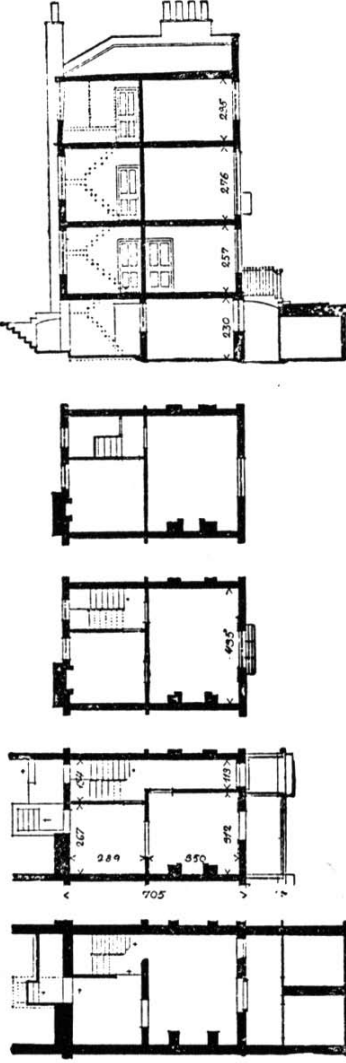


EMERGING TYPOLOGIES



Boundaries, Privacy and Community / David Law Typology and Densification / Damian Rogan Quality, Identity and Character / Jessica Zarges The Personal Space / Dima Zoghaib

1



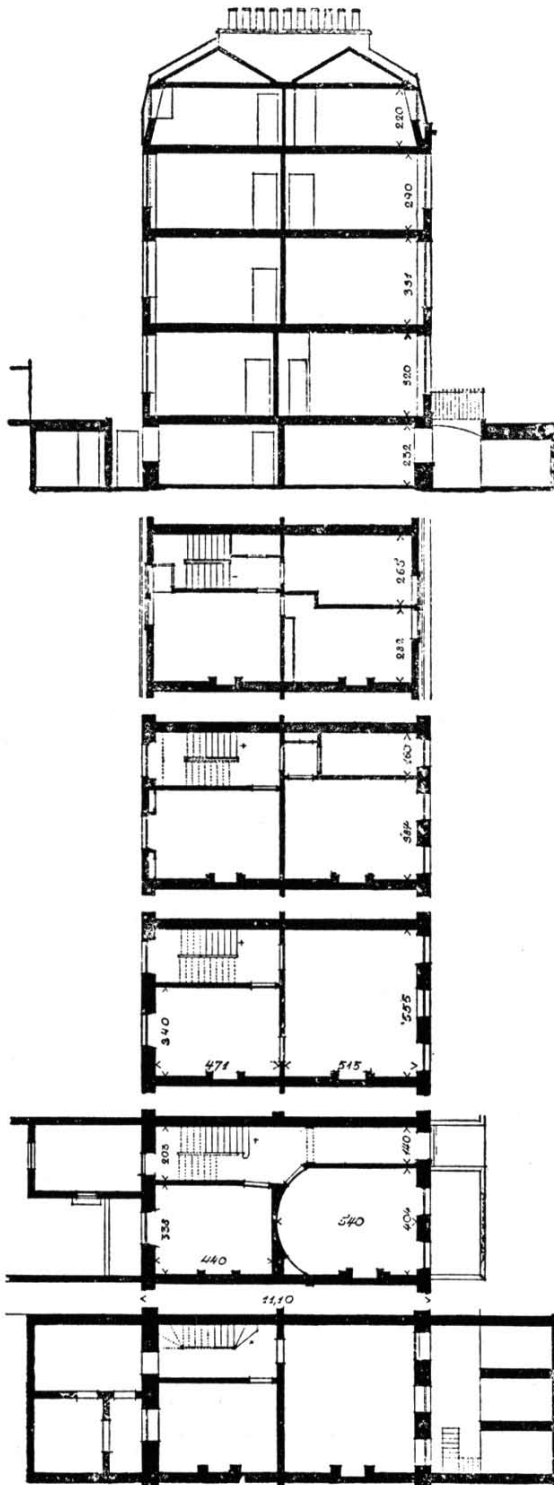
The term 'typology' comes from the Greek root, *typos*, meaning to 'model', 'matrix', or 'mould'. The 'type' is the shape or form that emerges as the average of a type of building. It is a historically-derived formal consensus, found by comparing and superimposing building forms.

Typology refers to the distillation and classification of existing building types and urban forms in terms of social function and spatial efficacy. More specifically, typology can be described as a social and spatial process in which building types are considered to be the convergence of social relations and spatial practices. Moreover, typology is dynamic, meaning that it constantly undergoes modifications not only in terms of producing (and reproducing) social relations, but also continually influencing spatial adaptations in newly built forms.

Why is typology important?

Housing makes up over 80 per cent of London's built environment; it therefore defines much of the city's look and feel. The use of housing typology gives a different character to London's many districts: Notting Hill, South Kensington and Bloomsbury are remembered as much for the appearance and arrangement of houses as any other feature.

But typology defines much more than a city's appearance. It defines the borders between the public and private realms. It defines the spatial relationships between households and even between members of the same household. It defines whether one can adapt one's home to his or her needs. It defines where the city ends and where the home begins.



Terrace houses in Camden 1 and Bloomsbury 2 drawn to the same scale. These examples demonstrate the adaptability of the terrace typology to a scale appropriate to its surroundings. Source: Muthesius, Stefan, 1982. *The English Terrace House*. New Haven: Yale UP

The use of typology is a reflection of the tastes, needs and priorities of a generation. A look at the historical use of typology in London housing construction is a window onto the country's social and political outlooks and preoccupations in the past. At times, typologies were adopted in order to impose social ideals onto people: the model dwelling of the 1850s was an attempt to separate slum dwellers into individual families, while the post-war construction of large council estates reflected the Labour government's socialist aspirations. Typology has changed to suit the fashions of the time, as is the case with the European-influenced mansion blocks of the 1880s and Modernist-influenced slab blocks of the 1930s. Typology has evolved with technological advances, including the rise of the automobile in the 1920s and the introduction of industrialised building components in the 1940s. And typology has also changed according to the needs of the developers who have been building housing; it was developers, after all, who introduced the most ubiquitous of English typologies, the terraced house.

Despite the many typological innovations that have occurred over the years, the typology that remains predominant within London and most English cities is the terraced house. That the terrace remains the dominant type is telling of two things: one, the reluctance of English house builders to embrace new types; and two, that the terraced house is a very good typology. The terrace's success is due in part to its adaptability. The typical terraced house is made up of two equal-size rooms on each level plus a zone for the kitchen, bathroom and circulation. This layout allows the inhabitant to tailor the house to his or her needs, assigning different functions to each room as required. The house can even be split into flats without loss of function. The terrace presents a legible frontage to the street and provides a private garden to the rear. The building shell can stand alone as a single element, while any number can be placed side-by-side without loss of character.

This resilience – a robustness of structure plus flexibility of use – is the reason for the terrace's success as a typology. Understanding this is key to understanding the importance of typology in housing design. Today there are many forces affecting the use of typology: the needs for high densities, mixed communities and the reuse of urban sites. A thorough understanding of typology must be gained to better inform future development. The pieces that follow explore the question of typology in relation to issues of privacy and community, housing density and quality, and the adaptability of living spaces.

3 The terrace spread to become the dominant housing typology in London. Much of London's street grid is defined by this use of the terrace (Muthesius 1984).

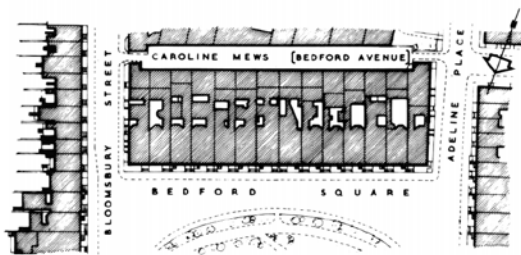
4 Terraces on Bedford Square. The drawings show how a row of terraces can be assembled to form a unified composition (Muthesius 1984).



