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## **Millennials and the contested urban legacy of post-war modernist social housing in the UK**

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### **Abstract**

Attitudes to the European modernist social housing experiments of the 1950s and 1960s are complicated and contested. Once derided as a failed and elitist social project, over the last two decades there has been growing appreciation of the design principles and ethos of the post-war Architecture of Social Intent (AOSI), assisted by a proactive programme of national conservation protection. In this paper we reflect on a University action research project to explore what the AOSI might mean to a younger 'millennial' generation. Using an undergraduate action-research project from the UK, we explore millennials responses to the idea of the AOSI but also the perceptions of the welfare state associated with it and the state's changing role in social housing provision. The paper makes a distinctive contribution to the growing literature on changing perceptions of modernist heritage, making a case for wider public engagement with urban change and design aesthetics.

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

Until the 1990s British post-war modernism, and especially post-war modernist social housing, was largely seen as a failed experiment that imposed inadequate and failed buildings on people and places. Most of these perceptions of failure were shaped by a powerful discourse of decline by the media and architectural criticism, which grew into an anti-modernism sentiment associated with high profile social housing projects that were poorly constructed – e.g. industrialised system-built buildings such as UK's city of London's Aylesbury and Heygate estates – and maintained – e.g. Pruitt Igoe in the US city of St. Louis, Missouri (Campkin 2013). The designs of these buildings were cursed because of their strong association with 'crime', 'mental illness', 'disease', 'pests' (Newman 1972), and 'anti-social behaviour' (Coleman 1985), though later studies did refute this analysis (Hillier 1973; Bottoms 1974). However, over the last two decades the dominant narrative of modern movement failure has been challenged by alternative accounts that differentiate between the good and the bad of post-war modernist architecture and highlight the progressive commitments it embodied (Gold, 1997 and 2007; Grindrod, 2014, 2018; Harwood, 2001, 2003, 2015; Bullock 2002; Hatherley, 2010, De Vos 2010). There is now a growing

literature that focuses on post-war modernist social housing as a type of Architecture of Social Intent (AOSI), in other words, an architecture with strong concerns with social equity – for example in terms of better-living standards and principles of good quality public housing – and its meanings and significance in the past, present and future (Grindrod 2014, 2018; Harwood 2001, 2003, 2015; Hatherley, 2010; O'Rourke, 2001; While 2006). The AOSI as a field of studies is thriving and gaining momentum, even though its knowledge production and reception is scattered between different domains and audiences – academic (Bullock 2002), popular (Grindrod, 2014, 2018) and in-between (Harwood, 2001, 2003, 2015) – that mainly engages modernist enthusiasts but finds its way into public debate through decisions about whether and how to preserve particular buildings. The last three decades have witnessed growing proliferation of historical monographs dedicated to understanding the nature and causes of the perceived failures of modernism – as often they were just a matter of perception – to restate the designer's aims and social intentions underlying those works and challenge societal prejudices and judgments (Forty, 1995; Gold, 1997 and 2007; Bullock 2002; Ortolano 2019; Saumarez Smith, 2019; Wetherell, 2020). However, in this quest to assess the causes of the perceived failures of modernism, limited attention has been given to the perceptions of those who judge its material objects and shape its preservation outcomes (though see While, 2006). This includes heritage organisations and planning committees, but also the extent to which different publics are likely to mobilise in favour of or against modernist conservation.

This paper aims to supplement gaps in modernist heritage research by exploring the response to modernist architectural legacies of a new generation of citizens, notably those born between the 1980s and 2000s; the so-called 'millennial' generation (or generation Y).<sup>1</sup> This is a new perspective because much of the debate so far about the meaning and significance of AOSI and its conservation as well as the conservation agenda of modernism have been shaped primarily by those who grew up during those post-war modernist urban experiments and reflects

therefore the views of a now ageing population – though also dismissing that there is a generation in between who came of age in after the welfare state's heyday and is more enthusiastic about the modernist legacies (Hatherley, 2010, Saumarez Smith 2019, Ortolano 2019, Wetherell 2020). The Millennial perspective is worth exploring for a number of reasons. First, millennials will eventually become more significant in shaping policy towards modernist architectural conservation as decision makers and citizens. Second, whilst that is in the future, millennial perspectives are interesting because they are part of a generation whose views have not been shaped by the experience of living with through the rise and decline of modernist social housing projects in the 1960s and 1970s. Whilst the modernist legacy is all around us in many cities around the world, its visceral impact and the debates that surrounded its rise and fall are now also history and not necessarily part of the collective memory of those born after the 1980s. If that is the case, what does the modernist legacy means for those whose direct relationship with the history of modernism is less direct? Third, the modernist AOSI is of wider interest as a means of engaging millennials in discussion and reflection on key urban development and public policy issues of public housing provision and the principles that might inform social housing development. What the AOSI reflects in that context is a set of principles about social housing development that are under threat or have been under threat or rolled back in Europe and North America since the 1970s. In that context we explore how AOSI might be used in education and debate about the past, present and future of equitable urbanism.

The question we pose in this paper is therefore what does modernist architecture mean for a new generation who are seemingly removed from the direct impacts of experimentation within the modernist AOSI but have a vested interest in the issues that it raises for the present and future of housing provision? Empirically the paper is grounded on the opportunity to engage first year undergraduate students at the University of Sheffield in an action-research project on the regeneration of the Park Hill Estate in the city. Constructed between 1957 and 1961 on a

monumental scale overlooking Sheffield City Centre, the Park Hill estate was one of the landmark modernist housing projects in the UK in the 1960s (Harwood, 2001). Notable for its 'streets in the sky' design, Park Hill was given national conservation protection (listed Grade II) in 1998 because of its historical and architectural significance and it is now Europe's largest heritage protected building. However, by 1998 the estate had long been in decline as investment in social housing declined in the 1980s and families moved out to the suburbs. Park Hill might have been demolished but the costs were prohibitive and in the 1990s government subsidy was used to support a private sector led regeneration programme as part of a wider 'urban renaissance' programme. Regeneration plans have sought to maximise the monumental feel and experience of Park Hill through sensitive redesign but the social housing ethos has been replaced with a vision of middle class urban living. Our action-research project involved a week long engagement with Park Hill through talks, films, discussion and independent research that situated the development within its historic context and explored the meaning of regeneration and the modernist legacy. The following paper presents findings from the action research project within the wider context of debates about the past, present and future of the modernist AOSI.

The structure of the paper is as follows. We start by examining the debates surrounding the meaning and significance of post-war modernist heritage with a view to understand the societal attitudes towards it and the implications for its conservation and regeneration. Second, we explore the different range of initiatives that have been taken to raise public awareness of the significance of post-war heritage and to promote its conservation and valorization. Third, we present and analyze the impact of an innovative University action research project on student attitudes, perceptions and knowledge of Park Hill and post-war modernist architecture more generally. We conclude by reflecting on the theoretical and methodological contributions of this research in the context of the contested legacy of the AOSI.

