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"THE GEOGRAPHY OF INTER-WAR (1919-39)
RESIDENTIAL AREAS ON TYNESIDE:
A STUDY OF RESIDENTIAL GROWTH, AND THE
PRESENT CONDITION AND USE OF PROPERTY"

DAVID A. KIRBY, B.A.

Volume I

Thesis submitted for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
of the University of Durham

MAY 1970

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ABSTRACT

The work is divided into two sections.

Section I examines the process of residential growth on Tyneside in the inter-war years by concentrating attention on the factors which determined the form and extent of development in both the private and the public sector. Through detailed case studies and generalised analysis, an examination is made of housing need over the period, and the influence of architectural and planning ideals and economic conditions; in this way information is provided on the characteristics of inter-war dwellings, the conditions under which they were constructed and the processes by which they were developed.

Section II makes an examination of the present condition and use of inter-war Council property, and attempts to determine its suitability for habitation in the latter half of the 20th Century. In so doing, it considers

- (1) the maintenance operations of Local Authorities and the levels of expenditure over the life of the property.
- (2) the standard of accommodation which the property provides.

No attempt is made to examine the suitability of the residential environment, but attention is focussed upon the use of property and, basing evidence on housewives' judgement, the standard of amenity which it provides. Further studies of household maintenance operations and satisfaction levels reveal additional details of the social adequacy of the accommodation and the work concludes with an examination of

- (1) the scope for modernisation
- (2) the modernisation schemes of Local Authorities
- (3) the cost of modernisation to the Authority.

David A. Kirby, B.A.

May 1970.

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SECTION I. SURVEY OF THE PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RESIDENTIAL
GROWTH ON TYNESIDE, 1919-1939.

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION.

"An awareness of the intricate relationships between Man and his environment is a major realm of scholarly investigation and informed concern on the part of all men who profess to be educated". 1

In essence, this thesis is a study of the relationship between Man and his built environment - it examines how he creates and modifies the environment in which he lives. The basic philosophy behind the work, however, stems from the belief that, no matter how the Urban Geographer

"delimits his area and restricts his subject of study, it is essential that he places at the forefront of his investigation the study of process". 2

The work is divided into two parts. Section I involves a study of Residential Development on Tyneside between 1919 and 1939, while section II takes the form of an analysis of the present condition (i.e. habitability) of inter-war Local Authority dwellings. In section I, an attempt is made to examine the process of residential growth, and to comprehend the planning concepts and local conditions which influenced decision-making, and produced change in the urban environment. Thus section I provides information (on the characteristics of inter-war dwellings, the conditions under which they were constructed, and the processes by which they were developed) which, it is felt, is essential to the subsequent study of the use and condition of inter-war council property - a study which deals not only with the suitability of inter-war council property for habitation, but also with the process by which the environment can be modified and the planning idea can be translated into reality.

-
1. Aschmann, H., in "Critical Issues Concerning Geography in the Public Service". Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. LII (1962), Page 284.
 2. Thorpe, D., "The Geographer and Urban Studies", Department of Geography, University of Durham, Occasional Paper, No. 8 (1966), Page 6.

Section I: Aims and Scope of Study

It is common knowledge that in Britain "a major feature between the wars was the extension of building, particularly residential building, into the suburbs"¹. Altogether some 4.359 million dwellings were constructed in the United Kingdom between 1920 and 1938, and it is intended that this section should examine the process by which such dwellings were supplied.

As the present settlement pattern "is the geographical record of its own evolution"², the basis of this section is the town plan (see Appendix 5, Chapter I). Following a consideration of the changes which occurred in the settlement pattern between 1919 and 1939, an examination is made of the various social, economic and political factors which influenced decision makers, and, as inter-war residential development, found expression in the urban landscape.

Through the medium of both generalised analysis and selected detailed case-studies, the section examines the demand for housing on Tyneside and in its component Local Authority areas. This involves studies of housing conditions and occupancy levels at various periods of time to determine

(a) the need for property

(b) the effectiveness of the supply

In addition, an attempt is made to examine the method by which dwellings were supplied and the influence of economic conditions and financial mechanisms³ on the developer. In this respect, attention is paid to the various Acts affecting residential development during the period, and to the concepts and ideals behind the various policies adopted.

1. Richardson, H.W., and Aldcroft, D.H., "Building in the British Economy between the Wars", University of Glasgow Social and Economic Studies, New Series No. 14, George Allen and Unwin, 1968, Page 324.
2. Conzen, M.R.G., "Modern Settlement", Page 76 in Scientific Survey of North Eastern England, British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1949.
3. Such as the cost of building, the size and type of government subsidy, house prices and rents, etc.

Tyneside - The Conurbation.

For the purposes of this study, the exact limits of Tyneside have been defined quite arbitrarily to include the following 14 Municipal areas:-

Northumberland ("North Bank")

Gosforth U.D.

Newburn U.D.

Tynemouth C.B.

Wallsend M.B.

Whitley and Monkseaton M.B.

County Durham ("South Bank")

Blaydon U.D.

Felling U.D.

Gateshead C.B.

Hebburn U.D.

Jarrow M.B.

Ryton U.D.

South Shields C.B.

Whickham U.D.

Of these, all of the eight in County Durham to the south of the Tyne, and four¹ of the six in Northumberland, to the north, flank the river. The remaining two² may be regarded as outlying residential areas.

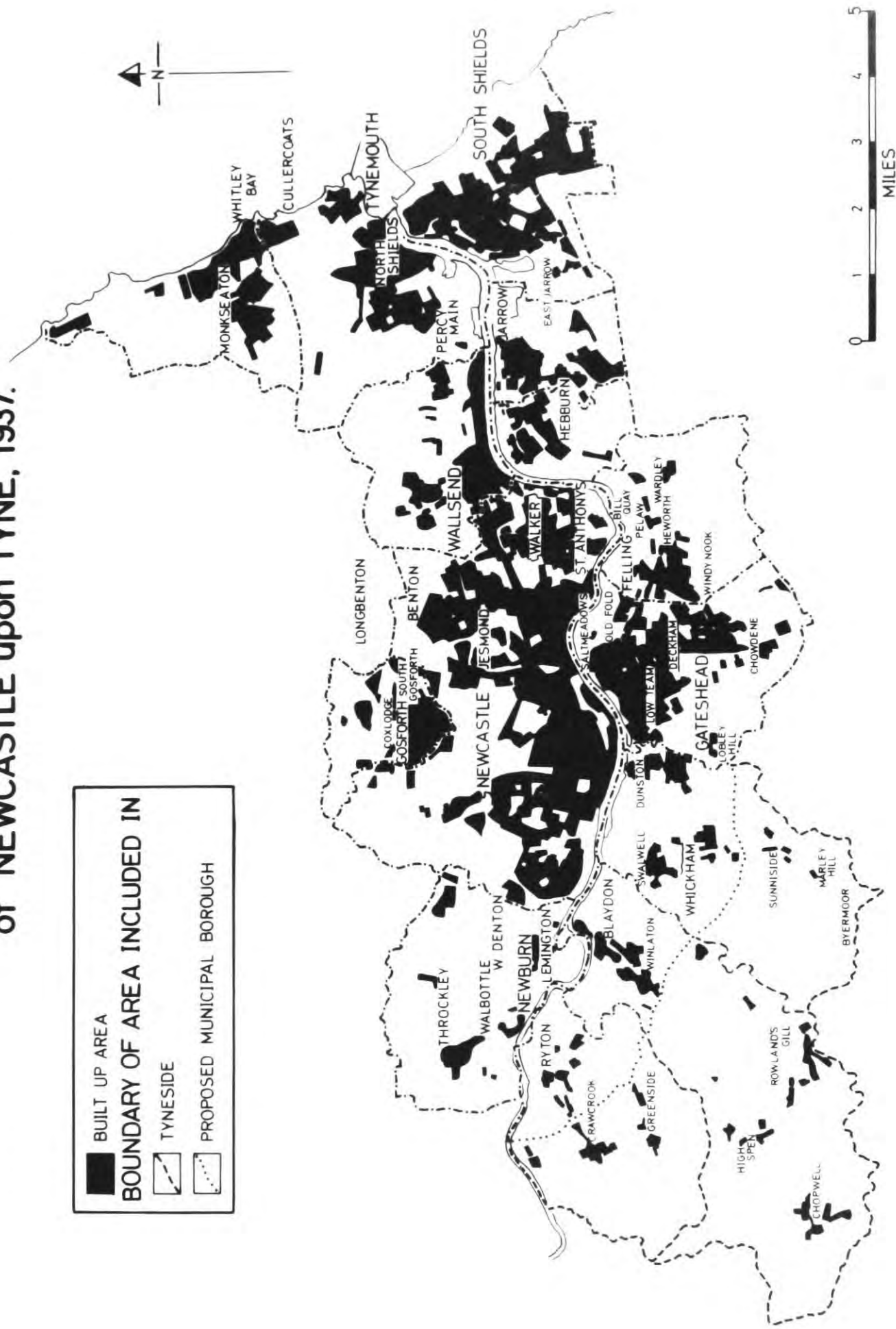
This definition of the conurbation differs from that of the Registrar General since it includes the Urban Districts of Blaydon and Ryton, but excludes the area to the east of Gosforth known as Longbenton. However, it conforms largely with the proposed Municipal Borough of Newcastle,³ which excluded Longbenton but included the northernmost areas of Blaydon and Ryton. Because of the advantages, when handling statistics, of dealing with a municipal area as a whole unit, the present definition of the conurbation deviates from the proposed Borough, however, through the inclusion of the southern, more rural areas of Blaydon and Ryton (Figure 1:1).

1. Newcastle C.B., Tynemouth C.B., Wallsend M.B., and Newburn U.D.

2. Gosforth U.D. and Whitley and Monkseaton M.B.

3. Report of the Royal Commission on Local Government in the Tyneside Area (Cd. 5402) H.M.S.O. 1937, Page 55.

**FIGURE 1:1 TYNESIDE and the Proposed MUNICIPAL BOROUGH
of NEWCASTLE upon TYNE, 1937.**



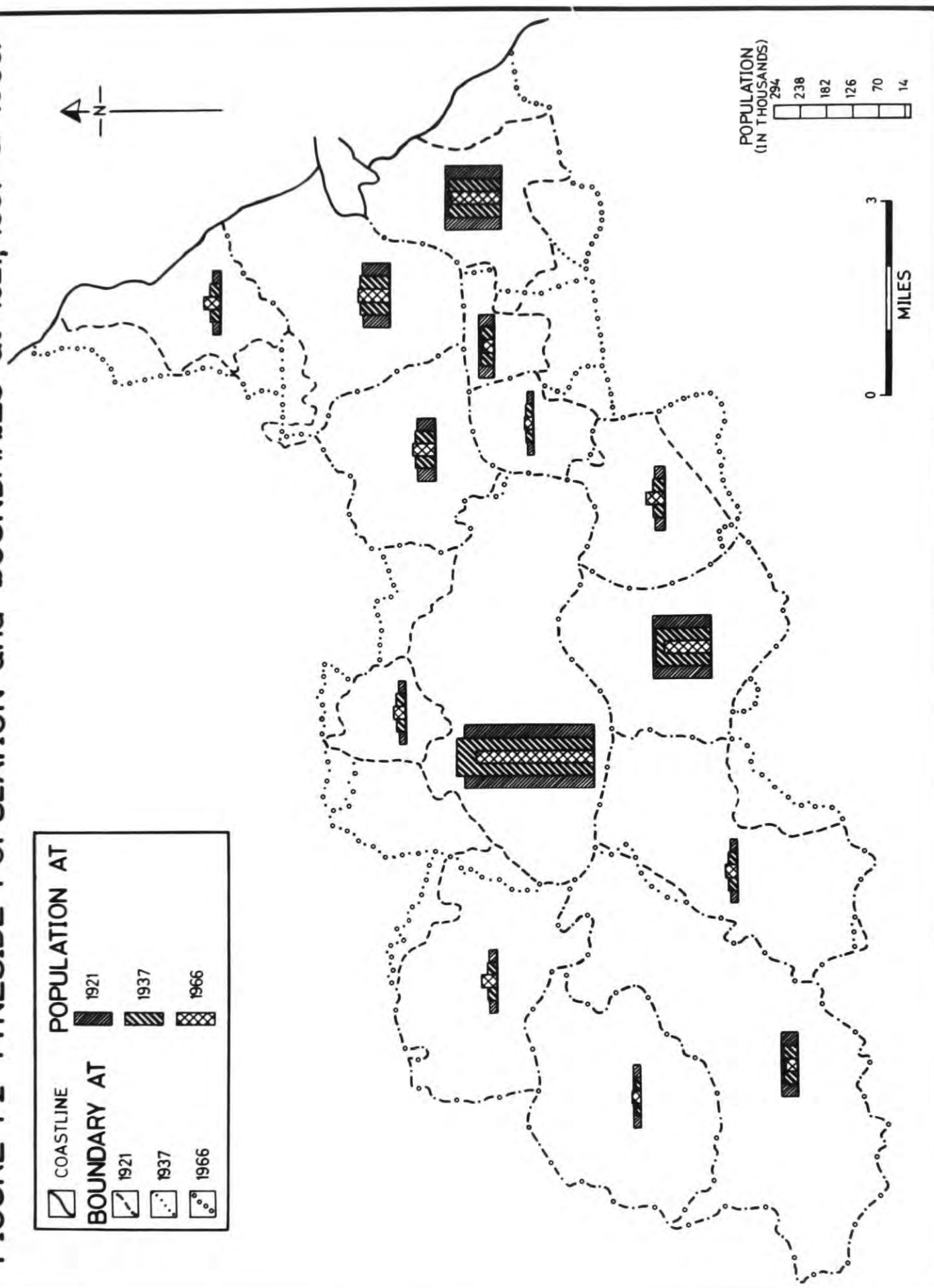
From table 1:1 and figure 1:2, it can be seen that the area covered by Tyneside in 1921 and 1937 was less than the area covered in 1968, and that the greatest areal increases occurred during the inter-war years. Altogether some twelve Authorities¹ covered a smaller area in 1921 than in 1968. Six of these² extended their boundaries solely in the inter-war years, while four³ were expanded after 1937 as well as between the wars. On the other hand, Felling and Whickham extended their boundaries during the inter-war period, but had them reduced somewhat after 1937, so that their present area is greater than that of 1921, but less than that of 1937.

Ryton and Newburn are the two areas which were no larger in 1968 than they were in 1921. This results from the fact that the boundaries of Ryton have not been changed since 1863, while Newburn lost territory to Newcastle during the inter-war years.

It can also be seen from table 1:1 and figure 1:2 that the population of Tyneside increased during the inter-war period but decreased after 1945 - that the population was smaller in 1921, but larger in 1937, than it was in 1968. Within the area, however, it is clear that only nine Authorities⁴ were smaller in 1921 than in 1968 and, though the population of seven of these areas⁵ increased during the inter-war years, in none was the population greater in 1937 than it was in 1968. The remaining five Authorities⁶ were all larger in 1921 than in 1968. However, while Blaydon was smaller in 1937 than in either 1921 or 1968⁷

-
1. Blaydon, Felling, Gateshead, Gosforth, Hebburn, Jarrow, Newcastle, South Shields, Tynemouth, Wallsend, Whickham and Whitley and Monkseaton.
 2. Blaydon, Gosforth, Hebburn, Newcastle, Tynemouth and Wallsend.
 3. Gateshead, Jarrow, South Shields and Whitley and Monkseaton.
 4. Felling, Gosforth, Hebburn, Newburn, Ryton, Tynemouth, Wallsend, Whickham and Whitley and Monkseaton.
 5. Felling, Gosforth, Newburn, Tynemouth, Wallsend, Whickham and Whitley and Monkseaton.
 6. Blaydon, Gateshead, Jarrow, Newcastle, and South Shields.
 7. Blaydon had a population which declined between 1921 and 1937 and rose between 1937 and 1968.

FIGURE 1:2 TYNESIDE POPULATION and BOUNDARIES at 1921, 1937 & 1966.



COASTLINE		POPULATION AT		
BOUNDARY AT		1921	1937	1966
[Solid Line]	[Diagonal Hatching]	[Cross-hatch]	[Dotted]	[Dotted]
[Dashed Line]	[Diagonal Hatching]	[Cross-hatch]	[Dotted]	[Dotted]
[Dashed Line]	[Diagonal Hatching]	[Cross-hatch]	[Dotted]	[Dotted]
[Dashed Line]	[Diagonal Hatching]	[Cross-hatch]	[Dotted]	[Dotted]

POPULATION (IN THOUSANDS)

294	238	182	126	70	14
-----	-----	-----	-----	----	----

0 3 MILES

and more people lived in Newcastle in 1937 than in either 1921 or 1968, the 1937 population of Gateshead, Jarrow and South Shields was smaller than that of 1921, but larger than that of 1968.

Tyneside - The Regional Setting

Tyneside is an elongated polynuclear area which stretches some fourteen miles along the River Tyne, and which developed as a result of the coalescence of several distinctly separate riparian settlements. The form and character of the conurbation is greatly influenced by the river, which constitutes a distinct barrier to north-south communication.

The Tyne Valley is not more than half a mile wide, but it has a flat floor, and its banks rise steeply from 50 to 150 feet. In places (as at Jarrow Slake) the flood plain widens and the land rises gently from it, while at Newcastle (ten miles from the sea) it narrows, forming a natural bridging point and focus of routes. In the early nineteenth century, settlement was concentrated on both sides of the river, at the bridge (Newcastle) and the river mouth (North and South Shields). Between these, and on Upper Tyneside, there occurred other small and distinctly separate communities. With the growth of industry alongside the river, these individual settlements coalesced into the single, elongated conurbation of the present day¹.

