which the balance of behaviour encountered by the potential delinquent is in favour of violating the law , and such areas will over time have their delinquent bias reinforced by the process of differential association .(53)

The urban environment according to this consists of a mosaic of differing sub-cultural realms, each with its particular blend of shared perceptions , attitudes and norms in respect to the law.(54) Merton , Cloward and Ahlin suggest that crime is not the only sub-culture to provide an alternative to the established order in society. Subcultures based on conflict and withdrawal also flourish. The frustration of legitimate opportunities may be resolved through violence or withdrawal assisted by alcohol or drugs.Where such outlets become the norm, a sub-culture exists.(55,56)

Criticism of sub-culture theories suggests that their significance varies between different types of offences. In the case of juvenile delinquency for instance they have been applied successfully. They work well for more localised offences, for instance assaults and other forms of street offence and some residential crime, but are scarcely relevant to the more extreme forms of opportunist and professional crime. (57)

Although the theory does not offer an explanation of why sub-cultures flourish particularly where poverty and bad housing exist, and how exactly a criminal behaviour develops , it does seem a useful and convincing explanation. It offers a consistent argument about how sub-cultures develop leading to many forms of anti-social behaviour.

What does emerge from this review of some of the most important theories linking social conditions of people with behaviour is that the relevance and the importance of these factors in influencing behaviour. Although none of them by itself offers a complete explanation, their combination gives a clear picture of how some of the lower class people learn to behave anti-socially.

The next section examines the role of the stigma attached to some housing estates in maintaining the bad reputation of these locations.

5.6 Environment as a label (stigmatised neighbourhoods)

There is enough evidence to suggest that neighbourhoods play a key role and exert considerable influence on patterns such as variations between communities and perceptions of crime, feelings of safety and attitudes towards the law and law-breaking . Some housing estates acquired a bad reputation and became stigmatised as a result of labels adopted by both residents and outsiders such as : ‘Dodge city’ , ‘Alkatraz’ and ‘the piggeries ‘ . (58) Ironically in Algeria some locations are labelled with good names like "New York" to indicate quite the opposite.

Once a stigma is attached to an estate , it is very difficult to remove. Baldwin found residents on an estate with such a reputation were well satisfied with their homes and surroundings.(59) Pickett and Boulton say that the estate they studied was a problem in its early years, but the reputation it still had was unjustified and undeserved. (60) Damer gives a detailed account of how a small slum-clearance housing estate in Glasgow achieved a largely false reputation for deviancy and how the label became reality as the inhabitants lived up to the expectations imposed upon them.(61) Griffiths reports that residence on such estates derogates from tenants ‘ educational and job apportunities, access to credit facilities and relationship with police and other authorities. The tenants, having been classified as risks , may fulfill the prophecy and become what they are labelled.(62) Concurrence of the police or other authority figures in accepting this reputation, suggests Baldwin , only exaggerates its effect. (63) Hollingsworth and Reynolds think that ‘the initial deviance may be reinforced and ncreased by the labelling of their residence in this way’ .(64)

In the case of 'problem' housing estates, tenants' selection or self-selection processes may serve to strengthen the neighbourhoods' image. A bad reputation can be perpetuated by the allocation policies. (67,68) Griffiths states 'it is inevitable that while there is housing shortage and a stock with differing standards . the situation will persist where families in the most urgent need of rehousing will be allocated tenancies in the most unpopular places' . (69) Damer talks about the ' institutionalisation ' of inequalities in certain locations in the city.(70)

Not all the residents of estates reputed to be a problem agree with this reputation and there is evidence that perception of the estate as a problem decreases as length of tenancy increases .(71) Hollingsworth and Reynolds say ' there is some evidence that housing estates in their formative years experience a high level of social deprivation , where as estates which have been in existence much longer become less deprivation prone'. (72) On the other hand, Benton reports that the majority of long term residents are loyal to their estates.(73) Weinberger considers that ' satisfaction with present accommodation increases with the length of tenancy, particularly if the accommodation was that originally requested (74) and Pickett and Bolton that the new life will be accepted by the majority in time; an important factor of this tenancy being length of time. (75)

Hence, there is enough evidence to suggest that there is a degree of truth that over the years a healthy community develops and tenants gradually become satisfied. It also makes sense to say that these long term residents may reject newcomers and regard them as a threat to their estate's hard won reputation. They blame newcomers for the deterioration of their estates.

It appears that this is an important factor which makes the matter even more complicated than it already is. It reveals the power of adaptability of humans to new environments, and once they have found equilibrium after years of malaise they may reject newcomers.

In the next section the effects of housing policies on the occurrence of all sorts of problems in housing estates will be discussed.

5.7 The effects of housing policies

Some commentators see the problems that exist on large social housing estates as reflections of the workings of market-oriented economy and look to central and local government for action to change or repair the social and economic fabric of society . Others regard ‘problem’ estates as an inevitable consequence of past central and local government policy . They instance central government intervention by means of subsidy , grant and recommendations which have guided local authorities towards comprehensive clearance and redevelopment; towards high-rise and high-density developments; towards industrialised building systems and ‘yardstick’ housing ; to the discouragement of the private landlord and the change in political attitudes from a concept of council housing for the general needs of the community to a concept of housing for the particular needs of those who, for one reason or another cannot house themselves to a ‘fit’ standard .(76,78)

Local authorities are criticised in the literature for operating waiting lists which ensure that people who qualify for a council house are disadvantaged. In the same sense, some local authorities are described as ‘authoritarian’ (79) , ‘paternalistic’ (80) and ‘bureaucratic’.(81) Many others believe that ‘problem’ estates are created by punitive, ghetto housing policies based on combination of highly subjective social grading and assessments of rent-paying capacities.(82-84) Families with deviant values are spatially concentrate on unpopular council estates where their morale is sapped further by physical neglect and the deteriorating structural and visual environment.(85)

Jones argues that ‘the social concentration of the consequences of the consequence of these allocation processes within the local authority housing stock in many areas is increasingly divided between “respectable” tenants and the “ghettos” or the “disadvantaged” ‘ .(86) Recent years have also seen a dramatic worsening in the economic circumstances of the residents, who constitute the bulk of those living in significant poverty. Greatly increasing unemployment , rising rent levels and cuts in benefits have combined to produce a very significant increase in social stress for those within the council housing sector.(87) However , the rents of the unemployed and those living on social security are paid by the government.

An important characteristic of the unemployed, and to lesser extent of those in low paid unskilled jobs is their powerlessness. They are powerless because their financial limitations do not enable them to make things change. The importance of this powerlessness is that it helps to explain the quality of housing service received by council tenants. About this particular point Forrest and Murie have argued that:

‘An approach to residualisation which emphasises economic and social changes provides an opportunity to see changes in management style, size, quality of the stock or level of subsidy as symptoms or consequences of level of subsidy of those using the service to resist reductions in standards or to achieve high standards. The Economic and political powerlessness of this group is both a factor in their becoming and remaining as tenants and in the quality of the service they receive. ‘(88)

Byrne and Darson also draw attention to differentiation within the public sector, and to the tendency for certain estates, usually the worst designed and the least desirable, to become especially heavily populated by the marginalised poor, while the more popular estates remain as high quality neighbourhoods for better-off workers.(89)

This is something which is reinforced by the ‘right to buy’ since 1980. In Algeria the right to buy allowed large parts of the society who were tenants to buy their flats. The process is still continuing.

5.8 Conclusion

Clearly, the majority of council tenants occupy the so-called ‘problem’ housing estates are disadvantaged for one reason or another. They are poor, unskilled or semi-skilled, unemployed, live on social benefit or with a low income, and includes families with lots of children. Why have these people been concentrated in such places? And why do some individuals belonging to such groups tend to behave anti-socially?

It seems that a link exist between the central government’s housing policies, the local government’s allocation policies and the concentration of particular groups of people in the worst accommodation available. It is not by chance that these people found themselves living in these appalling places and depressing environments.

Whether it is due to a deliberate policy to isolate these 'undesirable' people, or to the mechanisms of society which tends to create a differentiation between social classes, and consequently the most disadvantaged are forced to live in worst form of accommodation and the least popular available. The answer to this, if there is one, should be sought in the political arena, and in the allocation policies of councils, as well as in much more complex social fabric of society.

Apparently there is no doubt that the majority of deviant people come disproportionately from the lower classes. But the most reliable one appears to be 'sub-culture' theory which postulates that there are influences at work that make people learn to break the law in the same way as they learn to observe it.

However this theory should not be seen as the ultimate explanation of this phenomenon. There are so many factors involved, this makes it very difficult to formulate one single coherent explanation. The stigma attached to some estates for instance, even it is no longer justified, plays an important role and creates a sense of non-belonging.

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CHAPTER SIX

MANAGEMENT AND TENANTS' PARTICIPATION

6.1 Introduction

Many believe that a large number of the problems found on some multi-storey housing estates could be avoided if an appropriate system of management is applied, particularly if the tenants are involved in the control and the running of their estates. The reference is often made to similar housing developments in the private sector where such problems are almost unheard of. The reason behind the apparent success of such housing in the private sector is probably due to the fact that an efficient system of management is in operation. Some even point to a few successful public multi-storey council estates, believing that people who live there are more responsible, more organised and more involved in the management of their respective estates.

Law, order, organisation, control and management seem to be the essential elements of this type of explanation and proposition of solutions to the problems. It is believed that the residents by their ability to organise themselves can overcome their difficulties and hence make the environment much more tolerable.

In this chapter some of the relevant work mainly in Europe where substantial data has been gathered over the years will be reviewed in order to assess critically the extent to which management, control, tenant involvement in management and tenant ownership can play in coping with the problems which residents are facing daily in multi-storey public estates. Many aspects related to this issue are discussed in the literature. These aspects will be reviewed as follows:

The appropriateness of multi-storey accommodation for certain groups of people such as single people and the elderly and its unsuitability for families with lots of children. This implies a change in the allocation system operated by the local authorities. On this particular point the literature urges local authorities to select the right people to be housed in multi story dwellings.

The inability to repair and maintain the housing stock is important factor which contributes to the physical deterioration of the buildings, because local authorities are often unable regularly to repair damage inflicted to the buildings. Several suggestions dealing with this aspect are found in the literature.

Freedom of choice is often lacking for the tenants. This is thought to be very important. People have often been housed in some developments without their consultation or their consent and belief is that tenants should be allowed some choice.

Tenant involvement in management is generally the main curative hypothesis expressed in the literature. If tenants participate in managing their estates, improvements will occur. Also co-operative ownership if possible is believed to be the best solution for eliminating the problems.

6.2 The right people for the right place

Numerous surveys have revealed that multi-storey blocks are generally not suitable for families with children. We have seen in chapter 4 that child density is claimed to be closely associated with vandal damage inflicted to the buildings and their surroundings; that people are often complaining about noisy children and how mothers found it difficult properly to supervise their children. This led some commentators to suggest that the problem is of selecting the right occupants; a group of people to whom this form of housing is most suitable.(1) It is thought that there is a sufficient variety of people in the urban community, including single people and couples, to suggest that multi-storey blocks are valuable physical assets which can be used effectively, particularly since some surveys have found a shortage of single person accommodation.(2)

Usually the criteria used to select people who have the right to social housing are determined nationwide; very little room is left to local authorities in allocating the flats. In Algeria, the social housing stock is primarily composed of two bedroomed flats; destined generally to families with lots of kids. Single people and the elderly "if allocated a flat" it is often a single bedroom flat.

Certainly a selection of tenants already exists, but not in the sense mentioned above. Dwellings in blocks of flats are at the moment allocated to people with the most acute social problems-the poor, the disadvantaged etc. Because it is in such blocks that vacancies are likely to occur.(3) A number of studies have concluded that only specific income groups are suitable to living in high-flats. Dutch and American research found multi-storey suitable for only middle and upper income groups .(4-6)

Newman comments that this may be because they are able to compensate for the negative effects by entry phones and commissionaries for such dwellings in ways not open to the lower income groups,(7) And they can move when the accommodation no longer suits them. In general, problems tend to be experienced by families with small children which other groups escape.

Many studies suggest that multi-storey flats are suitable for the following groups: childless adults, the elderly, young single people and students.(8) For such groups flats offer distinct advantages. They are easy to run, no gardens to maintain etc.(9,10)

Also, it has been suggested that despite certain obvious difficulties elderly and handicapped people may find living in multi-storey blocks of flats if well maintain more advantageous.(11-13)

There are strong arguments to suggest that given the right occupants, that is to say occupants who are willing to live in multi-storey accommodation, there is no reason why this form of housing not be a successful one. It appears to offer some advantage for certain groups of people, particularly for people who have a larger disposable income.

6.3 Freedom of choice

The literature examined emphasises the fact that tenants in the public sector are often denied choice and are trapped in situations where they cannot appeal against decisions they consider to be arbitrary. Many commentators draw attention to the Rising expectations and aspirations of residents. These are not always for more better housing standards, but are sometimes for more relaxed forms of landlord control which give tenants some of the individual freedom enjoyed by owner-occupiers.(14)

It is thought that local authority housing stock provides opportunities for tenant choice which are not always exploited. Some even indicate that choice matters more than anything else.(15) An increase of the range of potential landlords, a.g. by selling blocks of local authority flats to private developers or to tenants should be envisaged on a large scale.(16)

Undoubtedly, for many, renting will continue to be the most appropriate form of tenure. So, it makes sense to suggest that private owners, housing associations and other independent bodies should take over multi-storey blocks from local authorities and play a more important role as competing landlords. People will have a wider choice of landlords, housing associations and other independent bodies should take over multi-storey blocks from local authorities and play a more important role as competing landlords. Hence people will have a wider choice of landlords and would be able to choose the one thought to be most appropriate for them.

Howver it is not easy to sell multi-storey blocks to private owners because some of these blocks are in such a state that their repair would cost too much to make them profitable for a renting buisiness. Some suggest that other forms of finance and subsidy should be found to make it possible for private owners in such places to invest in renting accommodation for low income groups. But in some places in London, Paris and other european cities the reverse is true, many such blocks have been converted and constitute now luxurious accommodation where rent is extremely high. (17)

Colin ward contends that a large number of people, particularly the young and mobile, do not want a house to cherish; they simply want to be able to rent decent accommodation without being bothered by administrative matters.(18) Many more commentators talked about freedom of choice as being an important factor. Certainly people who for some reason find local authority accommodation allocated to them unsuitable are able to move out for financial reasons. This adds to their frustration and unhappiness and could lead living in permanent stress.

So, it appears that freedom of choice and ability to move out are crucial factors indeed. It would be sensible to allow people who cannot afford decent accommodation in the private sector some choice so they can be able to express their preferences, and it also makes sense to suggest that being forced to live in a place you don't like is not a pleasant feeling.

6.4 Maintenance and repair

Multi-storey social housing suffer disproportionately from damage inflicted to the buildings and their surroundings.(see sect.2.10) The physical neglect of buildings and their immediate environment caused by deliberate vandalism has attracted much comment in the literature. The ability to repair damage quickly, and permanently make sure that the buildings are well maintained, is thought by some to be crucial and can prevent an estate from sinking and becoming 'problem' .(19-21) But it is sometimes impossible to keep estates well maintained for several reasons. First, local agencies in charge of these estates are often short of money because of rent arrears and central government spending restriction and second, they are reluctant to spend money on continually repairing or replacing things that are vandalised again and again.(22,23)

Some think that if landlords (OPGI for instance) want to overcome this difficulty, they should demonstrate that they are making a determined effort, possibly in collaboration with groups of tenants.(24) Tenants may then come to see that they have a collective responsibility with their landlords to maintain and protect their domain. Others point to practical solutions, regularly maintaining buildings and keeping them in good repair. They think that the establishment resident caretakers would do much to prevent the deterioration of the blocks.(25)

6.5 The importance of management

Many commentators talk about management as being one of the most important factor affecting the problems found on some estates.

On a more theoretical ground; the presence of litter and graffiti is an indication of lack of caretaking, and that this very presence of litter and graffiti in the public entrances and hallways to dwellings breaks a social taboo of order and decency.(26) The taboo is about a sense of rectitude and self-respect. In the case of social housing, the presence of litter and so on becomes more than uncomfortable. Since everything in man-made universe is created on notions of order. To experience disorder at the entrances of our homes is particularly discomfoting.(27)

Caretaking appears to be of extreme importance and it comprises a series of tasks from sweeping and cleaning to general maintenance and repairs. There has always been an ambiguity in the responsibility for tasks in the case of social housing between local authorities and their tenants about who is responsible for what.(28)

Some comment that the role of the caretaker in local authority housing, at least until the 1960s , Included an element of supervision and control.(29) Also it is suggested that caretaking has been subject to a steady erosion of personnel as a consequence of financial constraints which have been imposed upon social housing management over the last two decades. (30) The trend ever since has been to reduce the number of manual workers working on estates. This is particularly evident in all housing estates where "le concierge" disappeared completely.

This meant for example that on huge housing etates like Ziadia or Boussouf for instance no one is in charge of the buildings. The staff had been reduced to almost nothing.(31)

A study carried out in 1986 in the housing estate "Fadila Saadane" in Constantine with some residents recorded expressions of attitudes of pride. The success of the estate was attributed to a number of features, its design, its location, the amount of greenery between the blocks, but management was seen as vital. The estate had a resident caretaker for the first ten years and his retirement was much regretted. Tenants reported that he kept the estate to a high standard of cleanliness and tidiness. In his times not a piece of litter was allowed surrounding the blocks of flats.(32)

Some argue that the effects of lack of caretaking are shocking, so much, so that they can appear to presage a breakdown in moral values. Tenants reaction to good caretaking is much appreciation; its value goes beyond a purely financial return to being a significant factor in terms of morale and self-respect. It is hard to imagine "how design modifications as suggested by some may reduce the housework necessary outside the dwelling to a significant degree". (33)

The production and tidying away of waste product is an inescapable human process and it makes sense to suggest that it should be acknowledged and dealt with by clearly defined caretaking.

