

A Study Inside the English Working-class Home

Problems of Participant Observer Research

Robert MacDonald
School of Architecture
University of Liverpool
Leverhulme Building
Abercromby Square P.O. Box 147
Liverpool, L69 3BX, Great Britain

Summary

This paper presents a study, currently in progress, concerned with changing aspects of *Man-environment interaction* inside the English working class home. The paper concentrates upon the theoretical implications of taking a phenomenological stance in Man-environment studies, the methodology of participant observation, and the creation of original data about the inside of the English working class home. The paper raises several questions concerned with researchers' attitudes towards subjects, role-conflicts in conducting Man-environment research, and research as a form of spying. The paper concludes by discussing the next stage in the development of this study.

Résumé

Cette contribution se réfère à une étude en cours sur certains aspects de l'interaction homme-environnement dans l'habitat de la classe ouvrière anglaise. L'article est centré sur les implications théoriques d'une position phénoménologique dans les études homme-environnement, sur une méthodologie d'observation participante et sur la formulation de données originales à propos de l'intérieur du logement de la classe ouvrière anglaise. La contribution soulève plusieurs questions à propos de l'attitude des chercheurs à l'égard de leurs sujets, les conflits de rôles dans la recherche homme-environnement et la recherche comme forme d'espionnage. L'article se termine par quelques remarques sur les étapes à venir de l'étude.

1. Introduction

This paper reports on a study concerned with the changing internal use, changing furnishings and the changing attitudes of the occupiers towards the inside of small *terraced* or *row* houses. Therefore, the study is concerned with a history of these aspects of *Man-environment interaction* inside the English working-class home. In terms of perception of the environment this study falls within the area of research defined by Goodey (1971, pp. 43-47) as "Micro area and personal space".

In this particular paper the intention is to concentrate upon the theoretical aspects and methodological approaches that have been central in the development of the study. Therefore, this paper is particularly concerned with the problem of *doing* participant observer research, selecting and finding samples, and making and working with descriptive phenomenological data.

In deciding to study domestic space inside the house we should be aware of the problems of privacy invasion. Goodey (1971, p. 46) noted "that institutions are far more accessible than homes and in order to study the privacies of the home, privacy must be invaded, and behaviour and perceptions thus modified." Therefore, the research method discussed here has been developed in an attempt to compensate for these problems by establishing an interactive working relationship with the sample.

The inside of the house was the basic starting point for the study of individual and social relationships with the environment. The Strasbourg Conference (Korosec-Serfaty, 1976) seminar on appropriation of space in the home produced some similar concerns. For example, Barbey (1976, p. 217) noted that "the individual home is often perceived as a mere division of the macro environment whereas it should in fact be considered as the basic scale for the study of individual and social relations to space." Several of the contributions to that seminar also emphasised the need for developing a *time dimension* in home appropriation studies, which has been the second major concern in this study.

Initially, a broad interest in *Man-environment interaction* suggested that what people find important in the environment is influenced by the various aspects of what Portious (1977, pp. 241-302) has described as the contextual environment. These aspects being social class, life cycle and life style. The relationships between these aspects of the contextual environment and what people think is important, are changing and developing during the passage of time. Boulding (1957) stressed such changes in time and Lynch (1972) subsequently highlighted these broad environmental relationships.

This awareness of changing aspects of *Man-environment interaction* over periods of time was combined with the need to encompass a historical perspective within the study. At this point the study departs from what might be described as strictly psychological because, as C. Wright Mills (1959, Ch. 8) suggested, psychology does not involve *historic specificity*. Therefore, this paper supports the view developed by him when he argues for the "need to develop further a psychology of man that is sociologically grounded and historically relevant" and also for expanding the "temporal reach" of analysis in social science and psychology studies.

Finally, the process of comparing one period of time with another emerged from a series of pilot talks between the researcher and working class people, as a useful way of structuring conversations about the home environment. For example, the process of house improvement was talked about in terms of a before and after sequence. What the home environ-

ment was like in the childhood was compared with present day home environments.

Therefore, working class people suggested to the researcher how to structure the main study of the inside of the house in a similar way, that is, how the house had changed during their life time and how their attitudes towards the house had changed. In developing this approach the researcher agrees with Leroy (1976, p. 280) when he considers that the fundamental aspect of the relationship of a being with territory is his history." In saying this, it is suggested that the relationship of a subject to time and environment is dependent upon the subject's history.