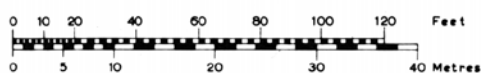
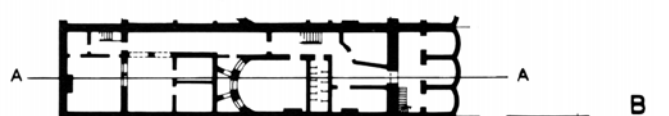
The English Terraced House



FRONT ELEVATION



BLOCK PLAN



SLUM CLEARANCE

Recognition of poor conditions of lower class housing characterized by overcrowding and lack of sanitation leads to slum clearances.

LOCAL AUTHORITY HOUSING

Local authorities given permission to buy, build and develop housing for rent, which led to the construction of the first council housing estate in 1896 (Boundary Estate).

POLICY / POLITICAL FORCES

HEALTH OF TOWNS COMMITTEE (1840s)

Domestic architecture deployed against the lack of hygiene and sanitation that had led to illness and disease (particularly because more affluent residents developed a phobia of contracting the diseases of 'the poor').

PHILANTHROPIC PROVISION

Organizations and individuals attempted to provide better housing for the working class.

URBAN SPRAWL / SUBURBANIZATION

London's population doubled every twenty years during the nineteenth century, which led to rapid urban expansion characterized by speculative construction of terrace houses. Urban congestion and lack of sanitation was mitigated by suburbanization rather than renewal and regeneration.

LUXURY FLATS FOR THE RICH

Flats had become increasingly trendy for the rich upper class since the late-1940s, stemming from Continental influence (e.g., Parisian flats constructed during Haussmann's regeneration scheme. In London, buildings like Grosvenor Mansions continue to be fashionable.

"HOUSES IN FLATS IN LONDON"

George Godwin publishes an article in *The Builder* about flats in London, explaining that flats impinge on the English conception of privacy. However, he also supports flats because they allow for higher density, social inclusion and better construction quality.

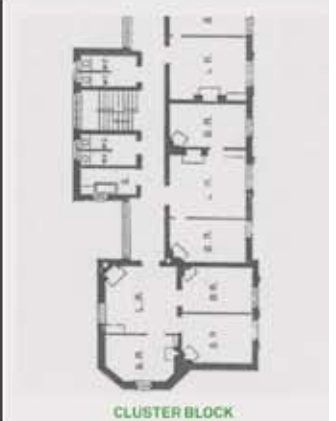
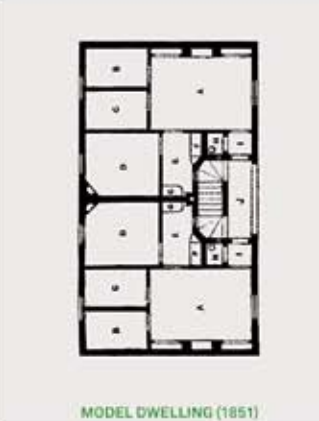
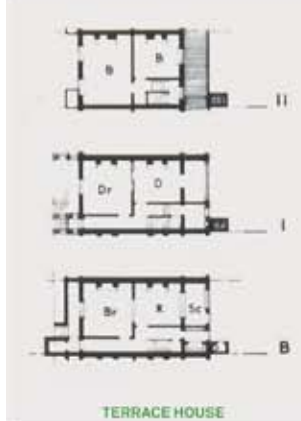
PRINCE OF WALES CONTRACTS TYPHOID

Bad plumbing nearly causes his death.

PUBLIC PERCEPTION / SOCIAL FORCES



DESIGN / DEVELOPMENT





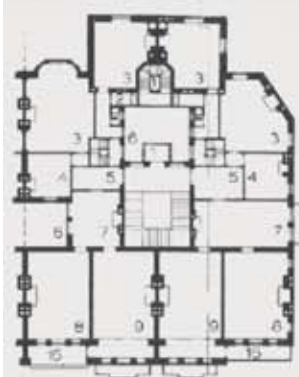
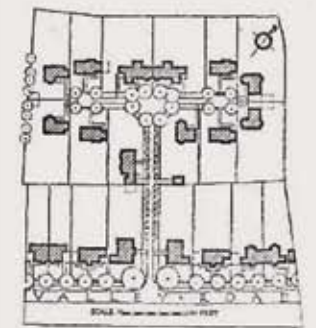
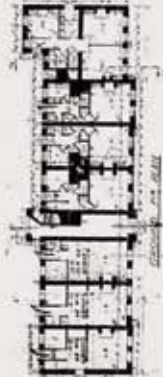



TYPOLOGICAL

1860

1870

1880

		<div>HOUSING AND TOWN PLANNING ACT</div> <div>"Homes Fit for Heroes" allowing local authorities to receive central government subsidy for housing.</div> <div>TUDOR WALTERS REPORT</div> <div>Recommends garden city planning.</div>	<div>WHEATLEY ACT (1924)</div> <div>Policy for general housing subsidy. Abolished by Health Minister (Hilton Young), making the Greenwood Act more operative.</div> <div>GREENWOOD HOUSING ACT (1930)</div> <div>Promotes slum clearance and construction of high density flatted blocks in city centres.</div>	1919	1924	1930
<div>SPECULATIVE DEVELOPMENT</div> <div>Developers in London perceive flat building as a problem of scale, because the large initial investments required for flat building involves too much financial risk. Therefore, terrace houses remain the dominant typology because the smaller scale of construction is more financially viable for speculative development.</div>	<div>GARDEN CITY MOVEMENT (1899)</div> <div>Ebenazer Howard develops his vision to create a new self-sufficient 'social cities' of 250,000 people, set with their own commerce and industry in the countryside. Letchworth Garden City and Welwyn Garden City are founded in 1903 and 1920, respectively.</div>		<div>RISE OF FLAT BUILDING</div> <div>Flats contribute nearly 40 percent of housing construction in London (despite never contributing more than 25 percent of the annual housing completion in England between 1920 and 1932). Large social housing estates emerge in London during the slum clearance efforts, which leads to growth of a stigma associating flats with "tenements for the poor" and "maximum density for maximum cheapness."</div>			
						
ALBERT HALL MANSIONS	LETCHWORTH GARDEN CITY	TABARO GARDENS	KENSAL HOUSE			
						
MANSION BLOCKS (FLATS)	GARDEN CITY HOUSES	PERIMETER BLOCK	STAIRCASE ACCESS			
1900	1910	1920				

LDC VISITS CONTINENTAL EUROPE

London County Council visits Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Holland and France in attempt to find inspiration for housing innovations.

1935

LABOUR GOVERNMENT (1945)

Promise to provide quality housing for all who need it.

HOUSING ACT OF 1949

Promoted balanced communities. Good space standards, construction of different typologies on single estate to allow people to live their whole lives in the community.

1945

1949

PEOPLE'S HOUSE

Macmillan government promotes prefab, high density but at the expense of quality. Beginning of a 10-year surge in house building, often edge-of-town estates with poor access to amenities and public transport.

1957

PARKER MORRIS (1961)

Standards introduced. (for public sector only)

BUILDING REGULATIONS (1965)

Published for the first time, greater state control over private housing standards.

1961

1965

POLICY / POLITICAL FORCES

EMERGENCE OF THE AUTOMOBILE

City suburbs expand to accommodate the automobile.

TECHNICAL INNOVATION

Continental influences enable certain technological developments in construction (e.g., frame construction). While private developers adhere to conservative brick construction, younger architects (particularly those hired by local councils) begin experimenting with new building technologies.

DUDLEY REPORT (1944)

Examines the debate between houses versus flats, and specifically discusses the disadvantages of the building a large number of flatted developments between the World Wars. Ultimately, the report emerges as a force discouraging flat building primarily on the grounds that flats are not ideal family dwellings.

SOCIAL IDEALISM

Many social housing estates are perceived as new possibilities to achieve better health, education and domestic standards of living. This social idealism is frequently linked to the utopian perspective that dominated much of the Modernist discourse. Some developments experiment with providing more social amenities (i.e., gardens, playgrounds, launderettes, swimming pools, shops, storage, etc.).

RONAN POINT

TOWER BLOCK (1968)
Prefabricated tower block collapses as a result of a gas explosion, which leads to a public reaction against tower blocks and the end of high-rise housing developments.