6.6 Involving tenants in managing their estates

The issue of tenant involvement in management is perhaps the topic most referred to in the literature; some think that the topic is of a great urgency. It is inconceivable to them that in a democratic society some decide for others without even consultation. No one would know what is best for others without even consultation. No one would know what is best for the tenant better than the tenants themselves, argue some commentators. Hence residents are thought to be able to act as a catalyst in order to help eliminate some of the problems. Tenant participation may be introduced as a means of increasing control over policy decisions affecting them.(.34)

In most European countries, signs of increasing dissatisfaction and anger began to appear from the late -1960s, by tenants who were fed up with the way housing estates were run. Their opinions had never been sought in any meaningful way, but with the increasing disappointment of the new developments, some tenants began to voice their sense of frustration, either spontaneously or in small organized groups. Tenant

dissatisfaction was not of course, an entirely new phenomenon. Examples of uprising of tenants in the past have been recurrent. In the late-1930s there had been a series of campaigns by unemployed worker's organizations against high rents and evictions. After the war, tenant associations had been created on new estates and new towns across Europe. This had led for example to the creation of the National Association of Tenants and Residents in 1948 in Britain.(35)

Despite these examples of early activity, before the late-1960s tenant action was the exception rather than the norm. Post-war reconstruction plans were never effectively questioned or challenged. This began to change from the late-1960s and throughout the 1970s with the rise of consumer rights, the promises of welfarism and with people more ready and willing to question decisions made in their name. These changes paralleled an increase in tenant action.(35)

In Britain, by the late-1960s, residents in some clearance areas became organized in a bid to influence wider housing policy. This is what created so much of the underlying frustration. Tenants knew where they wanted to reside and the type of homes in which they would like to live, but they were ignored. Again, the scale of the problem facing local authorities made consultation difficult, but this top-down approach was creating long-term problems. People were forced into homes they had no say in designing in areas with which they had no connection. (36)

Tenants were placed in areas according to the local authorities' criteria. If a tenant refused an offer, they could be placed at the bottom of the waiting list or made increasingly worse offers, which would eventually have to be accepted because of the threat of eviction from their condemned property. They could even be taken off the list. For families who did not qualify for immediate re-housing under a clearance scheme, the situation was even worse.

Tenants had never participated in the decision-making process, but had to live with the consequences. The shifting political climate meant that protests were being heard from various groups. A few local authorities recognized that this was not necessarily an ideological issue and were much more aware of the possible benefits of developing participation schemes. From the late-1960s and early-1970s, some housing departments showed a genuine interest in developing tenant-participation schemes. Research carried out by Anne Richardson in the mid-1970s led to the publication of a government-backed handbook on tenant participation in council-housing management.(37)

The handbook, *Getting Tenants Involved*, was designed to promote tenant-participation schemes across the country and, consequently, improve the quality of service. Richardson recognised that participation schemes provided a vital bridge between the council and tenant, allowing local authorities to gauge and absorb tenant opinions. Some local authorities experimented with schemes by holding discussion meetings, including tenants on advisory committees or giving them a place on the housing committees. (37)

However, throughout the 1980s, the political climate continued to change. A moratorium on council-house construction effectively marked the end of large-scale local-authority house building. Responsibility for social housing was shifted to other non-profit-making organizations such as housing associations. Increased tenant rights were protected as central-government legislation and finance often demanded greater levels of consultation.

Hence residents are thought to be able to act as a catalyst in order to help eliminate some of the problems. Tenant participation may be introduced as a means of increasing control over policy decisions affecting them. It may also be introduced because it is thought that established policy goals may be achieved more efficiently if tenants are given a regular voice in the implementation process (making things work better). (38) Or it may be introduced to give tenants an increased sense of involvement without necessarily affecting policy decisions very drastically. Finally it may be introduced to ensure the representation of tenants' views in decision-making, with an emphasis on proper procedures.(39)

These proposals seem to be methods of improving communication with and representation of tenants; methods of allowing tenants self-management of their estates. Tenants are thus to decide on matters affecting their individual estate. The idea is that people are capable of managing their own environment.

Many studies reported results of tenant involvement in management through tenant co-operatives or tenant associations, which will be discussed below .

Frank Dobson states: that the functions are divided between executive and advisory functions. Executive functions include maintenance of common areas, repairs to properties, encouragement of social and community activities, and control of the use of amenities on estates. The committees have an advisory role on caretaking, tenancy rules and other matters on which tenants feel their views would be of assistance to the council.(40)

In practice, the committees are a great deal more advisory than executive. The executive functions have tended to be limited to approving contracts for repair and maintenance remains in practice the province of the district maintenance officer.(41) Dobson concluded that 'tenant committees need more decision-making function' .This would give groups of people living in housing designed in groups with common services greater control over their common problems, and this will lead in turn to the development of a stronger and more local collective responsibility.(42)

Another experiment consisted of developing housing management techniques and ideas for the tenants.(43)They encouraged the setting up of tenants 'associations and offered a 'minor repair' budget to each group of tenants to give them an immediate function, which is the supervision of the workmanship of builders carrying out the work of repair. (44) The aim was to encourage tenant involvement in every aspect of their homes from decoration to the details of tenancy agreements and the maintenance of the properties in the long term. To a lesser extent, the trust encouraged tenants to be involved in the improvement of the neighbourhoods in which they live, the provision of play centres and old people's clubs; shops and open space, better bus services and so on.(45)

One of the pioneers of the experiment, Caroline Pickering, states that they experienced some problems in trying to achieve a higher degree of involvement .One, she said, was money. The amount available to be spent on management and maintenance was limited. Therefore, in her opinion tenants should show greater willingness to do their own minor repairs, like replacing tap washers and door knobs, rather than eat into what they feel is their budget. She thinks it will take time to create fully effective channels of communication, to ensure that the tenant activists are truly representative of those they claim to speak for, and to supply staff who are adequately trained to carry out an increasingly complex management function. But she concluded that the experiment is absolutely worthwhile.(46)

Another experiment was out in Lambeth, where five area committees were set up, each administered by area manager. Their membership consisted of the chairman of the committee; two members of that committee; two ward councillors from the area and five tenants. At the same time it was agreed that two tenants should sit on the housing management sub-committee as full members of the committee and with voting rights.(47) The area committee has very wide terms of reference, covering all matters related to the tenants on housing estates, to the mutual benefit of the council and its tenants. They give advice on improvements and on allocation of money. They state priorities for the consideration of the housing management sub-committee which retains the power of decision. They meet quarterly and can meet more frequently if they choose. A key role is played by the area housing managers, who are council employees, who provide reports and information for the committees in collaboration with the other officials of the council.(48)

Of the five committees, states Pamela Grandy, three are flourishing and two have faded into the background. She thinks that too much weight may be given to an area because that is where the pressure is coming from. Estates which are not active tend to be forgotten. But the existence of the committees particularly where they have worked well has caused a lot of useful hard thinking about established practice in the area housing offices.

Here again one of the problems that faced the Lambeth experiment is the true representativeness of the committees, which has two aspects in Pamela Grandy's opinion. The first is the extent to which the activists really represent for the majority of tenants whose voices are never heard. This doubt is also present in other fields than housing and there is no obvious way of eliminating it. The second is the extent to which tenants chosen by associations from a given estate can represent tenants on other estates on area committee.(49)

Many more commentators strongly support tenant participation in every aspect of the management of their estates and believe that no success can be achieved without the involvement of the users themselves, regardless of any other factors believed to be at the origins of such problems.(50)

Some like Bulos and Walker call for intensive management and report on two different experiments. All Saints tenant management co-operative consists of 16 three-bedroom two storey houses and 8 two-bedroom flats in a 7 storey block served by two passenger lifts. Also on the site are a car park, small garden, and an infant's playground. The estate is owned by Wandsworth council. It was fully occupied and officially opened in March 1980. The tenants are taken from the council waiting list; they were selected in terms of housing needs, local connection and positive commitment to the principles of co-operative management and a willingness to participate in such a management scheme. Tenants are fairly similar in terms of income and jobs.(51)

After six years of its existence they do not appear to have been any particular problems or disputes which have proved disruptive or unresolvable, say Bulos and Walker. In addition to attending to the management of cleaning, repairs and maintenance, the co-operative is responsible for a number of areas of common importance and use:

- A car park is managed and parking places are allocated to the residents by the co-operative.
- A paved and landscaped garden has been designed by one of the tenants, funded by the budget surpluses and planted and cared for by other tenants.
- A laundry room in the basement is put in service by the co-operative for the benefit of all the tenants.
- The block of flats has an entry phone system opening into an entrance hall.(52)

It is also worth noting that unlike many existing estates which were designed independently of the people who were going to live there, All Saints scheme has been the subject of co-ordinated attention at different levels including the future tenants. From the beginning, issues of design, construction, management, finance and occupancy were taken seriously into consideration.(53)

The second experiment is Gloucester home, a block of flats on south of Kilburn estate on the borough of Brent which experienced some problems in the past. The block currently houses 600 people drawn from the general housing waiting list. Single households, childless couples and families of children of all ages are randomly distributed in the block. This block has never had a particular management for the common areas and there was no permanent, full time or resident person responsible for the block.

In 1984 a receptionist service was introduced into the block. A consultative exercise with the tenants established their agreement and support for these changes. During these procedures tenants were offered a larger measure of direct control over finances and personnel, but this was rejected in favour of the council retaining a full management role with the tenants' association acting as a consultative body only.(54)

The main responsibility of the receptionist was to provide reception service to the block and to offer some support services to the residents and other management functions such as receiving and processing requests for repairs, and showing vacant flats to prospective tenants.

Shiltern produces data on this block to show that there have been considerable benefits following from the scheme, which have been greatly appreciated by council workers, the police and the tenants. He identifies these advantages as follows:

- Security is greatly enhanced.
- The reception desk became a focal point for the community.
- Residents feel much safer when entering the block as do their guests.
- Entry phones do not break down nor are they vandalised.
- Lift break-downs are dramatically reduced
- There is an immense reduction in the number of communal repairs that are necessary.
- Graffiti became almost a thing of the past
- Tenant satisfaction is greatly enhanced.
- Other cost such as security patrol, caretaking and cleaning are substantially reduced.(55)

On the basis of improvements shown in these two examples, Bulos and Walker think that design is equally important but it should be linked and decided in relation to the context in which it occurs, with a particular emphasis on management rather than design per se. (56) In addition to the difficulties of representativeness shown earlier, there are other objections to tenant involvement in management through tenant co-operatives and tenant associations. First, it is said that tenant selection in the hands of tenants' association would discriminate against the poor and the disadvantaged.

The problem is of changing public attitudes, but it should not stand in the way of an experiment of tenant control.(57)

Second, it is argued that a great deal of education will be needed before tenant control can be achieved and work effectively. To this objection some argue that the quickest and the only way to learn responsibility is to accept it.(58) Any tenants 'association that takes the idea seriously would have to set out a long campaign of education and propaganda. It would appear that after going through difficulties in the beginning, tenant associations would soon acquire techniques and managerial skills that would enable them to take control of the situation. (59)

It seems from the experiment considered in this study that tenant involvement in management is extremely important and worth trying, even if the improvements are partial.

6.7 Selling multi-storey blocks to their tenants

Many argue that tenant take-over is the solution to the problems facing residents in some multi-storey blocks. The belief is that if people become owners of the flats they would probably feel more responsible and take care of their properties. But some object to tenant take-over. It is thought that the tenant take-over would permanently withdraw the affected houses and flats from the housing stock available to local authorities.(60) This is the main objection raised by councillors both to purchases of houses by individual tenants transfers to tenant co-operatives.

Colin Ward approaches this objection from a different angle. He thinks that if the families were richer they would no doubt be house-hunters in the owner-occupation side of the market; their place is taken by other families , and those other families are effectively removed from the waiting list. (61) In other words nothing is lost provided councils build additional accommodation. Many large authorities have unlettable houses or flats at the same time they have long waiting lists. In these circumstances the tenant take-over thought by some to be the only way left to change the way in which these estates are perceived by both residents and outsiders.(62)

But what would happen when the loan is finally paid off ? To this question the national federation of housing societies gave the following answer:

‘First when the mortgage is repaid the society or Association will own the property. The association is owned by shareholders who are also the tenants and it is they and they alone, who may make the decision on their future. They may continue just as they are occupying their particular portion of the property on the same conditions. The second possibility is that the association could grant to all the members occupiers a long term lease on that property. In this case any individual member, if and when he wanted to leave the property , may now sell the remaining years of that lease for its market value ‘ .(63)

Tenant take-over is feasible in certain limited cases, due to financial limitation of the majority of council tenants. Nevertheless, people who are willing to purchase their dwelling should be welcome to do so. And indeed since 1980 many council dwellings have been sold, however most of them houses.

6.8 Conclusion

It seems that there is to a certain extent agreement among researchers and commentators that a particular kind of housing is more suitable for certain categories of people.

Blocks of flats are thought to be more appropriate for tenancy for childless couples, the elderly , young single people, students and people with relatively high incomes. It certainly makes sense following this trend of reasoning to suggest that a re-allocation of blocks of flats to the groups found most suitable for this kind of accommodation would be of a greater benefit, both to the owners (local authorities) and to the residents belonging to the groups mentioned above, as some surveys have found that these people are in need of suitable rented accommodation , and the research showed the groups that are not suitable. This, however is possible only if accommodation is available elsewhere e.g for families with lots of children.

A much greater choice put at the disposal of any person seeking accommodation would be appreciated and would probably help many overcome the frustration of freedom of choice. Many proposals have been put forward and there are certainly a lot more to be worked out to allow people, who for obvious reasons cannot own a house, a reasonable flexibility in the choice of accommodation.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that the council stock needs more spent on it and better control of what is spent. More money is needed to repair the damage already inflicted to many of multi-storey council estates. But the issue of tenant participation in management is perhaps the most serious proposition. The results of involvement are so far quite encouraging. And despite the very presence of other factors influencing the problems. Tenant involvement in management could be seen as practical solution that if carried out effectively would do much to improve life on those estates.

To sum up, it appears that there have been three claims. One would be the introduction of a more rigorous system of management by setting up rules and employing people to make sure that these rules are respected and by increasing the number of caretakers and giving them a greater responsibility for the care and maintenance of the building. Second tenants have the right to be involved in the running of their estates and participation is highly recommended.

The right to full participation by tenants in all matters affecting their homes and environment at all levels. Tenants have to be involved in influencing and shaping decisions. The aim is to strengthen the influence of tenants and seek continuous improvement of services.

Tenants have the right to receive information about all matters affecting them, their homes and environments. This includes information about housing management policies and practice and any proposal for change. Written information should be provided.

The Right to Consultation and Participation Tenants have the right to be consulted and to participate in all aspects of the housing management of their homes and immediate environment. There should be no areas closed to participation.

Representative tenants and residents associations have the right to be consulted and to participate. This right includes the funding and the management of their homes. It also includes consultation and participation in any policy developments which affect their rights.

The right to choose levels and place of participation. Options of involvement as well as the methods and pace should suit them.

Tenants must have choice which means that they may not want to be involved in any great detail about the running of the Association, while still being informed and consulted as appropriate.

The right to real opportunity to Influence the decision making. Tenants should be encouraged to be involved in influencing and shaping policies and decisions.

The right to form representative groups.

The right to independent resources. Tenants groups, if not financially supported, will receive assistance with office services such as photocopying, writing material, stationery and production of newsletters.

The Right to Training .Training is fundamental and valuable component of tenant participation. Training enables tenants to give an informed view of housing service and performance. In order that tenants are able to participate effectively Authorities should support the provision of adequate training so tenants can effectively participate and contribute to the participation process.

The right to equality of opportunity It is the right of all tenants to have the opportunity to be involved in tenant participation.

The right to complain. Tenants and residents have the right to complain about any aspect of the housing management services which they are not happy with, through an accessible and easy to understand complaints procedure.

The right to independent advice and support. This will enable tenants to give an informed view of housing services and to give their view on the performance.

Authorities could develop a different kind of relationship with tenants by involving them in every aspect of the management of their respective estates or blocks of flats. And this is not always possible, local authorities could sell their blocks of flats to their tenants as a co-operative and consequently they will be responsible for their running.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

CASE STUDY: ASSESSING MULTI STOREY HOUSING ESTATES' PERFORMANCE IN CONSTANTINE PARTICULARLY ANT- SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

7.1 Introduction

Probably one the basic need of human beings is to “inhabit”; the indispensable need for an appropriate dwelling. In order to live in a decent, protective place; a place where he can feel secure; can develop; give birth; grow up etc ...demands of housing are required. Following change and rising of economic and social developments, residents need not only the actual types of houses available but also expect better quality for better environments. Levels of housing reflect citizens’ living standard. Inhabiting appropriate and comfortable housing providing suitable protective surrounding and a pleasant environment is highly expected and needed toward housing for residents.

Although family characteristics and obligation, as well as residents’ selection and demand of buying or renting a flat are different, many factors influence the price of properties or rent levels. Usually the price gives a much clearer idea of the quality of the dwelling and its environment. Meanwhile, the degree of reputation of anti social behaviour on these estates seem to be a major factor for the selection of location and satisfaction. The quality of life that describes the residents’ individual mental happiness and sense of abundance as well as demand levels of satisfaction of the social substance of living environment.

One of the major features of multi-storey housing is that people of different cultural backgrounds, diverse lifestyles different generations are bound to live together. The relationship between these different groups of users, could lead to conflicting situations, some of which are probably related to space layout and architectural design, others are more complex and inter-dependant.

Co-living or inhabiting is a neutral term which means the “**sharing of commun space**” by different partners of diverse origins. This very relationship could take different forms: people could avoid each other; confront each other or collaborate with each other.

An informal discussion with several estate agents in Constantine, revealed that a key question is recurrent asked often by potential buyers or tenants “**who’s my next door neighbour?**” of course, floor level, space layout, reputation, transportation etc are important and determine the price of the property. But the "quality" of neighbours seem to be a major factor in the process of decision making.

This chapter through a field work "survey type" tries to assess on one hand the performance of some housing estates by questioning the degree of satisfaction of the residents with regard to several characteristics (Maintenance and repairs, utilities, human services, management etc..) And on the other hand the study investigates numerous factors linked to Anti Social Behaviour (ASB) the degree of their severity and how residents as well as professionals think about dealing and tackling this tricky issue. A survey is carried out in 9 major multi storey- housing estates in the city of Constantine:

1. La cité El Bir
2. La Cité Benboulaid
3. Fadila Saadane
4. La Cité du 20 Aout 1955
5. La cité du 05 Juillet 1962
6. Daksi
7. La Cité Ziadia
8. La Cité Sakiet Sidi Youcef
9. La Cité Boussouf Abdelhafid

The overall objective of this study is to assess the satisfaction of the residents, the influence of anti social behaviour on the quality of life of the inhabitants and what can be done to alleviate the problem on the other.