Though Tyneside, like other conurbations, is highly mixed in its land use, its industrial structure is based largely on mining, shipbuilding and overseas trade. Industrial premises, warehouses, quays, dry docks and ship-repairing and shipbuilding yards flank the river on both sides, but these are only confined to a narrow strip along the riverside, and working-class, terraced housing rises steeply to the higher land, on which is located almost all of the residential property. Each of the fourteen Local Authority areas constituting Tyneside is responsible for its own administration, and each has its own, individual character. However, it is possible to distinguish five distinct

1. The north-south expansion of the conurbation has been limited somewhat as a result of the centripetal forces exerted by Newcastle and the river.

settlement types.

Regional Centres of Newcastle and, to a lesser extent, Gateshead.

Newcastle is the clearest marked focus of Tyneside. Though within the county of Northumberland, it is a County in its own right and, as well as being a University town, it is the administrative centre for Northumberland and the social, cultural and commercial centre¹ not only for Northumberland, but also for a considerable part of County Durham. The importance of Gateshead as a centre is partly the result of proximity to, and overflow from, Newcastle. It is less important as a commercial and cultural centre than Newcastle but, as it stands at the lowest bridging point, it is a route centre.

Consequently it is largely a dormitory town for people working elsewhere on Tyneside. However, like Newcastle, it has a number of established industries and a strong, working-class element.

Residential Areas of Gosforth and Whitley and Monkseaton. Both towns are dormitories for industrial Tyneside but, while Gosforth is essentially a middle-class suburb of Newcastle, Whitley and Monkseaton, originally two settlements², is a residential seaside resort.

Heavy Industrial Areas of Hebburn, Jarrow and Wallsend. Despite the introduction of new light industries, these towns remain largely unattractive industrial settlements. The areas differ slightly in their industrial structure, but they are mainly concerned with shipbuilding³ and ship-repairing, marine and electrical engineering, coal-mining (Wallsend) and chemical manufacture (Hebburn). None of these towns

1. It contains the Financial and Trade Exchanges of the area and the head offices of many important banking, insurance and industrial corporations.
2. Though now a single town, the two parts still maintain distinctive characters - Monkseaton being quieter and more select than Whitley Bay.
3. Although Palmer's Shipbuilding Company closed down in 1934, Jarrow is still much dependent for its prosperity on the business of the shipyards, as many of its workers travel to the yards at South Shields, Hebburn, Wallsend and Newcastle.

can be regarded as residential areas, and a large number of employees travel to Wallsend and Hebburn from other areas.

Seaside Settlements of Tynemouth and South Shields. These two County Boroughs, situated at the mouth of the Tyne, can be regarded as mixed industrial and dormitory settlements. Like the heavy industrial towns, coal-mining, ship-repairing and engineering are important industries, and new, light industries are being introduced (particularly in South Shields). However, unlike the heavy industrial areas, both are residential seaside resorts, and both act as dormitory towns for mid Tyneside.

Small Industrial Settlements located within the Urban Districts of Blaydon, Felling, Newburn, Ryton and Whickham. These areas are composed of a number of small townships or large industrial villages which are frequently separated by expanses of rural land.¹ The industrial structure of each area varies, but it is based on coal-mining, quarrying and agriculture, and Newburn and Felling (in particular) are dormitories for other Tyneside towns.

Column three of table 1:2 shows how present-day Tyneside is dominated by its four County Boroughs - Newcastle accounting for almost 30 per cent of the conurbation's population, and the three other County Boroughs together accounting for a further 33 per cent. When compared with column one of the same table, it can be seen, moreover, that the domination of Newcastle and the three County Boroughs was even greater in 1937. At that time, Newcastle accounted for 34 per cent of the total population while Gateshead, South Shields and Tynemouth together accounted for a further 35 per cent.

However, though the differences in size are great, the differences in wealth are even greater. Columns one and two, and three and four of Table 1:2 show, for 1937 and 1968, respectively, the proportion of Tyneside's population and Rateable Value found in each of the towns.

1. In Felling, the communities have expanded and merged until, with the exception of the rural area to the south west, the district has almost developed into one continuous unit.

The wealthy towns¹ have been underlined, and it can be seen that while there were four² in 1968, there were only three in 1937.³

In addition, table 1:3 shows the difference between the proportion of Tyneside population and Rateable Value found in each of the poor towns. From this, it may be inferred that the relative poverty of these towns was far greater in 1937 than it is at present. Thus, not only were there fewer wealthy towns on Tyneside in 1937, but the wealth of the area was far more concentrated. Many of these poor Tyneside Local Authorities may be regarded, moreover, as one- (working-) class towns. According to Goodfellow⁴ in 1941, it was possible to view towns which received more than 30 per cent of their total Rateable Value from working-class houses (i.e. dwellings valued at £13 or less per year) as working-class communities. Thus, of the eleven towns listed in Highton's tables (figure 1:4), nine⁵ were the poor towns of inter-war Tyneside and two (Gosforth and Newcastle) were the wealthy ones.⁶ Of the nine poor towns, it would appear that seven⁷ could be regarded as working-class communities while Gosforth, one of the two prosperous communities, could be regarded as a one-class (business) community. The remainder (Gateshead, Newcastle and Tynemouth) would be mixed settlements containing significant proportions of working-class and residential housing. Highton gives no figures for Blaydon, Ryton and Whitley and Monkseaton, but the latter area would probably be similar to Gosforth (a business-class town) while Blaydon and Ryton were, in Goodfellow's

-
1. Those in which the percentage Rateable Value is higher than the percentage of population.
 2. Gosforth, Hebburn, Newcastle and Whitley and Monkseaton.
 3. Gosforth, Newcastle and Whitley and Monkseaton.
 4. Goodfellow, D.M., "Tyneside: The Social Facts", Newcastle Co-operative Printing Society, 1941, Page 70.
 5. Felling, Gateshead, Hebburn, Jarrow, Newburn, South Shields, Tynemouth, Wallsend and Whickham.
 6. As defined in table 1:2.
 7. Felling, Hebburn, Jarrow, Newburn, South Shields, Wallsend and Whickham.

opinion, working-class settlements.¹

This form of analysis is useful for two reasons. Firstly, it provides information on the socio-economic character of these towns in the inter-war years, and secondly, it throws light on the ability of the Local Authority to pay for such social services as Council housing. It must be realised that the provision of social amenities within a community is dependent upon the Local Rate. Obviously, therefore, in such wealthy areas as Newcastle, Gosforth and Whitley and Monkseaton, a large proportion of the rates come from the occupants of houses which have a high Rateable Value² (i.e. from rates paid largely by non-users of social services), and a low rate in the pound furnishes an income adequate for the provision of local services on a relatively generous scale. On the other hand, in the poorer areas, where social services are most needed, and where rates are mainly derived from working-class property, a high rate has to be imposed if the Authority is to provide the required services. This high rate not only materially intensifies the poverty of the community, but also, as a result of the high level of rents, discourages industrial development and building enterprise. Thus, inter-war Tyneside was composed of three relatively prosperous areas³ and eleven poorer districts⁴, and the wealthy areas obtained a large proportion of their taxation from people who were not in poverty, and whose incomes often came from the poor areas where, as history has shown, industry was prone to periods of cyclical depression.

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1. Goodfellow, D.M. "Tyneside: The Social Facts", Page 70.
 2. During the inter-war years, Newcastle received 19.8 per cent of its Rateable Value from dwellings valued at over £20 per annum, while Gosforth obtained 57.3 per cent. Whitley and Monkseaton also derived a large part of its rates from such property.
 3. Newcastle, Gosforth and Whitley and Monkseaton.
 4. Blaydon, Felling, Gateshead, Hebburn, Jarrow, Newburn, Ryton, South Shields, Tynemouth, Wallsend and Whickham.

CHAPTER II. THE HOUSING PROBLEM ON TYNESIDE, 1919-1939.

During the inter-war years, Tyneside was turned "practically into one solid mass of buildings, from Denton to Tynemouth, and from Dunston to South Shields".¹ Indeed, in less than twenty years, approximately 82,776 dwellings were erected on Tyneside.² Such a growth occurred during the inter-war years because at that time there existed a housing need³ which generated a housing supply of such magnitude. It is intended in this chapter, then, to examine the need which prevailed on Tyneside during the period, and to assess the success with which the need was satisfied. This is facilitated by analysing and comparing the housing situation at various periods in time, and by briefly examining the supply of housing between the dates of the selected cross-sections. Four cross-sections have been taken, the first two (in 1921 and 1931) are based on the statistics provided in the decennial census, while the last two (in 1933 and 1936) are based on two Government reports - namely the "Slum Clearance Programmes of Local

1. M.R.G. Conzen, "Modern Settlement", Page 80 of "Scientific Survey of North Eastern England". British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1949.
2. It should be noted at this stage that discrepancies exist between the figures provided by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, regarding inter-war municipal development, and the corresponding figures provided by the Local Authorities. According to the Ministry some 33,523 dwellings were constructed in the public sector on Tyneside between 1919 and 31st March, 1940. The figures furnished by the appropriate Local Authorities, however, indicate that some 35,554 dwellings were constructed - a difference of some 5.71 per cent. Throughout this work these latter figures will be used but, as no local statistics concerning the scale of private development are readily available, the Ministry figures have had to be used. Thus, during the period 1919-1939, there were built on Tyneside 35,554 Local Authority dwellings and approximately 47,222 dwellings in the private sector.
3. It is important to differentiate between the social concept of housing 'need' and the economic concept of housing 'demand'. Housing demand relates to the accommodation for which people are able and willing to pay, while housing need is the extent to which the quantity and quality of existing accommodation falls short of that required to provide each household with accommodation at or above a minimum specified standard.

Authorities, England and Wales, 1933" and the "Report on Overcrowding in England and Wales, 1936".¹

The Housing Situation, 1919-1921.

The first cross-section covers the period 1919-1921. In 1919, it was reported that housing conditions in Durham and Northumberland were among the worst in the country,² and that it was just as difficult for the middle classes to obtain a comfortable house as it was for those who earned less.³

One method of estimating the scale of the housing shortage involves an examination of the average number of families per dwelling. Taking the 1921 figures for Tyneside (table 2:1), and assuming the ideal of one family per dwelling, it can be seen that while none of the Tyneside Local Authority areas experienced parity (i.e. one family per dwelling), the shared home was found less frequently in all of the areas than it was in London. Indeed only in Hebburn and Whitley and Monkseaton was the National average of 1.13 families per dwelling approached. This phenomenon results largely from the special type of dwelling structure existing on Tyneside - the small, terraced flat.

However, although the shared home was less common on Tyneside in 1921 than in other parts of the country, it is likely that the privacy for individual members of the family was low, because of the smallness of the dwellings. Table 2:2 shows that the two-room dwelling accounting for more than one quarter of the 1921 dwelling stock, was most frequently encountered on Tyneside. This was also the case in seven⁴ of the areas, but in Blaydon, Newburn, Ryton and Wallsend, the three-room dwelling was most common, while it was the four-room dwelling in Whickham.

Only in Gosforth and Whitley and Monkseaton were the larger dwellings

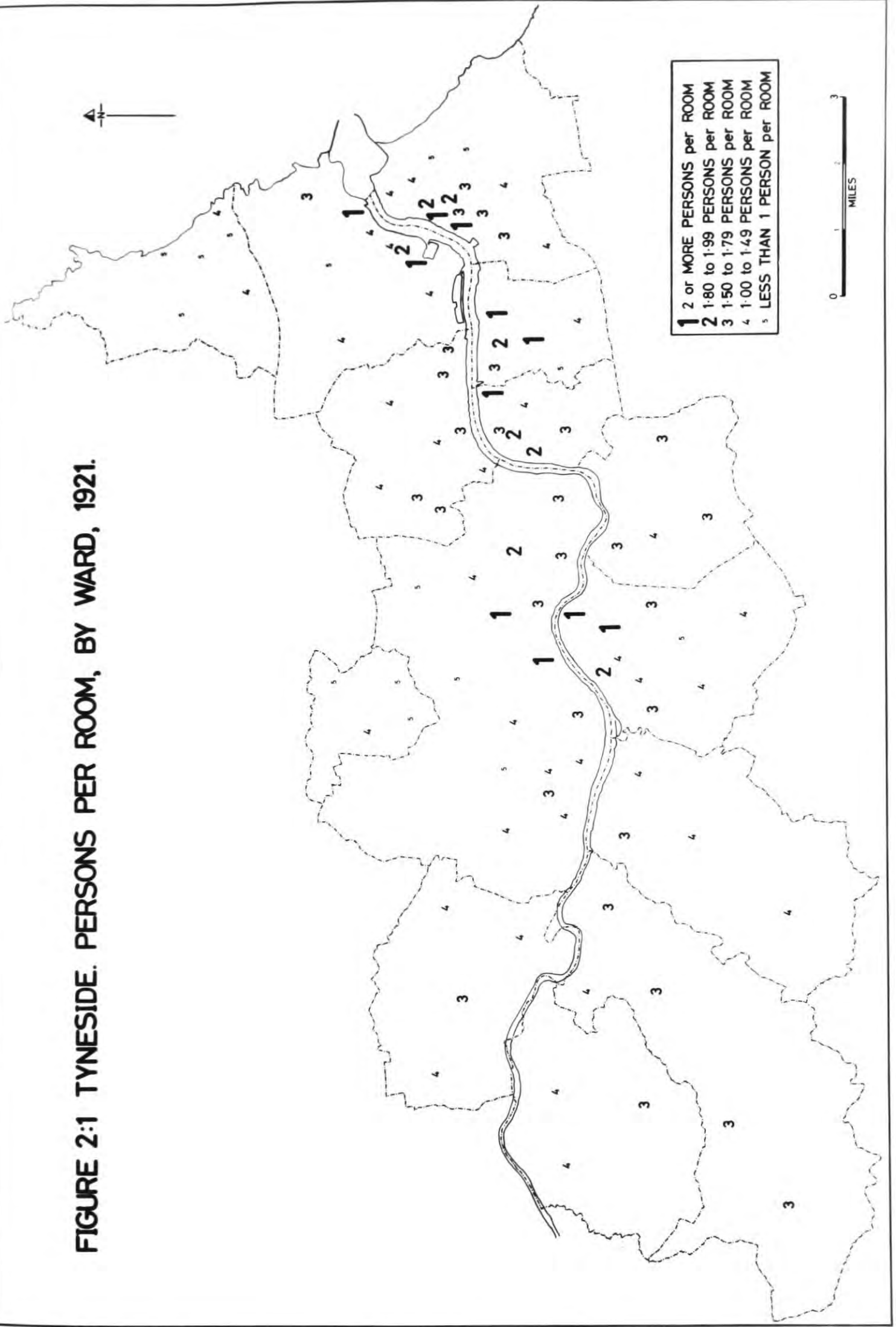
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1. For further details regarding the source material, see Appendix 5, Chapter II.
 2. "Durham County Advertiser", 9th May, 1919.
 3. "Durham County Advertiser", 23rd May, 1919.
 4. Felling, Gateshead, Hebburn, Jarrow, Newcastle, South Shields and Tynemouth.

more common (especially those with between six and seven rooms), and only in these two settlements were dwellings with more than five rooms found in greater proportions than the National average. However, above average proportions of four-room dwellings were found in Whickham, while the proportions of one-room dwellings occurred less frequently in Gosforth, Newburn and Ryton than they did nationally. Similarly the proportions of two-room accommodation in Gosforth, and two- and three-room dwellings in Whitley and Monkseaton were lower than the average for England and Wales.

Again, the housing situation can be assessed by analysis of the incidence of overcrowding. Based on a standard of two persons per room, it can be seen (Table 2:1), that approximately 282,716 persons were living in overcrowded conditions on Tyneside in 1921. In two of the areas (Jarrow and Hebburn), more than 40 per cent of the population were overcrowded, and it was only in Gosforth and Whitley and Monkseaton (the two prosperous, residential areas of Tyneside) that the proportion fell below 30 per cent. Reference to the National average of 9.6 per cent indicates, furthermore, that such conditions were exceptional in England and Wales.

Figures for the number of persons per room per ward provide a more precise method of locating areas of overcrowding. When an average of two persons per room is taken as the overcrowding standard, it can be seen (Table 2:3 and Figure 2:1) that there were eleven wards which could be classified as overcrowded in 1921. These were the East Central and North East wards of Gateshead, the East ward of Hebburn, the North and East wards of Jarrow, the St. Nicholas and All Saints wards of Newcastle, the Holborn and Shields wards of South Shields and the Dockwray and Milburn wards of Tynemouth. In addition, there were seven wards (all having over 1.80 persons per room) which can be regarded as having exceptionally high densities. These were located in Gateshead (North), Hebburn (Central and West), Jarrow (Central), Newcastle (St. Lawrence), South Shields (Laygate and St. Hilda) and Tynemouth (Rudyerd).

FIGURE 2:1 TYNESIDE. PERSONS PER ROOM, BY WARD, 1921.



Such figures take no account of the quality of the dwellings. However, under sections 1(a) and 2 of the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1919 (see Appendix 2) each Local Authority had to carry out a survey to determine the number of dwellings required for the three-year period 1919 to 1922. In formulating their estimates, the Local Authorities were asked

1. to consider unsatisfied demand owing to growth of population, overcrowding, etc.
2. to anticipate deficiencies which might arise owing to new industrial developments.
3. to determine the number of dwellings required for persons living in
 - a. areas scheduled for clearance.
 - b. dwellings which could not be made fit for habitation which, though not unfit, fell below a reasonable standard.

Though the directions and standards were vague, and varied from area to area, it can be seen (Table 2:5) that for Tyneside (excluding Ryton for which no figures could be obtained) it was considered that 30,244 dwellings were required for the three-year period.

When the Census returns for the year 1921 are examined, it would appear, however, that 11,208 dwellings were required on Tyneside (Table 2:5) to satisfy the net housing shortage, alone. Despite the crude method of calculation,¹ this figure would suggest that the official estimates were somewhat conservative. This seems particularly true of Whitley and Monkseaton, Gateshead and Newcastle, where the apparent net housing shortage in 1921 was similar in magnitude to the contemporary estimates of housing need for the three-year period 1919 to 1922.