## **2. CHANGING PERCEPTIONS OF POST-WAR MODERNISM AND ITS SOCIAL HOUSING**

Since the 1990s there has been growing debate about the meaning and significance of large-scale modernist architecture and planning from the 1950s and 1960s in the UK (Bullock, 2002; Grindrod, 2014, 2018; Harwood, 2001, 2003, 2015; While, 2007; Hatherley, 2010). Much of the literature has been a 'revisionist' challenge to powerful dominant societal perspectives of that architecture as ugly, unpopular and a social failure. These powerful views of 'post-war' modernist failure reflected some of the material failings but also the perceived social failings of post-war modernist housing estates as part of a growing residualisation and stigmatisation of public sector housing estates (Hatherley, 2010). Modernist building forms were seen to be problematic in themselves and out of step with both traditional building morphologies and contemporary mixed-use development. There is no doubt that the modernist architectural forms of concrete brutalism and megastructures were and are still challenging, given their break with traditional architectural forms, planning and use of new materials (Macdonald 2009). In addition to issues of taste and aesthetics (Glazer, 2009) there can also be significant technical challenges in maintaining modernist buildings given their limited life span and the variable performance of some of the innovation technologies and techniques used in modernist buildings.

But narratives of modernist architectural failure have increasingly been challenged by revisionist accounts, events and initiatives that have sought to recognise and promote different ways of seeing modernist architecture and planning in terms of its architectural achievements, aesthetics social contribution and its relative limitations (Larkham, 1996, Delafons, 1997, While, 2006).<sup>2</sup> These accounts have highlighted the difference between the 'good' and 'bad' aspects of post-war modernist architecture, focusing on for example the distinction between architect-designed buildings and mass-produced architectural forms that were often poorly constructed (Hatherley, 2010; Grindrod, 2014), buildings that have continued to perform well or the wider factors that have contributed to the failure or perceived failure of modern movement architecture. Recent research indicates that societal attitudes to post-war modernism have changed notably with evidence of a growing, if selective, interest in the aesthetics of post-war modernism and its

conservation (While, 2006; While and Short, 2011; Murphy and Orazi, 2015; Aelbrecht 2017). At the same time, many modernist buildings, estates and shopping centres have been demolished or been retrofitted to make way for newer, prettier and often commodified spaces for a new era of regeneration and urbanism.

A potentially significant dimension of post-war modernist architecture is its social purpose, especially with respect to social housing. In the UK this dimension has been called 'Architecture of Social Intent' (AOSI) (O'Rourke, 2001; Harwood, 2001) and reflects an exceptional period of high-quality local government building programmes in the 1950s and 60s as part of the post-war welfare state. Generously funded and with a commitment to improving living standards, social housing programmes allowed for widespread experimentation with a range of approaches broadly within the modernist idiom (Gold, 2007). Intellectually, the AOSI was informed by an intense cross-fertilisation of ideas nationally and internationally which was possible through the teaching of architectural history in architectural schools, architect's travels, the CIAM's<sup>3</sup> manifestos and events, and magazines.<sup>4</sup> Modernism was particularly valued for offering the opportunity to create light and healthy mass housing to replace the overcrowding of slum housing. The better social architecture of the 1950s and 1960s in the UK was therefore concerned with material improvements in living space; an expression of pride in social housing and the welfare state. This was not seen as a residual housing choice for those both on very low and middle incomes, but was the main option for millions of the population living in mixed communities (Kearns et, 2012; De Vos and Geerinckx 2016). New histories of UK post-war modernism have highlighted the differences between the architect-designed schemes of the 1960s and the more widespread application of modernist ideas in poorly planned and cheaply built system building in the 1970s. Literature has also highlighted the need to refurbish landmark buildings where the original technology has failed, or the design solution does not meet contemporary living standards (While 2006). Certainly, the social housing of the 1960s reflects

something of top-down collectivist view of social life, a perspective that was widely accepted at the time but is perhaps less acceptable now.

One dimension of the UK modernist AOSI that is certainly celebrated in revisionist accounts is the consensual commitment to high quality affordable housing in contrast with the poor quality of working class housing prior to 1945 and the diminished scope and scale of social housing in the UK since the 1980s (Hatherley 2010). Although today social housing remains important and continues to be a significant part of the housing stock in the UK, since the Housing Act 1988 restricted the role of local government in its provision, building social housing has been largely provided by planning gain provisions in private sector development and 'council housing' for rent has been hollowed out by right to buy legislation introduced in the 1980s (and which gives residents the right to purchase their rented properties) and reduced public funding which has accentuated the residualisation and stigmatisation of social housing (Durden 2001; Stone, 2003). In recent years there has been a resurgence of interest in local government provision of social housing, with some loosening of rules on local government borrowing and investment, and also a growing emphasis on improving the design of new housing. In 2019 one of the first local government housing schemes to be built since the 1980s – a collaboration between Norwich City Council and the architecture firm Mikhail Riches - was awarded the architectural Stirling Prize for the best building in the UK. Funded through a mixture of borrowing, council reserves and right to buy receipts (which can be used to cover the cost of 30% of new homes) (Wainwright, 2019), Goldsmith Street in Norwich provides rented homes with secure tenancies at fixed social rents and its quality of design and aspiration is very much in the spirit of 1960s social housing.

The AOSI as a field of research is thriving and gaining momentum but because it sits astride a number of domains (academic, popular, in-between) and audiences it mainly reaches modernist enthusiasts. Furthermore, despite its longstanding quest to assess the causes of the failures of modernism, research on the AOSI has giving little attention to the perceptions of those that judge its material objects or to illuminate the recent claim that we are witnessing a shift of



attitude towards modernism. It is with these issues in mind that we explore engagement with AOSI amongst a new generation that have not been represented in much of the existing discussion and debate. We term this group the 'millennials', a term that captures not only their age (i.e., those born after the 1980s) but also the sense of growing up in a time when issues raised by the AOSI and social housing are politicised differently (Willetts, 2017). In particular, some of the commitments of the AOSI in the UK – affordable housing, state intervention, adequate space and light in new homes – are increasingly pressing issues in the UK and others countries. The reality for many young people in the UK is of high costs of home ownership and renting and limit their inability to afford living alone, and variable housing quality (Hoolachan et al, 2017; CBRE 2017). Housing choices for young people in the UK have been shaped decisively by the scaling back of government investment in subsidised housing and limited rent control.