Checking if anti-social behaviour is ruining residents life; to what extent; what are the categories that affect most the inhabitants; what are their relation to space design and characteristics and finally what can be done to alleviate the problem with a set of conclusions and recommendations.

7.2 Literature review

The built environment is complex and contain all the visible or invisible influencing factors including substantial and concrete facilities. They include, interior environment, residential environment, location environment, cities and district environment. Among them, residential environment, larger than interior environment, consists of natural environment, e.g. sunshine, direction of wind, topography, direction of housing, public space, surrounding roads, surface of road as well as public facilities, such as: drainage and sewage system, waste material disposal and energy supply, etc. With regard the environment's quality, a certain standard is required.

Although the demand depends on resident's characteristics, there are still some influencing factors for residents to select a specific location; characteristics of communications network as well as silence, security and comfort of environment are the main concern for potential buyers. Selective factors vary considerably; they include family factor, economic factor, social factor, interior housing environment factor and location environment factor.

Among these factors, healthy factor (including lighting, privacy, management, appearance of structure, etc.) and environment facility completeness factor (including perfection of road facility, location, level of green, etc...) Thus, it seems that the demand is shifting towards quality. Also some research suggests that the influencing factors of selecting housing location are: nearby local public facility, reputation of the neighbourhood, physics of housing itself, arrival of communications facility and environment. In addition, according to estate agents influencing factors of housing price are:

(1) Housing substantial attributes (including scale of the base, number of rooms, housing type, age of housing, floor level etc.).

(2) Attributes which can be reached (e.g. distance toward central area of the city or location of employment).

(3) Reputation of the neighbourhood and the next door neighbour.

(4) Characteristics of public department which contains quantity and quality of public services.

Other research work suggests that influencing housing price factors are characteristics of the housing location, substantial environment attributes and characteristics of neighbourhood of the housing location, residents' economic and social background, their behaviour of selecting housing as well as housing location over an area.

Thus, it is known that high quality housing environment is residents' main concern. No matter whether the real estate price of the housing or location selecting, people attach much importance to the quality of the neighbourhood, good views, silence and comfort of the surrounding housing landscape.

The quality of life means the level of life for individual and group. It is also a boundary of continuous development, search and upgrading through the whole life. The contents of the quality of life are happiness of human it includes subjective viewpoint of mental desire of individual value, goal, belief and needs as spiritual layer of sense of fulfillment and happiness due to achievement, as well as materialized layer of satisfying basic needs of life. According to the World Health Organization (WHO) that a good living environment has to be reached to:

(1) Security: A safe environment without hazard and fear,

(2) Health: As it is the cause of human happiness, public hazard has to be prohibited,

(3) Convenience: In order to raise city living efficiency, convenient living environment is a must.

(4) Silence and comfort: It includes high level of culture, social facility and good landscape. Therefore, in order to raise and improve the quality, good living environment elements have to be reached. Following upgrading of national living standard and gradual enhancement of living consciousness, how to enough improve living environment quality and to increase national happiness are common purpose for individual and society to be devoted with their efforts. Anti social behaviour (ASB) is defined as:

7.3 What is Anti social behaviour

“ Acting in a manner that causes or is likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress to one or more persons not of the same household as themselves” (1)

There are many categories of anti social behaviour (ASB) which include:

- Abuse or insulting words (to tenants, staff or any other member of the community
- Harassment on the ground of age, gender, religion, race, colour, appearance or cultural background.
- Violence or threat of violence to any person.
- Noise.
- Using and selling drugs or alcohol
- Unkept gardens
- Criminal behaviour
- Intimidating gatherings of young people in public spaces. (eg: entrances, door ways and stairs cases)
- Damage or threat of damage to property
- Cycling on footpaths
- Parking on footpaths
- Riding motorbikes anywhere
- Graffiti
- Littering

- Using or allowing to use premises for illegal or immoral purposes, such as prostitution
- Nuisance from business use
- Rubbish dumping
- Using public spaces for private use
- Any nuisance or annoyance caused by pets or other animals Etc.....

7.4. Research methodology

This study is mainly to investigate and assess the level of satisfaction of the residents life in 9 majors housing developments in the city of Constantine, particularly the effects of anti social behaviour (ASB) on the inhabitants and its relation to space design and characteristics. Through a structured questionnaire the study tries to understand residents' expectation and needs toward the phenomenon of anti social behaviour, its effects and ways of alleviating the problem. To understand the definition of anti-social behaviour and the theory of man-environment behaviour. Different theories are reviewed in order to understand the mechanisms by which man and the physical environment react.

7.5 Ways of investigating the subject: Research methods

7.5.1 Qualitative research methods (Phenomenological approaches)

There are five major types of qualitative research: phenomenology, ethnography, case study research, grounded theory, and historical research. All of the approaches are similar in that they are qualitative approaches. Each approach, however, has some distinct characteristics and tends to have its own roots and following.

Here are the definitions and an example of the different types of qualitative research:

Phenomenology – a form of qualitative research in which the researcher attempts to understand how one or more individuals experience a phenomenon. For example, you might interview 20 widows and ask them to describe their experiences of the deaths of their husbands.

Ethnography – is the form of qualitative research that focuses on describing the culture of a group of people. Note that a culture is the shared attitudes, values, norms, practices, language, and material things of a group of people. For an example of an ethnography, you might decide to go and live in a Mohawk communities and study the culture and their educational practices.

Case study research – is a form of qualitative research that is focused on providing a detailed account of one or more cases. For an example, you might study a classroom that was given a new curriculum for technology use.

Grounded theory – is a qualitative approach to generating and developing a theory from data that the researcher collects. For an example, you might collect data from parents who have pulled their children out of public schools and develop a theory to explain how and why this phenomenon occurs, ultimately developing a theory of school pull-out.

Historical research – research about events that occurred in the past. An example, you might study the use of corporeal punishment in schools in the 19th century.

Qualitative research is aimed at gaining a deep understanding of a specific organization or event, rather than a surface description of a large sample of a population. It aims to provide an explicit rendering of the structure, order, and broad patterns found among a group of participants. It is also called ethnomethodology or field research. It generates data about human groups in social settings.

Qualitative research does not introduce treatments or manipulate variables, or impose the researcher's operational definitions of variables on the participants. Rather, it lets the meaning emerge from the participants. It is more flexible in that it can adjust to the setting. Concepts, data collection tools, and data collection methods can be adjusted as the research progresses.

Qualitative research aims to get a better understanding through first hand experience, truthful reporting, and quotations of actual conversations. It aims to understand how the participants derive meaning from their surroundings, and how their meaning influences their behaviour.

Qualitative research uses observation as the data collection method. Observation is the selection and recording of behaviours of people in their environment. Observation is useful for generating in-depth descriptions of organizations or events, for obtaining information that is otherwise inaccessible, and for conducting research when other methods are inadequate.

Observation is used extensively in studies by psychologists, anthropologists, sociologists, and programme evaluators. Direct observation reduces distortion between the observer and what is observed that can be produced by an instrument (e.g., questionnaire). It occurs in a natural setting, not a laboratory or controlled experiment. The context or background of behaviour is included in observations of both people and their environment. And it can be used with inarticulate subjects, such as children or others unwilling to express themselves.

7.6 Participant observation

Participant observation is a period of intensive social interaction between the researcher and the subjects, in the latter's environment. It becomes the full-time occupation of the researcher. Participant observers are trained in techniques of observation, which distinguishes them from regular participants.

7.7 Quantitative research methods (Positivist approaches)

7.7.1 Experimental and Non experimental Research

The basic building blocks of quantitative research are variables. Variables (something that takes on different values or categories) are the opposite of constants (something that cannot vary, such as a single value or category of a variable). The most simple classification is between categorical and quantitative variables.

Quantitative variables vary in degree or amount (e.g., annual income) and categorical variables vary in type or kind (e.g., gender). The other set of variables in the table (under the heading role taken by the variable) are the kinds of variables we talk about when explaining how the world operates and when we design a quantitative research study.

Independent variables (symbolized by "IV") are the presumed cause of another variable. Dependent variables (symbolized by "DV") are the presumed effect or outcome. Dependent variables are influenced by one or more independent variables. What is the IV and DV in the relationship between smoking and lung cancer? (Smoking is the IV and lung cancer is the DV.)

7.7.2 The major types of quantitative research:

7.8 Experimental research

The purpose of experimental research is to study cause and effect relationships. Its defining characteristic is active manipulation of an independent variable (i.e., it is only in experimental research that “manipulation” is present).

7.9 Nonexperimental research

The defining characteristic of experimental research was manipulation of the IV, where as in non experimental research there is no manipulation of the independent variable. What this means is that if you ever see a relationship between two variables in non experimental research you cannot jump to a conclusion of cause and effect because there will be too many other alternative explanations for the relationship.

In the simple case of correlational research, there is one quantitative IV and one quantitative DV. We can obtain much stronger evidence for causality from experimental research than from non experimental research (e.g., a strong experiment is better than causal-comparative and correlation research). We cannot conclude that a relationship is causal when we only have one IV and one DV in nonexperimental research (without controls).

7.10 Mixed research methods

Mixed research is a general type of research (it's one of the three paradigms) in which quantitative and qualitative methods, techniques, or other paradigm characteristics are mixed in one overall study. The two major types of mixed research are distinguished: mixed method versus mixed model research.

Mixed method research – is research in which the researcher uses the qualitative research paradigm for one phase of a research study and the quantitative research paradigm for another phase of the study. For example, a researcher might conduct an experiment (quantitative) and after the experiment conduct an interview study with the participants (qualitative) to see how they viewed the experiment and to see if they agreed with the results. Mixed method research is like conducting two mini-studies within one overall research study.

Mixed model research – is research in which the researcher mixes both qualitative and quantitative research approaches within a stage of the study or across two of the stages of the research process. For example, a researcher might conduct a survey and use a questionnaire that is composed of multiple closed-ended or quantitative type items as well as several open-ended or qualitative type items. For another example, a researcher might collect qualitative data but then try to quantify the data.

7.10.1 The Advantages of mixed research

First of all, the use of mixed research when it is feasible, is encouraged. It will undoubtedly help qualitative and quantitative researchers to get along better and, more importantly, it will promote the conduct of excellent educational research.

Perhaps the major goal for researcher who design and conduct mixed research is to follow the fundamental principle of mixed research. According to this principle, the researcher should mix quantitative and qualitative research methods, procedures in a way that the resulting mixture or combination has complementary strengths and nonoverlapping weaknesses.

When different approaches are used to focus on the same phenomenon and they provide the same result, you have "corroboration" which means you have superior evidence for the result. Other important reasons for doing mixed research are to complement one set of results with another, to expand a set of results, or to discover something that would have been missed if only a quantitative or a qualitative approach had been used.

Some researchers like to conduct mixed research in a single study, and this is what is truly called mixed research. However, it is interesting to note that virtually all research literatures would be mixed at the aggregate level, even if no single researcher uses mixed research. That's because there will usually be some quantitative and some qualitative research studies in a research literature.

7.11 The survey method

7.11.1 Steps of the survey methods:

1. Choice of topic to be studied
- 2 . Forming of hunches and hypotheses
- 3 Identification of the population to be surveyed
- 4 Carrying out preparation investigations and interviews
- 5 Drafting the questionnaire
- 6 Conducting a pilot survey
- 7 Finalising the questionnaire
- 8 Selecting a sample of the population
- 9 Collecting the data
- 10 Processing the data and analysing the results

7.12 The case study

7.12.1 Introduction

Reviewing various approaches to obtaining feedback from residents on their satisfaction with their living conditions to evaluate the performance of these estates, the survey approach seemed to be the best way of obtaining an objective assessment. A survey was conducted (with the help of some of my students) during the period of 10 January- 25 January 2008. They approached residents in all the 9 estates in a random way. A total of 270 persons were asked on the basis of 30 residents in each housing estate. The response achieved a rate of about 72 percent (195 residents); which makes it a very respectable level for a tenant survey.

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the contents of the questionnaire, present the results of the survey, and document the survey methodology. With nearly two thirds of all tenants responding to the survey, the survey results should be highly reliable. The opinions of the residents who did not respond would have to be significantly different from the residents who responded in order to materially change the results.

7.12.2 The sample profile

An overview of the nine major housing estates chosen for the study are highlighted. These are some illustrations of the following housing estates.