1. This figure was obtained by subtracting the number of occupied, structurally separate dwellings from the number of private families. It is based on the assumption that each family wanted a home of its own, and that the proportion of vacant dwellings remained constant at 3.62 per cent of the total stock. Normally, the total number of dwellings is subtracted from the total number of families to give the net housing shortage. However, it was felt that this method was not a true reflection of housing need - presumably the unoccupied property was vacant because it was not suitable for habitation (too large, too costly, in the wrong locality, etc.) while a surplus of property is required at any time to allow for seasonal dwellings and movements of households.

In relation to the size of settlement, Jarrow and Hebburn had the largest requirements while Whitley and Monkseaton was next, though it had the smallest overcrowding problem. Presumably this results from the fact that the proportion of vacant dwellings was greater in Whitley and Monkseaton than elsewhere on Tyneside.¹ It would seem that this was due partly to the type of property available (Whitley and Monkseaton had, on average, the largest dwellings on Tyneside) and partly to the fact that the Census "succeeded in avoiding the recognised industrial holiday seasons".² As a residential seaside resort, it is likely that some of the property in Whitley and Monkseaton would provide seasonal accommodation only, and as the Census failed to distinguish between furnished and unfurnished vacant dwellings, this type of accommodation would be regarded as being unoccupied. Because of this failure to distinguish between these two types of vacant property, however, it can be argued that the above estimates of the net housing shortage on Tyneside are an overstatement, as "there is no doubt that the periodical summer movement of population had by that time (19th June) begun"³, and many more dwellings could have been inhabited. However, it must be borne in mind that for Census purposes a married son and his wife, living with parents, were regarded as members of the parents' family. In this respect, therefore, the estimates of the net housing shortage could be an understatement.

The Housing Situation in 1931.

By 1931, the population of Tyneside had increased by 6,118 from

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1. Vacant dwellings account for 6.72 per cent of the dwelling stock of Whitley and Monkseaton, but only 3.62 per cent of the Tyneside total.
 2. Census of England and Wales, 1921, Preliminary Report, Page vii.
 3. Census of England and Wales, 1921, Preliminary Report, Page vii.

833,649 to 840,767 (Table 2:60). However, this increase was not experienced by all towns; decreases in population occurring at Blaydon, Gateshead, Jarrow and South Shields and, to a lesser extent, at Hebburn and Ryton. The fall in population in six of the areas, however, does not mean a corresponding reduction in the number of dwellings required, for the demand for property depends, not upon the number of people, but on the number of families.

In all of the Tyneside towns, increases occurred in the number of private families (Table 2:1) despite the loss of population in the six areas referred to above. Moreover, this overall increase in the number of families brought about a decrease in the size of family and was associated with a decrease in overcrowding and an increase in the shared home.

Overcrowding (taken on the lenient standard of two persons per room) was less chronic on Tyneside in 1931 than it was in 1921. All areas experienced a reduction in the proportion of the population living in overcrowded conditions, but the greatest improvements took place in Whitley and Monkseaton and Gosforth - the two areas in which, according to the 1921 statistics, overcrowding was least severe. Newburn also experienced a large improvement over the decade, with the result that this town, which had the seventh largest overcrowding problem on Tyneside in 1921, had only the eleventh in 1931. The areas experiencing the smallest improvements were, once again, the areas with the grossest problems. Thus, Jarrow and Hebburn, which had the worst overcrowding problems in 1921, maintained their position in 1931, and Gateshead, which had the sixth most severe problem in 1921, fell to third with an improvement over the decade of only 22.72 per cent. Despite the overall improvement, therefore, (Table 2:7) there were still, in 1931, seven areas¹ in which more than 20 per cent of the population was living in

1. Blaydon, Felling, Gateshead, Newcastle, South Shields, Tynemouth and Wallsend.

overcrowded conditions, while in Jarrow and Hebburn such conditions were being experienced by more than 30 per cent of the population. Indeed, only in Gosforth (6.81 per cent) and Whitley and Monkseaton (1.99 per cent) can the problem be regarded as being negligible.

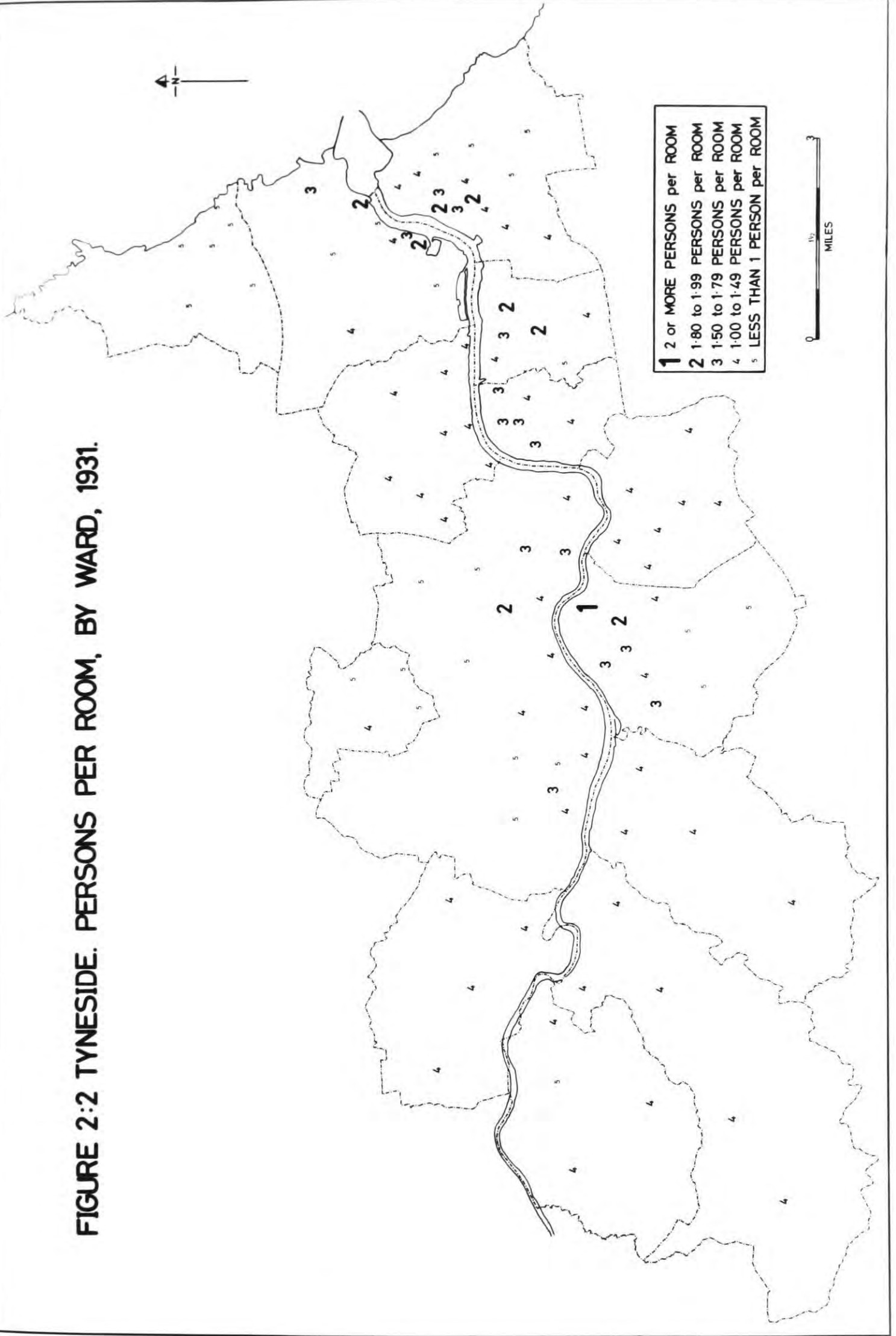
From a study of the average number of persons per room for each ward (Table 2:4 and Figure 2:2) it can be seen that only one area (the North East Ward of Gateshead) can be regarded as being overcrowded, and only eight other areas may be regarded as having exceptionally high densities. These include the East Central ward of Gateshead, the East and North wards of Jarrow, the All Saints ward of Newcastle, the Holborn and Shields wards of South Shields, and the Dockwray and Milbourn wards of Tynemouth.

Similarly an increase took place during the decade in the number of wards which had an average of less than one person per room; twenty-seven wards being in this category, in 1931, as opposed to only fifteen in 1921. The most favourable areas were the Jesmond ward of Newcastle, the six wards of Whitley and Monkseaton, the All Saints, St. Nicholas and South Gosforth wards of Newcastle, and the Percy ward of Tynemouth.

While the level of overcrowding was reduced during the decade, the shared home was more frequently encountered in eight of the areas¹ in 1931 than it was in 1921. In South Shields, this phenomenon may be explained partly by the boundary extension which took place over the decade. However, although the Census makes no allowance for families wishing to share dwellings, it would appear that in the remaining areas, the increase in the shared home could be explained by the fact that the newly married couples, unable to find a home of their own,² were forced to "double up" with their in-laws. This would suggest a scarcity of

1. Blaydon, Felling, Gateshead, Newburn, Newcastle, South Shields, Tynemou and Whickham.
2. Either because of the absolute shortage of suitable property or, as a result of the preponderance of demand over supply, the relatively high level of rents or purchase prices.

FIGURE 2:2 TYNESIDE. PERSONS PER ROOM, BY WARD, 1931.



dwellings, despite the fact that vacant property occurred in all of these areas. Even so, vacant dwellings represented only a small percentage of the deficiency, and the Tyneside figure of only 0.91 per cent compares unfavourably with the very low National figure of 2.9 per cent which "showed that the demand for dwellings was still much bigger than the supply".¹

If a study is made, moreover, of the percentage of vacant, unfurnished dwellings (Table 2:8), and the not too artificial assumption is made that the latent demand for dwellings is similar in structure to the existing demand,² then it can be seen (Table 2:9) that in few areas in 1931 could the type of property remaining vacant be regarded as being suited to the requirements of those families wanting a home. In all areas, excepting Gosforth, Wallsend, and Whitley and Monkseaton, the most frequently occupied dwellings (namely those with two, three and four rooms) were largely those in which the area was deficient (i.e. the percentage of occupied dwellings exceeded the percentage of vacant dwellings)

At the same time, especially in Gateshead, South Shields, Tynemouth and Whickham, the greatest relative surpluses of property occurred where there was least demand (i.e. in property with more than six rooms). In the other three areas, slight variations occurred.

The increase in the size of occupied dwellings in eight of the fourteen towns reflects (Table 2:1) the success of new building operations, the closure of old premises, and the re-conditioning of houses and other buildings. Of the areas experiencing decreases in the size of dwelling, two trends may be observed - firstly, the decrease in the three areas (Whitley and Monkseaton, Gosforth and Ryton) with the largest dwellings, and secondly the decrease in the two areas (Jarrow and Hebburn) with the

1. Elsas, M.J., "Housing Before the War and After", Meridian Books, 1948, Page 22.

2. As indicated by the size of property already inhabited.

smallest dwelling size. The reduction in the average size of dwellings in Gosforth and Whitley and Monkseaton possibly reflects the closure of some of the larger dwellings, and the increased provision of working-class property. On the other hand, the reduction in Jarrow and Hebburn shows that the building activity of the decade had done nothing to improve the situation in the two areas which, from a study of the number of persons per room in 1921, most needed improving.

Success in Building Operations (1919-1931) and Housing Need, 1931.

In Table 2:8 statistics are provided for the number of working-class houses estimated to be required by thirteen of the Tyneside Local Authorities for the period 1919-1922. These estimates were regarded as being conservative but from Table 2:10 it can be seen that only five Authorities¹ had met these requirements by 1931.

Even when the figures for unsubsidised private enterprise are added² it would appear that a shortage existed in eight of the areas. Admittedly, no attention was paid to the unsubsidised Local Authority dwellings erected in Blaydon and Hebburn (Table 3:6), but, even if all of these properties had been constructed by 1931, which is highly doubtful, shortages would still have existed in both areas. For Tyneside as a whole, however, it would seem that by 1931, all of the dwellings estimated to have been required by 1922, had been provided. However, this shows quite clearly the maldistribution of building activity over the decade.

Thus an estimate of the dwellings required³ in 1931 (Table 2:11) shows that for the whole of Tyneside some 23,250 dwellings were needed, as opposed to 11,208 in 1921. In relative terms the shortage was greatest

1. Gosforth, Newcastle, Tynemouth, Whickham and Whitley and Monkseaton.
2. Even though unassisted private enterprise building did little, directly to ease the problem of the working-class housing shortage, it ought to be considered as it did have an indirect bearing on the problem; in theory at least, those who could not afford to rent or buy a new house were able to secure private houses vacated by those who could - a process known as "filtering-up".
3. Calculated by subtracting the number of occupied structurally separate dwellings from the number of private families and assuming the standard of one family per dwelling.

in Tynemouth, Newcastle, Gateshead and South Shields, and in these four areas, the condition had apparently worsened over the decade, as it had in four other areas.¹ Improvements had taken place, however, in five of the areas,² but despite this, the shortage of dwellings on Tyneside was as great, if not greater, than it was in 1921.

The Housing Situation, 1931-1939.

Unfortunately no terminal statistics comparable with the Census returns of 1921 and 1931 exist for the period, but two extremely important reports were published between 1931 and 1939, and these enable sectional studies to be made of the situation in 1933 and 1936. Together, these studies provide a useful indicator of the scale of the problem at the middle of the 1930's.

Slum Clearance, 1933.

The first of these studies is made possible by a Command Report (Cd. 4535) on the "Housing Act, 1930", published by the Ministry of Health in 1933.

Prior to 1930, the problem of slum property had been virtually ignored in Britain and on Tyneside (Table 2:12) - one of the failings of the Census material. Thus, the statistics in the "Slum Clearance Programmes of Local Authorities, England and Wales, 1933" provide the first comprehensive estimate of the property required to be cleared, and the number of persons to be rehoused.

If these statistics are taken, and it is assumed that the average family for each Local Authority was similar in size to that of 1931, and that the ideal standard of one family per dwelling was desired, then it is possible to obtain a rough estimate of the dwellings required (Table 2:1: It must be realised, however, that this is only a rough and unofficial

1. Blaydon, Felling, Newburn and Whickham.
2. Gosforth, Hebburn, Jarrow, Wallsend and Whitley and Monkseaton.

estimate, which may be in excess of the actual number required. This is due to the fact that the size of families living in slum property may be larger than the average for the area for, as the Coles point out, the principal victims of overcrowding and insanitary housing conditions are the poor, among whom are to be found the majority of the large families.¹ Despite this, it is felt that the degree of inaccuracy in these approximations does not alter the significance of the statistics as indices of the magnitude of the problem.

No figures were given in the Slum Clearance Programmes for three of the Authorities,² but from the statistics available (Table 2:13) it would seem that, relative to the 1931 dwelling stock, the most extensive slum property occurred in Tynemouth, with Whickham and South Shields having the second and third largest problems, respectively. In Felling and Wallsend, slum property was also extensive, but in Gosforth and Ryton, it was negligible. The worst problem, with regard to rehousing, occurred once again in Tynemouth, but Newcastle had the second largest problem in this respect, while South Shields and Gateshead had the third and fourth, respectively. Similarly, Ryton and Gosforth had an almost negligible problem, each having to rehouse only 0.52 per cent of the population.

Thus, it can be seen that in 1933 approximately 12,729 dwellings were required to secure the demolition of all slum properties in eleven of the fourteen Tyneside Local Authority areas. The significance of this figure is heightened when it is realised that only the slum-clearance problem has been considered, and no attempt has been made to assess the dwellings required to relieve overcrowding, to cater for the increase in the number of families, or to balance the number of dwellings lost through conversion or demolition (for non-slum purposes). While the figures are,

1. Cole, G.D.H., and M.I., "The Condition of Britain", Gollancz, 1937, Page 34.

2. Hebburn, Jarrow and Whitley and Monkseaton.

then, a very crude approximation of building need in 1933, something of the scale of the problem can be seen when these figures of minimum requirements are taken in conjunction with later figures, produced in 1936, showing the number of dwellings required to solve the overcrowding problem.

Overcrowding, 1936.

Figures concerning "Overcrowding" were provided in the "Report on Overcrowding in England and Wales" which was published in 1936 as a result of a Survey taken under the Housing Act of 1935 (see Appendix 2, Page 216). Inevitably the extent of overcrowding, in any community, depends on the standard adopted. In the Overcrowding Survey, which dealt solely with working-class households, the standard was low (see Appendix 5, Page 241), but in 1936 the Minister of Health stated that "Britain's worst overcrowding was in the North East and the East End of London, and Hebburn was the country's principal offending place, with one family in every four living in overcrowded conditions".¹ The tables provided in the Report verify this statement for, when the County Boroughs of England and Wales are arranged according to their degree of overcrowding (Table 2:14), it can be seen that all four of the Tyneside County Boroughs were ranked among the six most overcrowded in the country, and all were well above the National Average of 4.2 per cent.

Similarly, if the 20 most overcrowded urban areas are ranked according to the degree of overcrowding (Table 2:15), it is clear that five are from the Tyneside Conurbation, and the problem was relatively larger in Hebburn than it was in the most overcrowded County Borough - Sunderland.

Of the remaining Tyneside urban areas, only Whitley and Monkseaton (4.1 per cent) approached the average of 3.0 per cent for the Non-County Boroughs and Urban Districts of England and Wales. All of the rest

1. "Newcastle Weekly Chronicle", 1st August, 1936.

(Table 2:16), including Gosforth, were well above this figure.

According to the Housing Census of 1931, the relief of overcrowding was mainly a problem of re-distribution of property and it "need not in itself involve an increase in the total number of dwellings". In practice, however, this was not the case since dwellings with a lower density of persons per room were generally occupied by people who could afford to have the extra space, and who were, therefore, not prepared to relinquish it. Accordingly, by 1936 it was realised that new dwellings would have to be built to solve the problem of overcrowding and, in the report on the "Overcrowding Survey in England and Wales, 1936", it was assumed that the estimate of new dwellings required was 60 per cent of the total number of overcrowded families.¹

From Table 2:17 (where the requirements have been calculated out) it can be seen that in absolute terms the most dwellings were required in Newcastle and Gateshead, while in relative terms Hebburn had the greatest problem, followed by Jarrow and Gateshead. Similarly, while fewest dwellings were required in Gosforth, the problem was least significant in Whitley and Monkseaton.