### **3. RAISING PUBLIC AWARENESS OF MODERNIST HERITAGE AND LEGACIES**

Since the 1990s there has been growing interest worldwide from individuals to governmental institutions in raising the public profile of the modernist heritage and its legacies. A range of initiatives have taken place both nationally and internationally to raise public awareness, including books, TV documentaries, exhibitions as well as a vibrant community of modernism enthusiasts in social media. However, much of that discussion and debate has been within intellectual and artistic circles, dominated by modernist enthusiasts rather than the general public. Only recently has the debate about modernist architecture reached out people who might be more equivocal or who might not have an opinion on modernist buildings and cityscapes around them (While, 2011). One of the most impactful events in the UK was the national campaign and 10 daylong celebration of UK's Brutalist architecture titled 'Brutal Utopias' organised in 2015 by the National Trust<sup>5</sup> in partnership with the Southbank centre in London, the developers Urban Splash and the University of East Anglia. This included special behind the scenes guided tours to landmark buildings such as the Southbank centre in London, Park Hill in

Sheffield, and the University of East Anglia in Norwich before the completion of their refurbishment. The events were quickly sold out, showing “concrete proof of changing attitudes” to post-war modernist buildings (Blackled, 2015; Williams, 2016).

UNESCO<sup>6</sup> has been one of the most active organisations in raising awareness of the significance of this type of heritage and promoting its preservation and valorization. Its Modern Heritage Programme has been focused on awareness-building and educational activities in association with a large network of partners to address the modernist weak legal protection and low appreciation among the general public particularly young people (World Heritage committee, 2001).<sup>7</sup> The focus on education in modern movement heritage is not new (World Heritage Committee, 2001) and it is embedded in UNESCO’s awareness-raising protocol, code of practice and principles (Table 5) (Sayers, 2006)<sup>8</sup> which promotes context and target specific audiences (Robinson 1996, Oxfam 2005), and ‘experiential’ (Kolb [1984] 2014) and ‘multistyle’ learning as part of a learning by doing and all-inclusive approach (De Vita 2001).<sup>9</sup> There has been always a consensus that design education is a vital component and a means to achieve a well-informed and tasteful society (Foxen, 2014).

‘INSERT Table 1 HERE’ Unesco’s principles of awareness-raising.

But public engagement with modernism is not only a ‘top-down’ project. Several communities of interest and supporters of modernism have also started organising themselves around various local projects, engagement and debate. A good case in point from the UK is The Modernist Society, a creative project by a number of artists and intellectuals, which started in Manchester and soon expanded its influence to other UK cities. One of its most provocative initiatives were recently organized by its Sheffield branch and included ‘Fantastic cities’ workshops for families and children to create their own cityscapes from cardboard or Lego (The Modernist Society, 2018).<sup>10</sup> The last decade has also seen an increasing number of artist residencies in

modernist buildings, often initiated and funded by the artists themselves, but in some cases also funded by local authorities and governmental funding agencies, to engage with the communities of modernist social housing estates, especially those threatened by demolition (Coates, 2012; Social Housing Art Network, 2014; Brennan, 2015, Roberts, 2017). Most artist-residencies have placed residents at the centre of their projects, giving them a voice in the debates surrounding the history and fate of such social housing estates, to explore the lived experience, place-identity and attachment of modernist architectural legacies.<sup>11</sup> The outcomes of such projects have taken many formats from books to films and exhibitions, providing insightful narratives and critical reflections of the lives of such estates, alternative visions for their redevelopment and new kinds of public consultation. However, because many of these projects have only been exhibited in cultural and educational institutions and their books published with independent and small publishers, they have often failed to reach wider audiences. The underlying rationale of most of these initiatives has not been simply to build support for modernist architecture and planning but to promote a wider debate about issues such as identity, belonging, place-making, social welfare, social and affordable housing and urban change, and to engage with the complexity of post-war modernist architecture and its legacy. Many of these events have served as open forums for discussion of the merits and shortcomings of modernism and past, present and future, with the ultimate aim to encourage new ways of thinking about modernist heritage and its conservation. It was with such open-ended process and approaches in mind that we designed our action research project at the University of Sheffield.

#### **4. THE UNIVERSITY ACTION RESEARCH PROJECT**

Every year the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Sheffield (UK) organises a one-week undergraduate teaching module intended to promote interdisciplinary thinking by mixing students from different disciplines (including economics, politics, architecture, sociology, law and urban planning) in real world research. Faculty staff are invited to propose projects that reflect their

research interests and the module therefore provided an opportunity to explore the contested conservation and regeneration of post-war modernism, using Park Hill as the focus, and to develop an action research project aimed to engage this particular group of millennials, and test and evaluate new approaches of awareness-raising.<sup>12</sup>

### **Research approach and methodology**

The Park Hill Estate in Sheffield, regarded as one of the key examples of British post-war modernist social housing, was granted national listed building protection in 1998, which was opposed by its then owner Sheffield City Council because the preference was to demolish a building that was seen to be outdated and failed as social housing. Listing subsequently led to a long-term regeneration collaboration between a private sector developer and housing association to shift its tenure base from mainly social rental to predominantly private ownership. Regeneration plans maintained the structure of the building, but the concrete lattice framework was painted with brightly colored cladding within the framework and some opening up of the façade. Regeneration was led by the alternative developer Urban Splash, which had specialized in city centre 'loft living' and the building's architectural heritage was part of the marketing of the building.

Located above Sheffield city centre and visible across the city, Park Hill is known by Sheffield residents and students even though many have not visited it or know its history. In essence the action research project asked the mixed group of students to engage with the past, present and future of Park Hill, asking them to reflect on the social and design legacy of modernist social housing and its regeneration (the majority of the students were not on an architecture or urban planning course but all had selected the module from a range of options). A key element of the project was for the students to work in groups to design an artefact of their choice (e.g. a short film, a poster, a performance) as part of a presentation on their response to Park Hill. The design

of this artefact followed an 'experiential learning' approach focused on a holistic sense of learning through hearing, seeing and doing (Kolb [1984] 2014), supported by a set of daily learning activities structured into four days, each dedicated to a different learning and research phase (Table 2). The learning activities were wide ranging in scope following an active multi-style teaching and learning approach which according to the pedagogical literature is the most suitable to account for the variations of learning styles and to counter the usual barriers faced by multicultural and multi-disciplinary cohorts such as this one (Bonwell and Eison 1991; Roehl et al 2013). These included: lectures to learn from theory and practice and gain insights from a range of different perspectives including scholars, developers, artists, and architects working on Park Hill or similar modernist estates; a site visit to learn from first-hand experience, workshops to learn the skills need for the project (Figure 1); lunch-hour film screenings to provide additional background knowledge (Figure 2); group work to learn from their peers; and final presentations to present and reflect on their outputs and learnings.

'INSERT Table 2 HERE' Programme of activities.

'INSERT Figure 1 HERE' Site visit to Park Hill.

'INSERT Figure 2 HERE' One of the lunch-hour film screenings: "Vision Quest - A ritual for Elephant and Castle" by the artist Marcus Coates.