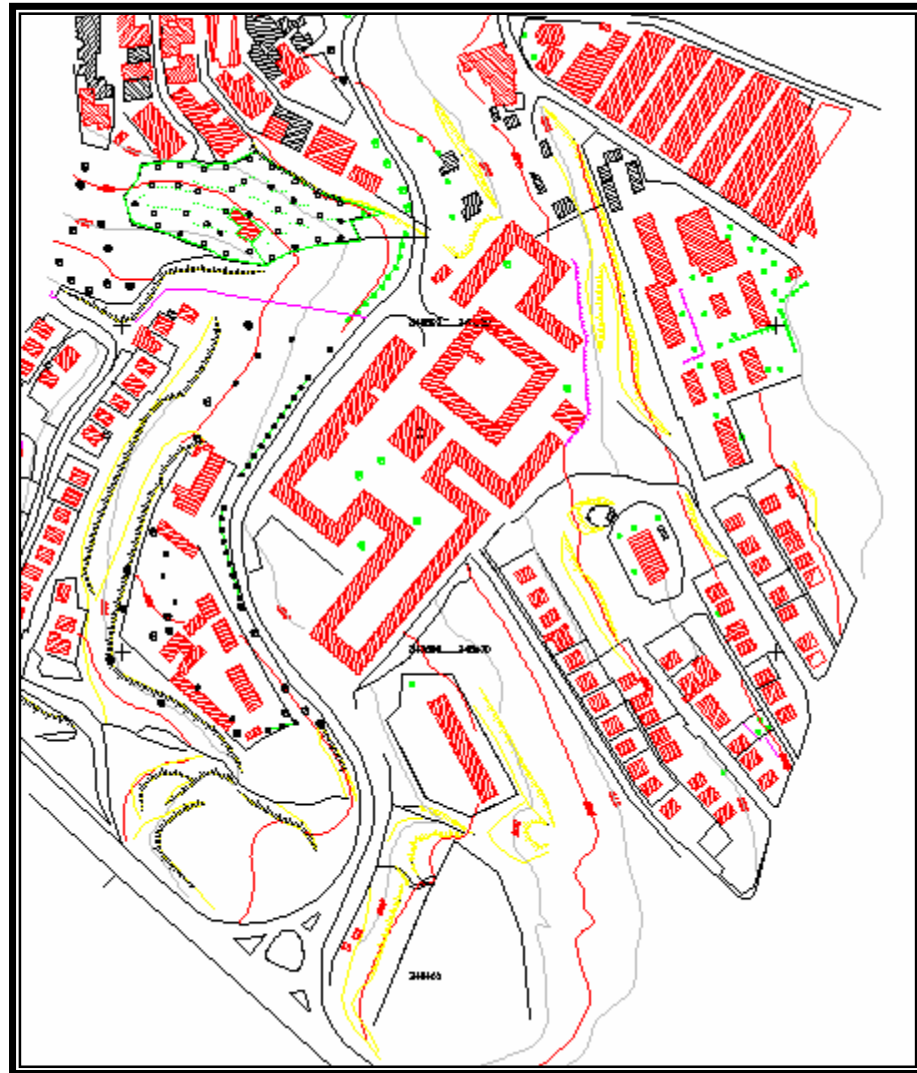


Figure 1. La Cite el Bir

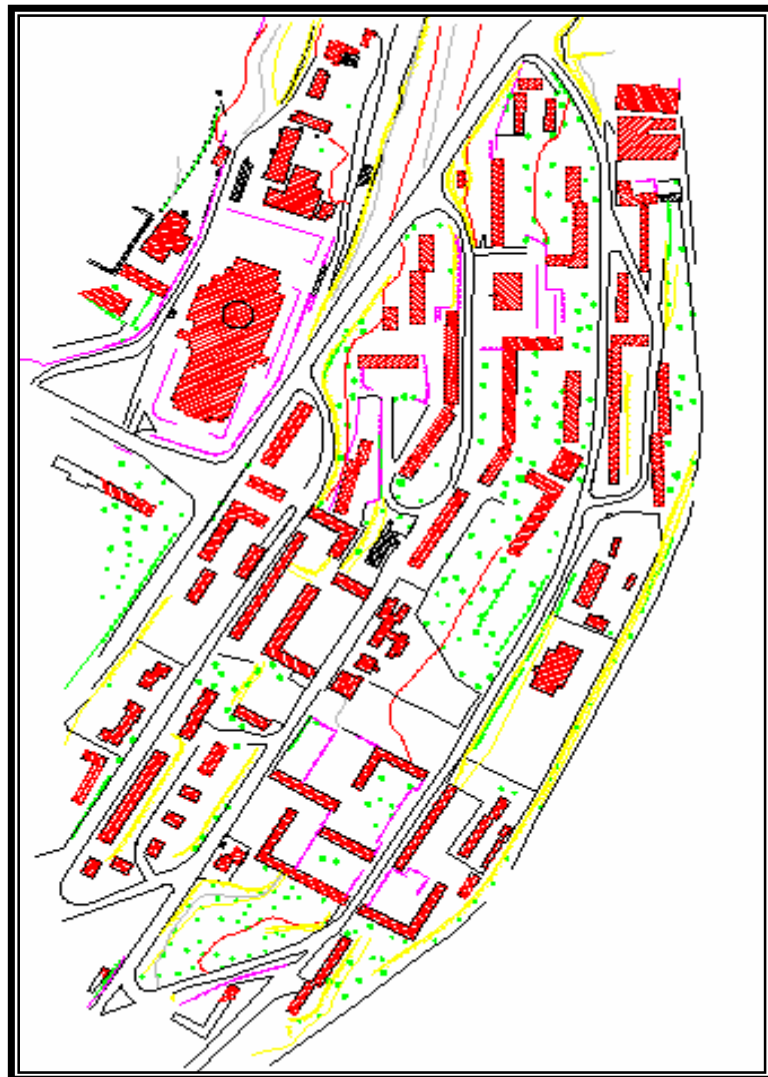


Figure 2. La Cité benboulaid

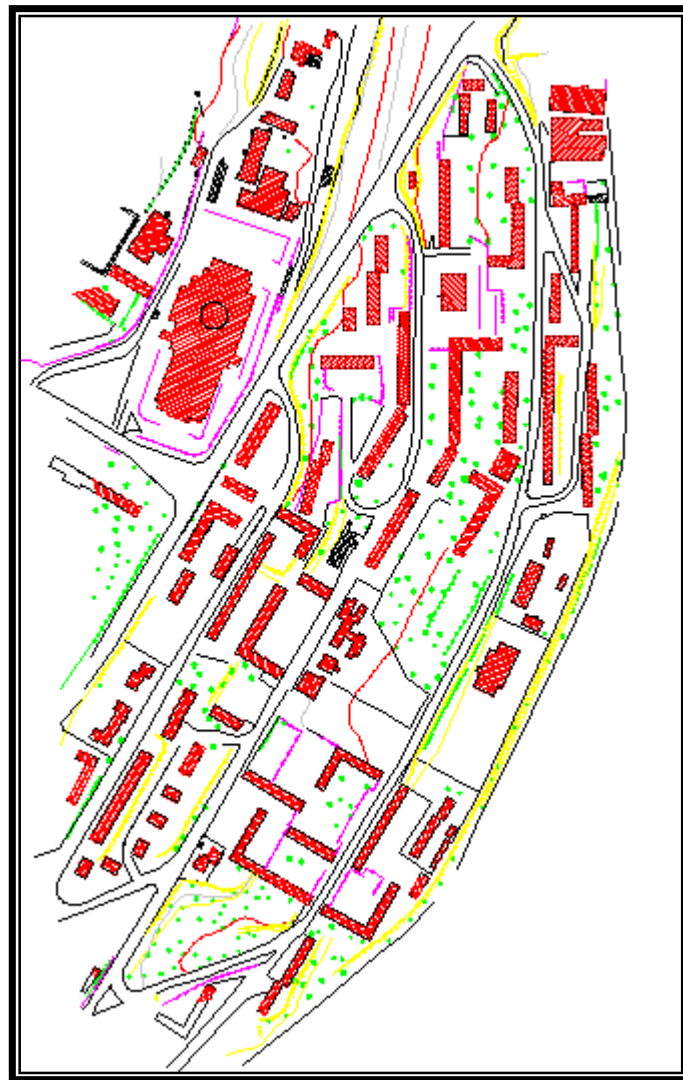


Figure 3.La Cité Fadila Saadane

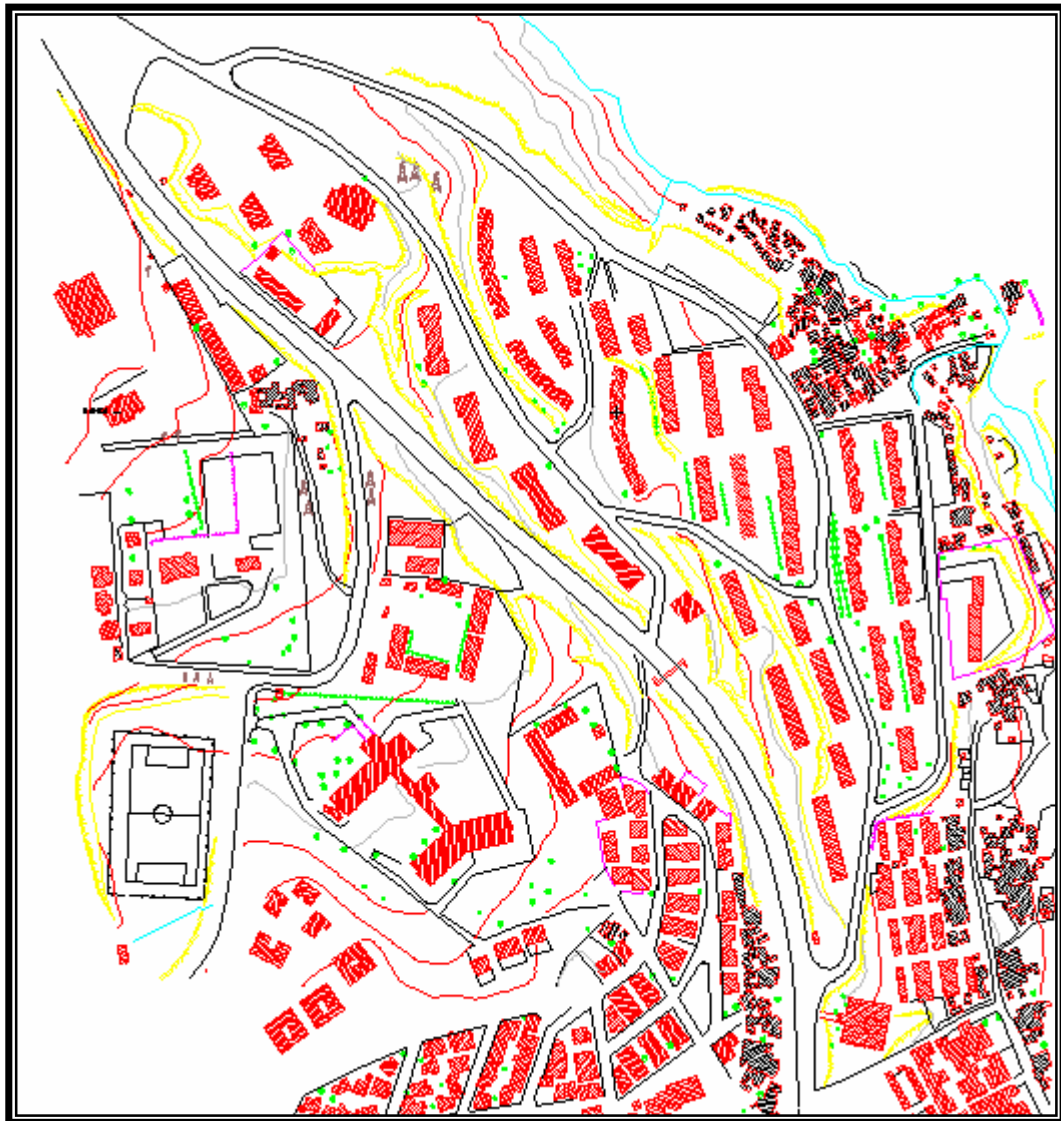


Figure 4.La Cité Sakiet Sidi Youcef



Figure 5. La Cité Du 20 Août 1955

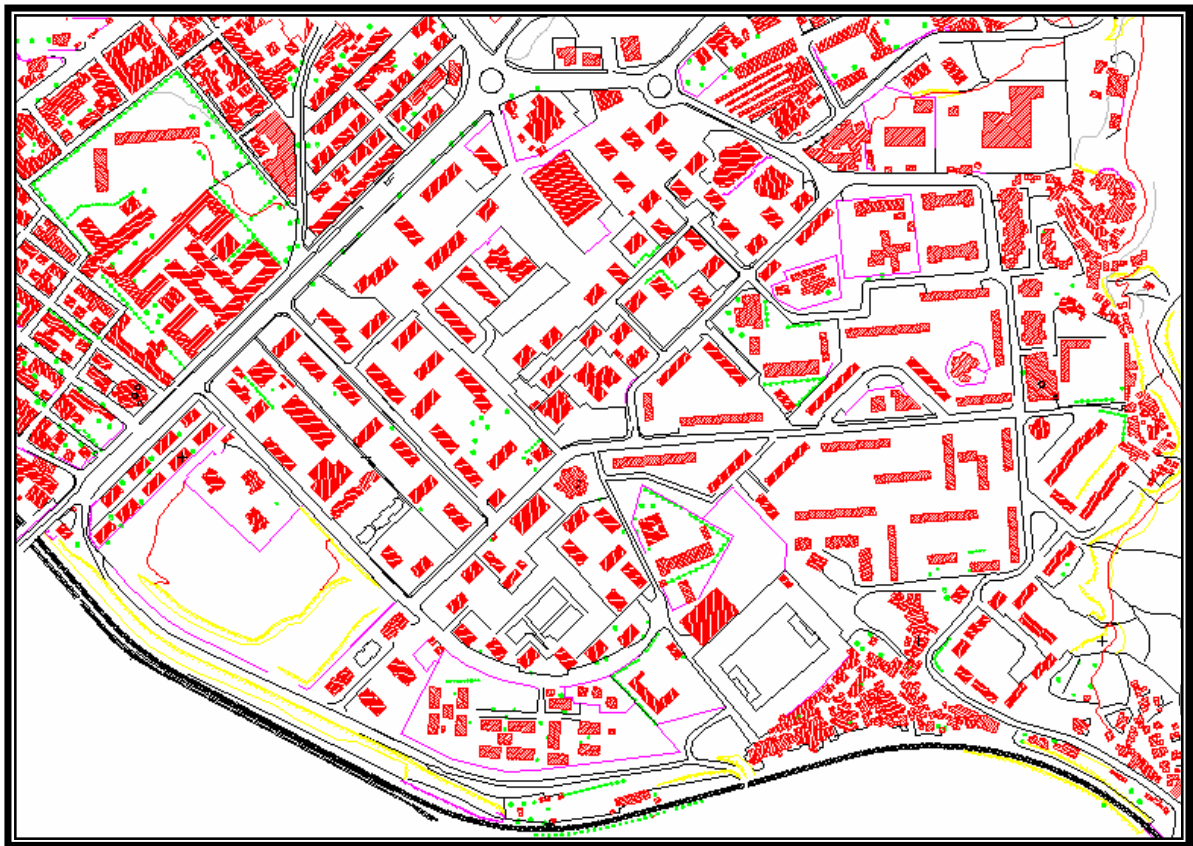


Figure 6. Cite Daksi Abdessalem

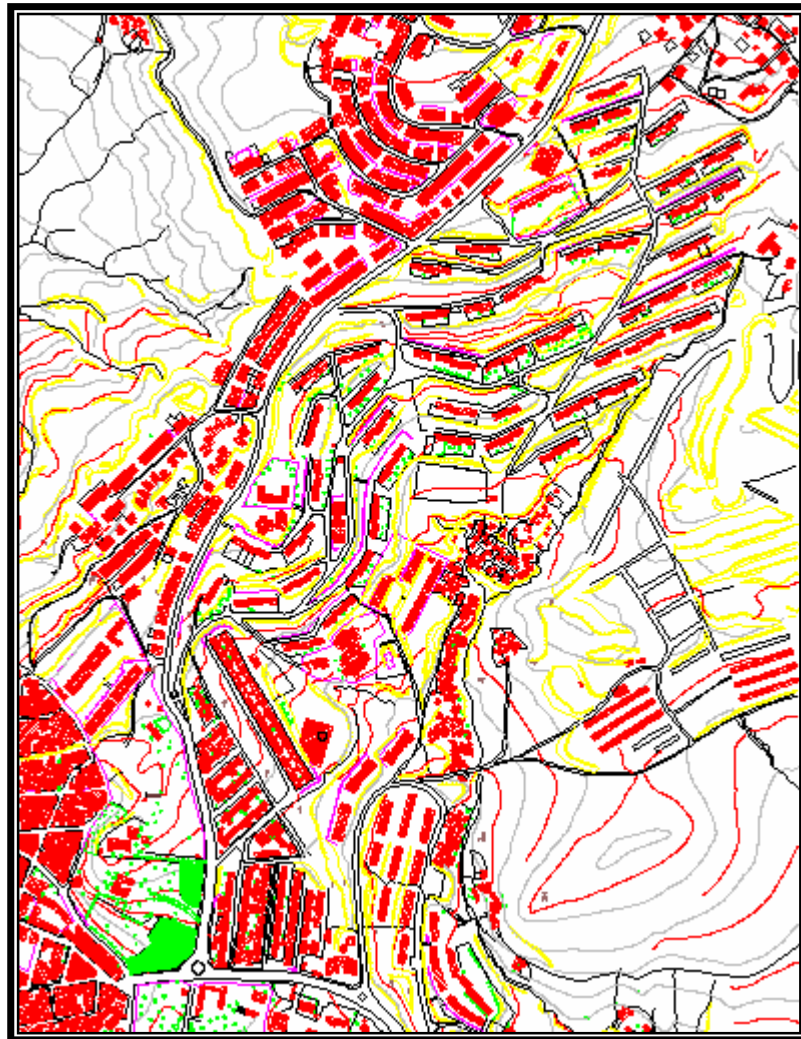


Figure7.Cite Ziadia

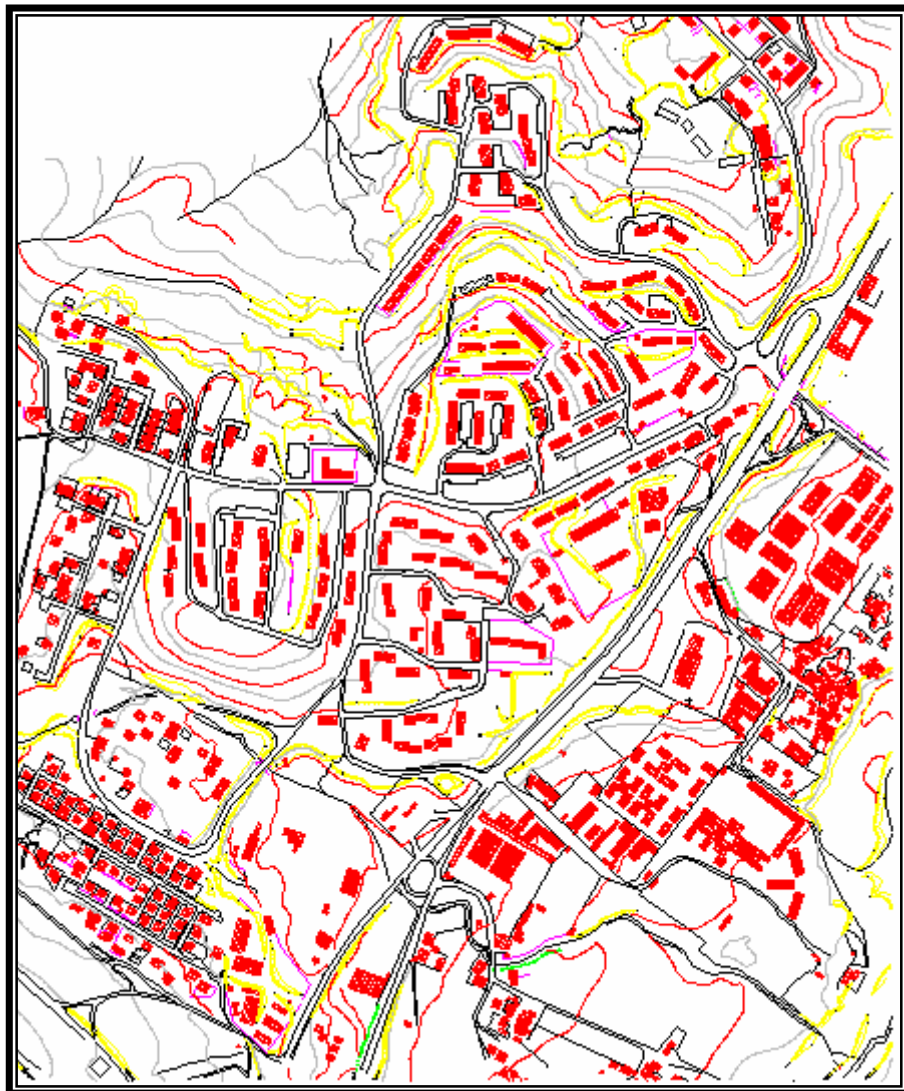


Figure 8. Cite Boussouf Abdelhafid



Figure 9. Cité du 05 juillet 1962

7.12.3 The Questionnaire (see the appendix)

Residents were asked to rate a variety of facilities and services on a scale of Excellent, Good, Poor, or Bad. The items rated included maintenance of common area physical facilities (recreation, parking lots, etc.), maintenance of utility services (electric service, water service, etc.), maintenance of apartment and grounds, management performance and response, human services (health care, employment services, etc.), community development (improvement efforts, police, and mosques), services. Residents were asked to rate Anti social Behaviour (assaults, noise, burglaries, drug-related activities, etc.) on a scale of Very Serious, Serious, Moderate Problem, or Minor Problem. In addition, residents were asked, in an informal way " what is the best way to tackle this problem"

7.12.4 Survey Results (Summary Ratings)

In order to prepare summary ratings for the major areas covered in the survey, response categories were weighted and averaged across the individual questions in each of the major topic areas. For the five following areas the weighting scheme was Bad = 1, Poor = 2, Good =3, and Excellent = 4:

- Maintenance of flats and common spaces
- Maintenance of community facilities
- Maintenance of utilities
- Neighbours relations (management performance and involvement of the residents in the running of their affairs)
- Human services
- Anti social behaviour
-

For the anti social behaviour questions, the weighting was Very Serious =1, Serious = 2, Moderate Problem = 3, and Minor Problem = 4.