With regard to the accuracy of these figures, it can only be stated that according to contemporary, official estimates, 406 and 877 dwellings were required for Blaydon and Hebburn respectively.² These figures, when taken as percentages of the number of families overcrowded, give results of 41.7 per cent and 64.4 per cent (which, when averaged out, give approximately 53 per cent) as opposed to the 60 per cent used here. However, it is intended to maintain this latter figure of 60 per cent as there is insufficient evidence to place it at a lower level. Because

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1. "The Number of New Houses Required to abate Overcrowding", Page XXIV, "Report on the Overcrowding Survey in England and Wales, 1936".
 2. "Newcastle Weekly Chronicle", 14th August, 1937 and 19th December, 1936, respectively.

of this, therefore, it must be realised that in a number of cases, the estimates of houses required to solve the overcrowding problem are likely to be high.

From the Overcrowding Survey it is possible, furthermore, to estimate the types of dwellings required to relieve overcrowding. This can be achieved by applying the standard laid down in Table I, Page V of the Report (see Appendix 5) to the size of family overcrowded and, by dividing the number of families in each resultant type by the appropriate percentage (60 per cent). An added refinement is to calculate the percentage house-type requirements for, although the absolute number of house-types required varies according to the percentage chosen, the proportionate requirements are known. From these statistics (Table 2:18) it can be seen that the most frequently required dwellings for the Tyneside region were those with three or four rooms. Eight of the areas¹ required a larger proportion of three-roomed dwellings, and in two of these areas (South Shields and Jarrow) the proportion was over 50 per cent. Similarly, in the six areas² requiring relatively more four-roomed dwellings, in only one (Blaydon) was less than 40 per cent required to be of this type, whilst in another (Newburn) over 50 per cent of the new dwellings were required to have four rooms.

Next in demand were the two- and five-roomed dwellings. Eight areas³ required a larger proportion of two-roomed dwellings, but in two of the areas (Jarrow and South Shields) the proportion was below 10 per cent, and in the remaining six areas, it was below 15 per cent. On the other hand, in the six areas where relatively more five-roomed dwellings were needed, property of this size formed between 11 and 21 per cent of the requirement

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1. Felling, Gateshead, Hebburn, Jarrow, Newcastle, South Shields, Tynemouth and Whitley and Monkseaton.
 2. Blaydon, Gosforth, Newburn, Ryton, Wallsend and Whickham.
 3. Blaydon, Gateshead, Hebburn, Jarrow, Newcastle, South Shields, Tynemouth and Whitley and Monkseaton.

In all areas, dwellings with one- and six- rooms were required in very small proportions, and Felling was the only area requiring property with seven or more rooms.

Table 2:16 shows, moreover, that in Blaydon, Felling, Gateshead, Hebburn, Jarrow, Newcastle, South Shields, Tynemouth and Whitley and Monkseaton, overcrowding was more prevalent in families of five persons or less, whilst in the remaining five areas it was more prevalent among the larger families. Contrary to the National trend, overcrowding in twelve of the fourteen areas (Blaydon and Whickham being the exceptions) was more prevalent in privately-owned housing than in that owned by the Local Authority (Table 2:19). However, only in Whitley and Monkseaton (4.31 per cent) and Gosforth (5.08 per cent) did it approach the average of 3.7 per cent for England and Wales, being much higher in the rest of the area. Overcrowding in Local Authority housing was much closer to the National average, while five areas had proportionately less overcrowding in Local Authority housing than was experienced nationally.

Conclusion: The Success of Building Operations, 1931-1939, and Housing Need, 1939.

Because of the different bases used in the cross-sections, it is impossible to make any detailed comparisons of conditions existing throughout Tyneside for the period 1919-1939. However, it is possible to compare the figures for 1921 and 1931, and from these it can be seen that the net deficiency of dwellings on Tyneside was greater in 1931 than in 1921, and that the scale of the problem was also greater. This was the case in nine of the Local Authority areas² but in four³ both the net deficiency and the scale were greater in 1921, whilst in Wallsend the scale of the problem was greater in 1921 though the net deficiency was greater in 1931.

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1. Gosforth, Jarrow, Newburn, South Shields and Whitley and Monkseaton.
 2. Blaydon, Felling, Gateshead, Newburn, Newcastle, Ryton, South Shields, Tynemouth and Whickham.
 3. Gosforth, Hebburn, Jarrow and Whitley and Monkseaton.

With regard to slum clearance, it can be seen that a close correlation exists between those areas which had the largest relative net deficiency in 1931 and those in which the 1933 housing need was greatest¹. This would suggest that, if the condition of the dwellings had been taken into consideration in 1931, then the housing problem would have been far worse, especially in the areas with the largest net deficiencies.

The correlation between the scale of the slum-clearance rehousing problem in 1933 and the number of dwellings required to relieve overcrowding amongst working-class dwellings in 1936 is not so close. Even so, the area with the smallest slum clearance problem had, of the eleven Tyneside areas under consideration, the smallest overcrowding problem,² while the area with the largest slum-clearance problem was the area with the second largest overcrowding problem.

It is difficult to decide how far the slum-clearance and overcrowding programmes of the period 1933-1939 were successful, as figures of building by individual Authorities (published from September, 1934) did not distinguish between dwellings built under the two schemes. Moreover, since neither scheme was mutually exclusive, dwellings built to clear slums would assist with the relief of overcrowding in some cases, and vice versa; to what extent, though, it is difficult to determine. It is obvious, however, that since the scheme for abolishing overcrowding was interrupted at an early stage by the outbreak of war, programmes were not completed where the total number of dwellings built between September, 1934

1. Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient for the relationship in eleven of the fourteen areas (Hebburn, Jarrow and Whitley and Monkseaton are excluded since no slum-clearance figures are available) is 0.83 which gives a student's t value of 4.46. This is greater than the 1 per cent level of t with 9 degrees of freedom, which means that the Correlation is significant (see Appendix 3 for method of working).
2. Whitley and Monkseaton had the smallest problem on Tyneside, but this area was not under consideration.

and March, 1939, was less than the number included for demolition in the slum-clearance programme.

From Table 2:20, it can be seen that neither Newcastle nor Tynemouth had supplied, by 1939, the total number of dwellings estimated to have been required for the clearance of slum areas. The total built, however, had exceeded the number originally included for demolition, and the respective schemes may be regarded as having met with a certain measure of success. The position appears to have been even more favourable in Blaydon, Felling, Gosforth, Newburn, Ryton, Wallsend and Whickham where both the estimates of dwellings required, and the actual number of dwellings to be demolished, were exceeded by the building activity of the Local Authority.

However, in South Shields, but more so in Gateshead, the situation was nowhere near so favourable. In neither area was the number of dwellings erected between 1934 and 1939 in excess of the number of dwellings planned for demolition - indeed, Gateshead built less than half of the number of dwellings scheduled for clearance.

Most of the property constructed during the 1930's was built by private enterprise (Table 2:21). However, as is pointed out in Appendix 2, private enterprise was left between 1933 and 1939 to meet the normal expansion of the population, while municipal development concentrated on clearing the slums and relieving overcrowding. Even so, it did not automatically follow that private development made no contribution to solving the problem of slums and overcrowding; it could help the problem in two ways - directly if the property was built under the Acts of 1930 and 1935, or indirectly by increasing the size of the dwelling stock and so permitting "filtering-up". Altogether, some 2,719 privately built dwellings were constructed in six Local Authority areas¹, under the Act

1. Gateshead, Hebburn, Jarrow, South Shields, Tynemouth and Wallsend.

of 1930, and in Hebburn some 36 dwellings were constructed by private building under that of 1935. (Table 3:2). Obviously, private building did little, directly, to relieve overcrowding on Tyneside, but, as most of the properties built in England and Wales under the 1930 Act were constructed after 1933, it would appear that assisted private enterprise building made a considerable contribution to the clearance of slums in the six areas concerned. However, the process of filtering up was not as widespread or as effective as it was hoped because of the high incidence of "doubling-up",¹ and the increased costs of moving to better accommodation.²

By 1939, therefore, it can be stated that a great improvement had occurred in housing, slum-clearance and decrowding. People had been moved from the slums at a greater rate than ever before, (Table 2:12) but the plan for the abolition of slum property within five years was not entirely successful - as the Minister of Health pointed out in 1939 "the completion of the programme will keep Local Authorities occupied for some time yet".³ However, by 1939 "the very worst of the Jarrow slums had been cleared",⁴ and this is likely to have been the situation

1. If newly married couples shared a home with their relatives until they were able to move into a home of their own, they would not, when they moved, leave behind an empty dwelling into which others could move.
2. It is unlikely, in the circumstances of the 1930's, that many slum dwellers could have afforded to save the initial deposit to buy a house or, even if they had, that the building societies would have accepted their application. Therefore, most slum dwellers would have had to rent accommodation and as, under the Rent Act of 1923, rents which had formerly been restricted or controlled, became decontrolled on a change of tenancy, there was a strong incentive not to move. This was reduced somewhat by Rent Restrictions Act of 1933 which decontrolled rents on dwellings with a Rateable Value of over £45 in London or £35, elsewhere; permitted decontrol on change of tenancy in houses rated at between £20 and £45 in London and £13 and £35 elsewhere; and maintained control on property rated below £20 in London or £13 elsewhere. Even so, it acted as a brake to the process of "filtering-up".
3. "Ministry of Health Annual Report, 1938/39", Page 81.
4. Wilkinson, Ellen, "The Town that was Murdered", Gollancz, 1939, Page 249.

in most of the Tyneside towns. At the same time, the process of slum-clearance tended to decrease overcrowding since, prior to 1938, the subsidy provided for the abatement of overcrowding was less favourable than that for slum clearance (see Appendix 2) and Local Authorities often included areas of overcrowding in slum-clearance schemes.

Overcrowding must have been indirectly reduced somewhat by the activities of private enterprise building, but it can safely be assumed that overcrowding had not disappeared by 1939 and, though there may well have been on Tyneside, as in Newcastle, a surplus of dwellings, it was largely an artificial situation created by mothers leaving Tyneside with their evacuated children, and husbands, not wishing to live on their own, moving in to live with relatives and friends.¹

1. "Newcastle Weekly Chronicle", 7th October, 1939.

CHAPTER III. A STUDY OF LOCAL AUTHORITY BUILDING ACTIVITY ON
TYNESIDE, 1919-1939.

Under the conditions prevailing at the end of World War I (see Appendix 1) it was unlikely that ordinary working-class houses to let would be built in large numbers by private enterprise. Not only was the building industry completely disorganised, but the prevailing high building and interest rates prohibited the building of working-class houses to let at profitable rents. Furthermore, the existence of old houses on which rents were fixed practically at pre-war levels by the "Increase of Rent and Mortgage Interest (War Restrictions) Act" of 1915 (5 and 6 Geo. 5, Chap. 97) only provided more discouragement to private investors, as tenants were reluctant to move into new houses which could only be let profitably at rents above pre-war levels.

Thus, faced with the inability of private builders to house the working-classes at rents they could afford, the growing dissatisfaction among the working-classes with the pre-war standard of working-class houses (as witnessed by the number of reports in local newspapers of meetings to discuss the housing problem), and the pressure from such forces as Ebernezer Howard and the Garden City Association, the Government was forced to realise that, for a period at least, working-class houses would have to be built by Local Authorities. In an attempt, then, to promote Local Authority building to remedy the shortage, improve the standard of working-class housing, and reduce rents to a figure comparable with those of existing small dwellings, the Government introduced a National grant for housing (see Appendix 2).

During the inter-war years, therefore, the supply of dwellings was provided by private or public development, with or without a subsidy from the National Government. However, because of the profit motive, unassisted private enterprise building (in the form of the contract builder who built for the eventual owner, or the speculative or owner

builder who either sold the finished structure or operated it himself at a profit) did little to ease the problem of the working-class shortage, except by increasing the overall stock, easing the pressure on accommodation as a whole, and permitting families to "filter up". Assisted private enterprise development could be built by either of the above methods and was eligible for a subsidy from the Government (see Appendix 2). However, according to Mr. Wheatley (the Labour Minister for Health) in 1924 all dwellings constructed by private enterprise, or in the course of construction, under the 1923 Act were for sale and "not a single one (was) for the purpose of letting to the people who (were) so much in need of houses".¹ Socially more significant were the efforts of Housing Associations, Public Utility Societies, Housing Companies and Trusts - bodies which did not operate for profit. Usually they were granted the same or equivalent financial assistance as the Local Authorities under the Housing Acts (see Appendix 2), and usually operated in an auxiliary capacity, supplementing the efforts of Local Authorities.²

The number of dwellings built by unassisted Local Authority development was very limited - the majority of the property constructed in the public sector was designed for the working-classes, and therefore received a grant from the National Government. In this chapter, then, attention is focussed on the activities of the public sector, and on those of the North-Eastern Housing Association - studies being made of the type and size of property constructed, the layout and form of development, and the scales of building under the various Acts. Before this, however, it is intended that an examination should be made of the respective contri-

1. "Hansard", Vol. 174, Column 1104, 3rd June, 1924.

2. The North Eastern Housing Association actually acted for the Local Authority where local circumstances rendered large-scale Local Authority building difficult.

bution of Local Authority and private enterprise activity, both nationally and on Tyneside.

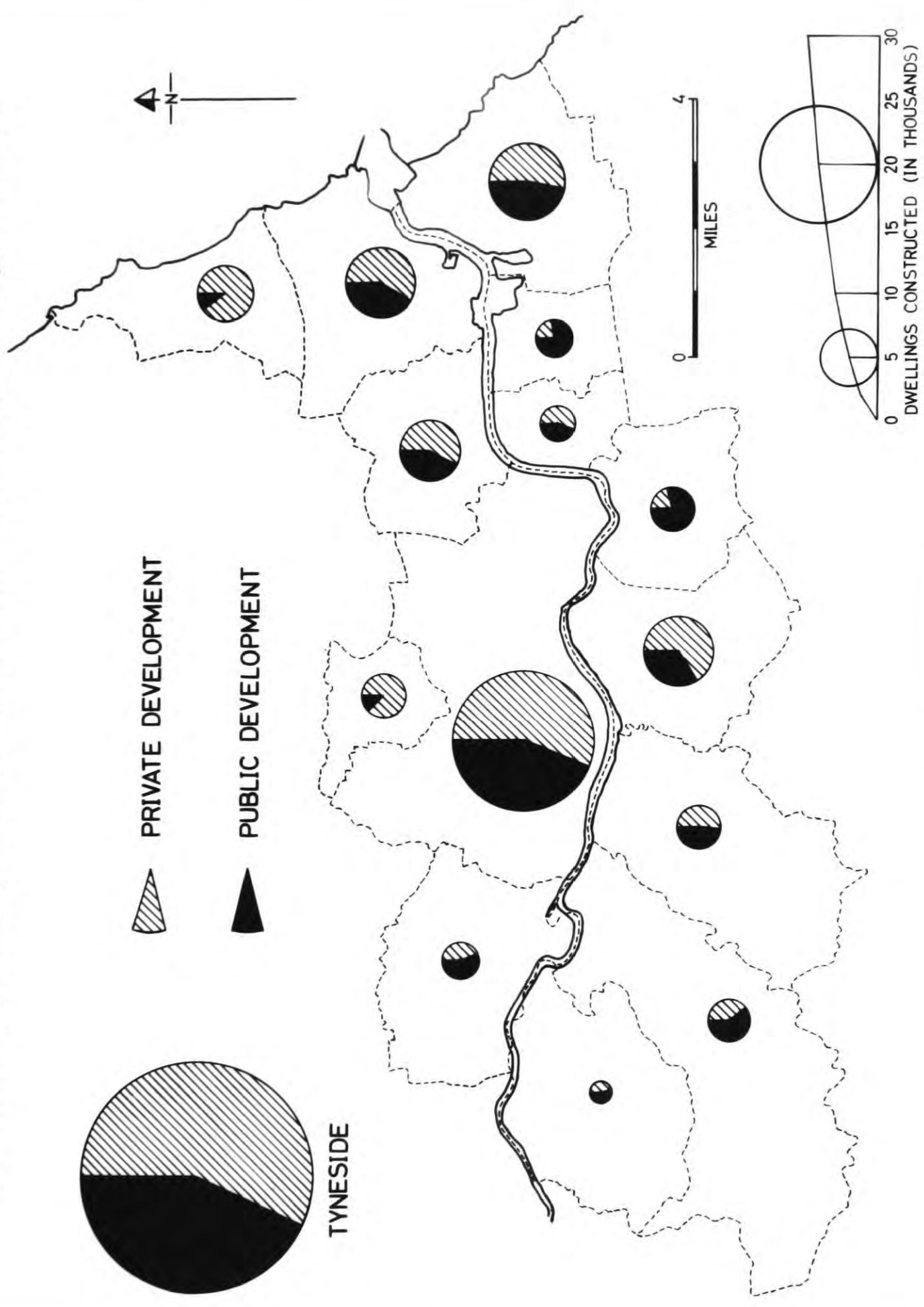
The Contribution of Private and Public Development, 1919-1939.

Table 3:1 indicates the marked regional differences that existed in the respective contribution of Local Authority and private enterprise development. It can be seen that the contribution of Local Authority building was lowest in the south east, where occurred the highest real incomes and the greatest increase in the dwelling stock. Conversely, it was highest in the North East of England (i.e. the area composed of the Administrative Counties of Durham and Northumberland) where occurred some of the country's worst housing conditions, lowest real incomes and greatest unemployment. Obviously, therefore, as Local Authority building was meant to help those in financial need and those living in unsatisfactory dwellings, it is not surprising that it was of particular importance in the North East.