PUBLIC PERCEPTION / SOCIAL FORCES



OUTER LONDON



CHURCHILL GARDENS



ACTON WEST

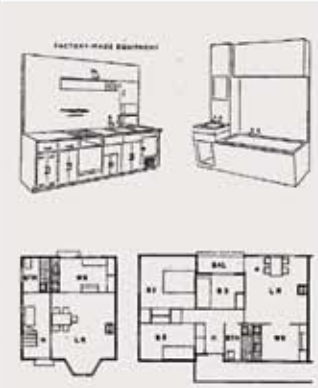


CANADA ESTATE

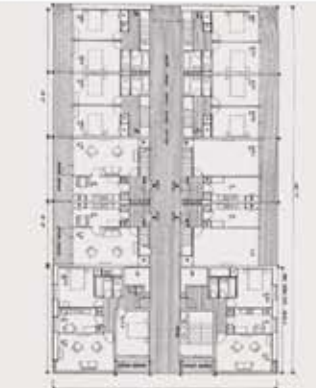
DESIGN / DEVELOPMENT



SEMI-DETACHED HOUSES



PREFABRICATED COMPONENTS



MODERNIST-INFLUENCE SLABS







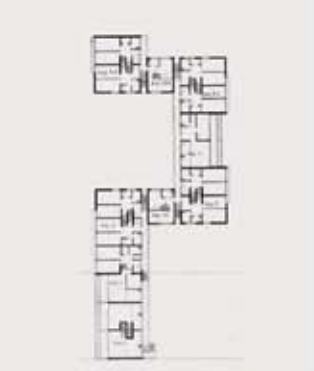

TOWER BLOCKS

TYPOLOGICAL

1940

1950

1960

<p>METRIC HOUSE SHELLS Metric House Shells published, promotes the replacement of slums with tower blocks, industrialised building methods.</p>	<p>HOUSING ACT OF 1980 Thatcher administration initiates the right-to-buy campaign.</p> <p>PARKER MORRIS (1989) Parker Morris standards abolished.</p>	<p>LONDON PLAN (2004) Promotes higher density, mixed tenure housing, sustainable communities and social inclusion.</p> <p>SOUTHWARK PLAN (2007) New strategic plan focusing on regeneration and sustainability.</p>	
1970	1980 1989	2004 2007	
	<p>BOROUGH RIOTS (1980-85) Riots break out in a number of London boroughs, which attracted the government's attention about the need for action to tackle the worst council estates.</p>	<p>HOUSING DETERIORATION Continuing deterioration of social housing estates stemming from the lack of maintenance and capital investment leads to the public perception about the poor housing quality offered in most council housing.</p>	<p>GENTRIFICATION OR REGENERATION? A number of housing projects around London face criticism from local residents about the effects of gentrification and rising rent prices.</p>
			
HEYGATE ESTATE	BONAMY ESTATE	ROYLE WAREHOUSE	
			
DECK-ACCESS SLAB BLOCKS	LOW-RISE, HIGH-DENSITY	LOFT CONVERSION	
1980	1990	2000	

Typology and Community

Defining typology in reference to housing remains a challenging task because it requires a highly subjective conceptualisation of certain spatial conditions stemming from the innumerable social relations between family members, households, neighbours, local organisations and other social networks. Typology is a spatial configuration which generates social relations.

The attempt to engender community through the design of collective or shared spaces is exceedingly challenging, mainly because different kinds of residents have different ideas about what community means. The term has become an overused cliché in many planning policy documents. In Planning Policy Statement 1 (PPS1), which is the foundation of national planning policy in the United Kingdom, the word 'community' appears nearly seventy times in a twenty-five page document (ODPM 2005). While the goal of creating 'sustainable communities' is a valiant one, and the encouragement of 'mixed communities' may very well lead to more sustainable communities, the overuse of the word 'community' has led to some misconceptions about the nature of community, particularly in reference to housing.



1 Typical urban fabric in London characterised by the rowhouse morphology



2 Typical urban fabric in Paris characterized by the perimeter block morphology

Source: maps.google.co.uk

A community is intrinsically exclusive. Communities are formed by a group or network of people who share a particular interest. To that end, communities should not necessarily be associated with housing. Neighbours may not share any common interests, except for the fact that they live in the same area (although that does not mean they both enjoy it). Therefore, the second misconception about community revolves around the idea that it refers to friendly relationships between neighbours. In fact, many people prefer to ignore their neighbours and live anonymously.

Community is not intrinsically connected to place, or for that matter, to housing. In fact, communities are perhaps more frequently formed through special interests, hobbies, recreational groups, social activities, economic networks and political alliances. Ultimately, how can community be achieved in regards to housing? Is typological design a useful way to create housing communities? Are there typological components and morphological features which make one housing area a better community than another?

Classifying boundaries

Boundaries are the means to generate both privacy and community in housing typologies. In order to gauge the privacy and community afforded by the emerging typologies appearing in Southwark, it is necessary to examine the boundary conditions found in each typology (e.g. physical barriers, symbolic markers, judicial borders and administrative limits). In exploring the boundaries, the aim is to distinguish a pattern or arrangement of boundary transitions which create a more ideal balance between privacy and community.

Additionally, in order to establish a baseline for the analysis, the prototypical terrace house and the Heygate Estate will be considered with regards to their boundary conditions. The terrace house represents the predominant housing typology in London, while the Heygate Estate is representative of the scale and typology of social housing built in the construction boom of the sixties and seventies.

Against these baselines, I go on to consider four more recent developments in Southwark in terms of relationships between building typologies, public/private boundaries, and the possibilities of community.

Baseline Examples

The terrace house typology provides a clear boundary between the public and private domain through the use of physical barriers and legible symbolic markers. In contrast, the Heygate Estate typology suffers from illegibility of coherent boundaries and therefore engages in an ambiguous transition between public, semi-public and semi-private spaces. The terrace house is perhaps more successful because it does not seek to provide semi-public and semi-private spaces, which emphasises privacy as the priority. In terms of community, Heygate is fundamentally a problem of scale. Moreover, the transitional spaces (e.g., open spaces, skywalks and deck corridors) suffer from illegibility, poor design and misguided architectural programming. The terrace house is more likely to promote solidarity because neighbours engage in relations through the sharing of party walls and within the public domain (i.e., sidewalk and street) in which residents are free to choose whether or not to interact with neighbours. Ultimately, the persistence of the terrace house typology stems from its relatively strict division between the private and public domain as compared to the illegible, ambiguous and clumsy transitions between public and private space found in the Heygate Estate.



3 Heygate Estate

Clockwise from top left:

The estate has a wall surrounding some of the property, but public access is not constrained.

A matrix of skywalks do not communicate legible symbolic thresholds between spaces and remain public space.

Deck-accessibility not limited by any physical barriers or significant symbolic thresholds.

Doorways to flats remain publicly visible, physically accessible and symbolically unmarked.

4 The Terrace House

Clockwise from top left:

The street is a purely public space with parking.

Sidewalks remain public space, but the terrace houses provide symbolic thresholds with the elevated entry stoops.

In addition to the stoops, the doorway and curtained windows provide physical and symbolic barriers.

Rear gardens provide residents with private outdoor space and increased privacy.

5 Coin Street

Clockwise from top left:

Public streetscape has a symbolic threshold using the different materials on the sidewalk.

Locked gate restricts access to the internal courtyard creating a barrier between public and semi-private.

Locked entryway creates a semi-private interior space from which residents access their flats.

Ground-floor flats have street access with gates and stairs that create a threshold.

6 Coopers Road

Clockwise from top left:

Public access restricted by locked gate and symbolically marked by the covered entryway.

Ground-floor flats have street access in which a retaining wall and the pavement coloration act as thresholds.

Interior courtyard is semi-private space with small private gardens leading to flats. Half of the site is composed of maisonettes, while others are deck-access flats. All of them overlook the interior courtyard.