The study is concerned with one particular type of English working class house, that is, the small *bye-law* terraced house. The term *bye-law* refers to local building legislation which partly determined the housing form. The bye-law terraces were built in large numbers from 1870 to 1900 in many English towns. The term terraced is similar to the American usage of the term *row* house. As a housing form the bye-law terraces were a product of combination of a developing local building legislation and the construction work of speculative builders.

Internally, the house had four rooms, "two-up and two-down" and the smallest type has less than 3.65 m. frontage (12 feet). Bauer (1935) considered that the English row house with a 12' frontage was a "representative dwelling from the age which glorified the home" and as such it forms an important part of the English heritage of the 19th Century. Without presenting numerical evidence it is safe to say that life inside the small bye-law terraced house forms a significant part of the history of the everyday life of the English working class.

Therefore, this research is concerned with three questions about life inside this house type. Firstly, what knowledge exists about the internal physical fabric of the bye-law terraced house? Secondly, what knowledge exists about the attitudes of English working class people towards the inside of the bye-law terraced house? And thirdly, what knowledge exists about the activities and behaviour of working class people inside the bye-law terraced house?

Taking a *phenomenological perspective* the researcher has examined these three questions in two complementary ways. First of all, a literature search of documents and books, which includes comments about the three areas of knowledge was conducted. This included working class history sources, in which descriptions of the inside of houses are often made and sociological writings, particularly the writings of the 'Institute of Community Studies' and other sociological work largely conducted in the 1950's (Jackson, 1968)¹. Housing history documents have been consulted and also references in the field of Urban History. A collection of illustrations of the inside of working class houses has been made, and finally

¹ During the general debate on English working class life, which took place in the 1950's, several sociologists and novelists produced accounts about the inside of working class homes.