As a site of research, the project provided the opportunity to assess and compare students' attitudes and knowledge at the start, during and after the project's completion by testing the impact of a range of learning activities. The methodology for assessing the changes in student response over the week included: a daily diary carried by each of the two facilitators to record observations of the groups' engagement, leadership, input, attitude and progress; daily

surveys (days 1, 2 and 4) including open and closed questions that that asked students to rate different aspects of the design and social legacy of modernist social architecture and Park Hill and its regeneration, with space for students to explain their rating and reflect on their experiences; a final survey (day 4) with open questions to assess the developed knowledge and skills; and a module evaluation form (1 week after the project) to measure both qualitatively and quantitatively the overall learning, engagement and experience of the project.

The data collection and analysis therefore involved a mix of quantitative assessment and qualitative exploration of knowledge and attitudes, focusing on three themes identified in the literature review presented above in section 2: (1) social value; (2) design quality; and (3), heritage value.

One of the key features of the project was the diversity of disciplinary backgrounds and nationalities involved in the project. A total of 54 students aged between 18 and 20 years old from 19 disciplines (Table 3) and 9 nationalities (Table 4) with a good gender mix (28 female and 26 male students; Table 3) took part in the project. The mix of participants had the potential to offer different cultural and disciplinary understandings of UK modernism, social change and social housing. Eighty-three percent of the students had selected this project as their first or second choices from a range of module options (AM, 2016). At least half of them had a social sciences background. The student group is inevitably a selected group of 'millennials'. They are for example a well-educated group with an above average interest in politics, social issues and urban development. The group are likely to have a good range of housing choices, which might impact on their attitude to social housing. There is also evidence that well-educated social groups are more likely to find post-war modernism appealing, especially as it is increasingly linked to particular ideas of urban coolness (While, 2006; While and Short, 2011).

'INSERT Table 3 HERE' Student's disciplines and gender distribution.

'INSERT Table 4 HERE' Student's nationalities.

## **Introducing Park Hill**

'INSERT Figure 3 HERE' Model of Park Hill Urban Post-regeneration project exhibited in Urban Splash's office in Park Hill (2016).

The Park Hill estate was completed in 1961 in the northern English city of Sheffield (Figure 3). Park Hill is well-known for positioning Sheffield at the forefront of solving post-war housing shortage slum clearance and urban decay (Historical England, 1998, 2014). The Estate was conceived by Sheffield Corporation City Architect's Department to rehouse the community of a cleared slum site of back-to-back tenement housing.<sup>13</sup> The ambition of Park Hill was visible in its sheer scale<sup>14</sup> and in being the first implementation of pioneering ideas of designing collective living in Britain (While, 2007). For that reason, it has been considered one of the prime British illustrations of AOSI. This is reflected in its 3.65 meter wide outdoor 'streets in the sky'<sup>15</sup>, also called 'deck scheme', at every third floor and its street corners that were filled or connected with amenity spaces meant to provide spaces for social interaction; its topographical specificity that gave it a continuous roof line and sensitively integrated it with the surroundings. There was also a strategy of rehousing neighbour residents next to each other, retaining the old street names and creating a complete community with shops, pubs, community centre and generous landscaped areas with playgrounds at ground-floor aimed to maintain the place identity and sense of community (Beard 2001; Hatherley, 2011). But Park Hill was also an expression of a new type of modernist ethic and aesthetic called Brutalism which emerged in the late 1950s and 1960s and was seen as a rejection for the clean geometries of mainstream modernism in favour of an unpretentious aesthetics of rough and irregular concrete and use of local multi-coloured bricks

that connect it to its Northern English local traditions (Hatherley, 2011). The building is built on a sloping site with a constant roofline giving a strong linear presence despite the different blocks varying in height between four and eleven storeys. Park Hill is uncompromising in its presence on the city centre skyline.

Park Hill was seen as socially successful for many years – and very successful in its early years, with residents praising the modernity, the sense of space and light, views over the city and the sense of community. However, like many other social housing estates, Park Hill became a less popular housing choice for social housing tenants in the 1970s, reflecting a spiral of residential choices<sup>16</sup> and insufficient investment in maintenance, security and social facilities. In 1998 Park Hill was selected for Listed Building Protection,<sup>17</sup> placing the Estate in the architectural canon alongside internationally known social housing precedents such as Le Corbusier's Unité de Habitation in Marseille or Alison and Peter Smithson's Golden Lane Estate competition project. Park Hill was recognised as the "first built manifestation of a widespread theoretical interest in external access decks" and "Britain's first completed scheme of post-war slum clearance and the most ambitious inner-city development of its time" (Historical England, 1998). However, listing did not bring investment and the Park Hill Estate continued to decline until in 2002 Sheffield City Council formed a strategic public-private partnership with the innovation urban developer Urban Splash, Historic England (then English Heritage) and a housing association to regenerate Park Hill as "a sustainable, vibrant, mixed tenure estate with owner occupation, rented and affordable for sale properties along with high quality retail and commercial premises" (English Partnerships, 2007; Local Government Association, 2012).

Central to the regeneration of Park Hill was the intended total rebranding and remodelling of key aspects of the development to create a newer, attractive and more marketable housing development. The concrete framework of the building was to be retained, but it was painted and because of concrete decay and filled with brightly coloured aluminium panels in place of the original brickwork. The Streets in the Sky have been partially filled and fenced off and four storey



entrance punched into the building to give it focus. Moreover, only one third of the housing units are to be retained as social housing, with Park Hill promoted as a fashionable locale for upwardly mobile city centre living in keeping with the wider spirit of 'Urban renaissance' promoted by Urban Splash and central government (Punter, 2009; Hatherley, 2011). There has been controversy over the handling of key architectural elements, notably the repair and painting of the concrete, and the introduction of the coloured panels but it has been justified by the scale of the problems with the original façade. The regeneration is planned in phases. Only 2/3 of the regeneration was implemented at the time of the student project, allowing for comparison between the regenerated blocks and what remains of the original design. The student project included a site visit to Park Hill with the developers.

### **Perceptions of Park Hill**

The following sections present the analysis of student engagement with Park Hill through the action-research project, exploring changes in attitudes, perceptions and knowledge before, during and after the project (Table 5).

'INSERT Table 5 HERE' Surveys of Days 1, 2 and 4.

#### ***Initial attitudes, perceptions and knowledge***

The first survey revealed in students a relatively low awareness of modernist architecture, and of architecture in general (Table 5). This was expected as only 7 of the 56 students had a background in built environment disciplines such as Architecture, Landscape Architecture and Planning. There was however a stronger awareness of social housing. Many students noted that it "is often in the news"; "it is a very topical debate". Interestingly, however, the majority of students demonstrated little awareness of debates about the welfare state. Only students studying Politics and Human Geography acknowledged to have learned about it in some of their

courses. Indeed, previous research confirms that for young adults' awareness of welfare collectivism is not well developed, in other words, they never experienced what it is to live without it and for that reason are less aware of its history and social significance (Duffy et al 2013).