Coin Street

The Coin Street development provides a good example of public/private boundaries that are successful in protecting privacy and engendering community. The development is surrounded by streets on three sides and a new community centre on the south side. The streets benefit from large pedestrian sidewalks and relatively well-designed streetscapes. The administrative limit is marked by a change in sidewalk material and coloration. While the sidewalks remain in the public realm, the curb threshold begins to indicate a transition into semi-public space. Ground-floor flats have gated entryways providing physical barriers and a judicial border of the private realm. The upper-level flats are accessible by a locked entryway, which creates a physical barrier into the semi-private space. The stairwells and corridors remain semi-private as does the internal courtyard. The courtyard is accessible from the locked stairwell or from a gated entrance from the sidewalk. Ultimately, the courtyard is a semi-private space, and it benefits from collective use and joint maintenance. This courtyard is successful in creating a community in which residents can use the communal space, enjoy each other's companionship, and watch their children play in a safe place, all while engaging in the mutual respect of privacy.

Coopers Road

Coopers Road is typologically similar to Coin Street because it also has a semi-private internal courtyard. Additionally, Coopers Road also has both street-accessible flats and upper-level flats accessible by semi-private corridors, which are decks overlooking the courtyard in this case. The streets and sidewalks surrounding the development are public space, but there are small retaining walls and changes in pavement materials to denote symbolic thresholds into the private realm. Moreover, the courtyard accessibility is limited to the residents, as it is only accessible from a gated entrance or a semi-private stairwell. Similar to Coin Street, the ground-floor homes enjoy small private garden spaces. The internal courtyard is well overlooked by both the maisonettes and the deck corridors, which provide access to the upper-level flats. Even though it is unknown whether or not Coin Street served as a model for Coopers Road (as it was constructed later), it certainly mimicks many aspects of Coin Street. It generally seems successful in providing a sufficient amount of privacy through private gardens and street-accessible flats. Moreover, it appears to successfully create a communal space that can be enjoyed by the residents. Both privacy and community are reinforced and protected by its range of physical and symbolic boundaries.

7 Coin Street

Public: Streets and sidewalks surrounding the block on three sides.

Semi-public: Sidewalks strips create threshold near the building that are differentiated by symbolic boundaries. Two shops on the corners are also semi-public.

Semi-private: Internal courtyard and its access points. Private gardens may also be considered semi-private because of visual and auditory perceptibility.

Private: Ground-level flats with street-accessibility.

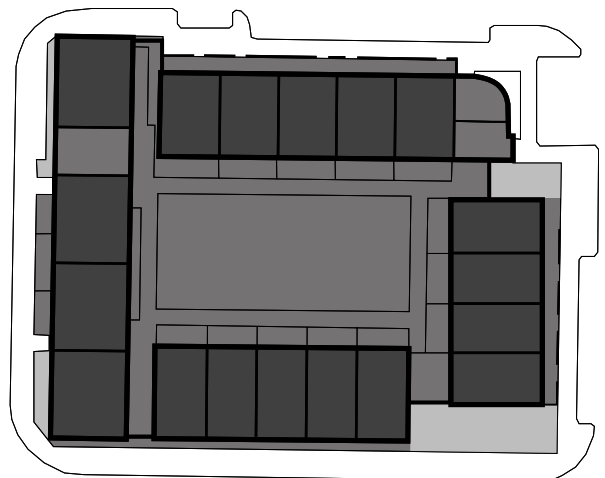
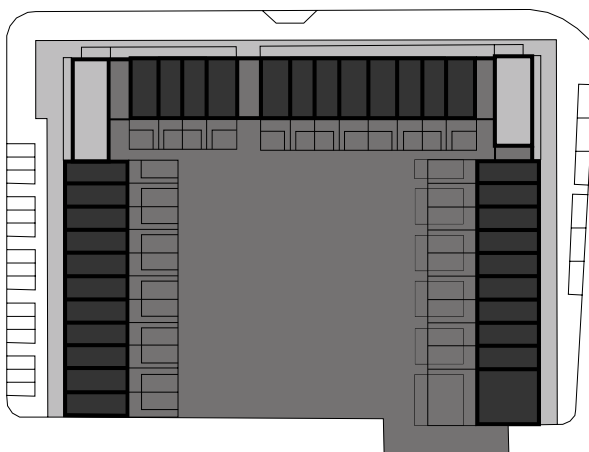
8 Coopers Road

Public: Streets and sidewalks surrounding the block on four sides.

Semi-public: Various sidewalks areas near the building that are differentiated by symbolic boundaries.

Semi-private: Internal courtyard and its access points. Private gardens may also be considered semi-private because of visual and auditory perceptibility.

Private: Ground-level flats (some street-accessible).



Jam Factory

The Jam Factory is a loft-conversion residential development. Because it was not originally designed to create boundaries relevant to privacy and community in regards to housing, the boundaries between public and private are more physical in nature as opposed to symbolic. The site is surrounded by a tall wall, which serves as an administrative limit and physical barrier limiting access to the internal spaces. This administrative barrier is further reinforced by the front gate and security office. Upon entering the semi-private space within the wall, the open spaces are narrow strips of space in-between the buildings, which limits their functionality as communal space. While these spaces have some seating areas, they generally lack good spaces for residents to enjoy sitting and green spaces for children to play. Moreover, unlike the small private gardens provided in Coin Street and Coopers Road, the ground-level flats do not enjoy private gardens; instead, residents appropriate outdoor space using their own outdoor furniture and decorations. In general, the Jam Factory does succeed in providing privacy through the wall barrier and limited accessibility, but its semi-private spaces fail to create usable communal space because they have awkward dimensions and lack practical programmatic elements for residential and community use.

Tabard Square

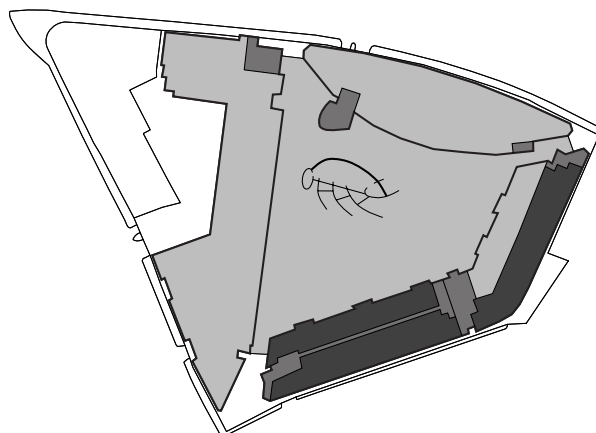
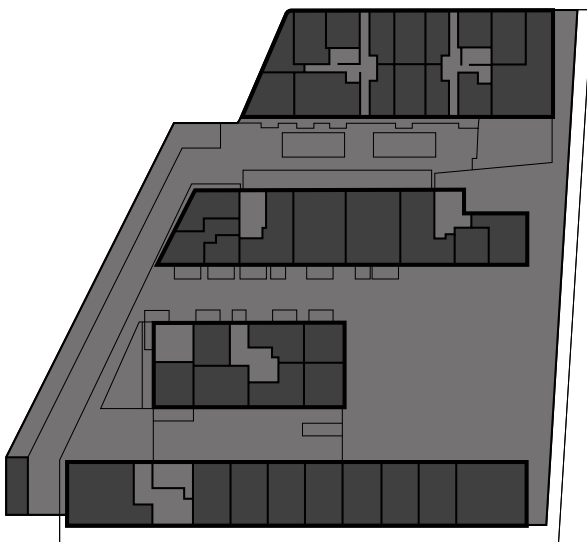
Tabard Square is a new mixed-use scheme, composed of a residential tower and various mid-rise residential buildings that are predominantly accessible via internal corridors (other than a few street-access flats). The ground-level of the site is composed primarily of commercial space. As a result, the internal courtyard remains in the public realm. However, the access points to the courtyard are narrow and they incorporate symbolic markers such as changes in pavement colorations and lamp posts. These symbolic markers contribute to a psychological threshold that may prevent a typical passer-by from entering the courtyard space. Therefore, the courtyard can be considered semi-public. Nevertheless, the courtyard can be freely accessed by patrons of the central cafe, the daycare center or the retail/commercial areas. Because the patrons may not be residents, the courtyard may lose its ability to serve as a successful communal space. Though it provides green space and seating areas, residents may be hesitant to spend time and allow children to play alone in the courtyard because of the presence of outside strangers. Moreover, the sheer scale and density of this development may inhibit its ability to foster a more intimate community than is possible in Coin Street or Coopers Road.