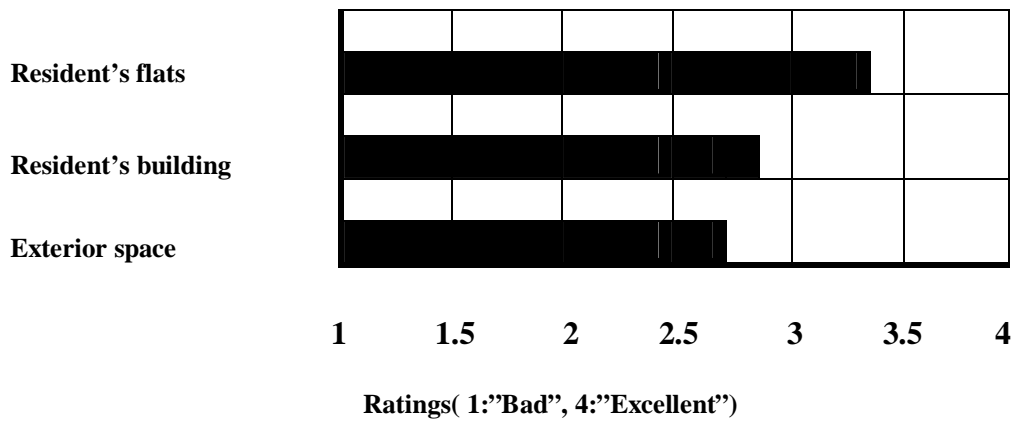
Figure 10. General level of performance



1="Very Serious", 2="Serious ", 3="Moderate Problem", 4="Minor Problem"

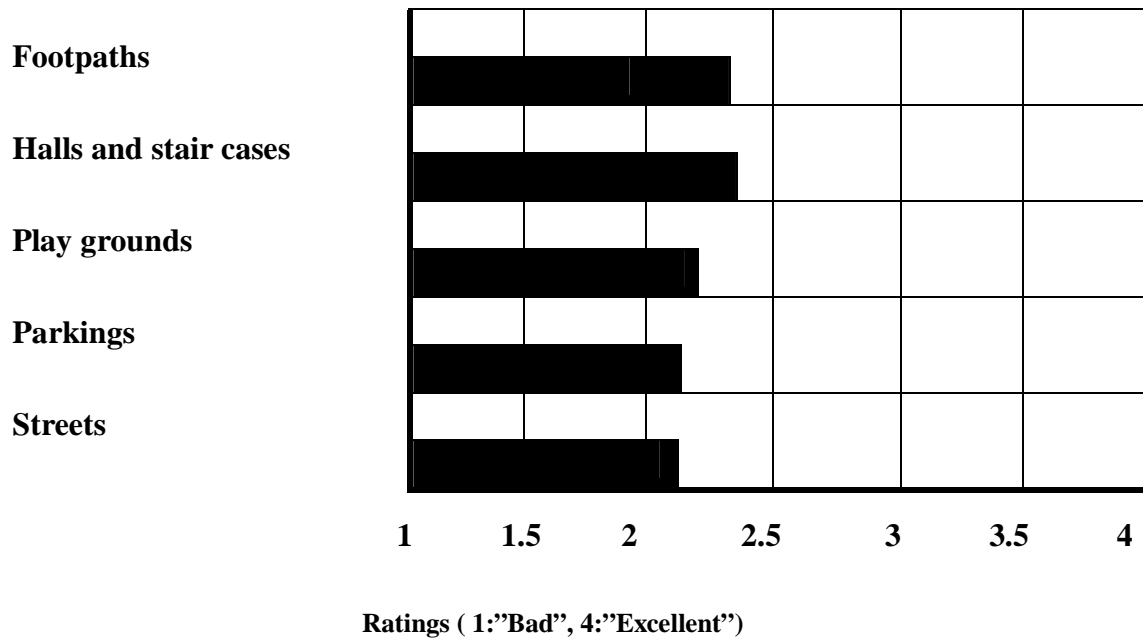
The overall results for these summary measures are shown in Figure 1. Average ratings were poor or slightly higher (2.1+) for flats and common spaces, maintenance of utilities, community development, and maintenance of utilities. Human services and maintenance of community facilities were rated slightly below the "Good" level. Anti social behaviour was rated as a "serious problem" on average (3.25).

Figure 11. Maintenance of flats and common spaces



Maintenance of flats and common spaces. The summary scale for this point included three measures (Figure 2): tenant's flat, tenant's building and outside area. Tenant flat was rated above "Good" whereas the building was rated below "good, on average. The "outside area" was rated somewhat below "Good". More than one-in-two respondents (54%) rated their individual flats as excellent and 19% rated their buildings as excellent. On the negative side, 21% classified their flats "Poor" (12.5%) or "Bad" (6.5%); Outside common areas were significantly classified as poor (68%) and bad (5%).

Figure 12. Level of satisfaction with community facilities



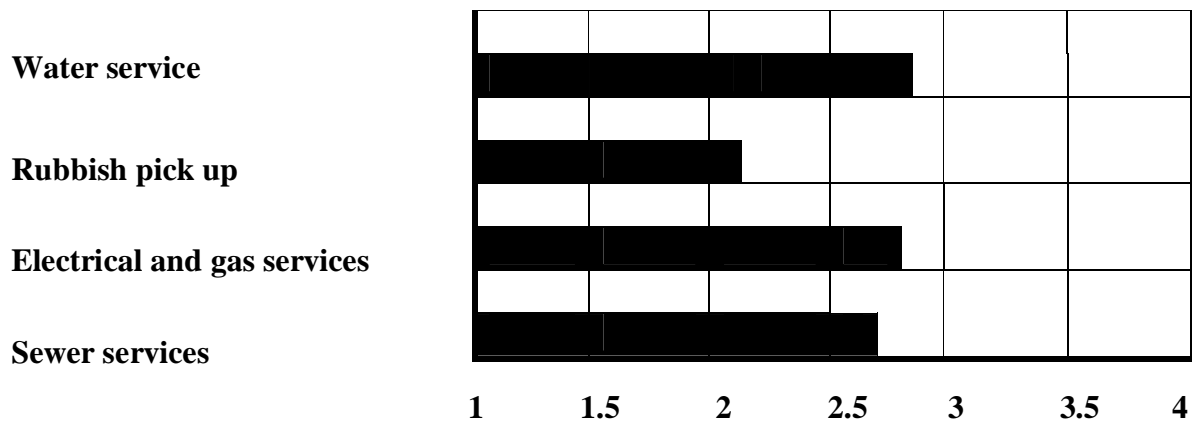
Community Facilities

Reflective of the rating given to maintenance of outside areas, the five items were rated below “good” (Figure 3) on average. Footpaths received the highest rating, followed by hallways and parking lots.

The percentage of "Good" classifications ranged from 57 percent to 68 percent.

However, significantly more residents rated these areas as poor or bad than as excellent. For streets, recreational facilities, and parking lots, residents were twice as likely to rate them as poor or bad than as excellent.

Figure 13. Level of satisfaction with utilities

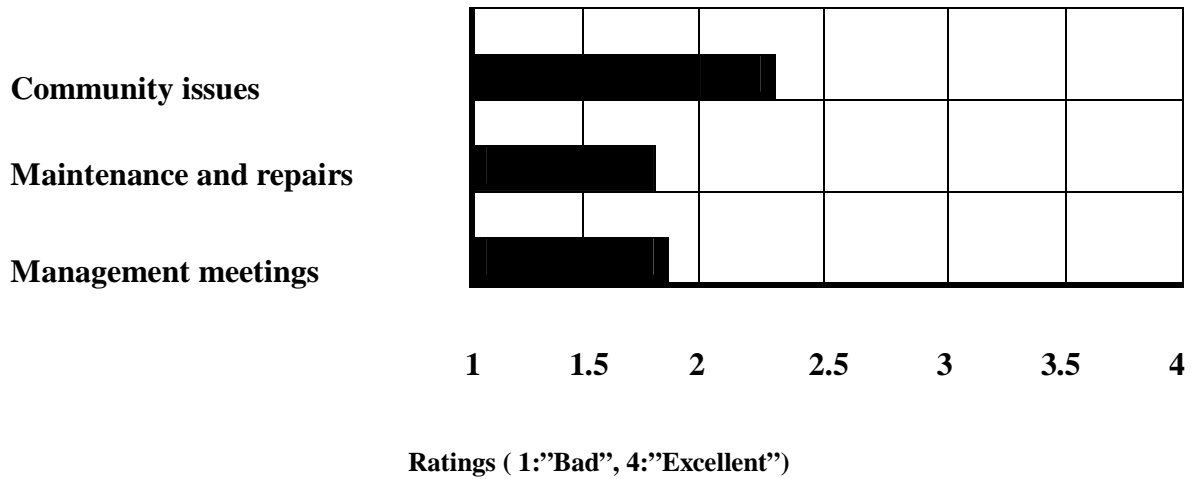


Ratings (1:"Bad", 4:"Excellent")

Utilities

Four utility services were evaluated: electrical/gas , water suply, sewer and rubbish pick-up. (Figure 4). All but rubish pick up received average ratings of good or above.

Figure 14. level of satisfaction with neighbours relations

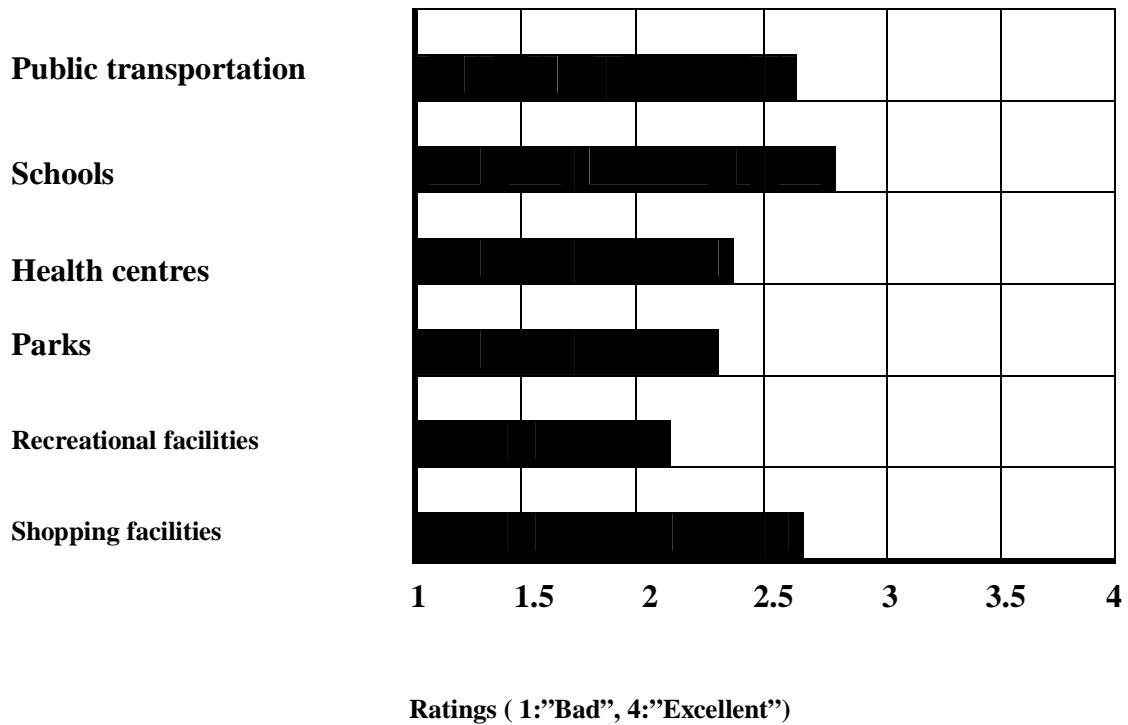


Tenant Relations

Three questions dealt with management’s response to emergency repairs and keeping residents informed about various items, which we have grouped “tenant relations”. These questions covered responding to emergency repairs, providing information about important events and meetings, informing residents about community issues, involving residents in management meetings, informing residents about maintenance and repair activities, and including residents in special programs. On average, all of these items were rated as "Poor". (Figure 5).

For example, over 85% rated management’s performance in responding to emergency repairs as bad. Only 5% rated this item as “good”.

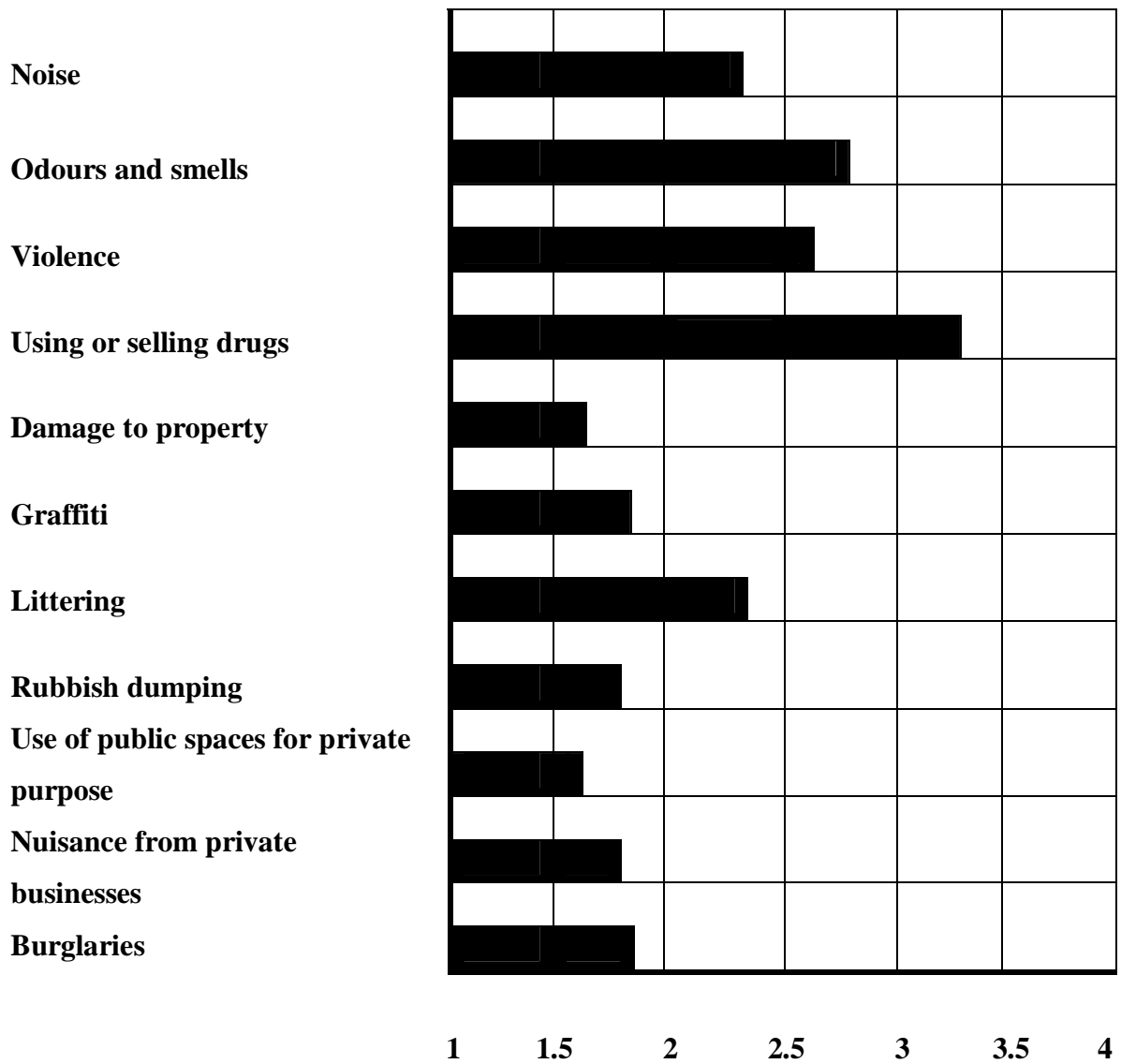
Figure 15. Level of satisfaction with human services



Six human or “community” services were covered in the survey: health care, parks, recreation facilities, shopping facilities, schools, and public transportation. Only two of these services received average ratings of good or above: public transportation and schools (Figure 6). Health care and shopping facilities, were rated slightly below good, while parks, recreation facilities, were rated between poor and very poor.

From 10 to 15 percent of the residents rated health care, schools, shopping facilities, recreation facilities, and shopping facilities as good. From 60 to 72 percent rated health care, recreational facilities and shopping facilities as poor or bad. In contrast 21 to 29 percent rated schools and public transportation as excellent and only 7 to 8 percent rated these as poor or bad.

Figure 16. level of satisfaction with anti social behaviour



Ratings (1="Very Serious", 4="Minor Problem")

7.12.5 Ratings of Anti Social Behaviour

Rating Anti Social Behaviour was conducted in a slightly different way than the rest of the survey.

The anti social behaviour questions were asked about the severity of the problem rather than the quality of the management services provided. Eleven specific anti social behaviour areas were included: Noise, odours, violence and crime, drugs, damage to property, graffiti, littering, use of public spaces for private use, burglaries and nuisance from private businesses. Noise was rated as most serious on average, followed by overall damage to properties and rubbish dumping. (Figure 7).

Table 1 . Average summary Scores by Housing Estate

	Cite El Bir	Cité Benboulaid	Fadila Saadane	Cité 20Aout 1955	Cité 5juillet 1962	Cité Daksi	Cité Ziadia	Cité Sakiet Sidi Youcef	Cité Boussouf	Overall
Flats & common spaces Utilities	1.4	1.5	1.9	2.0	2.3	1.5	1.7	1.9	1.6	1.75
Community facilities	1.1	2.2	2.4	2.6	2.7	2.2	2.5	2.6	2.0	2.25
Neighbours relations	0.9	2.9	2.7	2.8	3.0	3.0	2.9	2.9	2.8	2.65
Neighbours relations	0.1	1.1	1.2	1.1	2.0	1.8	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.25
Human services	1.9	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.1	2.0	2.3	2.1	2.15
Anti Social Behaviour	2.1	1.9	2.2	2.3	3.0	2.0	2.1	2.3	2.0	2.25

7.12.6 Ratings by Location

Average scores for the summary measures for each of the residential estates are given in Table1. Flats and common spaces : Cité El Bir received the worst score, followed by Benboulaid. Five other estates are consistently below average: Fadila Saadane, Daksi, Ziadia, Sakiet Sidi Youcef et Boussouf . Only two estates were above average.

Although there is clear consistency in these patterns, it is also apparent that there are only a few major differences in these summary measures.

The variation in the summary measure for ASB is also reflected by the responses to the individual questions about anti social behaviour. The percentages of respondents identifying noise, odours and smells, violence, drugs, damage to property, graffiti, littering, rubbish dumping , use of public spaces for private purposes, nuisance from private businesses and burglaries are presented in Table 2.