As was pointed out in Chapter 2 (Page 10), some 82,776 dwellings were constructed on Tyneside in the period 1919 to 1939 (see Appendix 5, Page 242) and of these approximately 57 per cent were erected by private enterprise (Table 3:2 and Figure 3:1).¹ Unassisted private enterprise accounted for 81.73 per cent of these 47,222 dwellings (Table 3:3), while assisted private development only made a significant contribution under the Acts of 1923 and 1930. Except in Felling (21.33 per cent) and Jarrow (23.38 per cent) private enterprise played a large part in the residential growth of Tyneside Local Authority areas, especially in Gosforth and Whitley and Monkseaton. In these, the two residential suburbs of Tyneside, private enterprise activity accounted for 86.76 per cent and 90.57 per cent, respectively, of the total residential development of the period, while in Gateshead, Tynemouth and Wallsend private property was constructed in proportions in excess of the

1. The proportionate contribution made by private enterprise on Tyneside between 1919 and 1939 was the same as that made by private enterprise in the administrative counties of Northumberland and Durham (Table 3:1).

FIG. 3:1 TYNESIDE, PRIVATE and PUBLIC DEVELOPMENT, 1919-1939



regional average. Moreover, only in Jarrow were dwellings constructed in greater proportions by assisted private enterprise than by unassisted private development.

The reverse is true, however, with regard to Local Authority building. From Table 3:2, it can be seen that only 640 unsubsidised dwellings were erected on Tyneside during the period, forming only 0.77 per cent of the total inter-war building. In the two areas, Blaydon and Hebburn, where such property was constructed, it accounted for 33.31 and 11.18 per cent, respectively, of the total number of dwellings built in the public sector. However, when taken together, it accounted for only 1.80 per cent of the dwellings built by Tyneside Local Authorities.

Almost 47 per cent of the property constructed on Tyneside in the inter-war years was in the form of subsidised Local Authority building. From Table 3:4 it can be seen that subsidised building in the public sector fluctuated widely in accordance with the changing attitudes of Governments, as embodied in the successive Housing Acts. Development reached twin peaks under the Acts of 1930 and 1924, which together accounted for 64.45 per cent of the total subsidised building of Local Authorities. Most noticeable of the fluctuations was that between the 1919, 1923 and 1924 Acts which clearly embodied differences in policy. Under the 1919 Act, 5,021 dwellings (14.38 per cent of the total) were built by assisted public development in the three years between 1919 and 1922. Then, under the Act of 1923, there occurred a period of retrenchment and policy change, in which no more than 2,508 dwellings (7.18 per cent of the total) were built in six years. The 1924 Act reversed this and, together with the co-ordinating Act of 1925, 12,546 dwellings were built in ten years.

It is interesting, moreover, to observe the different ways in which the individual Authorities reacted to the schemes. (Table 3:2 and Figure 3:2). Subsidised building took place in all areas under the 1919 Act,

but was particularly important in Hebburn, Newburn, South Shields and Whitley and Monkseaton accounting, in each area, for more than 30 per cent of the total subsidised building. Only in the prosperous areas of Gosforth, and Whitley and Monkseaton was property constructed in significant proportions under the provisions of the Act of 1923.¹ In the poorer areas, (Hebburn, Jarrow, Wallsend and Whickham) greater use was made of the subsidies provided under the 1924 Act, while dwellings provided under 1930 Act (in an attempt to clear the areas of slums), formed the greatest proportion of the subsidised municipal dwellings constructed in Felling, South Shields and Whickham. Except in Gateshead and Gosforth, only a small proportion of dwellings were provided by Tyneside Local Authorities under the 1936 Act to abate overcrowding.

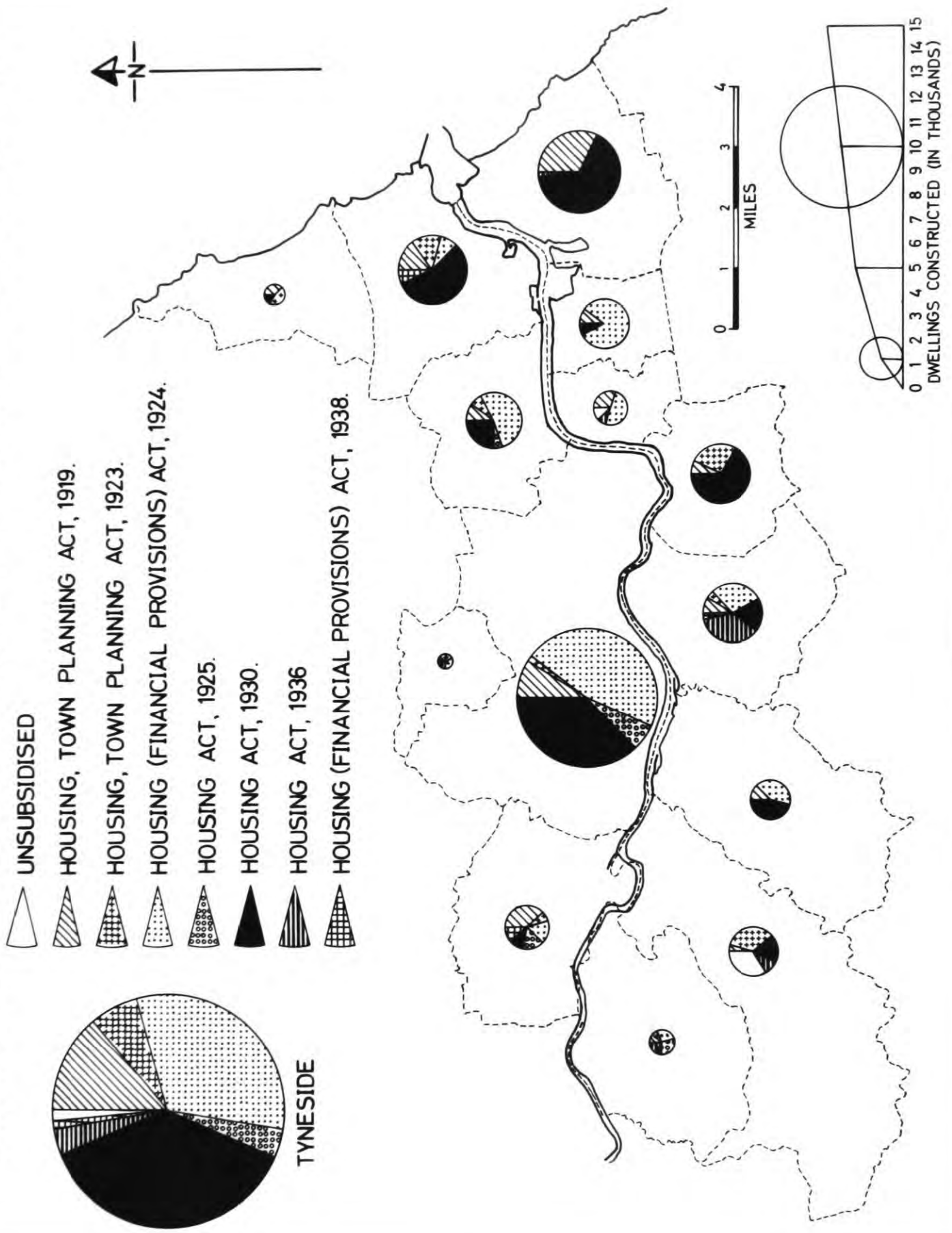
Dwellings classified by the Local Authority as being provided under the 1923/4 Act, and the 1930/36 Act were of extreme significance in Blaydon and Tynemouth, respectively. In the former area 53.21 per cent of the subsidised Council property was provided in this way, whilst in the latter 65.76 per cent of the property was provided, presumably, to clear the area of slums.

In the light of the three policies from which the legislation of the period emerged (see Appendix 2, Page 219), it can be seen that the second policy (that of limited emergence) was dominant in seven of the areas,² whilst the third policy (the limited liability sanitary policy) was most important in Felling, Gateshead, South Shields and Tynemouth. In two of the areas, Newburn and Whitley and Monkseaton, the first and second policies were virtually balanced - a slight bias occurring in

1. 30.85 per cent of the subsidised public development of Gosforth was constructed under the 1923 Act while in Whitley and Monkseaton it accounted for 44.83 per cent.

2. Blaydon, Gosforth, Hebburn, Jarrow, Newcastle, Ryton and Whickham.

FIG. 3:2 TYNESIDE, PROVISION (by ACT) of PUBLIC DEVELOPMENT, 1919-39.



favour of the second. On the other hand, in Wallsend, the second and third policies were of almost equal significance; the third policy being slightly more important. In one area, South Shields, no dwellings whatsoever were built under the second policy.

The Design Type and Size of Inter-War Council Dwellings.

The typical inter-war Local Authority dwelling had three bedrooms, and contained, on the ground floor, "a large living-room (180 square feet), a small scullery with a copper for laundry (80 square feet), a combined bathroom and W.C., and a fuel store".¹ The equipment provided normally consisted of "a bath, a water-closet, a sink, one draining board, a copper in the scullery, a coal range in the living-room (and, increasingly in the thirties, a cooker in the scullery), a dresser in either the living-room or scullery, a built-in ventilated larder, and about 20 square feet of shelving".²

Such a description can be made of inter-war Council property because its design, planning, lay-out, standard of construction and equipment was based largely on the recommendations of the Tudor Walter's Report of 1918.³ The Report recommended that

- (1) houses should have at least three bedrooms with a minimum floor area of 150, 100 and 65 square feet, respectively (paragraphs 92 and 102).
- (2) wherever possible a parlour of not less than 120 square feet should be provided in addition to the living-rooms, bedrooms and scullery (paragraphs 86 and 103).
- (3) the living-room should face the south-east and should have an area of not less than 180 square feet. (paragraphs 102 and 109).

1. Cullingworth, J.B., "Housing and Local Government", Allen and Unwin, 1966, Page 139.

2. Cullingworth, J.B., "Housing and Local Government", Pages 141 and 142.

3. Local Government Boards for England and Wales, and Scotland, "Report of the Committee on the Provision of Dwellings for the Working-Classes", (Tudor Walter's Report), Cd. 9191, H.M.S.O., 1918.

- (4) the scullery should have an area of not less than 80 square feet (paragraph 102) and should include the provision of (paragraph 110)
- (i) a sink with a draining board on the left hand side, and a ledge or table on the right hand side, together with plate racks, etc.
 - (ii) a washing copper
 - (iii) a gas cooker
 - (iv) standing space for the mangle or wringer and other washing utensils.
- (5) the bath and washing equipment may be combined in a small chamber off the back lobby or scullery (paragraph 119).
- (6) every house should be provided with a bath in a separate apartment (paragraphs 117 and 118) and, where there is no parlour, the bathroom should be located on the ground floor (paragraph 91).
- (7) the W.C. should not be placed in the bathroom but should be located on the ground floor in non-parlour dwellings, and on the first floor in the larger property (paragraph 126).
- (8) the larder should have a floor area of between 12 and 16 square feet and should be located in a cool, fresh and airy position off the scullery (paragraphs 127-29).
- (9) a coal store of at least 15 square feet should be provided under cover, where possible (paragraph 130).

While the Tudor Walter's Report considered the "questions of building construction in connection with the provision of dwellings for the working-classes"¹ and reported on "methods of securing economy and dispatch in the provision of such dwellings",¹ the actual provision of

1. "Report of the Committee on the Provision of Dwellings for the Working-Classes", Page 4.

the different types and sizes of property was to be determined by each Authority, according to the distribution of the population in families. However, throughout the country, the vast majority of dwellings built by Local Authorities between the wars were houses of the three-bedroom type (providing accommodation for five persons), though small proportions of large and small houses, bungalows and flats were also built.

Throughout the region and throughout the period, four main dwelling types were erected on Tyneside by Local Authorities. From Table 3:6 it can be seen that the house was the most common building type, accounting for 80.19 per cent of the total subsidised dwellings erected in the public sector. Indeed, in all areas except Tynemouth, houses were the most important building type accounting for between 70 and 96 per cent of the total Council property.

Second in frequency was the flatted dwelling, which accounted for 13.18 per cent of the Tyneside total, and occurred in ten of the Local Authority areas. The importance of this type of dwelling varied markedly with the Authority, being non-existent in four areas (Felling, Gateshead, Gosforth and Jarrow), of negligible importance in Blaydon and Newburn (where it accounted for only 0.88 and 0.77 per cent, respectively) and being the main building type in Tynemouth.

In contrast, the bungalow was constructed by all Tyneside Authorities except Whitley and Monkseaton but, Blaydon, Hebburn and Newburn apart, it was provided in smaller quantities than the flatted dwelling, thus accounting for a smaller proportion of the Tyneside total (5.19 per cent). The importance of the bungalow varied with the Local Authority. Above average proportions were built by Blaydon, Felling, Hebburn and South Shields, whilst very low proportions were constructed in Newcastle and Tynemouth. In no area, however, was the bungalow the predominant municipal building type.

Tenements were only erected by the Local Authority in Newcastle, and in such a small quantity that they accounted for only 1.34 per cent of the Tyneside total. The relative unimportance of this building type, in an area noted for its high density blocked or tenement property reflects the influence on Local Authorities of (a) National Legislation and (b) the "Garden" development.

Table 3:8 shows that while houses were built under all of the Housing Acts, tenements were built solely under the 1923 and 1925 Acts, flats under the 1919, 1924, 1925 and 1930 Acts, and bungalows under all Acts except those of 1923, 1925 and 1935. The provision of houses was predominant under all Acts, accounting for no less than 65 per cent of the property built under any one Act, and being the sole building type under the 1935 Act. The 1930 Act was, with regard to bungalows and flats, the most important, followed by the Act of 1924. For the provision of houses, the reverse was true, with the Act of 1919 providing the third largest number (note the generosity of the subsidy provisions).

As can be seen from Tables 3:5 and 3:7, the emphasis in municipal dwelling design on Tyneside was on the A or non-parlour type dwelling, of which the A3 type (three bedrooms and one living-room) formed the largest proportion in six areas.¹ In the remaining areas, the A3 type dwelling formed the second largest proportion of subsidised municipal property, and the A2 dwelling (consisting of two bedrooms and a living-room) was provided most frequently by the respective Councils.² In Whickham, the provision of A2 and A3 dwellings was virtually equal, and in Whitley and Monkseaton the provision of B3 dwellings (consisting of a parlour, living-room and three bedrooms) slightly exceeded the provision of the A3 type.

1. Blaydon, Felling, Gosforth, Newburn, Newcastle and South Shields.

2. Gateshead, Hebburn, Jarrow, Ryton, Tynemouth and Wallsend.

None of the bungalows, flats or tenements erected in the public sector on Tyneside, during the period, were of the parlour type. Table 3:9 gives the proportion of houses of this type for each Local Authority, and thus shows that five of the Authorities¹ did not provide any parlour dwellings whatsoever. In all other areas, the provision of houses of this type ranged from 2.84 per cent in Blaydon to 48.47 per cent in Whitley and Monkseaton. Newburn provided a similar proportion to Whitley and Monkseaton, whilst Wallsend provided only 5.61 per cent. The remaining areas² provided between 13 and 20 per cent.

Houses with parlours had four, five or six rooms, of which, two, three or four, respectively, were bedrooms. The B3 type dwelling (consisting of a parlour, living-room and three bedrooms) was most frequently constructed in eight of the nine areas providing parlour-type houses (Blaydon being the exception). Usually, in houses with a parlour, the living-room was smaller than in non-parlour houses where the one room was used for the eating, sitting and recreational demands of the occupants. However, the bedrooms were usually larger (see Figure 3:3).

Table 3:10 shows the provision of parlour and non-parlour type houses by Local Authorities under the various Acts. Unfortunately, it was not possible to tabulate the statistics for Blaydon and Tynemouth, and for 553 dwellings in Gateshead, owing to the nature of the material available. From the table, however, it is possible to see that the 1935 Act was the only Act under which no parlour-type houses were provided. At the same time, this was the Act under which fewest dwellings were provided, and it may be suggested that this was partly due to the short period of time for which the 1935 subsidy was available (before being incorporated into the Act of 1936), and partly to the preference of Local

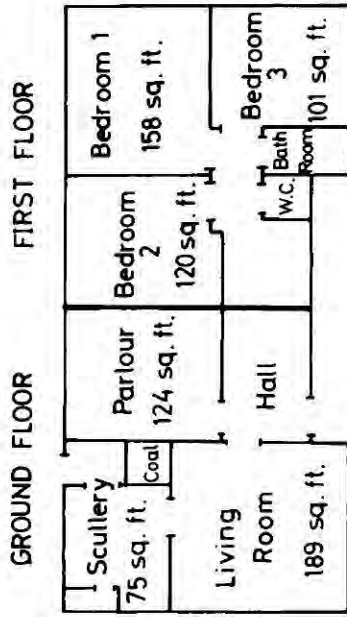
1. Felling, Gateshead, Jarrow, Ryton and Tynemouth.

2. Gosforth, Hebburn, Newcastle, South Shields and Whickham.

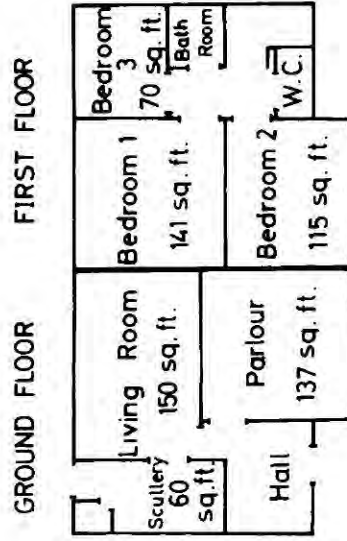
**FIGURE 3:3 NEWCASTLE PLANS of PARLOUR & NON - PARLOUR
THREE - BEDROOM COUNCIL HOUSES, 1920 & 1928**

1920

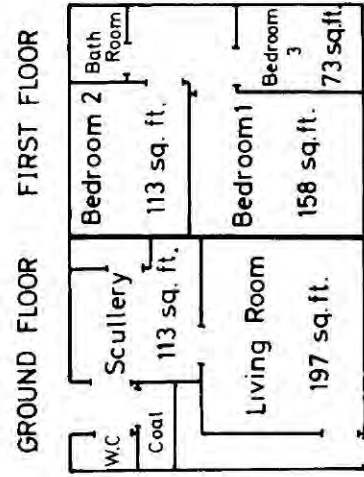
B3 TYPE - FLOOR AREA 1020 SQ.FT.