9 Jam Factory

Public: Streets and sidewalks surrounding the block on three sides.
Semi-public: No semi-public space because entire site enclosed by wall.
Semi-private: All space inside the wall that is not exclusively private.
Private: Ground-level flats have accessibility from the narrow courtyard spaces.

10 Tabard Square

Public: Streets and sidewalks surrounding the block on its three sides.
Semi-public: Internal courtyard and the majority of the ground level in two of the buildings.
Semi-private: Access points to the stairwells and lifts leading to flats.
Private: Ground-level flats with street-accessibility in one of the buildings.



Conclusion

By examining the boundaries present in these case studies, it is possible to make generalisations about the relationship between these emerging housing typologies in Southwark and their ability to protect privacy and engender community through the provision of communal space.

Private space is typically protected through physical barriers of a house or flat that prevent physical, visual and auditory accessibility. The envelope of the house also serves as the judicial border in which homeowners claim property rights over their private space. Most contemporary developments understand the need for privacy, and they are relatively proficient at protecting the private realm. Therefore, it is more interesting to consider how housing typologies can begin to generate 'community' (i.e., exclusivity) through the use of legible and conspicuous boundaries between the private and public realm.



11 Jam Factory

Clockwise from top left: The site is surrounded by a tall wall which restricts physical access and prevents visibility. Front gate is a physical barrier and symbolic marker, and it is reinforced by a security office on the left.

Interior semi-private courtyards provide little functional space. Ground-floor flats lack legible thresholds, but residents still claim space with grills and flower pots.



12 Tabard Square

Clockwise from top left: Internal courtyard is publicly accessible but there exist a number of symbolic thresholds.

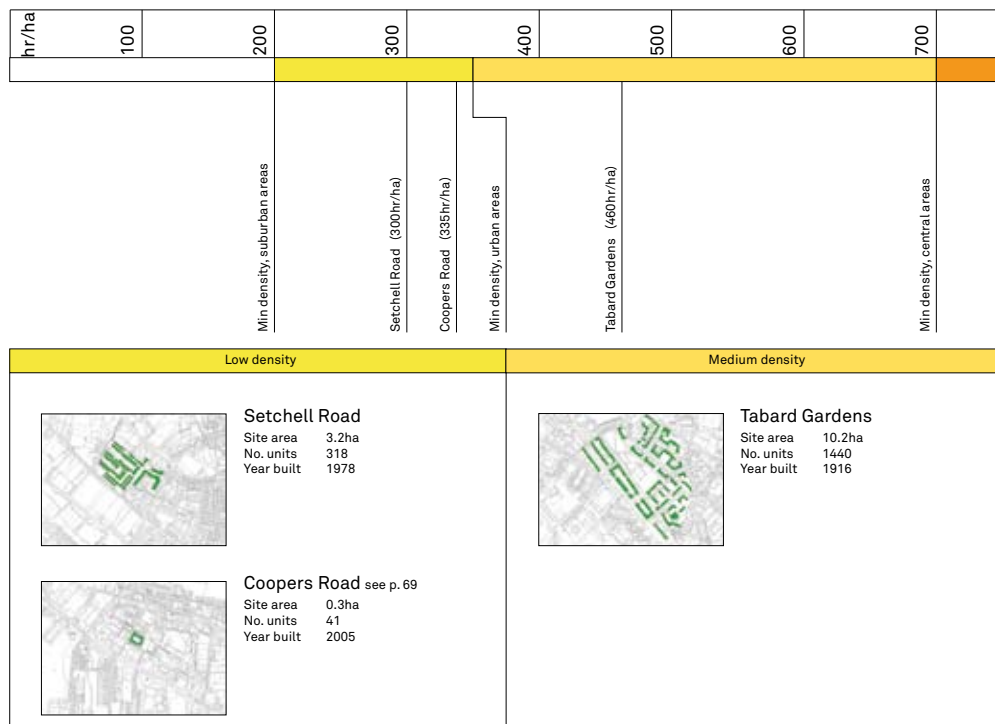
Some ground-floor flats have street access, and the internal courtyard is accessible via a wide tunnel.

Interior courtyard is semi-public space with accessibility to the ground-floor retail spaces.

Retail spaces and childcare centre are accessible to the public, but there are a number of symbolic thresholds.

Proponents of high density believe that it is an integral part of bringing about 'sustainable communities' that will yield greater social inclusion (ODPM 2005) and 'compact cities' that will bring environmental sustainability (UTF 1999).

Demographic changes occurring among the UK population – the increase in over-65s, smaller families and a higher proportion of single professionals – have led to an increase in the number of households and a decrease in the average household size (UTF 1999).



Our urban housing stock, primarily made up of terrace houses, was built in a time of larger households and does not meet today's housing needs. While terraces can be broken into flats, the result is often unsatisfactory, with the individual units being very narrow and lacking private outdoor space.

While policymakers point to Paris and Barcelona as models of successful high density cities (GLA 2003a), both have long-standing traditions of high density housing typologies.

The dominant Parisian typology, the apartment block, has a large entrance foyer with a central staircase leading up to fewer than 20 units. Each of the apartments is located on a single level and has an outdoor balcony. Some of the units may have roof terraces, but few, if any, will have private gardens at ground floor.

This typology achieves higher density than the terrace house by redefining the dwelling's definitions of public/private and internal/external spaces. However, given that the terrace is the English housing type, its qualities are ingrained in the English conception of home.

In looking for new high density housing typologies, therefore, it is important to consider the qualities that made the terrace the dominant urban housing typology in London's past in determining whether they are viable alternatives for its future. Whether the new typologies are imported from Europe or from hyper-dense cities like New York, their long-term success will depend upon their ability to provide the attributes that have made the terrace the enduring English housing type and to recognise why past attempts at introducing new typologies have failed.

The following is a study of the effect of increasing density on the use of housing typology and the provision of public and private space. The study hopes to discern whether the high densities being proposed for new London housing will produce typologies that, given English housing traditions and attitudes, will enjoy enduring success.

1 Density of the case study sites in relation to Southwark planning policy and in comparison to high-density cities. The draft Southwark Plan states that 'residential density will be expected to comply with' these values. The case study sites are shown to the same scale. *Southwark Council 2006: 96*



Case studies

Three case study sites have been chosen and grouped into three density categories. The sites chosen are a mixture of recent and historical examples; the attempt is to provide both a historical basis and a look at emerging trends.

Low density

Setchell Road is an important example of 1960s–70s ‘low-rise/high-density’ housing. Although low density by today’s standards, it was constructed at a similar density to many of the high-rise council estates of its time. It was lauded as an example of how a large number of homes could economically fit onto a small site while retaining a high proportion of units with private gardens and doors onto the street (Colquhoun 2004).

High density

The Jam Factory is a new project representative of recent development trends. The Jam Factory is a warehouse conversion project in an up-and-coming area of Southwark (Angel Property 2004). The complex of four (soon to be five) buildings is a mix of live-work spaces and loft-style apartments (Southwark Council 2007). Though the site is heavily developed, the areas between the buildings are well-used by the inhabitants.

Super-high density

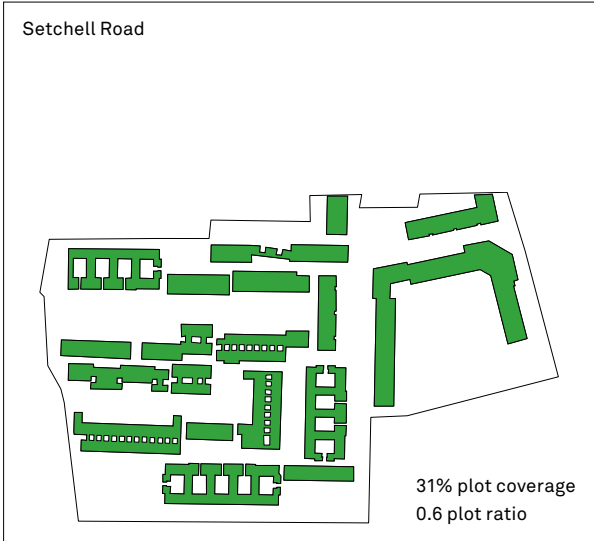
Tabard Square is among the highest density residential buildings in London, being right at the top end of what is allowed under the London Plan. Tabard Square is a recently completed project comprising three buildings enclosing a public plaza. The prominent northwest corner of the site features a 22 storey tower, making it one of the tallest residential buildings in Southwark (GLA 2003c). Though the project contains a number of luxury flats, 30% of the units are for social renting or shared ownership (Southern Housing 2006).