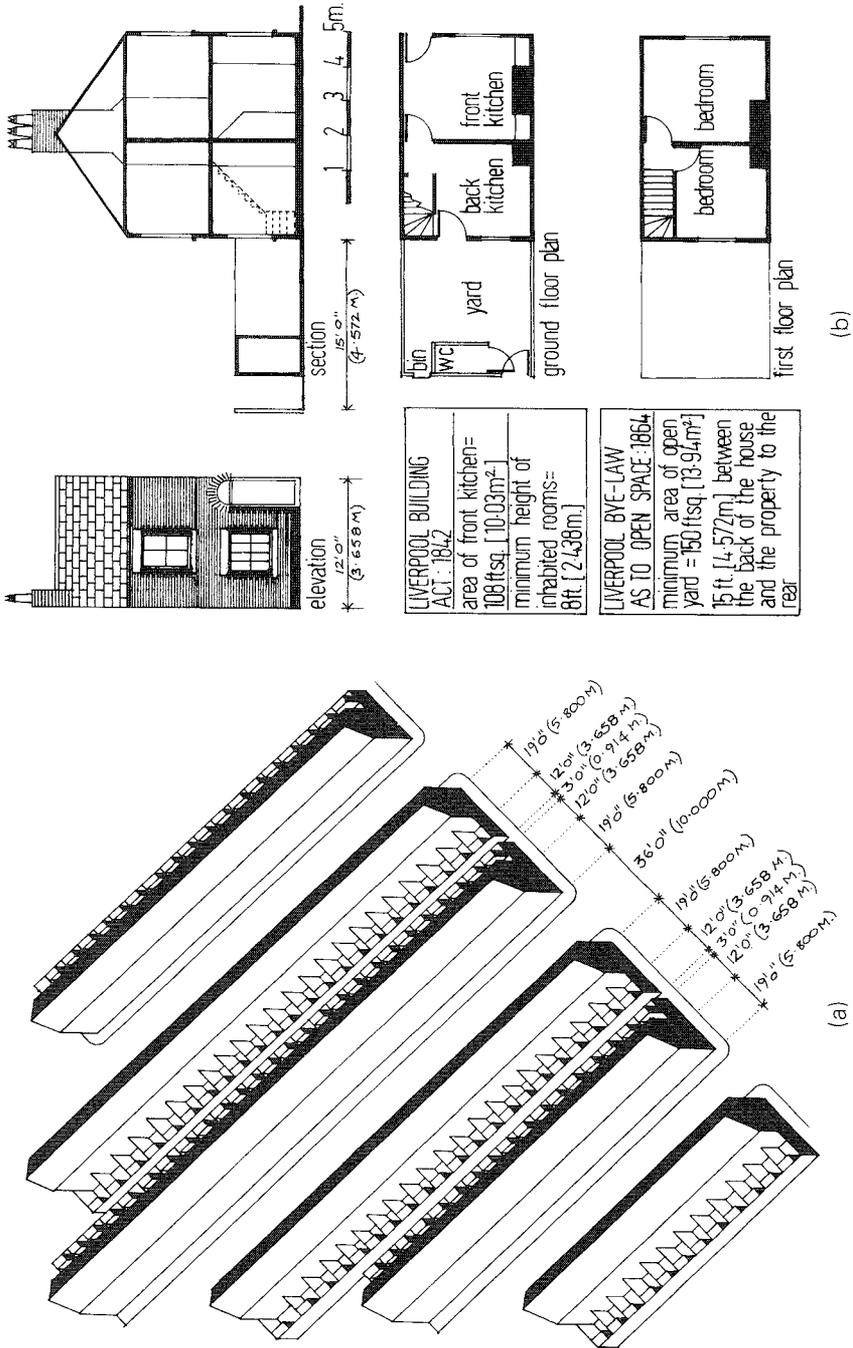


Fig. 1. A study inside the English working class home: (a) the form of bye-law terraced housing; (b) a small bye-law terraced house, circa 1870.

sources of description in the working class Oral History field have been consulted.

Furthermore, to complement the general nature of the literature search, the questions have also been examined by creating original data by means of *participant-as-observer* methods, concerned specifically with the inhabitants of bye-law terraced houses of a particular locality. This locality has been in the inner area of Liverpool, in the North West region of England. This paper concentrates upon the second aspect of the study, that is, the creation of original data about the inside of the working class house.

Finally, and to complete this introduction this study was embarked upon because of a general concern and questioning of design professionals understanding of working class users interaction with their home environments.

2. Theory of "Doing Research"

Only since withdrawing from the field, after a period of twelve months as minutes secretary to the Weller Streets new-build housing cooperative in Liverpool's inner area, has time been taken to consider the theoretical origins of this study. Up until that time the theory and practice of doing research had gone hand in hand. However, at the start of the study, the researcher recalls being called a *street corner empiricist* by one particular sociologist and he wasn't sure if it was a compliment or a complaint. Retrospectively, this was the first encounter with the problems of presenting participant observation as a research method and with some of the theoretical implications of taking a phenomenological stance in man-environment studies².

A theoretical background has been developed through the writings of Schutz (1962) and others. For example the phenomenological origins of the ethnomethodologists in America, particularly Garfinkel (1967) and Cicourel (1964 (a) (b)) have been considered. The direct links between phenomenology and the methodology of participant observation have been explored. The less direct connections with the symbolic interactionist tradition of Blumer (1969) have also been considered. A number of general themes do emerge from this literature, which might be fruitful for those students of *Man-environment interaction* who are seeking a *radical paradigm shift* referred to by Canter (1977).

Phenomenology emerges from this literature as a philosophy which is directly concerned with man in his real *life-world*. To quote Schutz (1962, p. 121): "Phenomenological philosophy claims to be a philosophy

² At that same time the theoretical ideas behind phenomenology, ethnomethodology, symbolic interactionism and participant observation were arcane to the researcher. However, the act of doing the field work, the mechanics of writing a thesis, one particular research seminar at the Welsh School of Architecture Research and Development Unit, and discussions with sociologist Mr. Frank Horton and Professor Alan Lipman have all served to develop the theoretical background to this study.

of man in his life world and to be able to explain the meaning of this life worked in a rigorously scientific manner". However, to take a real world focus often demands a painful change in the researchers attitude. An appreciation of this change in attitude seems particularly pertinent for those people working in interdisciplinary areas and more specifically, this requirement very much echoes the painful change required in developing an architectural education together with the perspective of the human scientist. Plessner (1953, pp. 25-41) has described this as seeing "with different eyes" and Schutz (1962, p. 124) describes it as returning to the "living stream of experience of the world".

In taking this real life focus the philosophy also seeks to view people and objects through the eyes of others, usually the other being the person or persons being studied. The other persons point of view becomes the research focus. The intention is to study the other persons point of view in terms of their experiences of the world, precisely as they themselves present them. In this respect, this approach might be fruitful for those researchers who are seeking to view the environment or building from the point of view of the user. In fact, the direct concern with the development of this approach has been to focus upon experiences of houses precisely as they are presented by a working class user.