**Table 2. Percent Identifying ASB by estate
CITE EL BIR**

	noise	Odours and smells	violence	Use of drugs	Damage to property	graffiti	littering	Rubbish du;ping	Use of public spaces	Nuisance from private businesses	burglaries
Very serious	21	09	14	11	77	82	79	66	55	35	11
Serious	45	13	29	36	11	10	11	30	14	34	66
Moderate problem	19	55	49	37	06	07	05	06	19	23	16
Minor problem	15	23	08	16	06	01	05	00	11	08	07

**Table 3 Percent Identifying ASB by estate
CITE BENBOULAI**

	noise	Odours and smells	violence	Use of drugs	Damage to property	graffiti	littering	Rubbish du;ping	Use of public spaces	Nuisance from private businesses	burglaries
Very Serious	32	11	14	11	69	79	66	70	51	44	13
Serious	39	51	25	44	10	11	09	22	14	26	41
Moderate problem	16	29	33	35	15	10	09	08	25	22	22
Minor problem	13	09	28	10	06	00	06	00	10	08	24

**Table 4.Percent Identifying ASB by estate
CITE FADILA SAADANE**

	noise	Odours and smells	violence	Use of drugs	Damage to property	graffiti	littering	Rubbish du;ping	Use of public spaces	Nuisance from private businesses	burglaries
Very Serious	29	15	19	11	44	55	62	69	50	44	11
Serious	41	14	21	16	23	21	09	14	16	23	57
Moderate problem	18	33	39	35	21	13	13	09	21	23	11
Minor problem	08	38	21	38	02	11	16	08	13	10	21

**Table5. Percent Identifying ASB by estate
CITE DU 20AOUT 1955**

	noise	Odours and smells	violence	Use of drugs	Damage to property	graffiti	littering	Rubbish du;ping	Use of public spaces	Nuisance from private businesses	burglaries
Very serious	11	09	22	15	66	62	23	22	11	14	66
Serious	52	21	45	36	11	09	32	51	35	12	12
Moderate problem	13	36	22	35	12	14	29	10	22	36	11
Minor problem	24	34	11	24	11	15	26	17	32	38	09

**Table 6. Percent Identifying ASB by estate
CITE DU 05 JUILLET 1962**

	noise	Odours and smells	violence	Use of drugs	Damage to property	graffiti	littering	Rubbish du;ping	Use of public spaces	Nuisance from private businesses	burglaries
Very serious	10	11	19	16	55	59	25	22	13	21	68
Serious	49	22	22	14	12	10	36	44	41	22	16
Moderate problem	11	32	25	41	12	15	23	13	24	41	10
Minor problem	30	35	34	29	21	16	16	21	22	16	06

**Table7. Percent Identifying ASB by estate
CITE DAKSI**

	noise	Odours and smells	violence	Use of drugs	Damage to property	graffiti	littering	Rubbish du;ping	Use of public spaces	Nuisance from private businesses	burglaries
Very Serious	61	12	36	32	51	54	34	33	66	65	45
Serious	21	21	25	25	32	31	32	29	21	25	34
Moderate problem	09	46	25	31	11	10	14	12	09	08	05
Minor problem	09	21	14	12	06	05	20	26	02	02	16

**Table 8. Percent Identifying ASB by estate
CITE ZIADIA**

	noise	Odours and smells	violence	Use of drugs	Damage to property	graffiti	littering	Rubbish du;ping	Use of public spaces	Nuisance from private businesses	burglaries
Very Serious	21	11	26	25	65	55	61	32	35	12	66
Serious	44	45	31	34	11	10	10	33	36	35	21
Moderate problem	21	25	21	31	21	12	14	32	21	22	09
Minor problem	14	19	22	10	03	23	05	03	08	31	10

**Table 9. Percent Identifying ASB by estate
CITE SAKIET SIDI YUCEF**

	noise	Odours and smells	violence	Use of drugs	Damage to property	graffiti	littering	Rubbish du;ping	Use of public spaces	Nuisance from private businesses	burglaries
Very serious	22	12	25	25	49	54	55	41	39	21	61
Serious	55	46	44	41	36	25	12	22	22	32	11
Moderate problem	12	22	11	10	10	14	22	21	10	21	11
Minor problem	11	20	20	24	05	07	11	16	29	26	17

**Table 10 . Percent Identifying ASB by estate
CITE BOUSSOUF ABDELHAFID**

	noise	Odours and smells	violence	Use of drugs	Damage to property	graffiti	littering	Rubbish du;ping	Use of public spaces	Nuisance from private businesses	burglaries
Very serious	33	13	22	19	51	52	49	44	33	25	55
Serious	32	33	36	44	31	22	14	25	26	35	12
Moderate problem	10	23	14	18	09	10	25	18	12	28	14
Minor problem	25	31	28	19	09	16	22	13	29	12	19

The survey results for all the individual questions would be too detailed to review for each location in this summary report. However, when examining the results for individual locations it is important to note that their reliability decreases with the smaller samples associated with individual sites. Given the high response rates for most of the nine locations, the estimated sampling variability can be considered acceptable. It is highly unlikely that repeated samples of these sizes conducted at the same time for these locations would have produced any meaningful differences. On the whole two thirds of the residents responded to the survey. Unless the non-respondents were very dissimilar from the respondents, which is very unlikely, the survey is very representative

Since this survey is the benchmark for subsequent surveys, we cannot compare the results to determine trends in these resident ratings. Lacking a benchmark for comparison or normative standards, it is difficult to establish what level of performance is "Good". Nonetheless, it is clear that residents evaluate most services negatively. The areas receiving the highest ratings were maintenance of utilities. The worst ratings concern anti social behaviour noise in particular, management performance in keeping tenants informed and in responding to problems and littering and rubbish dumping. The areas with the lowest ratings were security (particularly, drug-related problems) and maintenance of common area physical facilities. Other areas with lower ratings were management's response to complaints about fellow tenants and availability of recreation facilities.

The questionnaire consisted of 33 questions on satisfaction, ranging in topics from maintenance of flats buildings to human services and security. Residents were instructed to check boxes (generally four choices: Excellent, Good, Poor, Bad) to indicate satisfaction with a particular service; and to check boxes (Very serious, Serious, Moderate, Minor) for the questions related to anti social behaviour. The questionnaire was designed in french, conducted in french and translated into english for the purpose of the writing of this thesis. (see appendix 1)

7.12.7 Analysis

The questionnaire was designed to facilitate the coding of data with "Bad" receiving a code of 1 and "Excellent" receiving a code of 4 (for the section on security, "Very Serious" received a code of 1 and "Minor Problem" received a code of 4). The analysis of the data was made through the use of excel, a microsoft office programme after a thorough check. In addition a separate file was created containing only the respondents from each of the nine public housing estates. For the overall group and each of the projects, frequencies were produced and means for each variable and for selected groups of variables. For the overall group, charts were ranked and compared satisfaction of respondents within selected areas such as anti social behaviour and human services.

The survey proved highly effective in obtaining resident participation with a minimum cost. With established procedures for analyzing the results (e.g. the calculation of the summary measures) and a format for reporting results, the analysis and report can be completed in much less time. Future reports should include the results of this "benchmark" survey for comparisons of significant changes. Several improvements could be considered for future surveys. May be we should consider adding "fair" response to the current categories of Excellent, Good, [Fair], Poor, Bad. A few respondents noted that they felt the "Good" category did not adequately describe their assessment and suggested another category between Good and Poor.

7.13 Conclusions and recommendations

This study is based on an extensive survey made among residents of the above cited housing estates. Over 190 households responded. The study concluded that the factors best correlating with tenant satisfaction were the physical layout and condition of the flat, peace and quiet, absence of traffic noise, well maintained and cleaned staircases, absence of mischief and graffiti, a sense of security, prompt intervention against disturbances, and a reasonable rent.

Although the majority were quite dissatisfied their housing conditions.. One respondent in two reported mischief and noisy neighbours. The situation seems to be worsening in this respect. However the vast majority felt secure in their dwellings.

Roughly half the respondents took the opportunity to express freely formulated opinions on how housing services and tenant satisfaction could be improved in their estates. Many thought that maintenance and repairs had not been made properly. Faults reported by residents are not always repaired, and no reason for delays is given. Residents are not aware of plans for repairs. Many inhabitants felt there was nothing they could do about problems arising.

According to survey, the impact of the environment is very important. If an estate owns beautiful green spaces, play grounds, parking lots, residents would be more satisfied to the role they played to upgraded living environment quality.

There are many influencing factors of upgrading the quality of the environment, no matter whether the design itself, interior environment and outdoor landscape space, or characteristics of ventilation, lighting, broad views, management and security, etc. The results revealed that over half interviewees considering necessary conditions of surrounding of living environment with “convenient communications”, “beautiful landscape of green space”, ”good security”, “convenient shopping”, “silent and comfort”, “good environment health”, etc.

On the other hand, this study has assembled a great deal of information about the ways that people experience Anti Social Behaviour and talk about its causes and potential solutions. In this chapter we draw out some lessons for future policy. These lessons concern:

1. The analysis of problems of Anti Social Behaviour.
- 2.The search for solutions

7.13.1 Analysing problems of ASB

In parallel to the study, general discussions with the residents as well as the professionals along with the overall results of the study especially those that concern young people suggest that people use three separate ‘discourses ’ to talk about Anti Social Behaviour – although all of these tend largely to equate ASB with misbehaviour by young people. First, and probably the dominant discourse among the general public, is the decline of standards of behaviour. The second discourse, and the one professionals tended to emphasise, centres on the processes of social exclusion that lead to groups of disengaged young people "unemployment for instance". Third, and perhaps reflecting a more tolerant stance, is the view that young people always have, and always will, behave badly as they challenge societal norms during their transition to adulthood.

However I do not suggest that people divide into three groups, according to the explanations for ASB that they favour. Certainly there were some people who relied on a single discourse to make sense of their experience of ASB – but many often switched between discourses. However, a different set of assumptions is embedded in each, and a different set of conclusions flows from each. Explanations for ASB that emphasise social exclusion will obviously point to inclusionary solutions. Perhaps a little less obviously, the language of declining standards orientates people to solutions that involve tougher discipline and greater emphasis on individual responsibility. And the more that ASB is a reminder of the cultural universal that ‘kids will be kids’, the more the solutions will lie in patience, tolerance and diversionary strategies for steering people through their adolescence with minimum disruption to all.

Another discourse concerns more specifically the adults and their lack of civic culture and respect to others. This analysis poses the obvious question, ‘Which discourse is right?’ Some differences between them are, in principle at least, open to empirical test. The discourses of declining standards and of social exclusion share the assumption that ASB is on the increase. By contrast the suggestion that ‘kids will be kids’ implies that our increasing concern about ASB reflects not objective changes, but changes in our capacity to tolerate disorder and incivility. And that people lack civic culture and a total ignorance of urban life is more difficult subject to talk about.

The mood at the start of the 21st century is that our tolerance for violence is now very much lower than it was in the past. Domestic violence is no longer culturally embedded into the lives of many social groups. On the other hand, we could ignore the decline over several decades of youthful deference, coupled with the emergence of alcohol and drug use. We may not live in more violent times than our parents or grandparents, but for better or worse, we probably do lead less regulated and less orderly lives, in an age of increasing mobility and family breakdown.

7.14 General Conclusion

Generally, the survey revealed that the majority of the residents of all the nine housing estates concerned with this study expressed a negative opinion concerning the performance of their location, but the severity of the malaise varied considerably from one location to another. The survey showed that probably the worst of them all is 'La Cité El Bir' where all the ingredients of misperformance are gathered, (Architectural layout, small living spaces with non bathrooms, overcrowding, poverty etc...) Second would be La Cite Benboulaid with almost identical problems. The continuing effort made by the OPGI recently throughout these housing locations seem to alliviate some how the difficulties and have a positive Impact on the environment and the surrounding of these estates.

Concerning aspects of anti social behaviour, it is difficult to say whether it is better understood in terms of a general decline in standards, in terms of lack of education and civic responsibility or in terms of the social exclusion of some groups that is created by the growing inequalities. Perhaps the most important set of findings to emerge from the study is that the vast majority of the population do *not* suffer significantly from ASB, especially factors related to violence. Rather, a minority have their lives affected by ASB, and a very small minority find that their lives are truly blighted by it.

On the other hand, one might explain the concentration of ASB among the socially deprived simply as the tip of the iceberg of social and moral decline. The factual evidence will shed only limited light on the debate about the causes of ASB.

After all, criminal policy and criminology have been grappling with similar questions for decades, trying to strike a constructive balance between the language of blame and the language of criminal causation in dealing with people who are certainly moral agents, but whose self command is often limited, and sometimes very limited indeed. Perhaps the important point to recognise is that the emergence of ASB as a policy concern has led to a re-emergence of the debate about criminal (or legal) responsibility in a reshaped and slightly reformulated way.

It is suggested that loosely deployed rhetoric about ‘mindless people’ and ‘neighbours from hell’ can stand in the way of understanding the origins and nature of such problems and thus can block effective solutions.

It is important to understand the processes that lead neighbourhoods to lose their social capital – or their capacity to sustain standards of civility and cooperation. That sense of powerlessness or least advantaged communities is a reflection partly of cultural shifts, and partly of the unintended consequences of several decades of social, economic policy. In finding solutions to ASB problems, this range of factors must not be ignored.

Approaches to tackling ASB, vary considerably. This study does not claim to have evaluated what works and what does not.

However, the similarities between the responses to ASB reflect the experiences of those who were responsible for tackling ASB in these neighbourhoods on a daily basis. Several interrelated points are worth emphasising. First, the sharp contrast between the push to prioritise enforcement and concerns about the risks of enforcement and commitment to preventive options. To communicate these messages some clearly use simple, populist language, justifying tough enforcement, for example, as ‘being on the side of the victim’. It is to be hoped that a more balanced position will be adopted. Even critics of rigorous enforcement can be ‘on the side of the victim’. Support for victims of ASB questions the assumption that the support for victims necessarily implies a favouring of enforcement over preventive measures. Second, some professionals emphasize the relative intractability of problems of disorder in areas facing extensive social deprivation. They did not conceptualise ASB simply as a problem of predation on the ‘law-abiding majority’ on the part of perpetrators, but as forms of conflict within communities with limited social capital or low collective efficacy.

Not surprisingly, enforcement is seen as only one element within the set of remedies needed to rebuild these communities. Third, the professionals tended to use the ‘disengagement’ discourse in describing the challenges and difficulties of engaging young people.

Those most involved in ASB were described as young people with limited personal resources, living in areas offering limited opportunities. Enforcement tactics may contain their misbehaviour in the short term. There is a need to break the vicious circle whereby fears and expectations of ASB, fear of retaliation, lack of faith in the authorities’ capacity to do anything, and incidents of ASB (and so on) all reinforce each other. Finally, both residents and professionals frequently deployed the ‘kids will be kids’ discourse in explaining ASB.

It is obviously important to avoid a sort of ‘net widening’ whereby formal action is taken against relatively minor forms of misbehaviour that have been tolerated for generations. Whether or not they use the terminology, we have seen clear agreement among professionals that long-term solutions to ASB necessarily involve the rebuilding of social capital in those –socially and economically deprived – areas that are most susceptible to ASB problems. Two themes emerged here. The first is that success or failure in mobilising communities will depend very much on the personal qualities and authority of staff involved.

Whether they were local residents or professionals from agencies. People with special qualities are needed in these neighbourhoods. Communities may feel powerless, but *imposing*, or ‘parachuting’, solutions is no solution at all. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that developing or recovering social capital in such communities is a slow, delicate process, involving sustained commitment and long-term investment.

The development of a shared governance of ASB strategies– shared between neighbourhood residents *and* the agencies in charge of the management of these estates.– while acknowledging the difficulties in identifying truly representative community leaders. We would stress the importance of putting more effort into developing shared definitions of ASB.

The need for action against ASB is more widely accepted, it is time for the authorities and the police to put in place strategies for dealing with ASB, they need to commit resources to these strategies, clarify responsibilities, manage the performance of those delivering the strategy. This cannot be done unless there is more clarity about where ASB begins and where it ends. Civil law measures specific to ASB have to be initiated to supplement the criminal law system. If the threats are ignored, the penalty can be heavy.

The study emphasised how people's lives can be ruined by ASB – and how some people can find the resilience and real moral courage to fight back against the threat posed by this sort of behaviour. Those who 'take a stand' in this way against declining standards in their neighbourhoods fully deserve our respect.

There were no shades of grey in the way that the problem was portrayed and little subtlety in the range of solutions offered. Effective ASB strategies need to recognise the factors that underlie ASB. As suggested, these factors are likely to involve a complex interaction between social policies, economic policies and policing priorities.

To conclude, probably, the debate of the subject at the political level is oversimplified. Whether it is good politics to adopt and legitimate the narrative of 'falling standards' is another matter. The 'declining standards' narrative is often infused with a deep sense of pessimism about the scope for solutions of any sort. It must stressed that people did not subscribe simply to one or other narrative about ASB. Not only professionals but the residents we interviewed often recognized the complexity of the factors underlying ASB. The development of ASB strategies should be thought in ways that recognise the need to be not only tough on ASB but tough on the causes of ASB.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

The chapter deals with the general conclusions that can be draw from this study . But first it will briefly recapitulate the problem area and its background , leading to the identification of research objectives. Second , some tentative conclusions at specific and been dealt with.

8.2 Background, problem and objectives

This study examined, first the debate around the problems found in some multi-storey housing estates in the public sector and the conflicting claims about the causes of such problems, rather than the substantive problems of public housing , second a field work of a survey type was carried out in constantine in order to assess the performance of multi storey housing estates and to evaluate how anti social behaviour is ruining residents life and what can be done to alliviate the problem.

The problems associated with much of the multi-storey housing that was created since the early 50s and still continuing attracted and continue to attract increasing attention at different levels. The purpose is to understand the debate around this issue, the nature, the importance and the validity of the claimed causes of these problems. The origins of multi-storey housing, the condition and the circumstances that made its adoption possible as well as the nature of the problems associated with it have been outlined in chapter two.

During the last three decades, a considerable amount of research has been devoted to the study of problems associated with this form of housing. Yet no study has provided a clear and commonly accepted explanation of this phenomenon. No agreement even seems likely to be found about the causes of such problems. The debate is still open .

A preliminary survey of some studies revealed that a consensus view does not exist and showed the existence of a variety of claims about the causes, often in conflict. From this general observation, the study aimed in its first part to explore this complex, confusing and controversial debate with two prime objectives in view:

- i) To understand the complex debate around 'problem' housing estates in order to help clarify some of its confusion and complexity by identifying the structure and the mechanisms by which this discourse functions.
- ii) To assess the validity and the importance of each of these groups of these claims , identified as sharing similar ideological base.

These groups of claims are often in conflict. In the first category, the emphasis is put on design as the main source of the problems. Behaviour is thought to be closely associated with architectural design. In the second category the claim is that anti-social behaviour is primarily due to people and their social, psychological and economic conditions. In the third category, the claim is that the problems are caused by lack of law, order, control and adequate system of management. Conflict between the three categories is clear.

The claims also conflict within each of the categories. In the first category the degree of association postulated between design and behaviour varies considerably.

In the second, there are distinct theories linking behaviour to the social and economic conditions of people, and sometimes they are in clear theoretical conflict. In the last category, there are conflicts at a practical level. Some advocate the use of a rigorous system of management without tenant involvement, some emphasise tenant participation and others propose the selling of the dwellings to their occupants.

The second part is a field work in some housing estates in constantine with tw objectives in view:

First, to evaluate the performnce of multi storey housng with regard to several characteristics technical as well as utilities and services. The method used is a survey assessing the residents level of satisfaction.

8.3 Conclusions

The conclusions that can be drawn from this study are both at a specific level and a general level. These conclusions are necessarily tentative. The analysis of such a broad, varied and complex subject has by the nature of the constaints on time and resources been partial and selective.