The students were initially equivocal about the legacy of Post War Modernist Social Housing (PWMSH), with most of them rating their views at level 3 (in the 5-point scale) or not responding at all (Table 5). Their views were also mixed when asked whether the best PWMSH should be preserved, though they thought that it was at least an improvement on social housing provision at the time. They were also even split when asked to describe social housing in three words. Whilst half of them described it as 'affordable', 'fair', 'modern', 'innovative' and 'ideological', the other half considered it 'ugly', 'dull' and 'sad' and associated it with crime. Very few students were able to identify other cases of PWMSH similar to Park Hill. Only three students gave examples of social housing estates, all from London. Overall, in the first survey students tended to acknowledge the importance of the topic but had limited knowledge or interest about the issues involved in conserving post-war modernist architecture, particularly social housing.

### ***Attitudes, perceptions and knowledge during the week***

The second survey was undertaken in day 2 after the programme of lectures and the site visit. Students showed that their views continued to be neutral on a number of issues. First, they continued to be equivocal about the PWMSH qualities, finding it difficult to express more assertive opinions on whether it was 'challenging', 'progressive', and whether it was or is a 'good' or 'bad place to live' –rating it 3 in 5 (Table 5). In day 2 fewer students than in day 1 considered PWMSH an improvement in social housing provision at the time with the percentage of students rating as an improvement falling from 65% to 33%. Many still had mixed views whether PWMSH was in some way better than affordable housing provided today –only 15% felt that it was (Table 5). When asked to explain their answer, respondents who considered it better did so the basis of its 'strong sense of community' and provision of 'more community facilities' but felt it was worse in

terms of 'safety and security'. Students were also divided on whether it provided 'better' or 'worse standards of design and architecture' and 'more open space'.

Student views were also evenly split when were asked about more controversial issues such as whether the remaining PWMSH should be preserved but only 11% expressed this firmly. Students were similarly evenly split on the question of whether original residents should be displaced, even if they wished to stay, in order to regenerate the area –30% expressed 'perhaps' while all the others remained even split between 'yes' and 'no' (Table 5). They only expressed a strong consensus about the preservation of the best PWMSH.

The same equivocation was revealed in student views on the regeneration of Park Hill (Table 5). Only 30% expressed great support for the regeneration of Park Hill. Only 17% of the students were sure that the regeneration retained its heritage value and that was felt to be an important element in assessing the quality of regeneration (NTHP 2017). The site visit and fieldwork constituted for the majority of the students the most revealing moment of the project. As one student stated, "they needed to see Park Hill with their own eyes in order to judge it" (UK Geography and Planning Student). Fieldwork has been recognised especially in the context of the built environment disciplines as one of the most effective ways to improve student's understandings learned in the lectures and the literature (Fuller et al, 2006; Boyle et al, 2007).

### ***Attitudes, perceptions and knowledge at the end of the week***

In this section we report on the analysis of the third and fourth surveys and the preparation of the artefact, undertaken at the end of the week on day 4. By the end of the week students expressed much more positive views on PWMSH than on day 2 (Table 5). In day 4, they rated PWMSH more favourably with 69% rating 4 in 5 as 'progressive' 'challenging' and 'exciting' compared to only 48% on day 2. However, as in day 2 only a third of the students felt that projects such as Park Hill represented improved social housing when it was built –an equal percentage of 33% students in both surveys–, and their views remained mixed on whether it was

better than social housing provided today, with 17% rating it 'as about the same' while all the others were split between 'worse' and 'better' (Table 5). Nevertheless, there was a slight increase in support for preserving post-war heritage, with the balance shifting from opposition to support preservation but mainly of the best examples (Table 5). The number of students in favour of preservation was about the same 9% in day 2 and 7% in day 4, but opposition to preservation reduced from 15% in day 2 to 6% in day 4.

Even so, there were changing views on the effectiveness of the regeneration programme, which was seen less favourably at the end of the week, with 30% feeling it was effective at the beginning of day 2 to 22% in day 4. Fewer respondents felt that the regeneration had retained heritage value compared. By day 4, 20% of students were opposed to the regeneration compared with 9% on day 2. These responses are indicative of a general disappointment with the on-going regeneration of Park Hill (Hatherley, 2010; Dobraszcsyk, 2015; Barnabas Calder, 2016). There was concern that Park Hill was "no longer for the type of people it was originally designed for" (UK Geography student).

The design of an artefact added an extra dimension to the project. Most students described it as "an opportunity to take a risk" and "do something different from the usual" (Achieve More, 2016). However, time was limited and only six of the eight groups designed posters, which was the easiest medium, and only two designed something different: one group baked two cakes representing the old and new social ideals and another group prepared a short film on the rise and fall of Park Hill. Interestingly however, the best project was one of the simplest posters. It traced the life of Park Hill and how it was shaped by the economic context of the time by using a very simple collage of pictures related with the major economic events (Figure 4). This was the project that made best use of the varied set of skills of the group. It combined well the economic expertise of the two students from economics and business with other social sciences disciplines.

The final survey and the module evaluation brought a number of additional insights. They showed that students felt they had a stronger awareness of the topic and also had developed

skills and knowledge in critical thinking, team-working and multidisciplinary understanding. The final survey responses also suggested that the most effective learning activities were the discussion and interaction within groups and the site visit to Park Hill. The other activities particularly the artist lectures and films proved to be challenging for the first-year students because they had not yet developed the independent learning skills to make the connection between the broader perspectives and the immediate project.

'INSERT Figure 4 HERE' The selected artefact.

## **5. DISCUSSION**

This action research project provided an opportunity to explore knowledge of and attitudes to post-war modernist social housing and its three key issues of social value, design quality and heritage protection with a particular group of 'millennial' students. This group is well-educated and as social science students they were expected to have particular interest in social housing, public policy and urban politics. The study has provided a range of insights into younger adult perceptions of and responses to post-war modernist housing, but we want to draw out four key issues.