The philosophy also stresses the need to retain integrity of experience, content, context and the importance of developing an historical perspective within the overall approach. In embracing this fullness the approach relies heavily upon the descriptive nature of exploring experiences. Therefore, a major concern is to focus upon the most direct evidence available about the experience to be described. The data of phenomenologists is produced from description and inspection of experiences. It represents an approach which proceeds from historical and biographical features of everyday experiences to the development of elementary structures.

3. Methodology of Participant Observation

It will be apparent from this description of the theoretical background that this has important implications for the methodology of research and in particular how a sample for the study was found.

The research attitude has been one of an active participant observer. This decision to observe one particular *life world* of the English working class as a participant, meant that the researcher had to find a part to play in that, or a related part of that, life world under investigation. Therefore, for a period of twelve months the role of minutes secretary for the Weller Streets Housing Co-operative became that part. It has been around this role that all descriptive data revolve. Therefore, to quote Lipman (1969, pp. 1349-56), the researcher becomes "an instrument for gathering data". This research attitude follows some of the traditions of the "community studies" approach, which Platt (1971, 1976) and Vidich, Bensman and Stein (1964) have discussed.

Therefore, the intention as a *participant-as-observer*, is to share the life-world of the sample and to become one accepted part of it. To achieve this the researcher seeks a role in that life-world, and the adequacy of this method can be judged from a number of points of view, which Bruyn (1966, pp. 181-185) has discussed.

3.1. The adequacy of the method is very much a function of the *time spent* with the people of the life-world. During the three full years of this study the researcher lived in a similar house type to the sample, which was located some five minutes walk from the houses that the sample lived in. During the intensive period of twelve months as minutes secretary to the co-operative individuals in the sample were encountered daily and groups of people were encountered three evenings per week. This included both formal co-operative meetings, social meetings in public houses and clubs, meetings in local shops and invitations into the homes of individual members.

3.2. Adequacy is a function of the *geographic proximity* of the researcher to the locality of the study area. The researcher lived around the corner from the homes of the sample.

3.3. Adequacy is a function of the *opportunities* that the researcher has to experience and participate in many different aspects of the life-world under investigation. As well as the interviews, frequent informal meetings and socialising took place inside the homes of the co-operative members.

3.4. A knowledge and familiarity with the *language* (both a general familiarity and a specific familiarity related to the house) is also an important factor which the adequacy should be judged by. In this study a general familiarity with the language came about from living in close proximity to the sample, for an extended period of time. However, a more specific familiarity of the language related to the sample, and how they talk about houses and their home, was achieved by way of a pilot study of talks conducted in the first year of the research.

3.5. The level of *intimacy* that the researcher achieves with his sample is also an important factor. This is very much a function of both how the researcher goes about his research and his attitude towards his subjects.

3.6. Adequacy is a function of how a *consensus* was achieved and how meanings that were revealed were confirmed. It has been an important part of the approach to openly discuss the research and its results with the sample, both informally and in group meetings. In this way a level of agreement is achieved during the course of the study.

4. Selecting a Sample

Strictly speaking, this study has used a non-probability sample. The sample is very much context and problem orientated and does not satisfy the condition of a probability sample that every member of a population has a chance of selection. In fact, this non-probability sample is a function of a specific area of interest. However, the sample was chosen to satisfy a number of criteria.

4.1. The sample should have a *level of cohesion* as a group with some integrity in the real world.

4.2. The sample should consist of *working class* people.

4.3. The choice of a sample should be influenced by the requirement of involving *people who have contextual experience* which is relevant to the physical setting being studied. The people of the sample setting are “not objects of study but people who have expertise of value,” to quote Canter (1977, p. 4). In the case of this sample, as members of an established working class community, it was considered that they would have knowledge and experience of living in the bye-law terraced house.

4.4. The sample setting should consist of *people who*, for reasons of their environment situation are aware of and *are tackling environmental change* in their everyday home life. It was considered important that the people of the sample setting should be in a situation of naturally talking and thinking about changes in their home environment. This awareness might be expressed either by way of physical expression and environmental action or in terms of proposed action.