The case study sites contain a variety of housing typologies other than terraces and all have different strategies for providing public and private outdoor space. Unsurprisingly, the amount of external public space diminishes with greater density, as does the proportion of dwellings with front doors onto the street. However, there is no strict relationship between density and the provision of private outdoor space.

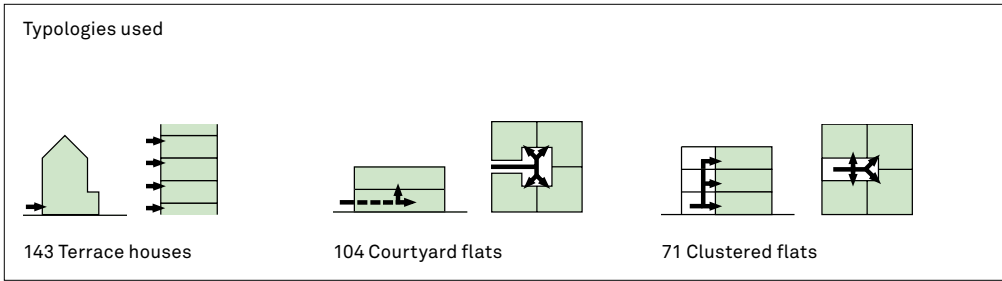
The low density scheme is successful at integrating different typologies. It is characterised by having a very high percentage of dwellings with front doors directly off the street and a high proportion of dwellings with private outdoor space. At Setchell Road, the private space is all provided at ground level. The site has fairly low levels of ground coverage but still lacks large open spaces. Setchell Road has more public open space than any of the case study sites, but most of that space is merely for access to the many ground level dwellings.

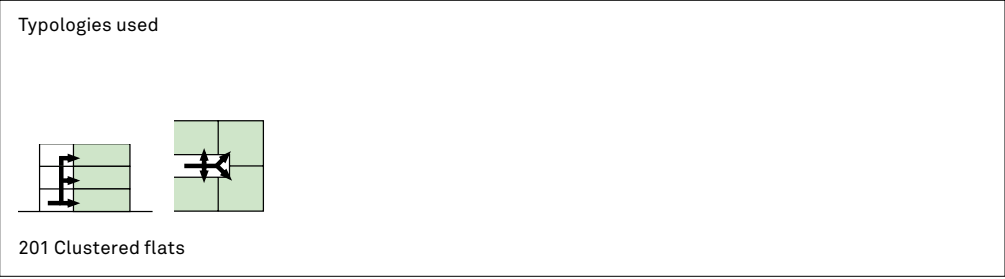
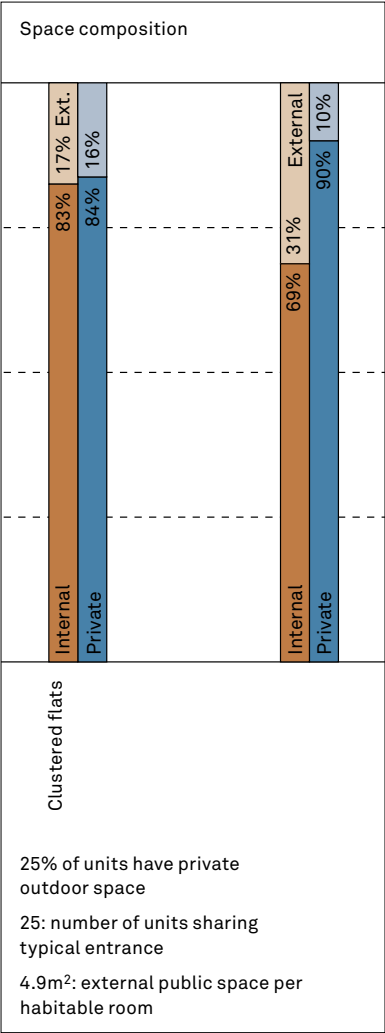
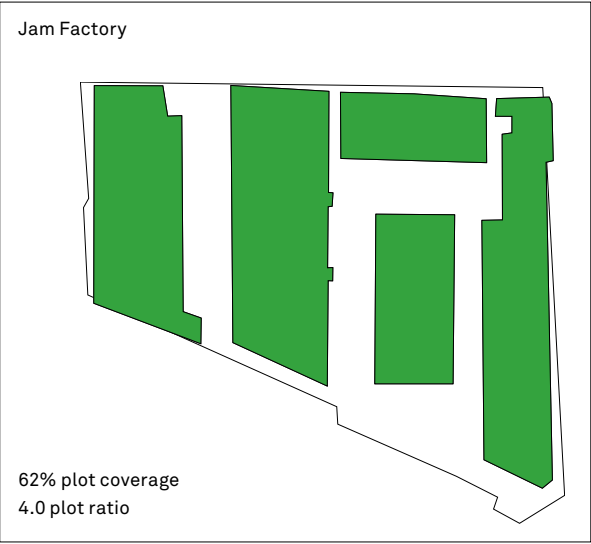
The high density site is the most heavily developed of the case studies in terms of ground coverage. It has a much higher proportion of space in private ownership compared to the lower density scheme. It is also notable for being of single typology, using clustered flats.

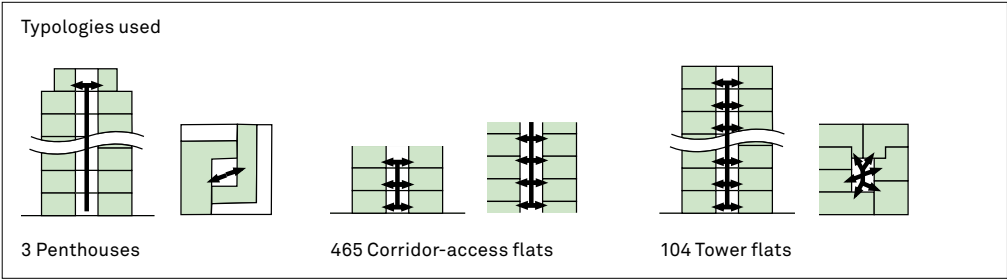
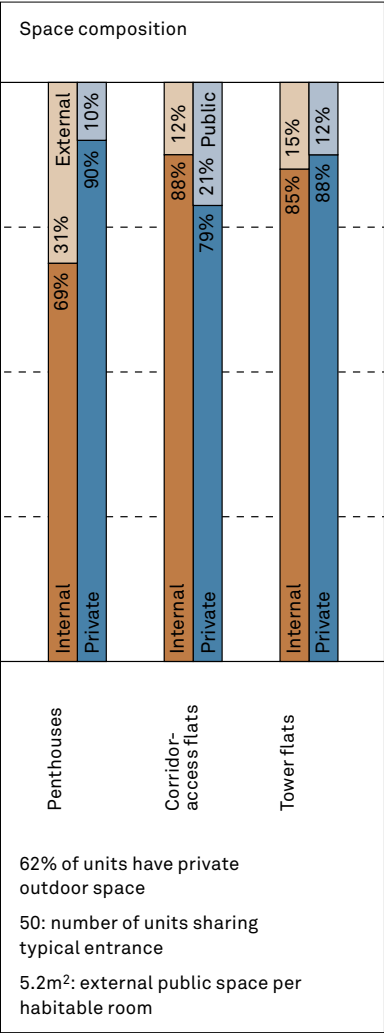
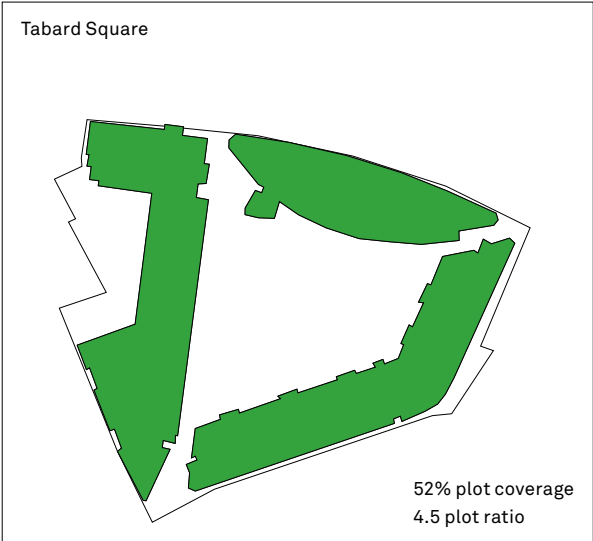
2–4 Descriptions of three of the case study sites, showing typologies used and the provision of public/private and external/internal space. Note that plan drawings are shown out of scale.