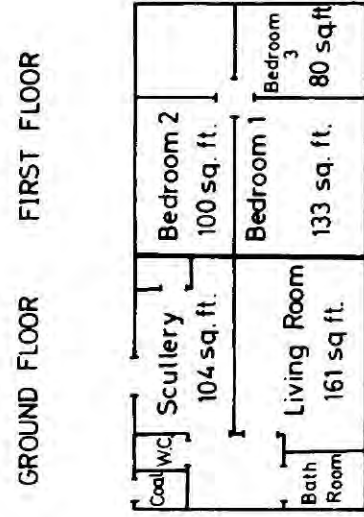
B3 TYPE - FLOOR AREA 886 SQ. FT.



A3 TYPE - FLOOR AREA 884 SQ. FT.



A3 TYPE - FLOOR AREA 769 SQ. FT.



Authorities to build under the more generous Act of 1930 (see Appendix 2, Pages 215 and 216).

It was under the Act of 1924 that the greatest number of houses was provided by Local Authorities on Tyneside, but it was under the 1919 Act that the greatest proportionate provision of parlour-type houses occurred (both as a percentage of the total for Tyneside, and as a percentage of the total number of houses provided under one Act). Indeed, approximately 54 per cent of all parlour-type houses erected by Tyneside Local Authorities were provided under this Act, whilst a further 24 per cent were provided under the Act of 1924. Together, the Acts of the limited sanitary policy only accounted for 16 per cent of the parlour-type houses, but 38 per cent of the total number of houses erected in the area. This would seem to reflect the fact that under these Acts, the Authorities were concerned not with improving the overall living accommodation, but solely with providing structurally sound accommodation, and a more favourable situation with regard to sleeping arrangements.

Differences occurred in the proportions in which dwellings of various sizes were provided on Tyneside. In Felling and Hebburn, one-bedroom dwellings (providing accommodation mainly for old couples and single persons) formed over 10 per cent of the total accommodation provided by the Council, but in Tynemouth they accounted for only 1.64 per cent and, in the Tyneside region, for only 6.17 per cent. Two bedroom dwellings formed some 36.32 per cent of the Tyneside total, but six areas built in proportions which differed markedly from the average. In Newburn (6.32 per cent), Whitley and Monkseaton (13.26 per cent) and South Shields (17.56 per cent) the relative supply of these dwellings was below the average for Tyneside, whilst in Jarrow (49.60 per cent), Gateshead (54.62 per cent) and Ryton (60.53 per cent) dwellings of this type were provided far more frequently. As was stated earlier, (Page 37) the three-bedroom dwelling formed the largest proportion of

accommodation built on Tyneside. All dwellings of this class (types A3 and B3) accounted for 54.39 per cent of the total provided, but exceptionally large proportions of over 80 per cent, were built by Newburn and Whitley and Monkseaton, whilst in Gateshead (28.15 per cent), Ryton (31.20 per cent) and Tynemouth (42.25 per cent) relatively small proportions were provided. Only ten of the fourteen Tyneside Local Authorities constructed dwellings with four bedrooms, and in two of the areas (Felling and Newcastle) the proportions were exceptionally small. Similarly, only Blaydon and Jarrow provided dwellings with five bedrooms.

From Section B of Table 3:11, it can be seen that the size of dwellings provided varied between regions, as well as within one region. Two bedroom dwellings were constructed on Tyneside in greater proportions than in any of the listed major cities,¹ and only Leeds constructed proportionately more one and four bedroom properties. However, with regard to the most frequently provided accommodation, (the three bedroom dwelling), the major cities provided a much larger proportion than occurred on Tyneside. Moreover, though neither Manchester nor Bristol provided five bedroom dwellings, the proportion provided by the two Tyneside Authorities was smaller than the proportions constructed in Birmingham, Liverpool and, in particular, Leeds.

It would seem, however, that with regard to the relief of overcrowding no attempt was made by the Tyneside Authorities to build in the required proportions - relative deficiencies or surpluses occurring for all dwelling-types in each area. Table 3:12 compares the type of dwelling provided by Local Authorities under the Acts of 1935, 1936 and 1938 with the type of dwellings estimated to have been required in 1936. From a more detailed examination, however, it is clear that while the provision

1. Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds and Bristol.

of one and two room dwellings was frequently insufficient to meet the proportionate requirements, three room dwellings were often provided in proportions which were sufficient to absorb the relative deficiency of the smaller property. This was not the case in Gosforth, South Shields and Whitley and Monkseaton, however. Deficiencies occurred in the relative provision of three room dwellings in Gosforth and South Shields, but in the former area, relatively more two room dwellings were provided than were required. In Whitley and Monkseaton, one and two room dwellings were supplied in insufficient proportions to satisfy the area's demand, and the relative surplus which occurred in the supply of three room dwellings was insufficient to absorb this proportionate deficiency. Thus it would seem that in four¹ of the seven Tyneside areas, dwellings with three or fewer rooms were supplied in proportions which satisfied the Authority's requirements, and only in one area (South Shields) was the proportionate supply of one, two and three room dwellings inadequate.

With regard to property with six rooms, only Newburn had no requirements, but South Shields was the only Authority to provide dwellings of this type. Clearly, therefore, South Shields was the only Tyneside Authority, with the exception of Newburn, with an adequate supply of six room dwellings. Moreover, since a relative surplus existed, dwellings could be let to tenants who initially required smaller accommodation.

In Hebburn and Newburn, no five room dwellings were erected, and the proportionate requirements were not met. In the remaining areas, a relative surplus occurred in the proportionate provision of this size of dwelling, but in each area except South Shields, the surpluses were not sufficient to absorb the relative deficiency of four roomed property.

1. Gateshead, Hebburn, Newburn and Ryton.

Thus it would appear that, with the exception of South Shields, Authorities did not erect dwellings in such proportions as to satisfy the housing needs of the larger families, nor did they provide, on the whole, any surplus of larger dwellings which might enable large families to move into larger accommodation if the family increased in size. In some areas, moreover, the relative supply of smaller dwellings was also inadequate but a relative surplus often existed in the proportionate provision of larger dwellings. At times this was wasteful (as in the rehousing of aged persons) and undesirable, but in certain cases it did allow for family expansion.

The Activities of the North Eastern Housing Association, 1935-1939.

Where unemployment was most serious, and the shortage of accommodation was largely due to the inability of the Local Authority to meet its obligations under the Slum Clearance and Overcrowding Acts (which required the Local Authority to contribute towards the cost of the dwellings it provided), the North Eastern Housing Association, founded in 1935, was empowered to build and manage property on behalf of the Local Authority.

By transferring housing schemes to the North Eastern Housing Association, Local Authorities were relieved of a rate contribution of £3 15s. Od. per dwelling for 40 years (£80 capitalised), as all the Authority had to pay was an annual grant to the Association of not less than the annual subsidy which it would receive from the Exchequer. Even so, some Authorities were reluctant to take advantage of the Association's help and between 1935 and 1939 the Association provided dwellings within Gateshead, Hebburn, South Shields and Wallsend, only. The first contract was at Deckham Hall, Gateshead, where 572 houses were erected by John Black and Sons (New Seaham) at a cost of £176,125. This saved Gateshead Rates £2,145 per annum for 40 years.¹

1. "Newcastle Weekly Chronicle", 11th April, 1936.

The Association was authorised to build where the Local Authorities were unable to meet their obligations under the Slum-Clearance and Overcrowding Acts. However, of the areas in which the North Eastern Housing Association was active, only Wallsend did not build under the Acts of 1935, 1936 and 1938, and in this respect, it would appear that the role of the Association in three of the areas (South Shields, Hebburn, and Gateshead) was complementary to the activity of the Local Authority. It is quite feasible, moreover, that Authorities, genuinely requiring the assistance of the Association, were reluctant to take advantage of it, presumably for political reasons.

In the period 1935 to 1939, 2,330 dwellings were provided in twelve localities, and in four Local Authority areas. Table 3:13 shows the proportions of dwellings of various sizes (according to the number of rooms) built by the North Eastern Housing Association. Only ten of the dwellings were of the "B" or parlour-type, and these were the seven room dwellings on the Westmoreland and Archer Street Estates in Wallsend. Apart from these ten seven-room dwellings provided in Wallsend, all of the dwellings were of the "A" or non-parlour type. Thus, in dwellings with less than seven rooms, the number of bedrooms was one less than the number of rooms, while in the dwellings with seven rooms, five were bedrooms.

It can be seen, therefore, that with regard to both the number of bedrooms and the total number of rooms, the proportion of dwellings of various sizes differed from one estate to another. This would suggest that within the areas mentioned the Association had not adopted a policy of building on a standard proportional basis. This contrasts markedly with the situation in Leeds where, from the beginning of 1934, the size distribution of dwellings in every Council estate was

- 30.0 per cent one-bedroom dwellings
- 12.5 per cent two-bedroom dwellings
- 47.5 per cent three-bedroom dwellings
- 5.0 per cent four-bedroom dwellings

5.0 per cent five-bedroom dwellings.

Clearly it would seem that the type of dwellings provided by the Association was determined by the size of the families to be rehoused.

Table 3:14 shows the combined activity of the North Eastern Housing Association and the Local Authority in three areas, in relation to the proportional requirements for the relief of overcrowding in 1936.

In Gateshead sufficient proportions of three-room dwellings were erected to absorb the relative deficiencies in dwellings with fewer rooms. However, no six-room dwellings were provided, and the proportionate surplus in five-room dwellings was insufficient to absorb the proportionate deficiency in dwellings with four rooms.

In Hebburn and South Shields sufficient surpluses existed in the relative provision of four- and five-room dwellings to cater for the proportionate requirements of dwellings with fewer rooms. However, in both areas, a deficiency occurred in the proportionate provision of six-room dwellings.

Wallsend was the only area to rely solely on the North Eastern Housing Association for the abatement of overcrowding. In this area, insufficient proportions of four- and five-room dwellings were provided, but seven-room dwellings were provided in sufficient proportions to cater for the requirements of five- and six-room dwellings. With regard to dwellings with fewer rooms, proportional surpluses occurred in each class except that for dwellings with one room, but the relative surplus of two-room dwellings was sufficient to absorb the requirements for one-room dwellings.

The Form of Local Authority Development.

The lay-out of Local Authority residential development on Tyneside took the form of a series of housing estates - that is, plan units with their own system of internal, residential streets which feed traffic into pre-existing adjoining roads. Economic conditions explain the frequency of this form of development for, according to the Housing Commissioner

for Northumberland and Durham, economy was to be practised in the lay-out of roads, and through-roads were to be avoided.¹

Lay-outs vary from one estate to another, and the shape was largely determined by the land available (see Figures 3:6 B and C, and 3:7 B and C). However, despite the variety in the shape of estates, the overall form of development shows a degree of uniformity. This results largely from the fact that the inspiration for the design of most inter-war housing estates came from a common source - the early town planning experiments in "garden" development. This called for (a) low density houses, (b) two-storey houses with front and back gardens, (c) trees and grass verges. Thus, in the planning of the early housing estates on Tyneside, the intention was, as is typified in the planning of the Walker Estate in Newcastle, that there should be

- (a) no class distinctions,
- (b) short cul-de-sacs to promote contemplative quiet amid picturesquely designed dwellings,
- (c) varied positions and crescents so that there should be no suggestion of a hideous and depressing grid-iron system of streets,
- (d) ample garden space back and front for flats and houses alike,
- (e) recreation grounds,
- (f) main thoroughfares of tarmacadam bordered by trees.²

Obviously, individual details vary, but the overall concepts remained the same, at least until the Housing Act of 1930, when it became possible for Local Authorities to clear a Slum Area (by declaring it a Compulsory Purchase Area) and to utilise the site for rehousing (see Appendix 2, Page 215).

1. "Durham County Advertiser", May 23rd, 1919.
 2. "Newcastle Weekly Journal", August 23rd, 1919.

Thus, from 1930 onwards, Local Authorities developed not solely on estates, but also on scattered, re-developed sites. The move towards scattered sites after 1930 proved favourable owing to

- (1) the increasing shortage of land,
- (2) the low wages and casual employment in Tyneside, and the resultant inability of tenants to afford suburban rents and the higher living costs involved,
- (3) the fact that certain workers, notably dock labourers, must live within easy reach of their employment.

Thus, both Newcastle and South Shields show the redevelopment of slum-cleared sites with relatively high-density building units. These take the form of

- (a) two-storey terraced houses with separate staircases in Newcastle,
- (b) flats in blocks of four and eight at a density of 20 to the acre in South Shields.

However, housing estates formed by far the most important feature of the inter-war schemes of Tyneside Local Authorities. In all, approximately 84 estates were developed on Tyneside by the fourteen Local Authorities, and these accounted for some 33,235 of the 35,524 dwelling units erected in the public sector between 1919 and 1939.

The average size of estate on Tyneside consisted of 396 dwellings, but the average for each Local Authority ranged from 130 in Gosforth to approximately 3,051 in Tynemouth. Within Local Authority areas, the actual size of estates varied from 24 dwellings on the Barlow Estate in Blaydon to some 3,051 in Tynemouth.

The Distance of Estates from Town Centres.

Partly because of the low density of these estates,¹ and partly

1. It is recommended in the Local Government Board Circular of 18th March, 1918, and on Page 13 of the Tudor Walter's Report, that where Schemes are intended to secure Government assistance, the number of houses should not exceed twelve to the acre.

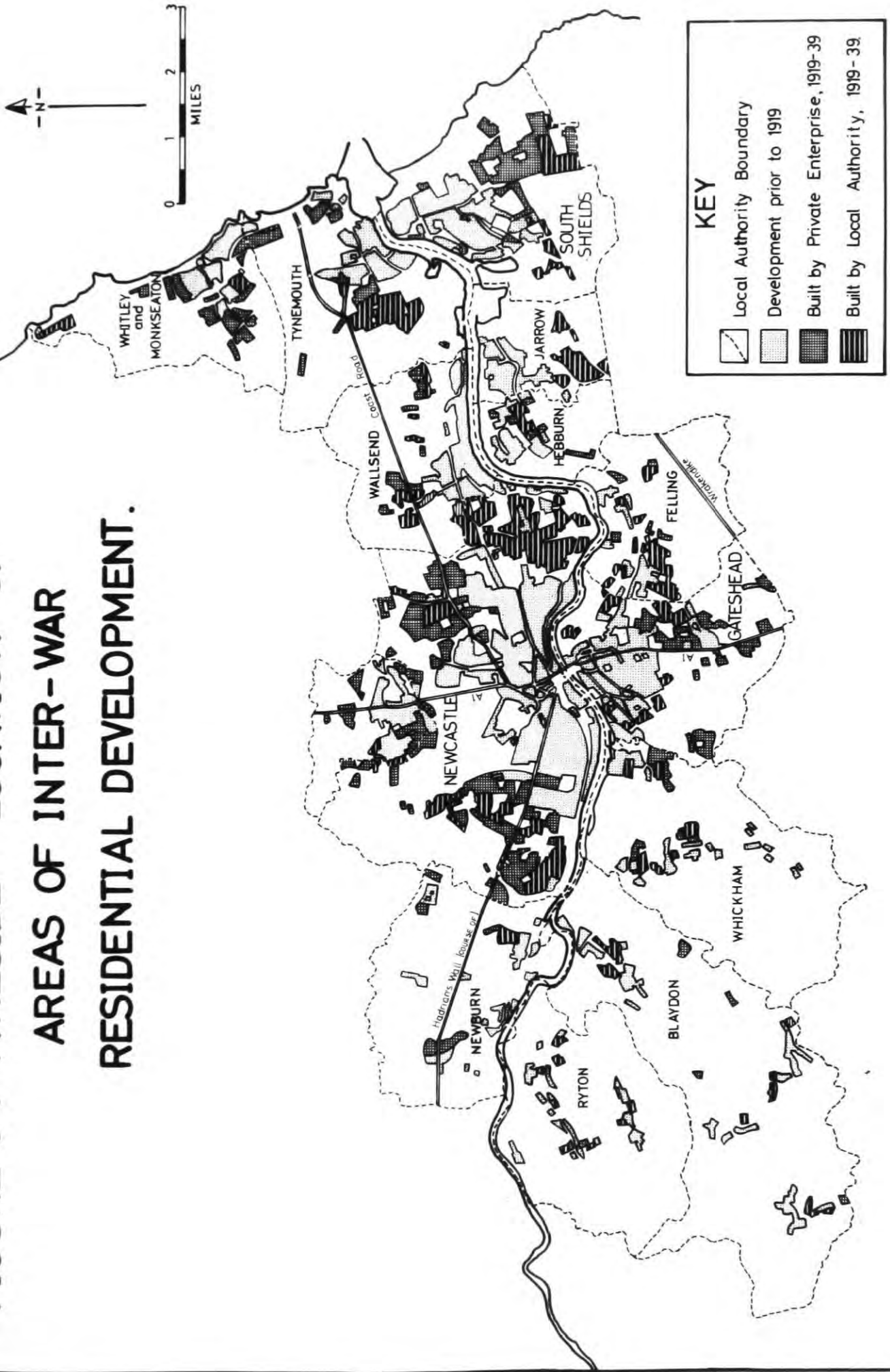
because of the planning ideal of urban decentralisation, inherent in the concepts of garden development, such estates spread out and absorbed land well outside the older built-up area. This appears to have been the case throughout Tyneside (see Figure 3:4), especially since the Local Authorities appear to have followed the recommended policy of merely tacking new housing estates on to the fringe of existing development; a practice which is both simple and economic. ¹

For 54 of the 84 estates the maximum crow-fly distance is between two-thirds and one and two-third miles from the town centre. ² A further twelve were constructed between two and a half and two and two-third miles from their respective town centres, while eight have their farthest extent between three and five and a half miles from the respective centre.