4.5. The sample should have some recognisable *historical content* and hence offer some opportunity of developing a study of changes in time with a historical perspective. The choice of people living in houses which are one hundred years old has been an important reason for selecting this sample. Equally, it was considered important that the people of the setting should have knowledge and experience of the physical and social aspects of the setting by virtue of their age and the time spent living in the houses.

4.6. The *study should be understandable* to both researcher and subject alike. This has meant that the study has been simply defined as a historical study of the inside of the house. It was also considered important that the setting should be both physically definable as a building in the environment (the house) and also as one part of a social organisation (the home).

4.7. The choice of the sample should be influenced by the *researchers role* in the home community and also the work community. The personal background of the researcher and the nature of doing individually based research also influenced the choice of sample. In this study the researcher is an example of an architectural scholarship boy (Hoggart, 1957, ch. 10., and Grills, Horton and MacDonald, 1978)³.

5. Finding the Sample

In the light of these seven criteria of sample selection the conscious decision to work with the membership and the existing houses of the Weller Streets Housing co-operative took place in May 1978. This followed a pilot study conducted in a 'terraced' street and a series of interviews conducted in a variety of working class home settings. During the first fifteen months of the research project, as well as becoming familiar with *Man-environment interaction* research, (concerned with the *home*), the researcher was on the look out for suitable settings which might satisfy the criteria for sample selection. During that period of time various settings in the working class home community were considered. These included the general district as a setting, the immediate neighbourhood as a setting, various individual buildings as settings, the street as a setting, courts of houses as settings, flats and tenements as settings, various public meeting places including pubs, clubs, laundries and the specific house type as a setting.

As well as looking for a suitable physical setting the researcher was also on the look out for working class people saying something about their home environment. These expressions of environmental awareness could be as different as a conversation in a laundrette, in a pub or overheard over the backyard wall. Equally, they could be a letter in the local press or a particular way in which the house or the facade of a house was painted. They might be revealed in childrens' talk whilst playing in the street, or an opinion expressed in an English language essay at the local comprehensive school. Other examples include opinions expressed in the many working class organisations, action groups, trade unions, labour party etc. which predominate in an inner city area, such as Liverpool's District 8.

Ultimately, a meeting of the Liverpool Voluntary Services (1977) organisation, concerned with expenditure of Inner Area Partnership finances proved fruitful. It was at such a meeting, in a housing workshop, that the researcher first heard members of the co-operative expressing themselves about the state of their existing terraced houses and their search for a new-build site in the city. The first members heard were the

³The term *scholarship boy* refers to a member of the working class who, by means of educational scholarship, is able to proceed into further education and change his social class. Hence, an *architectural scholarship boy* is a member of the working class who, by means of an architectural education, moves into the professional class. The researcher's budget was £ (sterling) 3700 fully inclusive of living costs for three years.

co-opérative chairman (a milkman) and a sub-committee chairman (a brick carrier). These two members of the co-operative became the gatekeepers, and in Whyte's (1943) terms *Doc* had been found. The process of obtaining *clearance* proceeded by way of these members and by way of a fourteen person management committee. These people introduced the researcher both formally and informally to 61 working class families living in bye-law terraced houses.

6. The Data

From this sample data was created and collected in the following ways :

- 6.1. A daily journal was kept during the course of the participant observation involvement. This recorded observations, comments, meeting notes etc. (May 1978 to May 1979).
- 6.2. Public minutes of meetings were produced as a part of the minutes secretary role. Of particular relevance to the study of the inside of the house have been the sub-committee meetings concerned with the design of the houses. A total of 90 meetings were attended, and minuted, during the twelve months (about two evening meetings per week).
- 6.3. Forty-two interviews were conducted with members living in the small bye-law terraced houses and recorded on cassette tape. Each interview lasted on average 45 mins. These interviews were structured to focus upon the 'house-life' biographies of the members, and in particular their recollections of the inside of houses that they had lived in, in the past.
- 6.4. A schedule of internal furniture and physical fabric was completed for each house. This was based upon a schedule devised by Chapman (1957), who also visited small bye-law terraced houses.
- 6.5. The existing furniture layout at the time of the interview was recorded on a 1:50 scale plan for upstairs and down-stairs rooms.
- 6.6. A photographic record was made of all downstairs rooms, in colour print form.

7. Working with the data

Currently these data are being studied by means of a manual process of sorting, coding and the development of exploratory themes. Therefore, the data are being worked as-found and the intention is to produce sensitised and stimulating insights into the working class home.