The discourse analysis took the form of a pilot study, as first the methodology is in its infancy and work was needed to develop it and secondly it was applied to a more than usually complex field. Conclusion drawn from this may provide some guidance for future work, but also in the process raises many further questions. While the subsequence analysis of the three main issues identified a comprehensive range of literature, in concentrating on the main themes, many issues, some important some not , had to be left aside.

8.3.1 The multi-storey housing discourse

Many individuals and institutions participate in the debate about multi-storey housing estates. The subject is often referred to as ‘problem’ housing estates , that is to say stigmatised estates that became behavioural sink-estates in which all sorts of environmental where powerless people, often forced unable to move out or to make things change are trapped and forced to cope with a difficult .They all try to reduce the problem to a manageable size and attempt scientifically to investigate it.

The formulation of the objects of the debate. That is the statements, concepts and terms used in the debate, involves a certain number of mechanisms and processes. They are ordinary words , determined points of view, concepts borrowed from other disciplines etc.(see sect. 3.4)

The relationship between people's behaviour and the type of housing they live in appears to be the heart of the debate. There are two opposed presuppositions. One is that, a strong and direct relationship exists between behaviour and the kind of physical setting in which it takes place and the second is that there is no such relationship and that people's behaviour is linked to some other factors. Between these two extreme positions appear other positions which presuppose major minor relationships.

There is a variety of expressed relationships between the subject (people) and the object be identified. which this debate is structured and they are the heart of the subject are very much behind the conflict and the conversy of the debate.(see sect.3.5)

There is a number of mechanisms by which this debate functions. Researchers often reduce, obscure or ignore problems. The reduction is sometimes justified and sometimes not. (see sect.3.6.1) When it is not it means important factors which can influence of the outcome of the study are ignored. Also it is often difficult to understand the conclusions of some studies as these are expressed in a confusing manner.(see sect.3.6.2)

Generally speaking, the claimed causes of the problems are belived to be architectural, social and economical or managerial . (see sect .3.6.3) the study attempted to study these claims under three reperate categories.

8.3.2 Design and multi-storey housing estates

Amongst the multiple and inter-dependant variables that affect housing; design seems to play a major role in achieving the goals of any social housing policy.The quality and standards of social housing are related to a range of fundamental requirements within national and local policies. They refer both to spatial planning issues and to the architectural design; at the same time they are closely linked to the planning and maintenance of technical and social infrastructure, as well as health aspects.

From oscar newman's 'defensible space' theory, which postulates the existence of a direct link between design and behaviour (see sect.4.2) , many studies devoted to this issue have been carried out .

A review of a number of such studies revealed the difficulties that are often associated with this type of housing. The main characteristics of the debate are of conflict and controversy. The presence of other factors acting at the same time makes it almost impossible scientifically to show the influence of design on behaviour.(see sect.4.3)

Countless numbers of studies, carried out every year, attempt to analyse, understand and explain what went wrong and on the basis of their results state the causes and recommend solutions to the problems, but the evidence that one causes the other is not convincing.

On the other hand, there is enough evidence that child density is closely associated with vandalism, graffiti, etc. To be convincing. There is little doubt that the more children , the more vandalism and damage are inflicted to building.(see sect.4.) This raises the question of suitability and unsuitability of such housing for families with lots of children.

It also appears that living in flats can precipitate certain types of illness, . At any stage the variety of factors involved are likely to affect it in one way or another. Hence the role played by every single factor is vital to the eventual 'success' or 'failure' of any housing development. (see sect. 4.5)

The role of design in influencing social contacts between neighbours is also difficult to assess. The evidence available suggests that most flat dwellers are not happy with their environment including the evidence available suggests that most flat dwellers are not happy with their environment including the evidence available suggests that most flat dwellers are not happy with their environment including (see sect.4.6) But it makes sense to suggest that individual social and psychological conditions have greater effect on the kind of attitude he or she adopts towards other members of the society.

People who express their dissatisfaction with living in flats cast their blame in different directions. For some it is design , for others it is a source of dissatisfaction. Many flat dwellers in Scotland for instance are well satisfied with their housing.

Generally speaking, it seems from the evidence inspected that it would be naïve to suggest that design alone can influence an individual to the extent of becoming a deviant person. The association between design and behaviour is considerably more complex.

8.3.3 Social and economic characteristics of tenants and multi-storey housing estates

The evidence available suggests that most multi-storey housing in the public sector is the tenure of the poor and the disadvantaged, and the concentration of these groups of people in such housing has been on the increase for a long time.(see sect.5.2)

The belief is often expressed that such people are themselves the source of the problems they are experiencing. Many studies devoted to this issue have been carried out. As a result some theories emerged which purported to explain why this should be so.

Opportunity theories are based on the idea that some areas provide more opportunity for certain crimes than others. The belief is that there are influences at work which stem from the social fabric of the neighbourhood that increase the likelihood of an individual indulging in criminal activity.(see sect.5,3)

Each one of these theories seem to have its importance and its weakness. First , social class does not appear to act directly by necessarily transmitting criminal values to individuals and hence cannot be seen as convincing in associating crime with social class.(see sect.5.3.2) second , crime is often associated with housing conditions. There is a recognition of specific types of housing in which such an analysis should not be seen as a substitute for the concrete analysis of concrete situations in the empirical sense (see sect.5.3.2) It is simply a means of understanding the functioning of a complex debate and representing its totality. The terms, phrases, concepts and statements used in the analysis are taken from a variety of sources as they are expressed. They are not evidence or proof of arguments.(see sect .5.3.2)

On the other hand, the theory of social disorganisation which holds a view of crime based on a moral consensus of 'right' and 'wrong' , suggests that anti-social behaviour is a response to lack of success in matching the norms of society.

People who feel excluded and marginalised break the established law and order; they adopt alternative life styles.(see sect.5.4) Although this theory sounds convincing it does not explain why poor housing, crime and delinquency are located in the same areas.

Sub-culture theory appears to give the most convincing explanation the phenomenon of how people indulge in criminal activities. The theory suggests that criminal behaviour is learned from other persons within the intimate circle of the Individual. An individual is involved in a learning process.

To sum up it appears that people be the actual statements, concepts, words, terms ect. Used in the study, which constitute the objects of the discourse, which here will be termed problem housing estates discourse. This in its turn is a part of a wider discourse the housing discourse.Second, the analysis attempts to identify the structure of the discourse. That is the system of relations and transformations in operation. The types of relationships that are the heart of the subject are to be identified. This identification of the points around which this debate is structured shapes the framework of understanding the complexity of the discourse.

It also appears that the stigma attached to some housing estates is an important is an important factor that can accentuate the initial deviance of an estate.(see sect .5.6)

Finally , the mechanisms of the discourse are to be identified. Briefly , this means exploring the ways in which the failure of such housing is dealt with.

The correlations and causality of accommodation available.(see sect.5.7) Whether it is a deliberate policy to isolate these people, or to whether the mechanisms of society tend to create a differentiation between social classes. The answer to this should be sought in the political arena or in the much more complex social fabric of society.

8.3.4 Management and tenant participation and multi-storey housing estates

There is enough evidence to accept that some kinds of housing are more suitable for certain categories of people , and unsuitable for others and most commentators agree. Blocks of flats are thought to be a more appropriate tenancy for childless couples, the elderly , young single people, students and people with relatively high incomes. (see

sect.6.2) Families with children are thought to be better in houses than in flats. It offers many advantages for various categories of people who are in need of accommodation .(see ect.6.2)

Also , freedom of choice appears to be important. People would probably be more happy if they were offered some choice.(see sect.6.3) On the other hand, the ability to repair and regularly maintain the housing stock is believed to be of extreme importance.(see sect.6.4) But this is a part of the whole issue of good management and caretaking, which are believed to be essential.(see sect .6.5)

Finally, tenant involvement in management proved to be in most cases a successful operation, even if the improvement are partial.(see sect.6.6) But selling council dwellings , particularly flats, is not always possible for a variety of reasons.(see sect.6.7)

To conclude, it appears that allocation policies are more successful if they house the lost appropriate category of people in the most suitable form of accommodation.

Better results if tenants were allowed some choice would perhaps be achieved with a rigorous system of management preferably with tenant participation.

8.4 The case study

The second part wich consisted of a case study through 9 locations in constantine had the following objectives:

1.Assessing the performance of these housing estates on different grounds by means of "residents satisfaction survey" and observation.

2.Investigating the way anti social behaviour in affecting people lifes and what can be done to alliviate the problem.

The set of conclusions drawn from this case study could be summed up as follows:

The study concluded that the factors best correlating with tenant satisfaction were the physical layout and condition of the flat, peace and quiet, absence of traffic noise, well maintained and cleaned staircases, absence of mischief and graffiti, a sense of security, prompt intervention against disturbances, and a reasonable rent. Although the majority were quite dissatisfied their housing conditions. One respondent in two reported mischief and noisy neighbours. The situation seems to be worsening in this respect.

Maintenance and repairs had not been made properly. Generally, the survey revealed that the majority of the residents of all the nine housing estates concerned with this study expressed a negative opinion concerning the performance of their location, but the severity of the malaise varied considerably from one location to another. The survey showed that probably the worst of them all is 'La Cité El Bir' where all the ingredients of misperformance are gathered, (Architectural layout, small living spaces with non bathrooms, overcrowding, poverty etc...) Second would be La Cité Benboulaid with almost identical problems.

The continuing effort made by the OPGI recently throughout these housing locations seem to allviate some how the difficulties and have a positive Impact on the environment and the surrounding of these estates.

On the other hand, this study has assembled a great deal of information about the ways that people experience Anti Social Behaviour and talk about its causes. However concerning aspects of anti social behaviour, it is difficult to say whether it is better understood in terms of a general decline in standards, in terms of lack of education and civic responsibility or in terms of the social exclusion of some groups that is created by the growing inequalities. Perhaps the most important set of findings to emerge from the study is that the vast majority of the population do *not* suffer significantly from ASB, especially factors related to violence. Rather, a minority have their lives affected by ASB, and a very small minority find that their lives are truly blighted by it.

The factual evidence will shed only limited light on the debate about the causes of ASB. After all, criminal policy and criminology have been grappling with similar questions for decades, trying to strike a constructive balance between the language of blame and the language of criminal causation in dealing with people who are certainly moral agents, but whose self command is often limited, and sometimes very limited indeed. Perhaps the

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Enforcement is seen as only one element within the set of remedies needed to rebuild these communities. Those most involved in ASB were described as young people with limited personal resources, living in areas offering limited opportunities. Enforcement tactics may contain their misbehaviour in the short term. Finally, both residents and professionals frequently deployed the 'kids will be kids' discourse in explaining ASB.

The need for action against ASB is more widely accepted, it is time for the authorities and the police to put in place strategies for dealing with ASB, they need to commit resources to these strategies, clarify responsibilities, manage the performance of those delivering the strategy. This cannot be done unless there is more clarity about where ASB begins and where it ends. Civil law measures specific to ASB have to be initiated to supplement the criminal law system.

The study emphasised how people's lives can be ruined by ASB – and how some people can find the resilience and real moral courage to fight back against the threat posed by this sort of behaviour. Effective ASB strategies need to recognise the factors that underlie ASB. As suggested, these factors are likely to involve a complex interaction between social policies, economic policies and policing priorities.

To conclude, probably, the debate of the subject at all levels is oversimplified. Whether it is good politics to adopt and legitimate the discourse of 'falling standards' is another matter. The 'declining standards' discourse is often infused with a deep sense of pessimism about the scope for solutions of any sort. It must be stressed that people did not subscribe simply to one or other discourse about ASB. Not only professionals but the residents we interviewed often recognized the complexity of the factors underlying ASB. The government might do better to present its ASB strategies in ways that recognise the need to be not only tough on ASB but tough on the causes of ASB.

8.5 General conclusion

In order to archive the objectives of first part of this study, the use of two complementary modes of analysis on the same literature was of great benefit. The first looked broadly at the debate as a whole from which the main issues were identified and the second concentrated on these issues in detail in order to assess their importance and validity.

Multi-storey council housing which is often associated with a whole range of social and environmental problems is at the centre of this debate. The supposed existence or non-existence of a link between these forms of housing and the problems is widely discussed, and because of the difficulty to show scientifically the exact nature of the relationship between design and the problems, the debate has been and remains characterised by conflict and controversy.

Many individuals belonging to several disciplines, whether scientific or non-scientific have participated in the study of this problem. But the presence of so many interdependent and co-existing factors makes it almost impossible to provide irrefutable evidence that design does or does not cause the said problems. Blame is cast in all directions, and the determinism of some researchers irritated many others and provoked a strong reaction.

The issue has been discussed for more than three decades, and it seems likely that it will remain open to discussion mainly because the objects of the discussion are ideas and hypotheses which have not been proved and constitute a source of conflict and controversy.

Although there are in many countries with similar forms of housing which suffer from a variety of problems, it seems that in Algeria the problem is on a wider scale. In Europe unlike other countries such as France, where the basic form of housing remains the flat, in Britain the house has always been the basic form unit of family accommodation. The introduction of this new form of housing in the 50s and 60s for a society not used to it, and its use to house mostly the disadvantaged had dramatic consequences.

Most people believe, and quite rightly, that there is 'bad' design and 'good' design and that design can be a source of malaise . But what is bad design? blocks of flats do not necessarily mean bad design nor do house always mean good design. Although it proved to be difficult to show what is bad and what is good, it is always possible to subjectively differentiate between the two.

Certainly, buildings with plenty of technical problems such as dampness, inadequate ventilation and poor thermal insulation and noisy buildings are source of irritation. But if we assume that people are living in buildings badly designed, to what extent is their behaviour going to be influenced, would the buildings make them criminals or would they just make them unhappy ? The former is less likely since there are other factors which are perhaps more important in influencing behaviour The presense of law-abiding citizens living in the worst form of the accommodation and of law breaking citizens living in better forms of housing suggests that the issue is far more complicated than a one cause explanation suggests.

Tacking the problems on realistic and practical grounds seems to be the best solution for alleviating them. One conclusion is that the way local authorities allocate their dwellings and manage their housing stock needs a revision. Families with children are not suitable occupants for multi-storey buildings. Multi-storey housing appears to be more suitable for certain categories of people who are at the moment in need of accommodation.

Anyone searching through this thesis will be disappointed if he is looking for a simple solution to multi-storey public housing. Such a 'solution' does not exist and this work has attempted to show that. What it has attempted to show is that there is more to the debate and problems that might at first be thought. It is not just that it is complex and in conflict, but also that there are underlying ideologies, theories and methods that predispose findings and 'solution' in different directions .The practitioner wanting to solve his problems should be wary and aware of this , and it is hoped that this critical review of the literature on the subject will raise the consciouness of those involved in attempting to improve housing and the lives of those who inhabit it.

In the housing debate, however, just understanding what has been done and what is valid may in itself be sufficient and a major step forward. After all, understanding must always precede good action.

In recent years, other topics have also been raised and discussed within social housing frameworks-the diversity of different lifestyles in social housing areas, gender aspects in planning, ecology, energy consumption, and questions relating to management and maintenance. A number of countries have therefore developed more flexible planning tools, introducing, for example, market elements and competition procedures as well as experimental housing programmes in order to find new solutions.

Architecture plays an important role in achieving social cohesion, as a good design helps to prevent stigmatisation of certain housing areas in many large housing estates within the mass housing production of the 1960s and the 1970s in Europe or even the 1980s and 1990s in countries like Algeria. Functional and architectural monotony can be avoided, and the overall image of a housing area can be improved, by a mix of different developers and or different architects within one area, and by more competition. The architectural layout also greatly influences the feeling of security within large housing estates.

New forms of living and working under one roof are already acknowledged in many new social housing estates. These include, for example, special spaces for home working or separate rooms to be rented temporarily within the same building. Floor plans must therefore be design in a more flexible manner. This flexibility may contribute to coping with future demands. Experiences show that flexible layouts may also help tenants to identify with their own living environment.

The architectural layout very much influences the feeling of security within housing estates; it can therefore help to increase residents' identification with their housing environment and to decrease vandalism and related costs.

Health considerations may be seen as having been one behind the driving forces behind the development of social housing in the past, including sanitation, ventilation of rooms and noise protection, but also structural safety and the fire safety of buildings. Health is also connected to sufficient green areas and open spaces, the quality of which is closely connected to the quality and structure of the overall management of housing estates. Stronger partnerships between all stakeholders, such as efficient cooperation with tenants, can help to reduce nuisance from anti social behaviour

Social housing can act as a model for ecological, energy-saving construction. Therefore, new social housing estates should aim at “ecological optimization” in construction and maintenance.

Promoting strong competition between social housing developers is highly recommended. Experience shows that it is particularly essential to divide the roles of developers and constructors, resulting in a network of different actors with their own responsibilities: developers, constructors, authorities and so on.

Effective ASB strategies need to recognise the factors that underlie ASB. As suggested, these factors are likely to involve a complex interaction between social policies, economic policies and policing priorities.

To conclude, it seems that it is almost impossible in such a controversial subject to come up with something new, as Foucault in the archaeology of knowledge put it: **‘one cannot speak of anything at any time; it is not easy to say something new;...’**

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Summary

Even though the importance of the social and environmental problems associated with multi storey social housing that was created in Europe soon after world war II and during the 1950's ; 1960's and early 1970's and still nowadays widely built in Algeria, has been increasingly recognized, the relevant literature has been characterized by conflict and controversy about the causes of such problems. The general purpose of this study is: First to investigate the debate around this issue in order to understand its confusing totality and help uncover some of the mechanisms by which it functions. An attempt to assess objectively the relevance and the importance of the conflicting claims about the causes has been made. Second, is to try to assess empirically the performance of the multi storey housing estates in Constantine with regard to Anti Social Behaviour in particular.

This first part of the study has been carried out in two complementary ways. The first part, looked broadly at the debate as a whole from which the main issues were identified and the second concentrated on the issues in detail in order to assess their importance and validity. The analysis confirmed that this issue is the concern of many diverse individuals and institutions belonging to various scientific and non-scientific disciplines, and that the debate is often confusing, complex and controvesial. The presence of a multitude of inter-dependant factors, the determinism of some researchers and the confusion of some others are very much at the root of this controversy. Second, it was revealed that there are three main ideological beliefs about the causes of these problems and consequently the blame has been cast in three directions. First, architectural design. Second, the social and the economic status of the residents. Third, lack of adequate management, control and tenant's participation. The content of these groups has been investigated in order to assess their validity.