From Table 3:15, it can be seen that inter-war municipal development in Blaydon takes the form of eight estates dispersed throughout the urban district (two of which are five and a half miles from the town centre and two, no more than two-thirds of a mile) while the twelve estates constructed in Felling are concentrated largely in the south and west of the area, towards the boundary with Gateshead. The limit of inter-war development in Felling is prescribed by the route of the old Roman Road to South Shields (WRAKENDIKE). Wardley Estate (built 1930) is the farthest from the centre (one and two-third miles), while Millfield House Estate (started under the 1919 Act) is the nearest, being only one quarter of a mile from the centre. The seven inter-war Council estates constructed in Gateshead are sited in a semi-circle which, at a maximum, is two miles from the Tyne Bridge but only two-thirds of a mile at its nearest point. In Gosforth, inter-war municipal property was built on

-
1. On Page 6 of the Tudor Walter's Report of 1918, it is stated that "it is upon the belts of undeveloped land on the outskirts of towns that Local Authorities must chiefly depend for cheap land for housing purposes".
 2. The farthest point of the estate from the Council Offices, or, in the case of Newcastle and Gateshead, the Tyne Bridge.

FIGURE 3:4 TYNESIDE:- LOCATION OF AREAS OF INTER-WAR RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT.



three estates which are dispersed throughout the Urban District. The farthest from the centre are the Coxlodge and Kenton estates, which are both one mile away. On the other hand, only one estate, located no more than two thirds of a mile from the town centre, was constructed by Hebburn Council between 1919 and 1939. As in Gosforth, however, three estates were constructed in Jarrow by the Local Authority during the inter-war years. Of these, Primrose Estate (situated one and two-third miles from the centre and built under the 1924 Act) is the farthest, and Monkton (one mile) is the nearest. Development took place largely in the south of the area, the route of the A 1055 forming the southern boundary. In Newburn, three estates form a semi-circle round the town centre. Throckley, the nearest, lies one mile to the north-west, while Westerhope (the farthest) lies in two sections no more than two and two-third miles to the north east. The third estate (Lemington) is located one and a half miles to the south east. The thirteen estates forming the inter-war residential development of Newcastle lie in a semi-circle surrounding the Tyne Bridge. None are more than three and a half miles from the centre (c.f. Scotswood) and none are nearer than one mile. Public development in Ryton took the form of eight estates, of which one is virtually within the centre, while the rest are located in an arc which extends nowhere more than one and a half miles from the centre. In South Shields, development took place on eleven estates, the majority of which extended in a south-westerly belt from the town centre. The most peripheral estates lie in the extreme west of the area and on the southern boundary, and are no more than two and a half miles from the centre. Like Hebburn, inter-war Council development in Tynemouth is largely concentrated in one area which, at its maximum, is located one and two-third miles west of the centre. On the other hand development took place on eight estates in Wallsend, the nearest being two-thirds of a mile from the centre. The majority are situated either to the east or the north west of the centre,

being at the farthest point, only one and two third miles away. The four estates which the Council developed in Whickham during the inter-war years form a circle surrounding the centre from which the nearest is one mile, and the farthest two and two third miles. In Whitley and Monkseaton, the Local Authorities built two estates, one, one mile west of the centre, and the other two and one half miles to the north.

It is commonly accepted that in locating housing estates on the edge of the built-up area, the Local Authority was faced with a conflict between amenity and convenience; in an attempt to provide accommodation on attractive sites commanding open and healthy rural surroundings, the Local Authority often imposed on its tenants an increased journey to work and shop. This, not only increased travelling costs, but was also inconvenient and time consuming. On Tyneside, it would appear (Table 3:15) that it was usually possible to build on sites at reasonable distances from town centres. Even so, it is likely that by 1930, suitable sites were becoming more and more remote (especially in the larger urban areas) and, by virtue of the Slum Clearance and Overcrowding programmes, there would be a tendency for the level of family income to decline. Largely for these reasons, therefore, Local Authorities started to develop central sites, with the result that the pattern of inter-war Council development is characterised both by peripheral estate development and the development (or re-development) of central sites.

Composition of Estates

The Acts or combinations of Acts under which inter-war public housing estates were erected on Tyneside vary considerably. Of the 27 composition types utilised by the Authorities on Tyneside for the development of estates (Table 3:16), 18 were unique to individual Authorities. Where the same combinations were used by different

Authorities, the number of Authorities was small,¹ and nowhere exceeded more than five, except when the estate was built under one Act.²

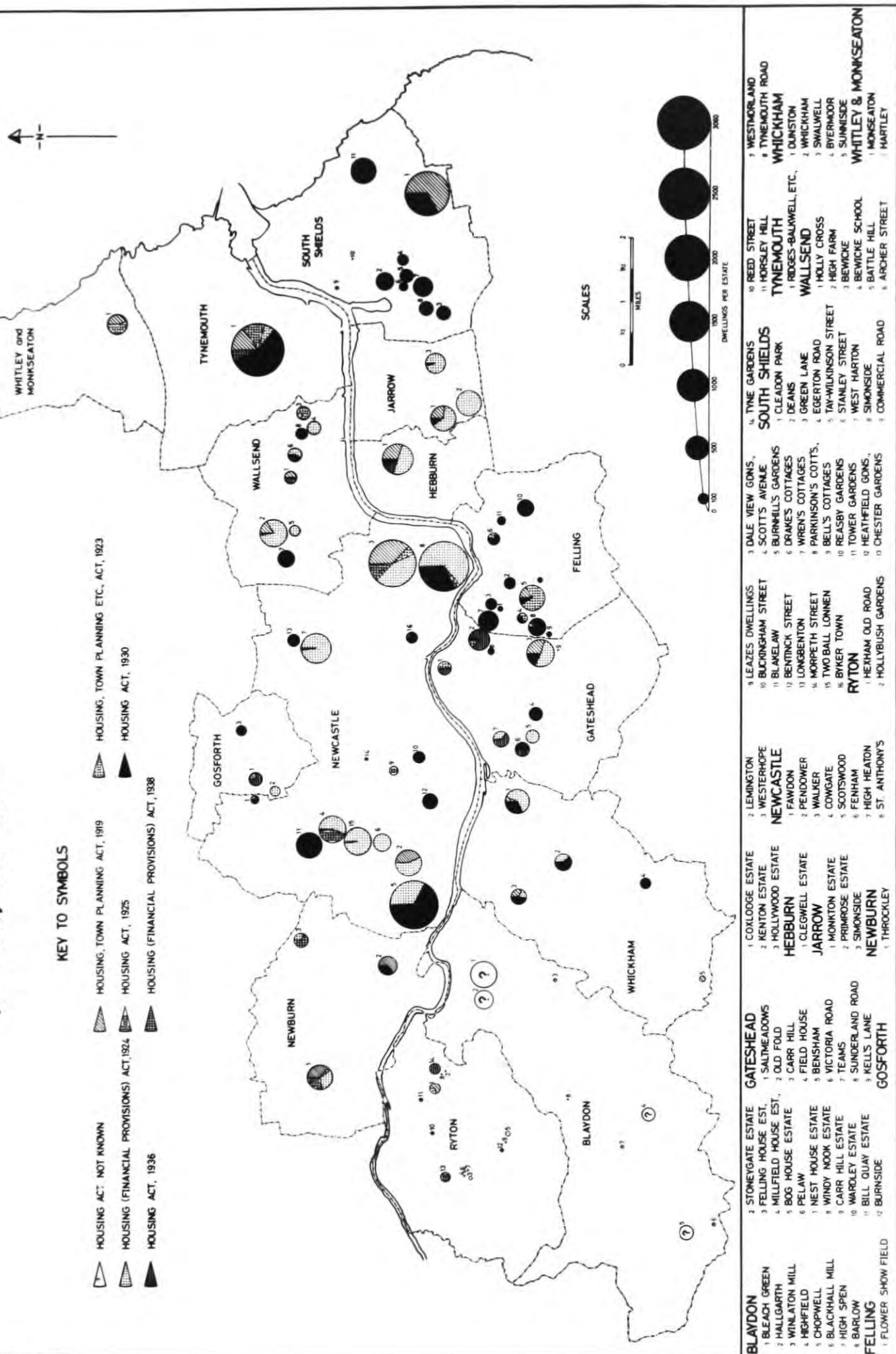
It would appear, then, that the composition of estates, according to the Acts or combination of Acts under which they evolved, varied according to the Authority. This is emphasised by the fact that when estates erected under one Act are removed from the list of those combinations occurring in more than one Authority, none of the estates developed under the same Acts by different Authorities were built in the same proportions. Thus, although both Carr Hill Estate (Gateshead) and Monkton Estate (Jarrow), for example, were erected under the same combination of Acts, the proportions of dwellings built under these Acts differ, as do the absolute sizes of the estates (see Figure 3:5 and Table 3:17).

At the same time, in areas where more than one estate was erected under the same combination of Acts, the proportion in which dwellings were provided under these Acts was not always the same (c.f. Scotswood and Two Ball Lonnen, Newcastle - both built under the Acts of 1924 and 1930).

Thus, it would appear that in most cases estates grew up with the financial assistance of a number of Acts. The exact combination of Acts would depend, to a large extent, on the needs and requirements of the Authority, the land available and the financial position of the Local Authority. Few estates were constructed under a single Act and, those that were, were mainly subsidised under the generous Act of 1924, or the Slum Clearance Act of 1930. Where estates were constructed under a series of Acts, the various stages can usually be distinguished in the field by differences in design and size.

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1. For example, two Authorities, Gosforth and Whitley and Monkseaton each erected one estate under the 1919 and 1923 Acts.
 2. For example, seven Authorities built estates under the 1930 Act, and five under that of 1924.

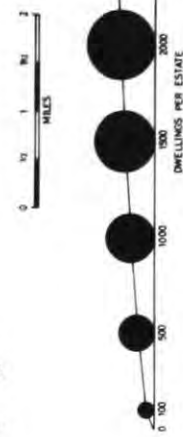
**FIG. 3:5 TYNESIDE. PROVISION OF DWELLINGS ON MUNICIPAL ESTATES
(BY ACT), 1919-1939.**



KEY TO SYMBOLS

- HOUSING ACT, NOT KNOWN
- HOUSING (FINANCIAL PROVISIONS) ACT, 1924
- HOUSING ACT, 1936
- HOUSING, TOWN PLANNING ACT, 1919
- HOUSING ACT, 1925
- HOUSING (FINANCIAL PROVISIONS) ACT, 1938
- HOUSING, TOWN PLANNING ETC., ACT, 1923
- HOUSING ACT, 1930

SCALES



- | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| BLAYDON | 1 BLEACH GREEN | 2 HALLGARTH | 3 WINDLTON MILL | 4 HIGHFIELD | 5 CHOPWELL | 6 BLACKHALL MILL | 7 HIGH SPEN | 8 BARLOW | 9 FELLING | 1 FLOWER SHOW FIELD | |
| RYTON | 1 STONEGATE ESTATE | 2 FELLING HOUSE EST. | 3 MILLFIELD HOUSE EST. | 4 BOG HOUSE ESTATE | 5 PELAW | 6 NEST HOUSE ESTATE | 7 WINDY NOOK ESTATE | 8 CARR HILL ESTATE | 9 WARRLEY ESTATE | 10 BILL OULAY ESTATE | 11 BURNSIDE |
| JARROW | 1 COXLOGGE ESTATE | 2 KENTON ESTATE | 3 HOLLYWOOD ESTATE | 4 HEBURN | 5 CLEGWELL ESTATE | 6 JARROW | 7 MONKTON ESTATE | 8 PRIMROSE ESTATE | 9 SIMONSIDE | 10 NEWBURN | 11 THROCKLEY |
| GOSFORTH | 1 GATESHEAD | 2 SALTMEADOWS | 3 OLD FOLD | 4 CARR HILL | 5 FIELD HOUSE | 6 BENSHAM | 7 VICTORIA ROAD | 8 TEAMS | 9 SUNDERLAND ROAD | 10 KELLS LANE | 11 GOSFORTH |
| NEWCASTLE | 1 LEMINGTON | 2 WESTERHOPE | 3 NEWCASTLE | 4 FAWDON | 5 PANDOWER | 6 WALKER | 7 COWGATE | 8 SCOTSWOOD | 9 FENHAM | 10 HIGH HEATON | 11 ST. ANTHONY'S |
| HEBBURN | 1 LEAZES DWELLINGS | 2 BUCKINGHAM STREET | 3 BLAKEW | 4 BENTINCK STREET | 5 LONGBENTON | 6 MORPETH STREET | 7 TWO BALL LONNEN | 8 BYKER TOWN | 9 RYTON | 10 HEKHAM OLD ROAD | 11 HOLLYBUSH GARDENS |
| WALLSEND | 1 DALE VIEW GONS. | 2 SCOTT'S AVENUE | 3 BURNHILLS GARDENS | 4 DRAMES COTTAGES | 5 WREN'S COTTAGES | 6 PARKINSON'S COTT. | 7 BELL'S COTTAGES | 8 REASBY GARDENS | 9 TOWER GARDENS | 10 HEATHFIELD GONS. | 11 CHESTER GARDENS |
| JARROW | 1 TINE GARDENS | 2 SOUTH SHIELDS | 3 CLEADON PARK | 4 DEANS | 5 GREEN LANE | 6 EGERTON ROAD | 7 TAY-WILKINSON STREET | 8 STANLEY STREET | 9 WEST HARTON | 10 SIMONSIDE | 11 COMMERCIAL ROAD |
| FELLING | 1 RED STREET | 2 HORSLEY HILL | 3 TYNEMOUTH | 4 RIDGES-BALWELL, ETC. | 5 QUINSTON | 6 WHICKHAM | 7 SWALLOW | 8 BYERMOOR | 9 SUNNYSIDE | 10 WHITLEY & MONKSEATON | 11 MONKSEATON |
| GATESHEAD | 1 WESTMORLAND | 2 TYNEMOUTH ROAD | 3 WHICKHAM | 4 QUINSTON | 5 SWALLOW | 6 BYERMOOR | 7 SUNNYSIDE | 8 WHITLEY & MONKSEATON | 9 MONKSEATON | 10 HARTLEY | |

Two Case Studies.Bleach Green Estate, Blaydon.

This estate is located no more than two thirds of a mile to the south east of the Council Offices on a 70 acre site which slopes from 375 feet in the south west to 50 feet above sea level in the north east, and which is bounded on its north western flank by Shildon Dene (see Figures 3:6, A and B).