This process is time consuming, painstaking and entirely manual. Some analysis started during the period of involvement with the members

of the housing co-operative but the researcher concentrated upon the theme production process after the formal withdrawal from the field. This occurred when the position as minutes secretary was mutually terminated and when the interviews were completed.

Whilst working with the data several particular procedures have been followed :

7.1. All the field note books and meeting minutes were read completely. From this first reading a coded card index system which has documented the emerging themes was produced.

7.2. A direct comparison of the internal physical fabric of the house in 1955 was made with the internal physical fabric in 1979. The 1955 information was based upon the Chapman (1957) study.

7.3. The tape recorded interviews with the 42 members of the housing co-operative who were living in the small bye-law terraced house were studied.

7.4. After a second hearing of the recordings, a summary of the issues that were covered in each interview was produced.

7.5. Based upon these early stages of becoming familiar with the data a broad framework to classify the data was proposed. This chart (Table 1) is *now* serving as the main framework, into which both the field data and the literature data is being sorted.

7.6. Each of the main themes on this chart are being considered separately and a summary sheet is being produced. The summary sheet enables comparisons across the decades to be easily made. Finally, the historical literature has still to be sorted into the same themes and periods of time.

8. Asking Questions of the Data

To date, the research has concentrated upon the recorded interviews and has considered the period of time 1900-1960. These 60 years have emerged as a useful period of time to work with because they are within the corporate memory and biological life cycle of the sample. The periods of time 1870-1900 or 1960-70 have not been considered.

The following questions have been asked of the recorded interviews (each question relates to one of the main themes illustrated in Table 1).

8.1. Did the people talked with consider that their attitudes towards the inside of the house had changed during their lifetime ?

8.2. Did the people talked with suggest any particular changes that had taken place in the way that they use and furnish the inside of the house ?

Table 1. A chronological scale for a study inside the English working-class home.

| Main themes | 1870 | 1880 | 1890 | 1900 | 1910 | 1920 | 1930 | 1940 | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 |
|--|------|--|------|------|------|--|------|------|------|------|--|--|
| Changes in 'users' attitudes about the inside of their houses | | Wages were low but we made our own fun at home... women were more house proud Work in the house was hard... houses were cleaner inside... Respectable people of a higher class lived in these houses... Formality... correctness... quality... few luxury items Father was the master of the house... landlord had some control inside Togetherness... more conversation... families were larger in those days... | | | | | | | | | Less house work Better off at home... more luxuries Womans role has changed Landlord did nothing to house in the house Smaller families | |
| Changes in the use of space and furniture inside their houses | | The furniture had quality... oak, brass, glass... Much more furniture in the house... little furniture upstairs Front room as parlour Back kitchen as kitchen The range as the focus of the house Everybody had a piano... father had his own chair Everybody had a tin bath | | | | Utility furniture Bedroom suites Front room as sitting room Back kitchen as living room TV as the focus of the house Occasional furniture... coffee tables Making more room... dining tables | | | | | | |
| Changes in activities and behaviour taking place inside their houses | | Birth at home... home entertainments The daily cleaning routines Eating in the front kitchen Cooking in both rooms Washing in the back kitchen | | | | | | | | | | Eating in the living room Cooking in the kitchen extension |
| Particular 'events' that the users consider to be of significance inside the house | | Conception, birth, coming of age, marriage, health, illness, death... Yearly and seasonal events... Christmas... Easter... summer... winter The life of the house furniture and technology The general strike The second world war Daily routines, Sunday lunch and Sunday cleaning, the landlord comes on Monday | | | | | | | | | | Fitted carpets |
| Changes in the internal physical fabric and decoration inside the house | | Floor coverings... tiles... rag rugs... linoleum More ornaments in those days Small carpets Wall coverings... red raddle... white sash Tar paint... paint and patterned paper Distemper | | | | | | | | | | Emulsion paint Books and paints |
| Changes in services and household technology | | Candle lights and oil lamps Gas lighting Electric lighting Fire upstairs... coal storage inside... coal fires Ranges in front kitchen The old brown sink... white enamel sink... | | | | | | | | | | Simple shades TV... vacuum cleaners Gas fires Kitchen equipment Record players Electric fires |
| Development of house type and major modifications made by users | | | | | | | | | | | | Problems with the structure of the house Dampness... rotten wood Problems with the roof Take chimney breasts down Concrete back yard New floor boards in Two rooms into one Through lounges |

8.3. Did the people talked with suggest any particular changes in activities or behaviour inside the house ?

8.4. Did the people talked with consider that any particular events, in their life time, have been of significance to the inside of the house ?