The second part "the case study" concentrated on the assesement of the level of the performance of nine housing estates in Constantine through a survey measuring the level of satisfaction of the residents with regard to various factors especially those related to anti-social behaviour. The study concluded that the factors best correlating with tenant satisfaction were the physical layout and condition of the flat , peace and quiet, absence of traffic, noise, well maintained and cleaned staircases, absence of mischief and graffiti, a sense of security and prompt intervention against disturbances. On the other hand, this study has assembled a great deal of information about the way that people experience Anti Social Behaviour and talk about its causes.

However concerning aspects of anti social behaviour, it is difficult to say whether it is better understood in terms of a general decline in standards, in terms of luck of education and civic responsibility or in terms of the social exclusion of some groups that is created by the growing inequalities. It must stressed that people did not subscribe simply to one or other narrative about ASB. Not only professionals but the residents we interviewed often recognized the complexity of the factors underlying ASB. The development of ASB strategies should be thought in ways that recognise the need to be not only tough on ASB but tough on the causes of ASB. It is also revealed that strategies have to be worked out to deal with anti-social behaviour.They should include tough mesures as well as a continuing effort of prevention and education.

Résumé

Bien que l'importance des problèmes environnementaux et sociaux associés à l'habitat collectif crée en Europe après la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale; durant les années 50; 60 et début des années 70 et très répondu en Algérie jusqu'à nos jours a été reconnue; la littérature concernant le sujet a souvent été caractérisée par le conflit et la controverse quant aux causes de ces problèmes. Le propos général de cette étude est: Premièrement l'investigation du débat autour du sujet dans le but de comprendre sa totalité confuse et essayer de mettre en évidence les mécanismes par lesquels il fonctionne. Une tentative d'évaluation objective de la pertinence des revendications conflictuelles concernant les causes de ces problèmes a été faite. Deuxièmement: Un essai d'évaluation empirique de la performance des cités d'habitations collectives à Constantine a été faite, plus particulièrement les aspects liés aux effets du comportement anti social.

La première partie de cette étude a été menée de deux manières complémentaires. La première est une revue générale du débat à partir duquel les principaux sujets ont été identifiés. La deuxième s'est concentrée sur les points identifiés en détail dans le but d'évaluer leur importance et leur validité. L'analyse a confirmé que le sujet concerne plusieurs individus et institutions appartenant à diverses disciplines scientifiques et non-scientifiques et que le débat est souvent confus; complexe et controversé. La présence d'une multitude de facteurs inter-dépendants; le déterminisme de certains chercheurs et la confusion de certains autres sont à la racine de cette controverse. L'étude a également révélé la présence de trois croyances idéologiques quant aux supposées causes de ces problèmes.

- 1.La conception architecturale.
- 2.Le statut socio-économique des résidents.
- 3.L'absence d'un système adéquat de gestion et de contrôle ainsi que la participation des résidents.

Le contenu de certaines études de ces trois groupes a été analysé dans le but d'évaluer leur validité.

La deuxième partie de la thèse s'est concentrée sur l'évaluation du niveau de performance de neuf cités d'habitations collectives à Constantine à travers une enquête qui consistait à mesurer le niveau de satisfaction des résidents à l'égard de certains aspects tels que; la propreté; l'entretien des parties communes, etc.. Mais plus particulièrement les effets du comportement anti social au niveau de ces cités. L'étude a conclu que d'un côté les facteurs associés à la satisfaction générale des habitants sont, la distribution de l'espace de l'appartement; la paix et la tranquillité, l'absence de bruit, cages d'escaliers propres et bien entretenues, absence de graffiti et le sens de sécurité. D'un autre côté l'étude a rassemblé beaucoup d'information concernant la sévérité du comportement anti social; la manière dont les résidents vivent ces effets et comment ils envisagent la solution à ce problème.

Il faut également noter que concernant le comportement anti-social, c'est difficile à dire si c'est compris en terme de déclin général des standards sociaux; d'un manque d'éducation et de responsabilité civique ou de l'exclusion de certains groupes sociaux créée par la croissance des inégalités. Non seulement les résidents mais aussi les professionnels reconnaissent la complexité des facteurs à l'origine de ce genre de comportement. Le développement de stratégies de lutte contre le comportement anti-social doivent s'attaquer aux causes réelles et non pas se contenter de mesures répressives de plus en plus dures. Ces stratégies doivent inclure en plus des mesures de l'éducation et de prévention.

ملخص:

رغم أن أهمية المشاكل البيئية و الاجتماعية المتصلة بالأحياء السكنية الجماعية التي ظهرت في أوروبا بعد نهاية الحرب العالمية الثانية و طيلة الخمسينات و الستينات و أوائل السبعينات و التي لا تزال منتشرة بكثرة في الجزائر إلى يومنا هذا , أصبحت معترف بها إلا أن الدراسات التي تناولت هذا الموضوع تنسم بالتأزم و الغموض و التناقض في ما يخص أسباب هذه المشاكل .
الموضوع العام لهذه الدراسة هو:

أولا , دراسة الحوار الدائر حول الموضوع لمحاولة فهم شموليته الغامضة و توضيح الآليات التي تشغله . تمت محاولة تقييم موضوعية للأسباب المزعومة و المتناقضة لهذه المشاكل .
ثانيا , دراسة ميدانية على مستوى تسعة أحياء بقسنطينة لمحاولة تقييم مدى نجاعتها خاصة بالنسبة للعوامل المتصلة بالسلوك ألاجتماعي .

الجزء الأول من هذه الدراسة تم بطريقتين متكاملتين . الأولى, عبارة عن مسح شامل للموضوع و من خلاله تم التعرف على المواضيع الرئيسية. الثانية, تم التركيز على أهم النقاط التي برزت بالتفصيل و الغرض هو إبراز أهميتها و صلاحيتها. أكدت هذه الدراسة أن الموضوع يهم عدة أشخاص و مكسبات تنتمي إلى تخصصات مختلفة علمية و غير علمية و أن الموضوع شائك و غامض و معقد . إن وجود عدة عوامل متداخلة و تعصب بعض الباحثين و غموض البعض الآخر تعد مصدر لهذه الإشكالية. كما أفرزت الدراسة وجود ثلاثة اعتقادات أيديولوجية فيما يخص الأسباب المزعومة لتلك المشاكل:

- 1- التصميم الهندسي و المعماري.
 - 2- الوضع الاجتماعي و الاقتصادي للسكان .
 - 3- غياب نظام تسيير و مراقبة ملائم و عدم إشراك السكان.
- تم تناول بالدراسة التحليلية لمضامين النقاط المذكورة .

الجزء الثاني من الدراسة تركز على تقييم نجاعة عدة أحياء قسنطينة و مستوى ارتياح السكان للعيش فيها و ذلك من خلال دراسة ميدانية تركزت أساسا على عدة عوامل منها , النظافة , صيانة الفضاءات المشتركة الخ...
كما خصت الدراسة مدى تأثير السكان بالسلوك ألاجتماعي, و كيف يتعاملون مع هذه الظاهرة و كيف يرون كيفية معالجة هذه الظاهرة.
تبين من خلال هذه الدراسة الميدانية أن من أهم العوامل المتصلة بمدى ارتياح السكان نذكر على سبيل المثال : نوعية فضاء الشقق , الهدوء و السكينة , عدم وجود الضجيج , نظافة و صيانة المدارج و الإحساس بالأمن. من جهة أخرى مكنت هذه الدراسة من جمع معلومات كثيرة تخص عدة جوانب من ظاهرة السلوك ألاجتماعي على مستوى هذه الأحياء, مدى تأثيره على الحياة اليومية و ما هي الحلول المقترحة للتغلب على هذه الظاهرة.

يجب القول كذلك فيما يخص السلوك ألاجتماعي أنه من الصعب التأكد من أسبابه, هل هو تقهقر عام للمعايير الاجتماعية ؟ هل هو نقص التربية و الأخلاق و المسؤولية المدنية ؟ و هل هو ناتج من إقصاء و تهميش فئات اجتماعية ناتجة من النمو السريع للفوارق الاجتماعية. كما يجدر الذكر أنه سواء السكان أو المحترفين المشرفين على تسيير هذه الأحياء يعترفون بصعوبة و تعقد الأسباب المحتملة لنمو هذه الظاهرة كما أنهم يجمعون على أهمية تطوير استراتيجيات لمكافحة هذه الظاهرة تكون متضمنة جملة من التدابير الردعية و العقابية بموازاة مع الحرص على التربية و الوقاية .

Appendix: The questionnaire

	QUESTIONNAIRE	Mauvais	Moyen	Bon	Excellent
1	Pensez-vous que l'état de votre appartement est ...				
2	Pensez-vous que l'état de votre immeuble est...				
3	Pensez-vous que l'état des espaces extérieurs est...				
4	Pensez-vous que l'état des trottoirs est....				
5	Pensez-vous que la cage d'escalier et le hall sont dans un état.....				
6	Pensez-vous que les parkings sont dans un état....				
7	Pensez-vous que l'état des rues est...				
8	Pensez-vous que l'état des espaces verts est...				
9	Pensez-vous que l'état des aires de jeux est...				
10	Pensez-vous que l'alimentation en eau potable est...				
11	Pensez-vous que le ramassage des ordures est...				
12	Pensez-vous que l'alimentation en électricité et gaz est ...				
13	Pensez-vous que l'état du réseau d'assainissement est...				
14	Comment jugez-vous l'organisation des voisins				

15	Pensez-vous que l'état de maintenance est...				
16	Pensez-vous que l'implication des voisins dans la gestion est....				
17	Comment jugez-vous l'état des transports publics				
18	Comment jugez-vous l'état de la couverture en équipements éducatifs				
19	Comment jugez-vous l'état des équipements de santé				
20	Comment jugez-vous l'état des parcs et des espaces verts				
21	Comment jugez-vous l'état des équipements de loisirs				
22	Comment jugez-vous l'état des équipements de commerces				
	COMPORTEMENT ANTISOCIAL	Très sérieux	Sérieux	Modéré	Mineur
23	Considérez-vous le bruit comme un problème...				
24	Considérez-vous les odeurs comme un problème...				
25	Considérez-vous la violence comme un problème...				
26	Considérez-vous la drogue comme un problème...				
27	Considérez-vous les dégâts causés aux propriétés comme un problème...				
28	Considérez-vous le graffiti comme un problème ...				
29	Considérez-vous la saleté comme un problème...				
30	Considérez-vous le jet des ordures comme un problème ...				

31	Pensez-vous que l'utilisation des espaces publics a des fins privées est un problème...				
32	Pensez-vous que la nuisance due a la présence de buisines est un problème ...				
33	Pensez-vous que le cambriolage et le vol sont des problèmes ...				

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Even though the importance of the social and environmental problems associated with multi storey social housing that was created in Europe soon after world war II and during the 1950's ; 1960's and early 1970's and still nowadays widely built in Algeria, has been increasingly recognized, the relevant literature has been characterized by conflict and controversy about the causes of such problems. The general purpose of this study is: First to investigate the debate around this issue in order to understand its confusing totality and help uncover some of the mechanisms by which it functions. An attempt to assess objectively the relevance and the importance of the conflicting claims about the causes has been made. Second, is to try to assess empirically the performance of the multi storey housing estates in Constantine with regard to Anti Social Behaviour in particular.

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ملخص:

رغم أن أهمية المشاكل البيئية و الاجتماعية المتصلة بالأحياء السكنية الجماعية التي ظهرت في أوروبا بعد نهاية الحرب العالمية الثانية و طيلة الخمسينات و الستينات و أوائل السبعينات و التي لا تزال منتشرة بكثرة في الجزائر إلى يومنا هذا , أصبحت معترف بها إلا أن الدراسات التي تناولت هذا الموضوع تتسم بالتأزم و الغموض و التناقض في ما يخص أسباب هذه المشاكل .
الموضوع العام لهذه الدراسة هو:

أولا , دراسة الحوار الدائر حول الموضوع لمحاولة فهم شموليته الغامضة و توضيح الآليات التي تشغله . تمت محاولة تقييم موضوعية للأسباب المزعومة و المتناقضة لهذه المشاكل .
ثانيا , دراسة ميدانية على مستوى تسعة أحياء بقسنطينة لمحاولة تقييم مدى نجاعتها خاصة بالنسبة للعوامل المتصلة بالسلوك ألاجتماعي .

الجزء الأول من هذه الدراسة تم بطريقتين متكاملتين . الأولى, عبوة عن مسح شامل للموضوع و من خلاله تم التعرف على المواضيع الرئيسية. الثانية, تم التركيز على أهم النقاط التي برزت بالتفصيل و الغرض هو إبراز أهميتها و صلاحيتها. أكدت هذه الدراسة أن الموضوع يهم عدة أشخاص و مؤسسات تنتمي إلى تخصصات مختلفة علمية و غير علمية و أن الموضوع شائك و غامض و معقد. إن وجود عدة عوامل متداخلة و تعصب بعض الباحثين و غموض البعض الآخر تعد مصدر لهذه الإشكالية. كما أفرزت الدراسة وجود ثلاثة اعتقادات أيديولوجية فيما يخص الأسباب المزعومة لتلك المشاكل:

- 1- التصميم الهندسي و المعماري.
 - 2- الوضع الاجتماعي و الاقتصادي للسكان .
 - 3- غياب نظام تسيير و مراقبة ملائم و عدم إشراك السكان.
- تم تناول بالدراسة التحليلية لمضامين النقاط المذكورة .

الجزء الثاني من الدراسة تركز على تقييم نجاعة عدة أحياء قسنطينة و مستوى ارتياح السكان للعيش فيها و ذلك من خلال دراسة ميدانية تركزت أساسا على عدة عوامل منها , النظافة , صيانة الفضاءات المشتركة الخ...

كما خصت الدراسة مدى تأثير السكان بالسلوك ألاجتماعي, و كيف يتعاملون مع هذه الظاهرة و كيف يرون كيفية معالجة هذه الظاهرة.

تبين من خلال هذه الدراسة الميدانية أن من أهم العوامل المتصلة بمدى ارتياح السكان نذكر على سبيل المثال : نوعية فضاء الشفق , الهدوء و السكينة , عدم وجود الضجيج , نظافة و صيانة المدارج و الإحساس بالأمن. من جهة أخرى مكنت هذه الدراسة من جمع معلومات كثيرة تخص عدة جوانب من ظاهرة السلوك ألاجتماعي على مستوى هذه الأحياء, مدى تأثيره على الحياة اليومية و ما هي الحلول المقترحة للتغلب على هذه الظاهرة.

يجب القول كذلك فيما يخص السلوك ألاجتماعي أنه من الصعب التأكد من أسبابه, هل هو تقهقر عام للمعايير الاجتماعية ؟ هل هو نقص التربية و الأخلاق و المسؤولية المدنية ؟ و هل هو ناتج من إقصاء و تهميش فئات اجتماعية ناتجة من النمو السريع للفوارق الاجتماعية. كما يجدر الذكر أنه سواء السكان أو المحترفين المشرفين على تسيير هذه الأحياء يعترفون بصعوبة و تعقد الأسباب المحتملة لنمو هذه الظاهرة كما أنهم يجمعون على أهمية تطوير استراتيجيات لمكافحة هذه الظاهرة تكون متضمنة جملة من التدابير الردعية والعقابية بموازاة مع الحرص على التربية و الوقاية .

Résumé

Bien que l'importance des problèmes environnementaux et sociaux associés à l'habitat collectif crée en Europe après la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale; durant les années 50; 60 et début des années 70 et très répondu en Algérie jusqu'à nos jours a été reconnue; la littérature concernant le sujet a souvent été caractérisée par le conflit et la controverse quant aux causes de ces problèmes. Le propos général de cette étude est: Premièrement l'investigation du débat autour du sujet dans le but de comprendre sa totalité confuse et essayer de mettre en évidence les mécanismes par lesquels il fonctionne. Une tentative d'évaluation objective de la pertinence des revendications conflictuelles concernant les causes de ces problèmes a été faite. Deuxièmement: Un essai d'évaluation empirique de la performance des cités d'habitations collectives à Constantine a été faite, plus particulièrement les aspects liés aux effets du comportement anti social.

La première partie de cette étude a été menée de deux manières complémentaires. La première est une revue générale du débat à partir duquel les principaux sujets ont été identifiés. La deuxième s'est concentrée sur les points identifiés en détail dans le but d'évaluer leur importance et leur validité. L'analyse a confirmé que le sujet concerne plusieurs individus et institutions appartenant à diverses disciplines scientifiques et non-scientifiques et que le débat est souvent confus; complexe et controversé. La présence d'une multitude de facteurs inter-dépendants; le déterminisme de certains chercheurs et la confusion de certains autres sont à la racine de cette controverse. L'étude a également révélé la présence de trois croyances idéologiques quant aux supposées causes de ces problèmes.

- 1.La conception architecturale.
- 2.Le statut socio-économique des résidents.
- 3.L'absence d'un système adéquat de gestion et de contrôle ainsi que la participation des résidents.

Le contenu de certaines études de ces trois groupes a été analysé dans le but d'évaluer leur validité.

La deuxième partie de la thèse s'est concentrée sur l'évaluation du niveau de performance de neuf cités d'habitations collectives à Constantine à travers une enquête qui consistait à mesurer le niveau de satisfaction des résidents à l'égard de certains aspects tel que; la propreté; l'entretien des parties communes, etc.. Mais plus particulièrement les effets du comportement anti social au niveau de ces cités. L'étude a conclu que d'un côté les facteurs associés à la satisfaction générale des habitants sont, la distribution de l'espace de l'appartement; la paix et la tranquillité, l'absence de bruit, cages d'escaliers propres et bien entretenues, absence de graffiti et le sens de sécurité. D'un autre côté l'étude a rassemblé beaucoup d'information concernant la sévérité du comportement anti social; la manière dont les résidents vivent ces effets et comment ils envisagent la solution à ce problème.

Il faut également noter que concernant le comportement anti-social, c'est difficile à dire si c'est compris en terme de déclin général des standards sociaux; d'un manque d'éducation et de responsabilité civique ou de l'exclusion de certains groupes sociaux créée par la croissance des inégalités. Non seulement les résidents mais aussi les professionnels reconnaissent la complexité des facteurs à l'origine de ce genre de comportement. Le développement de stratégies de lutte contre le comportement anti-social doivent s'attaquer aux causes réelles et non pas se contenter de mesures répressives de plus en plus dures. Ces stratégies doivent inclure en plus des mesures de d'éducation et de prévention.