First, the project and our analysis identified a limited knowledge of architecture and urban design among our sample group of social science students, and although this is understandable, that cohort of educated social science students might have been expected to bring an engaged perspective on urban social policy and social housing. They were also expected to have a view on housing futures given wider debates about 'generation rent' and housing crisis in the UK. However, the study revealed that this group not only started with limited knowledge of the history of post-war modernism, but also had very limited resources to engage with the design and social issues raised by Park Hill. This perhaps represents a weak ability to read and engage with patterns and processes of urban change more generally. But it is more likely to be an indication

that student attitudes were shaped by their limited frames of reference to situate and judge the social causes and design aesthetics of Park Hill. The students generally found it difficult to identify what might be distinctive or important about its design qualities. In this respect students generally lacked a design knowledge and vocabulary but also had a limited relational perspective in terms of being able to situate Park Hill within its past, present and future history of social housing. Indeed, it was noticeable that most students found difficult to move beyond the sense that the building was out-dated and unappealing, even after having been listed and partly regenerated. During the whole development of the project, most students continued to consider Park Hill as 'ugly' and 'dull' and were divided between whether it was a 'good' or a 'bad place to live', despite of recognising that it performed better in terms of enhancing the sense of community than social housing today. At the first sight, it doesn't seem that these perceptions will change when park Hill is fully regenerated, as students did not see the erasure of Park Hill's aesthetic and social dimensions as a positive development. Another possible interpretation of the findings is that students are somewhat indifferent to the legacies of post-war modernist architecture and social housing. That lack of interest should not prevent future action projects – indeed it might be seen as necessitating such projects – but it might require approaches that do not take interest and knowledge in modernism for granted and consider the risks of alienating the target audience. Our project suggests the importance of engaging students simultaneously in reflection on contemporary development patterns and the possibilities for different approaches to urban planning and housing provision. Research (Feldman et al, 2017) suggests that facilitating millennial engagement with causes and social issues can lead to more assertive than neutral judgements.

Second, although this group of millennials were not alive when Park Hill was developed or demonised, their attitudes mirror the broader ongoing societal divides around modernist social housing. Indeed, for our group of millennials, and perhaps more generally for all generations, taste and value judgements related to the architectural form dominate over issues related to social

housing quality and provision, and the wider complexities of heritage protection. The study also provided further evidence that appreciation of modernist buildings is largely an elite architectural perspective because it requires a fairly substantial knowledge of historical context and alternatives in architectural and social housing history.

Third, there was limited evidence of significant differences in opinion on the basis of gender, nationality or subject discipline amongst our student sample. Although research suggest that social, cultural and educational differences can have significant influences on aesthetic judgement (Bourdieu 1984, Hubbard 1996), there was a certain homogeneity in response. This finding resonates with recent research observation that without specialist training individuals often lack the knowledge structure and references to express meaningful aesthetic attitudes (Erdogan et al 2010). Such differences are also evident in studies comparing design experts with non-experts or lay people's evaluations of architectural appreciation, reasserting the idea that environmental preferences are primary shaped by education, in this case design education (Bordieu 1984, Groat 1982, Devlin 1990) and that is both a challenge and an opportunity for engagement projects such as ours.

In that context, the project's historical framing was perhaps not sufficient to give students the situated experience they needed to assess the complex legacy of Park Hill. A useful exercise in that respect would have been to compare and contrast Park Hill with other examples of social and market housing built at different times, perhaps with more site visits to alternative examples. Indeed, some of the advocates for modernism such as Hatherley (2011) and Grindrod (2013) have sought to make the case for a sympathetic reading of post-war modernism by comparing and contrasting it to the problems of social housing before and after. However, it is worth noting that the students did not describe post-war modernist social housing as a failed project. During the whole project, students often balanced their analysis by discussing the positive and negative qualities of Park Hill. These findings suggest the potential for a more nuanced perspective on post-war modernist social housing if there is wider public engagement with questions of design. Even

with limited time for engagement, the action research project was able to stimulate greater awareness of the issues raised by Park Hill and an interest in understanding urban processes.

## **6. CONCLUSION**

The university action research project and analysis presented in this paper examined attitudes to post-war modernist housing amongst a selected group of millennials; a new generation of citizens that potentially has a different experiential relationship to the various legacies of post-war modernism social housing than previous generations. This group did not live directly through the development or decline of the architecture of social intent and in some respects for them modernist legacies are a 'clean slate'. Our cohort was not representative of all millennials and we have sought throughout to contextualise their responses as a small cohort of University undergraduates studying social science courses. Nevertheless, the project did provide a range of insights into perceptions of modernist architecture that have potentially wider significance for engagement with the past, present and future of urban development.

Taken together the project's findings demonstrated that although this young and educated group of students started with little knowledge of and modest interest in post-war modernist social housing (and modernist architecture, social housing and welfare more broadly), students were receptive to learning more about it. Students were able to discuss both the positive and negative qualities of the case study building in context, even though many of them were not always convinced by its design merits and its quality of housing provision. They were also unconvinced by aspects of the regeneration and the prevailing approach to new housing provision in Sheffield city centre and in their home towns and cities.

Even though, the aim of the project was not to build support for Park Hill, it was able to stimulate an awareness of the need for preservation of the best post-war architecture, and the relevance to continue to provide more and better-quality social housing. The experience of the project and findings are an indication that generating discussion and debate about those issues (and



architecture and urban development more generally) might be an important priority for schools, universities and urban planning authorities. In short, people need to be more engaged with the world around them and the choices that are shaping their living environments.

An important priority might be to invest in design and urbanist education to develop design appreciation skills and facilitate informed opinions, given that taste and value judgements continue to dominate over issues related social housing quality and provision, and heritage protection. Another priority might be to focus on active and experiential learning that can help students understand their own aesthetic values and prejudices as well as to challenge them and debate the relative positions of lay and professional assessments.

Looking beyond the empirical example, this paper makes a distinctive contribution to literature on the conservation of modernist heritage and other built heritage more generally. The millennial response provides further evidence of the still challenging nature of post-war modernist architecture and that will continue to influence practices of building conservation. What the project demonstrates most of all is the need to engage citizens of all ages more explicitly in decisions about the future of their localities.

All action-research projects are constrained by time and resources. Our project was extremely intensive, but it only lasted one week. A longer project would have allowed for further feedback and reflection, including opportunities for participants to image their own solutions to Park Hill. Participants most valued the opportunity to discuss ideas with teaching staff and fellow students and that element might have been extended. What the project demonstrates very clearly is the need to create more spaces for engagement, reflection and dialogue around issues of urban change.

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## List of figures and tables



Figure 1. Site visit to Park Hill.



Figure 2. One of the lunch-hour film screenings: "Vision Quest - A ritual for Elephant and Castle" by the artist Marcus Coates.



Figure 3. Model of Park Hill Urban Post-regeneration project exhibited in Urban Splash's office in Park Hill (2016).



Figure 4. The selected artefact.

Table 1. Unesco's principles of awareness-raising.

1.	Formulate a well-defined message (good knowledge of the purpose)
2.	Understand the target audience (background and knowledge on the topic, and preferred learning styles, as there is not only one right approach according to Robinson (1996) and Oxfam (2005),
3.	Select an effective strategy (e.g. public communication, education programs, other) and ensure it is appropriate to the purpose, message and audiences (a key aspect is to find appropriate promotional and communication channels and learning styles that allow easy and fast access to available information).
4.	Propose a feasible time-frame and resources to achieve successful outcomes.
5.	Consider eventual obstacles and challenges.
6.	Communicate little at a time (it is more important quality than quantity).
7.	Undertake regular monitoring and evaluation to help to improve current and future approaches used.