8.5. Did the people talked with suggest any particular changes that had taken place in the way that the inside of the house has been decorated ?

8.6. Did the people talked with suggest any particular changes in the way that the house has been serviced and equipped in household technology ?

8.7. Did the people talked with consider there to be any major structural modifications that have been made to the inside of the house ?

9. Discussion

In asking the seven questions of the interview data a number of themes have emerged which are summarized in Table 1. Clearly, further discussion of these themes is far beyond the present state of the study and hence beyond the scope of this paper.

However, this paper does raise several questions concerned with theoretical perspectives and methodological assumptions in man-environment studies. Such questions are concerned with researchers attitudes towards subjects, role-conflicts in man-environment research, research as a form of spying, entering and withdrawal from the field in research and finally, the actual use of research findings. These questions form a central part of participant observer research and Whyte (1964) in particular has considered them in depth.

Generally, a human relationship which is based upon a mutual understanding of each others motives, is what is relied upon during periods of conflict whilst doing research. These relationships are established around a mutual exchange of information and expertise. Man-environment research should return something to its subjects and also be seen to be returning something. Such a giving and taking relationship demands a balance between the role of participant (as a co-operative minutes secretary) and that of observer (as a university research student) which requires a continual re-adjustment of roles during the specific research involvement.

However, when the product of a sensitive re-adjustment of roles is a fruitful and intimate relationship, then a further problem arises when the researcher requires to formally terminate his or her involvement. Therefore, withdrawal from the field requires a kind of 'clearance' process in reverse. During this time responsibilities are relinquished, and less frequent encounters between the researcher and members of the sample occur. In terms of relinquishing the minutes secretary role, one member of

the co-operative (a 69 year old man) took over the researcher's role. This took place over a number of months as he developed his own skills for acting as minutes secretary.

Furthermore, a specific question can be raised which is concerned with the theoretical background and the nature of science. A comment can be made that the approach is not strictly scientific. It can be suggested that themes such as Christmas, Easter, Summer and Winter are understood by scientists and layman but they do not constitute acceptable scientific concepts. Conversely we can consider that any themes, which might provide a common ground for further discussion and the development of understanding, are indeed very useful scientific concepts. More specifically, the use of themes such as the "Second World War" and the "1926 General Strike" are particularly relevant to the English working class.

Moreover, religious rituals, for example, might provide a common ground around which interdisciplinary Man-environment research might be conducted. In fact, the Open University (1979) in England, in starting an interdisciplinary unit on Popular Culture, considers the changing concept of Christmas as a useful theme.

Considering this question related to the 'nature of science' a fundamental problem for both scientist and layman requires the understanding of connections between the generalities of the outside world (macro scale) and the intimacies of the inside life world (micro scale). This has been a problem recognised specifically by the inside and outside design sub-committees of the Weller Streets Housing Co-operative and generally by several phenomenological philosophers. Smart (1976, pp. 86-89) discusses the macro-micro distinction with particular reference to the phenomenological tradition.

Moreover, in attempting to understand further the relationships between the 1926 General Strike or the Second World War and what was going on inside the English Working Class home we are tackling a fundamental problem of science in the phenomenological tradition.

How to go about this task leads us into the final question of this paper, that is, what to do next? Firstly, it is considered important to continue discussing the work and themes with members of the co-operative. Secondly, it is considered important to select specific themes from those identified in Table 1. The selected themes should then be given intensive consideration which should ideally include detailed discussion with members of the sample. Finally, the process of writing up this kind of research deserves further consideration. In fact, Bogan and Taylor (1975) have given this subject detailed consideration, in particular their chapter on the presentation of findings. It can be suggested that a *social history* approach to writing up this kind of study might be relevant.