Space composition				
Terrace houses	Internal	48%	52%	External
	Private	56%	44%	Public
Courtyard flats	Internal	47%	53%	External
	Private	57%	43%	Public
Clustered flats	Internal	51%	49%	External
	Private	54%	46%	Public







The Jam Factory site feels over-developed. The four buildings are aligned parallel to one another and spaced only around 10m apart, preventing much daylight from reaching ground level between them. At the upper levels, adjacent buildings have units with full-height glazed walls facing directly onto one another.

Overlooking and overcrowding issues are dealt with through strict management and control over who is to live there. The development is marketed at young, fashionable individuals, ensuring homogeneity among its occupants. Jam Factory residents are presently campaigning against inclusion of a fifth building on the site that would contain the development's social housing contingent, a condition of its planning approval (Webjam 2007).

The super-high density project achieves density in a very different way. Tabard Square manages to incorporate a number of typologies into different building forms. The project demonstrates that it is possible to use a variety of housing types and to provide a large proportion of units with private outdoor space even at super-high densities. The external space provision is, however, distorted by the amount of space given to the penthouses, which sell for over £1m. The public external space within the development comprises a 4000m² plaza between the site's three buildings. This space contains a cafe and is open to the general public, so is not strictly for the use of Tabard Square tenants. The building's typical entrance serves around 50 units and its tower entrance nearly 100 units.

The project includes a proportion of affordable units 'pepper-potted' in the corridor-access buildings. The project is unusual for having both a mix of tenure and high numbers of units sharing a single entrance. It remains to be seen whether such an arrangement will be satisfactory to all of the residents.

What legacy?

In an effort to make London a more sustainable, 'compact' city, new housing development is encouraged to be built at densities higher than the city has seen in modern times (GLA 2003a). Furthermore, over two-thirds of all planning consents are for projects at densities above those allowed by the London Plan for their locations (GLA 2006). Indeed the GLA and local authorities have permitted schemes above 2700hr/ha in areas with less than 'excellent' public transport (GLA 2003b).

As this study shows, the typologies that are created at such high densities tend to be very reliant on good management and homogeneity of occupants, and often fail to provide the qualities that Londoners expect of their homes. There is clearly demand for high-rise housing, mostly from City workers seeking 'Manhattan-style' living. But typologically speaking, super-dense schemes tend to be no different from the tower blocks of the 1960s council estates that are now being torn down after years of neglect. This raises concerns as to whether the typologies we are now producing would work in the future if London were to become a less affluent place. Are we leaving a housing legacy that is no different from that of a generation ago which is now so unpopular?

To produce an enduring, sustainable housing stock will require projects built at densities that can support a range of typologies and a range of choice. London needs typologies that meet its present needs yet will be as enduringly successful as the terrace house has been. High density housing can work, but only through good design, with careful consideration of site context, and by using housing typologies that provide the qualities people want.

Quality, Identity and Character / Jessica Zarges

Against the backdrop of the evolution of the terraced house and the achievements of the post-war era in the UK, the following text explores whether new housing typologies are emerging in the European context that might inform future housing development.

European trends

Since the beginning of the 1990s, research into housing has tried to understand how the current housing stock provides for current ways of life, and what provisions should be made for the future. The common finding is that there have been irreversible social changes:

- Emancipation and equal treatment of women
- Changing household structures
- Rising proportion of pensioners
- Young people leaving home later
- Global relations leading to different cultures existing side by side
- Increased social and geographical mobility

These social changes have led to a variety of phenomena that affect housing on different levels:

- Rise of single-person and co-habiting households
- Re-migration into the city
- Higher mobility and greater willingness to move house

Social changes raise a variety of problems in regard to housing typology. Firstly, the heterogeneity and individuality of lifestyles means the post war idea of the “Wohnung für das Existenzminimum” (Housing for a Minimum Existence), the general solution for people united by the social and technical progress of the time, is not the ideal any more.

In Switzerland, the current trend might be labelled “Wohnung für das Existenzmaximum”. This would be a flat that offers many ways of appropriation without constraint. This ‘open’ or ‘tolerant’ shell is not the same as the open plan of the modernist era, when the conservative addition of rooms gave way to a more ‘flowing’ sequence of spaces; it seeks different spaces, ‘spaces in between’, a broad spectrum of appropriation without need for structural change. This could be a sequence of spaces with no hierarchy or with very high specificity.

Neutral spaces should no longer be blank and characterless; spatial interest is important. Dark spaces have become possible again. Projects with strikingly deep plans organised around a dark centre are being built. According to convention these spaces are useless, but in the new context they generate spatial dramaturgy.

1 Tabard Square, 2006

The development consists of around 500 units (70% private, 30% shared ownership/ social rented) with a mix of studio, one, two and three bedroom apartments. C09-03 is a two bedroom flat of 82m² (40% larger than Parker Morris standards). The entrance conforms to the access requirements, the dining/kitchen/living area takes up 40m² and the bedrooms are 13,6m² and 10,5m². The balcony has an awkward shape and is relatively shallow to be useable.



The needs of the inhabitant cannot be averaged out, but remain highly specific. For some the flat can be seen as a retreat (into the virtual) from real life. For others it is a place for living, working, culture and consumption. Still for others urban living is a refuge for sleeping only and all services are received outside of one's home.

New typologies are required to offer housing with more individual qualities that address particular 'lifestyle' needs. The overall aim is to offer affordable, spacious and seductive lifestyle choices to everybody.

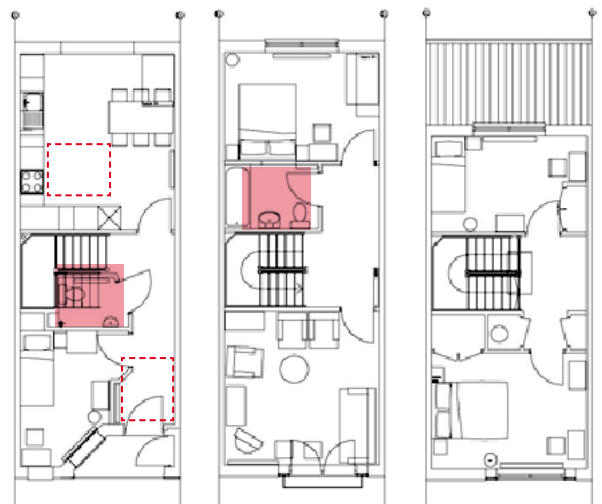
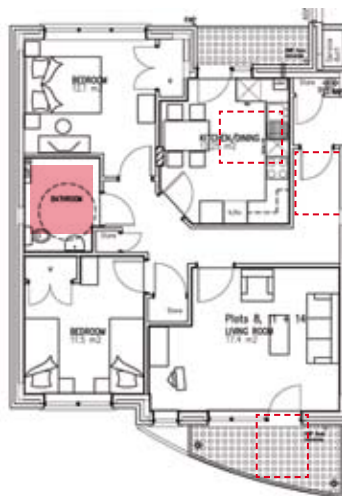
London: two Southwark case studies

Two recent housing developments in Southwark are illustrated below.

I would claim that, although a variety of efforts are made to escape the hex of the terrace house, most 'typologies' still remind us of this predominant housing type. They may seem to offer a slightly better layout, especially in comparison with contemporary high-rise typologies, where very long hallways are accepted just to fit in another apartment. In terms of access, the terrace is probably the hardest type to adapt, but the flats that meet Lifetime Homes accessibility standards still suffer from the 'hallway disease' that afflicts the terrace.