Table 2. Programme of activities

Days	Programme of activities
<b>Day 1: learning from theory and practice from lectures.</b>	It included an <b>introductory lecture</b> and a set of thought-provoking <b>guest lectures</b> from the redevelopers of Park Hill, two leading scholars in the field of post-war modernism and urban and architectural conservation, and three artistic projects from two artists and one architect.
<b>Day 2: learning from first-hand experience during site visit and fieldwork.</b>	A <b>site visit and guided tour</b> of 1 hour was organised by the academic team to visit the newly regenerated site and refurbished flats. Afterwards, students were encouraged to conduct fieldwork observations on their own.
<b>Between days 1-3: learning skills from workshops to plan and carry out the project and design the artefact.</b>	A series of <b>workshops</b> were delivered with a focus on learning a wide range of skills from research to group work, communication and presentation skills. These included: in day 1 a learning basic session provided by the teaching team skills which consisted of an induction to project planning, group work, research process, and working in communities; in day 2 research methods session aimed to introduce students to the most effective methods in urban studies to date to read and analyse a place; and in day 3 training sessions provided by the organisation of Achieve More on presentation and communication, video production, photography and poster skills. Day 3 was totally dedicated to designing the artefact (there was no survey on that day).
<b>Between days 2-3: learning from their peers and other people's engagement with post-war modernism.</b>	Students carried out their group projects. A series of <b>lunch-hour film screenings</b> were also organised to provide additional background information to the lectures and inspiration for their artefact. These included: the film documentary entitled "English Heritage Series: Romancing the Stone: Park Hill" which discusses all the challenges and controversies surrounding the on-going regeneration project of Park Hill, the film of the artist Marcus Coates "The ritual of Elephant and Castle" which offers a very original take on the debates and negative social sigma of modernism and social housing.
<b>Day 4: learning from doing a final presentation.</b>	<b>Final presentation</b> of the artefact, followed by discussion, reflection award selection and exhibition.

Table 3. Student's disciplines and gender distribution.

Disciplines	Female	%	Male	%	Total students	%
LLB/Law	6	11%	2	4%	8	15%
BA/Politics and Philosophy	1	2%	1	2%	2	4%
BA/Economics	2	4%	5	9%	7	13%
MPlan/Urban Studies & Planning		0%	1	2%	1	2%
BA/Business Management	3	6%	5	9%	8	15%
BA/Geography	4	7%	1	2%	5	9%
BA/Geography & Planning		0%	2	4%	2	4%
BA/Int Relations and Politics	2	4%		0%	2	4%
BA/Politics	2	4%	2	4%	4	8%
BA/Architecture	1	2%	1	2%	2	4%
BA/Japanese Studies		0%	1	2%	1	2%
BSc/ Landscape Architecture	3	6%	1	2%	4	8%
BA/Journalism Studies	1	2%	1	2%	2	4%
BSc/Environmental Science	1	2%		0%	1	2%
BA/Sociology		0%	1	2%	1	2%
BA/Edu, Culture & Childhood	1	2%		0%	1	2%
LLB/Law and Criminology		0%	1	2%	1	2%
BA/Accounting & Financial Management	1	2%	1	2%	2	4%
<b>Total: 19</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>52%</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>48%</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 4. Student's nationalities.

<b>9 Nationalities</b>	<b>Number of Students</b>	<b>Number of Students</b>
Italian	1	2%
British	37	69%
China	2	4%
Mongolian	1	2%
Malaysian	2	4%
Romanian	1	2%
Cypriot	1	2%
Austrian	1	2%
Bermudian	1	2%
No response	7	13%
<b>Total</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100%</b>