In conclusion, the whole process of doing this kind of research, developing meaningful themes with subjects and also producing rigorous academic statements which are comprehensible by both academics and laymen does warrant further discussion, none the least in the field of *Man-environment interaction* and *architecture and behaviour*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BAUER, C. (1935), "Modern Housing", (George Allen and Unwin, London).
- BARBEY, G. (1976), "The Appropriation of Home Space : a Tentative Conceptual Definition, *Proc. 3rd Int. Arch. Psychol. Conf.*, (Kerosec-Serfaty, P., Ed.) (Strasbourg, France, 1976).
- BLUMER, H. (1969), "Symbolic interactionism : perspective and method, (Prentice-Hall, New Jersey).
- BOGAN, R., & TAYLOR (1975), "Introduction to Qualitive Research Methods" (New York).
- BOULDING, K. (1957), "The Image : Knowledge in Life and Society" (University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor).
- BRUYN, S.T. (1966), "The Human Perspective in Sociology : the Methodology of Participant Observation", (Prentice Hall, New Jersey).
- CANTER, D. (1977), The Work of the People and Places Research Group, *Introduction, Brit. Psychol. Soc. Symp.* (1977).
- CHAPMAN, D. (1957), "The Home and Social Status", (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London).
- CICOUREL, A. (1964 a), "Method and Measurement in Sociology", (Free Press, New York).
- CICOUREL, A. (1964 b), The Acquisition of Social Structure : Toward a Development of Language and Meaning, *Understanding Everyday Life* (Douglas, J., Ed.), (Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago).
- GARFINKEL, H. (1967), "Studies in Ethnomethodology, (Prentice Hall, New Jersey).
- GOODEY, B. (1971), Perception of the Environment : an Introduction to the Literature, *Occasional Paper 17* (Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, University of Birmingham).
- GRILLS, M; HORTON, F., and MACDONALD, R. (1978), Some Impressions of Model E : an Exploratory Paper into some of the Relationships between Architectural Education, and the Working Class Student, *Unpublished Paper*, (New Architecture Movement Education Group Meeting, Cardiff, 1978).
- HOGGART, R. (1957), "The Uses of Literacy" (Chatto and Windus, London).
- JACKSON, B. (1968), "Working Class Community : Some General Notions Raised by a Series of Studies in Northern England" (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London).
- KOROSEC-SERFATY, P., Ed (1976), *Proc. 3rd Int. Arch. Psychol. Conf.* (Strasbourg, France, 1976).
- LEROY, C. (1976), "The Historical Development of self-image and mechanisms of defence against the environment and others – its place in relations with present day territory" (see KOROSEC-SERFATY, P., 1976).
- LIPMAN, A. (1969), Some problems of direct observation in architectural social research. *Arch. J.*, 1 (1969) 147.
- LIVERPOOL COUNCIL FOR VOLUNTARY SERVICES (1977), People in Partnership, *Conference at the Royal Institution, Liverpool* (1977).
- LUCKMANN, T., Ed. (1978), "Phenomenology and Sociology" (Penguin).
- LYNCH, K. (1972), "What Time is This Place" (Institute of Technology Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts).
- OPEN UNIVERSITY, (1979), Popular Culture, *Summary Paper, U203*, (Milton Keynes, England).
- PLATT, J. (1971), "Social Research in Bethnal Green (MacMillan, London).
- PLATT, J. (1976), "Realities of Social Research : an Empirical Study of British Sociologists", (Sussex University Press, London).
- PLESSNER, H. (1953), "Mit anderen Augen, zwischen Philosophie und Gesellschaft", Franke, Berne, translated by A.L. Hammond in LUCKMANN, T., (1978).
- PORTIOUS, D. (1977), "Environment and Behaviour : Planning and Everyday Urban Life", (Addison-Wesley, Cambridge, Mass.).
- SCHUTZ, A. (1962), Phenomenology and the Social Sciences, *Collected Papers*, Vol. 1, (Nijhoff, The Hague.
- Philosophical Essays in Memory of Edmund Husserl*, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Harvard University Press; also in LUCKMANN T. (1978).
- SMART, E. (1976), "Sociology, Phenomenology and Marxian Analysis : A Critical Discussion of the Theory and Practice of a Science of Society" (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London).
- VIDICH, J.A.; BENSMAN, M.R., and STEIN, M.R. (1964), "Reflections on Community Studies" (John Wiley and Sons, New York).
- WHYTE, W.F. (1943), "*Street Corner Society*" (University of Chicago Press, Chicago).
- WHYTE, W.F. (1964), "The Slum : On the Evolution of Street Corner Society". in VIDICH et al. (1964).
- WRIGHT-MILLS, C. (1959), "*The Sociological Imagination*" (Oxford University Press, New York).