2 Elmington Street, 2004

The space standards are said to be 40% more generous than comparable schemes and the flats are designed to Lifetime Homes standards (with knockout panels between bedroom and bath). The one bedroom flat of 64m² is 42% greater than Parker Morris standards but the narrow hallway, 90 cm wide and 6.5m long, has no views outside and detracts from the sense of spaciousness. The four bedroom house of 99m² (26% greater than Parker Morris standards) also has a small entrance. The bedroom sizes vary from 16m² to 8,4m².



Narratives of home?

Home is a centre around which the experiences of one's life, family or community gather. Home can be associated with several metonyms: hearth, table, church spire, the plaza or family farm, which all form centres of experience.

The practice of making a home is an attempt to anchor the dissipation of time to the stability of place. It takes time to set up the boundaries of home and they are sustained longer than built forms. It also takes a lot of time to come to know the stories of the home. Therefore, the making of a home involves a set of geographical and temporal conditions which are not always easy to replicate or exchange.

Like many others, I was always fascinated by architecture and buildings, by their mass and presence in the city, but also intrigued to know what lies behind these repetitive unit based designs. Within one block there are many identical units, which I would like to call boxes, containing lives which give each one of these boxes a richness unrecognised by the outsider.

The relationship between the physical space and the personal space, the imagination of the architect, his ideological view, the idea of a plan, of a typology, has been juxtaposed with the concept of adaptability of the inhabitant, self organisation, the ability to transform and make stories in and of space.

The present study draws on a survey and comparison of several homes in Southwark with the aim of exploring the dichotomy between the language of the architect and the language of the inhabitant.

The tools used to do the research are mainly photography and interviews. The intention is to use the inhabitant's narratives of home in order to prompt the reader to build his own story.

The development is a new block located in Wansey Street in Elephant and Castle. The project is designed for Southern housing group by de Rijke Marsh Morgan Architects and is the first to be realised under the Elephant and Castle regeneration masterplan. The block is divided into 4 apartment blocks with 3 entrances, all connected via a main open circulation in the backyard garden.

The building is characterised architecturally by its nine different typologies, which vary from 1 bedroom to 3 bedrooms, and socially by its mix of tenure and communities. There are 31 apartments in total of which 12 are for rent, 7 for shared ownership and 12 for private sale.

1st floor, 2nd block

Joe was our first interviewee. Joe lives in flat 17, the main door is orange. Joe and his wife occupy a 3 bedroom maisonette overlooking the backyard garden which they are renting from the housing association, hoping to buy in the future. They moved in to this flat in last October and were previously residents of the Heygate estate which he describes as “living in a cage”. Two of the three bedrooms are located downstairs and the third is upstairs. Joe and his wife occupy one of the bedrooms downstairs (the bigger one), the second has shelves full of CDs and books which will be in the future a study room and the third on the second floor is currently being used as a laundry room. According to Joe, their taste is very “minimalistic and the flat is exactly our taste”. Joe showed us a framed picture of him and his wife at their wedding. His wife was wearing a traditional gown and the setting of the picture was an exotic place, it turned out his wife is from Bangladesh. Joe doesn’t have a balcony, however he has a maintenance path overlooking the backyard garden downstairs. He would like to have a garden but not live on the ground floor, and therefore he intends to turn the maintenance path outside the living room into a ‘garden’.

3rd Floor, 1st Block

Martin lives with his girlfriend in flat 7; he occupies a 1 bedroom flat which he bought. He moved 6 or 7 weeks ago and used to live “around the corner”. His previous house was a two-bedroom house shared with his friend. Martin still has not bought all the furniture, all I can see is a table, an inflatable mattress in front of a giant tv, a bike and few small objects around the house. He feels comfortable with the layout of his house except that he finds it a bit strange having the bathroom next to the bedroom. He started to make some changes to his house by removing all the wooden bars above the windows but he’s not going to change more until he buys all the furniture. I asked Martin if he’s decorating his house like his previous house in the Heygate estate, he replied “No because I didn’t care about the previous place”. Then he told me the story about his bike being parked in the house, he says “this is a good one, I will not park it downstairs because it gets stolen”, by downstairs he meant the cycling racks in the building’s garden (which ironically is gated and should be secure and safe). Martin has objects collected from his travels spread around the living room, much of them are placed near the windows which overlook the Heygate estate. “Why red?” I asked, he replied “I chose red because it’s a colour we both like; I had a similar room in Australia painted that colour”.

3rd Floor, 2nd Block

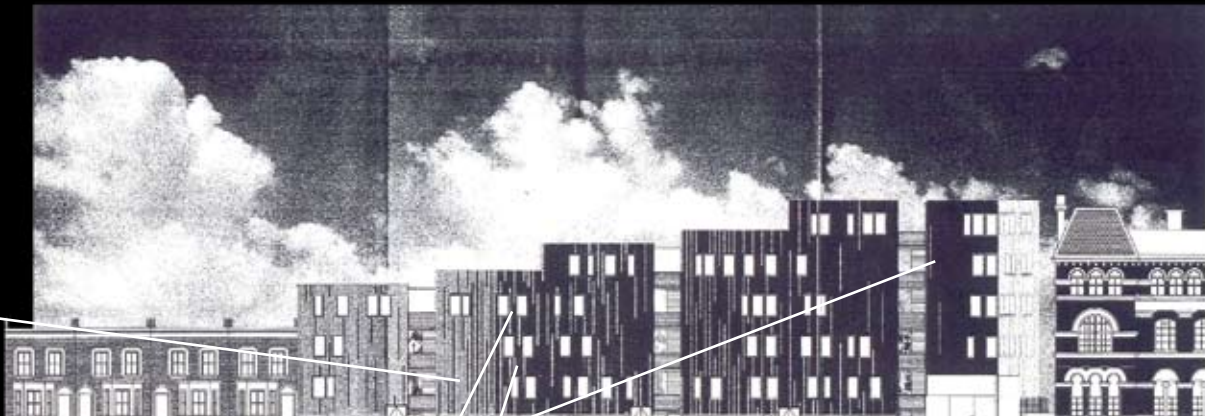
Ben lives alone in flat 20. He occupies a one bedroom flat in shared ownership. He is one of the three architects I met in this building. He moved to the flat four months ago and used to live in London Bridge. His previous flat was more spacious but the area is more expensive, he moved here because he knows the area will be very good in the near future. Ben is very happy with the flat except he wishes he had a balcony. Looking around Ben’s house, I see mostly statues which he collects from all over the world and ‘designed’ objects which are reflections of his identity as a designer.

2nd Floor, 2nd Block

Anita lives in flat 18, just below Ben; she occupies the same typology as Ben but her flat has a balcony. Anita is renting her flat from the housing association and was a resident in the Heygate estate for 13 years, “it is awful, I had one bedroom and a box room” she says, “I lived above the boiler room and one day there was a steam, luckily I wasn’t at home, it was like a fire, I lost everything, I lost 13 years of my life, my papers, all gone”. Anita couldn’t stop talking about her experience in the Heygate and how it ended. She then moved to tell us how much she loves this flat and that she loves everything about it “I love this flat, I love it, I love being here, I hated living there so much that I appreciate everything here, I wake up and hear birds singing, that to me is fantastic, in the last flat I never had a balcony where I can sit outside, a lot of drug houses in the last flat, I had to keep my curtains closed, here I keep them open, I feel comfortable but the only problem is my neighbours downstairs, that’s it”. Anita is trying to create an atmosphere that is “quiet, modern, my sofa is going to be white leather when it comes”, she continues, “Well I had modern things there, but because I lived there so long and I hated the place so much, I didn’t keep up decorating, I hated it so why would I pay decorating it. As much as I decorated there, it still looked awful, I tried for 5 years. But you know what? It’s a new start, a new beginning. The only thing is I lost my clothes, I had 50 jackets”.

The people interviewed who were previously residents in the Heygate estate wanted a quiet, modern, minimalist home and this is probably due to the chaotic experience they had before. However, although the building has recently been completed and the residents are relatively new in their flats, they have started customising them to reflect their distinct identities and personalities and this came out clearly in most of the flats. In general, expression was generally forward looking, especially for the people who came from the Heygate, although there were some occasional displays that denoted the past, perhaps reminders of where people originally came from.





Ben

Anita



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