QUESTIONS	DAY 1							DAY 2							DAY 4						
	Very low	Low	Medium	Good	Very good	No response	Don't know	1	2	3	4	5	No response	1	2	3	4	5	No response		
<b>1. Before the project how would you rate your knowledge of the topic?</b>																					
a. Architecture in general	11 (20%)	17 (31%)	16 (30%)	5 (9%)																	
b. Modernist architecture	13 (24%)	23 (43%)	9 (17%)	4 (7%)																	
c. Modernist architecture in the UK	16 (30%)	24 (44%)	7 (13%)		1 (2%)																
d. Social housing in general	1 (2%)	16 (30%)	21 (39%)	10 (19%)		1 (2%)															
e. Post-war modernist social housing in the UK	10 (19%)	17 (31%)	16 (30%)	6 (11%)																	
f. Post-war modernist social housing abroad	24 (44%)	17 (31%)	7 (13%)	1 (2%)																	
g. The post-war welfare state	10 (19%)	13 (24%)	18 (33%)	4 (7%)	4 (7%)																
<b>Total</b>	85 (157%)	127 (235%)	94 (174%)	30 (50%)	5 (4%)	1 (2%)															
<b>2. What is your view of post-war modernist housing in the UK?</b>							Don't know														
a. Progressive		4 (7%)	13 (24%)	6 (11%)		22 (41%)	4 (7%)			4 (7%)	15 (28%)	5 (9%)	3 (6%)	3 (6%)	1 (2%)	4 (7%)	6 (11%)	7 (13%)	3 (6%)	4 (7%)	
b. Challenging		9 (17%)	13 (24%)	6 (11%)	11 (20%)	6 (11%)	4 (7%)			6 (11%)	13 (24%)	5 (9%)	3 (6%)	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	2 (4%)	10 (19%)	10 (19%)		3 (6%)	
c. Exciting	5 (9%)	14 (26%)	14 (26%)	4 (7%)	1 (2%)	9 (17%)	2 (4%)	2 (4%)	9 (17%)	11 (20%)	3 (6%)	1 (2%)	4 (7%)	4 (7%)	3 (6%)	7 (13%)	5 (9%)	2 (4%)	5 (9%)		
d. Depressing	6 (11%)	8 (15%)	14 (26%)	9 (17%)	2 (4%)	8 (15%)	2 (4%)	3 (6%)	6 (11%)	11 (20%)	7 (13%)	1 (2%)	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	4 (7%)	9 (17%)	7 (13%)		5 (9%)		
e. A good place to live	6 (11%)	14 (26%)	17 (31%)	1 (2%)		9 (17%)	2 (4%)		8 (15%)	19 (35%)	1 (2%)		2 (4%)		9 (17%)	11 (20%)	2 (4%)		4 (7%)		
f. A bad place to live	2 (4%)	7 (13%)	16 (30%)	11 (20%)	1 (2%)	8 (15%)	4 (7%)		5 (9%)	18 (33%)	5 (9%)	2 (4%)	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	4 (7%)	9 (17%)	6 (11%)	1 (2%)	5 (9%)		
g. A positive symbol of the welfare state	1 (2%)	10 (19%)	23 (43%)	6 (11%)		6 (11%)	3 (6%)														
<b>Total</b>	20 (37%)	66 (122%)	110 (204%)	43 (80%)	15 (28%)	68 (126%)	21 (39%)	5 (9%)	38 (70%)	87 (161%)	26 (48%)	8 (15%)	15 (28%)	8 (15%)	26 (48%)	52 (96%)	27 (49%)	6 (11%)	26 (48%)		
<b>3. Do you think that post-war modernist social housing was an improvement on affordable housing at the time?</b>	Much Worse	Worse	About the Same	Better	Much Better	Not sure	No response	Much Worse	Worse	About the Same	Better	Much Better	No response	Much Worse	Worse	About the Same	Better	Much Better	No response		
			3 (6%)	35 (65%)	9 (17%)	2 (4%)			1 (2%)	4 (7%)	18 (33%)	8 (15%)					18 (33%)		1 (15%)		
<b>4. Do you think post-war modernist social housing was better than social housing being provided today?</b>									8 (15%)	14 (26%)	8 (15%)			1 (2%)	7 (13%)	9 (17%)	7 (13%)	2 (4%)			
<b>5. Do you agree or disagree with these statements?</b>	Definitely Not	No	Perhaps	Yes	Definitely	No response	Definitely Not	No	Perhaps	Yes	Definitely	No response	Definitely Not	No	Perhaps	Yes	Definitely	No response			
The remaining post-war modernist social housing should be preserved								8 (15%)	16 (30%)	5 (9%)	1 (2%)				3 (6%)	18 (33%)	4 (7%)	1 (2%)			
The best remaining post-war modernist social housing should be preserved		4 (7%)	33 (61%)	11 (20%)				2 (4%)	9 (17%)	18 (33%)	1 (2%)			2 (4%)	6 (11%)	14 (26%)	4 (7%)				
It is wrong to move existing residents out of modernist social housing in order to regenerate the area if they want to stay								1 (2%)	7 (13%)	13 (24%)	7 (13%)	2 (4%)		1 (2%)	6 (11%)	6 (11%)	12 (22%)	1 (2%)			
It is OK to move residents against their wishes if that is the only way of regenerating modernist social housing								7 (13%)	16 (30%)	6 (11%)	1 (2%)			2 (4%)	5 (9%)	13 (24%)	4 (7%)	2 (4%)			
<b>6. What are your views on Park Hill?</b>								Strongly Oppose	Oppose	Neither Oppose nor Support	Support	Strongly Support	No response	Strongly Oppose	Oppose	Neither Oppose nor Support	Support	Strongly Support	No response		
I support the action taken to regenerate Park Hill								2 (4%)		9 (17%)	15 (30%)	1 (2%)	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	3 (6%)	8 (15%)	12 (22%)	9 (17%)	3 (6%)		
I think that the regeneration of Park Hill has retained its heritage value								1 (2%)	5 (9%)	13 (24%)	9 (17%)	2 (4%)			11 (20%)	7 (13%)	8 (15%)				
If money was available to invest in new social housing and rehouse existing residents, would you have demolished Park Hill?								1 (2%)	8 (15%)	12 (22%)	5 (9%)	2 (4%)			5 (9%)	9 (17%)	11 (20%)				

Table 5. Surveys of Days 1, 2 and 4.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup>Millennials or generation Y are the generational demographic cohort following Generation X and preceding Generation Z. There are no precise dates for when this cohort starts or ends but demographers typically use the early 1980s as starting birth years and the mid-1990s to early 2000s as ending birth years.

<sup>2</sup> These have taken many forms including: exhibitions, books, the lobbying work and campaigns of public awareness building and education of conservationist bodies (e.g. National Trust, 2015; Twentieth Century Society, 2016; Open House, 2016) and artist residencies (Coates, 2012; Brennan, 2015).

<sup>3</sup> The CIAM refers to the *Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne*, it was an organisation that aimed to spread the principles of the modern movement.

<sup>4</sup>This is the case of Architectural Review and Architectural Design.

<sup>5</sup>National trust is one of the largest independent charities and membership organisations committed to environmental and heritage conservation in England, Wales and Northern Ireland.

<sup>6</sup> United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

<sup>7</sup> Particularly national heritage bodies and local practitioners.

<sup>8</sup> One of its most successful flagship projects was 'Young People's Participation in World Heritage Preservation and Promotion', launched in 1994 with a view to encourage young people to take an active role in heritage preservation and promotion.

<sup>9</sup> These approaches follow the learning theories that "humans learn best when what they see and hear is reinforced by action" (Kolb [1984] 2014) and that the use of different learning styles is key to ensure everyone understands the message (De Vita 2001).

<sup>10</sup> It also included: modernist cycle rides, music events, photo and flaneur walks, photo walks and the screening of old promotional modernist films

<sup>11</sup>Two good illustrative examples are the artist's residencies of Jessie Brennan and Marcus Coates. In her residency in London's Robin Hood Gardens housing estate, Brennan used drawing to initiate conversations with its residents and to explore with them 'the qualities of a lived-in brutalism and the personal impacts of redevelopment'. Coates' 3 year residency in the London's Heygate Estate concluded with the film: 'Vision Quest'. In it, Coates performed a visceral shape-shifting act to mark the passing of the neighbourhood and to envisage a new strategy for development that does not repeat the same mistakes of the 60's redevelopments.

<sup>12</sup> Central to this project, was the need to devise a clear message (students were asked to reflect on the conservation and regeneration of the Park Hill Estate), understand the target audience (a first year multicultural and multidisciplinary cohort of university students), develop an open-ended combined awareness-raising and educational strategy, and fit with the available time-frame (four days) and resources offered by Sheffield University (an academic team consisting of three academics, and funding for visits and visiting speakers).

<sup>13</sup>It was designed between 1957-60 by Sheffield Corporation City Architect's Department under J L Womersley, the architects were Jack Lynn and Ivor Smith with F E Nicklin and John Forrester (artist) and engineer Ronald Jenkins of Ove Arup and Partners.

<sup>14</sup> It provided 995 flats.

<sup>15</sup> The idea came from the internal streets of Corbusier's Unité de Habitation in Marseille (1952) but the term was originally coined by the Smithsons, in their 1952 entry for the Golden Lane competition, but the first built manifestation in British social housing was in the design of Park Hill.

<sup>16</sup> This was facilitated from the 1980s by the right to buy local authority social housing.

<sup>17</sup> This was part of the wider national programme of protecting notable buildings of architectural and historical significance from the post-WW II era.