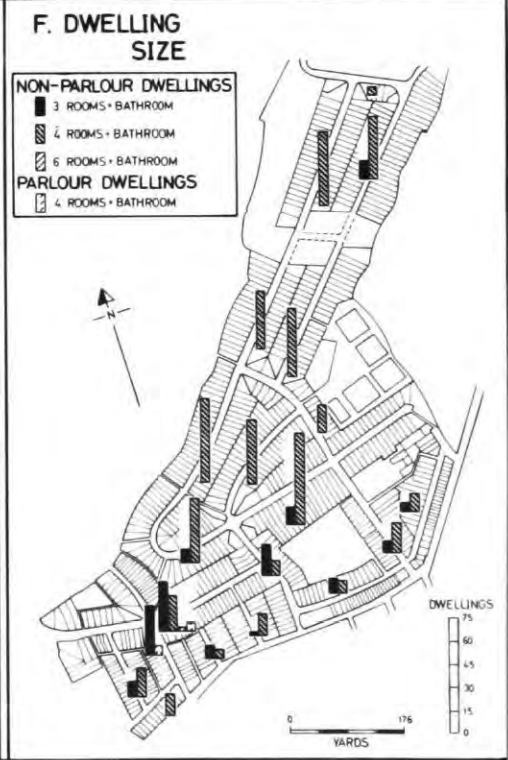
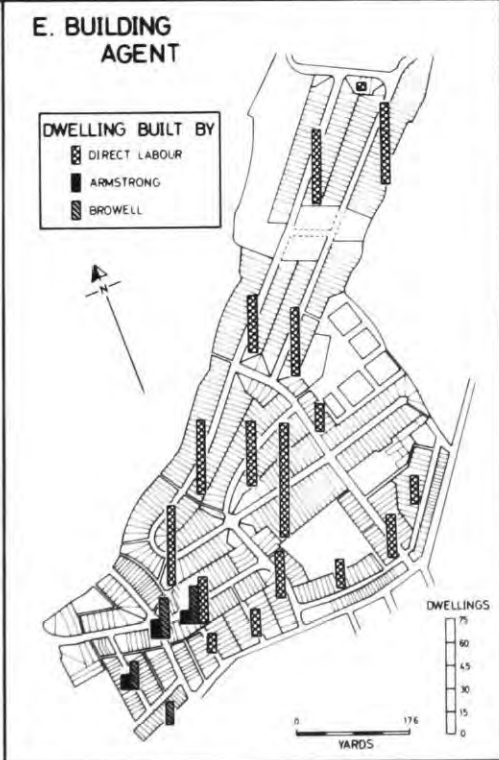
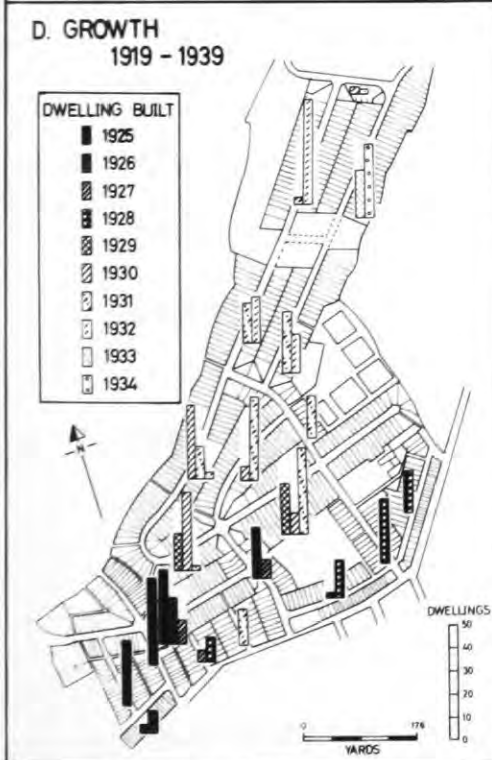
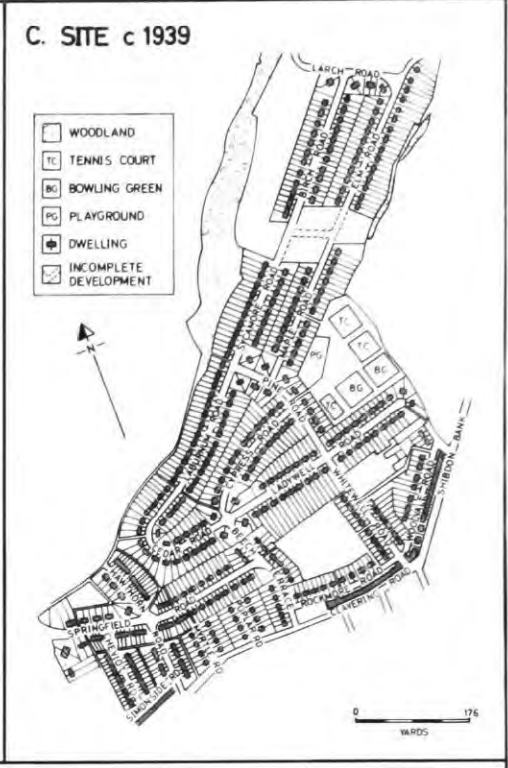
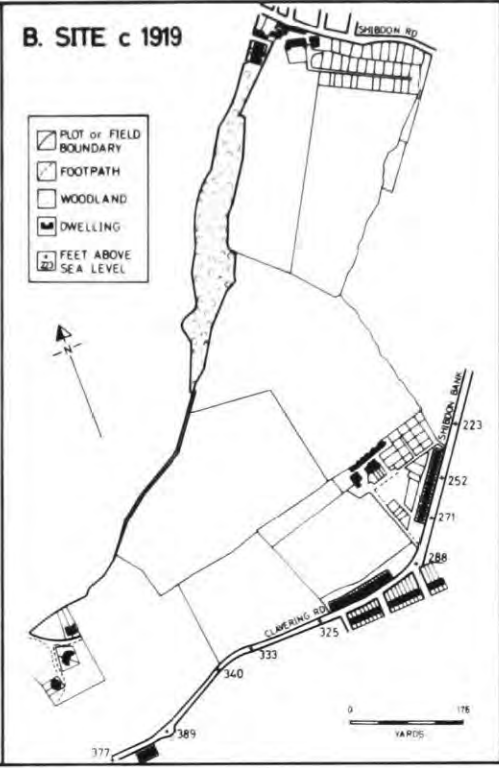
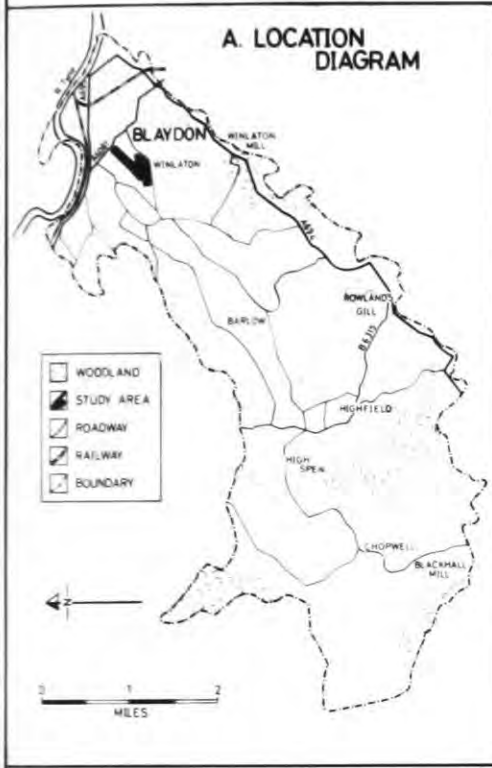
The estate is composed of some 686 dwellings, together with an area of recreational facilities, and though no statistics are available regarding the Acts under which the estate was developed, it was possible to find the actual erection dates for the different types of property. Clearly, the estate was developed over the ten-year period, 1925 to 1934 (Figure 3:6 D), predominantly by Direct Labour¹ (79.30 per cent). Development first took place to the south of Springfield Road and spread northwards and eastwards, the final phase ending with the development of Elm Road and Larch Road in the extreme north east of the estate.

Contract labour (by two contractors - Browell and Armstrong) accounted for only 20.70 per cent of the buildings (Figure 3:6 E). The role of contract labour seems to have been to supplement the activities of the Direct Labour organisation. This holds true for all years except 1925 when no dwellings were erected by the latter method. After 1927, however, no dwellings were erected by contract labour. Property built by this method was confined to 28 two-bedroom non-parlour houses in

1. Local Authority building could be by
 - (a) Direct Labour - where the Local Authority established its own building department, or,
 - (b) Contract Labour - where the scheme is contracted out to one or a number of contract builders.

It would appear that the Direct Labour method was slow to start on Tyneside, and that the bulk of the Local Authority building was by the former method. No detailed work was attempted on the subject, but only three areas (Blaydon, Gateshead and Newburn) appeared to have possessed their own building department, and it is known that strong opposition to the establishment of Direct Labour took place in Newcastle. With regard to the size of the Labour force, it can only be stated that in 1924 Gateshead employed 18 bricklayers, 11 joiners, 49 labourers and one boy ("Newcastle Weekly Chronicle", 13th September, 1924).

FIG. 3:6 BLAYDON. BLEACH GREEN ESTATE.



Cheviot Road, 32 two-bedroom non-parlour type houses, and 6 two-bedroom parlour houses in Hawthorn Road, 32 two-bedroom non-parlour houses, 22 three-bedroom non-parlour, 2 five-bedroom non-parlour and 6 two-bedroom parlour houses in Springfield Road, and 14 three-bedroom non-parlour houses in Simonside Road. Only in the latter locality was one contractor, Browell, the sole builder.

Building by Direct Labour appears to have reached its peak in 1931 when 154 three-bedroom non-parlour houses were erected together with two similar two-bedroom dwellings. In 1925, none of the dwellings were erected by Direct Labour but the total was gradually increased until 1931 when the peak was reached. After that date, the total declined rapidly until the last 32 dwellings were erected in 1934.

Of the 686 dwellings constructed, approximately 674 (over 99 per cent) are of the non-parlour type. Of these, 162 (24 per cent) are three-room dwellings, 510 (76 per cent) contain four rooms, and two (0.30 per cent) have six rooms (Figure 3:6 F).

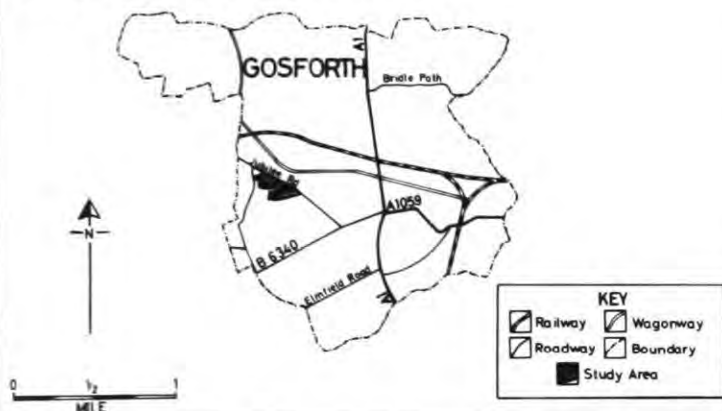
The parlour-type houses, of which there are 12, form 1.75 per cent of the total number of houses on the estate. They are two bedroom dwellings erected by contract labour in 1925 and located in Hawthorn Road and Springfield Road.

Coxlodge Estate, Gosforth.

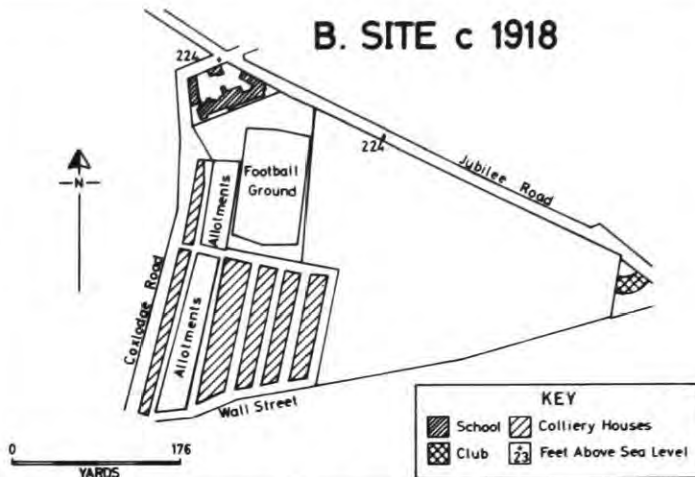
Coxlodge Estate covers an area of 14 acres and lies on a site which slopes gradually down from an altitude of 250 feet in the south west to 225 feet in the north east. The estate lies on the extreme western boundary of Gosforth, but is no more than one mile from the Council Offices. Physically, it can be divided into three sections - two main sectors with an outlier to the west. The northernmost of these two sectors contains 64 dwellings and is crescentic in plan, while the southernmost is triangular and contains 104 dwellings. The outlier consists of a row of 16 terraced houses. Altogether, the estate consists of 184 dwellings, two lock-up shops, and a playground, and is served by a 50 foot wide central avenue and residential streets no more than 30

FIG. 3:7 GOSFORTH. COXLODGE ESTATE.

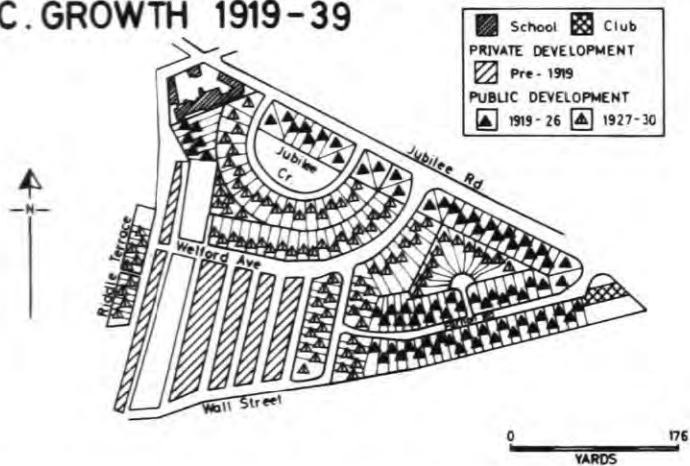
A. LOCATION DIAGRAM



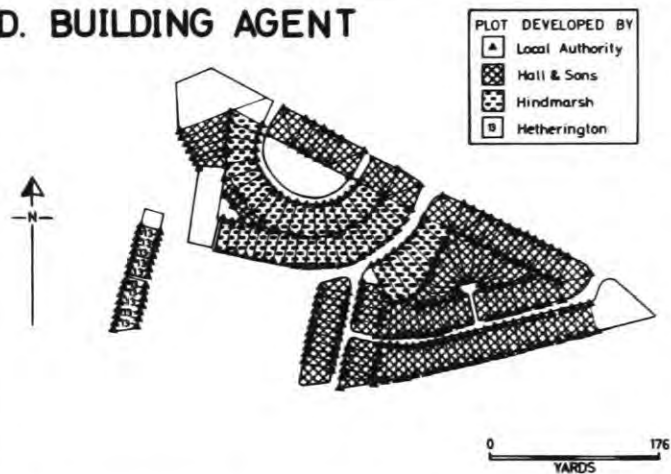
B. SITE c 1918



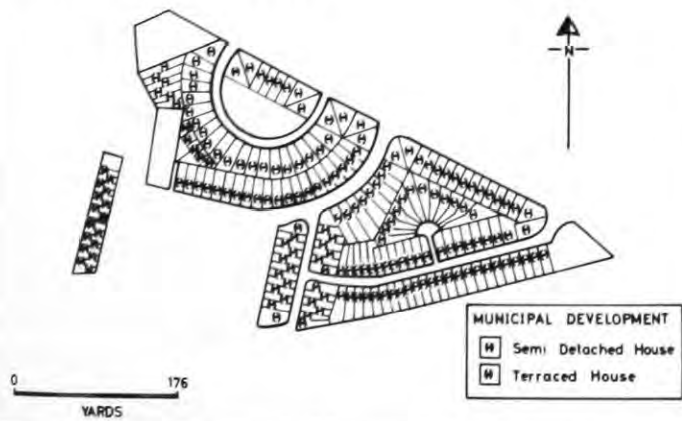
C. GROWTH 1919-39



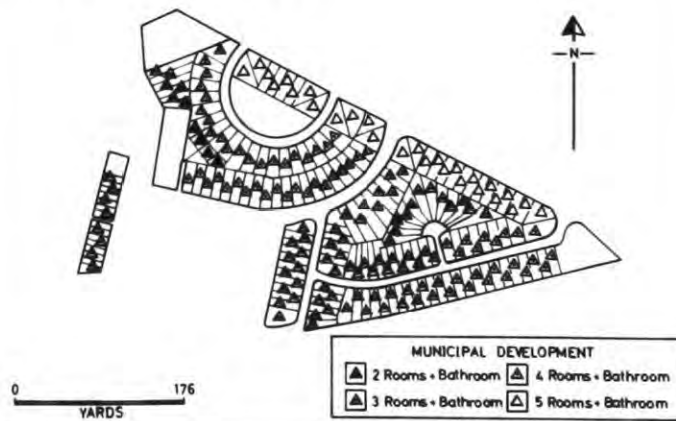
D. BUILDING AGENT



E. DWELLING TYPE



F. DWELLING SIZE



feet wide (see Figure 3:7 C).

Financial assistance was given under three main Acts; 26.07 per cent of the dwellings being erected under the 1919 Act, 65.22 per cent under the 1923 Act, and 8.70 per cent under the Act of 1924. Dwellings built under the 1919 Act are confined to the north eastern and south eastern sectors of the estates (i.e. along Jubilee Road so far as Jubilee Crescent, and along Farnon Road to Turner Crescent), while the rest of the estate was erected under the Act of 1923, except for the 16 outlying dwellings in Riddell Terrace which were erected under the Act of 1924.

Development took place between 1922 and 1930 (the spheres of development corresponding largely with those of the Housing Acts), the estate becoming younger towards the south west, away from Jubilee Road (Figure 3:7 C).

Building was carried out by three contractors (Figure 3:7 D). Hall, operating from 1922 to 1928, was the main contractor, being responsible for the erection of 120 dwellings. These included the whole of the north western sector, except for seven dwellings in Welford Avenue and 12 along Jubilee Road in the north eastern sector, as well as six dwellings in Riddell Terrace and the six in Reay Place.

The second most important contract was carried out by Hindmarsh. This consisted of the 48 dwellings erected in 1927 mainly in the north western sector, but included eight dwellings in the south eastern sector in Welford Avenue. The 16 outlying dwellings in Riddell Terrace were erected by the third contractor, Hetherington, in 1930.

Dwellings are either semi-detached (about 88 per cent) or terraced (Figure 3:7 E) and all of the terraced properties and most of the semi-detached are of the non-parlour type.¹ Altogether 156 (85 per cent) of

1. Only 28 houses on the estate have parlours; these are three bedroom semi-detached dwellings erected in 1922 by Hall under the 1919 Act. They are confined to the Jubilee Road area.

the properties are non-parlour dwellings, and of these six have one bedroom, and were built in 1928 under the 1923 Act; 82 have two bedrooms (30 being built in 1925 under the Act of 1923; 36 in 1927 under the same Act, and 16 in 1930 under the Act of 1924); and 68 have three bedrooms. This latter group of dwellings is composed of two batches - one of 20 dwellings built in 1923 under the 1919 Act, and one of 48 built in 1927 under the 1923 Act.

If a study is made of dwelling size (Figure 3:7 F), it can be seen that the largest dwellings are concentrated along Jubilee Road (the area of earliest building and 1919 Act houses) and that the number of rooms decreases to the south and west. Thus, four-room dwellings occur on the south side of Jubilee Road, the north and south side of Welford Avenue and the north-eastern sector of Farnon Road (both sides), while 3 room dwellings occur in Turner Crescent, the south western sector of Farnon Road, Nelson Avenue and Riddell Terrace, and two-room houses occur as infilling in the south-west of the Jubilee Crescent-Welford Road sector of the estate, at Reay Place.

Conclusion.

It was in this manner that Local Authorities supplied dwellings during the inter-war years. The Tudor Walter's Report recommended, in 1918, that "low cost should not be sought by cutting down unduly the size of the rooms",¹ but though the recommended space standards - averaging 900 square feet for a three bedroom non-parlour house and 1,080 square feet for a parlour house - were frequently implemented in the early years of the inter-war period, the standards were reduced somewhat under the 1923 Housing Act (see Appendix 2, Page 212). Throughout the period, standards varied with the economic circumstances (being lowest in the early 1930's) but the majority of the three bedroom

1. "Report of the Committee on the Provision of Dwellings for the Working-Classes", Page 80, paragraph 32.

houses built by Local Authorities between 1923 and 1939 had an overall area of 750-850 square feet. On Tyneside, it would appear that the general trend was for Council houses to be reduced in size over the period. Statistics have been obtained for Newcastle and Whitley and Monkseaton and, while it is difficult to obtain a sequence of figures, it can be seen (Table 3:18) that in all cases, except that of the two room flat in Newcastle and the five room house, the average size decreased. At the same time, it is possible to observe the difference in size between comparable dwellings in the two areas - Whitley and Monkseaton, the more favourable of the two, having the larger dwellings, but still experiencing a decline. It is important to realise, however, that although the trend was for Council property to be reduced in size, the major changes that occurred during the inter-war years were not in the standard of Council building, but in the subsidy schemes (see Appendix 2) and the role of the Local Authorities (Pages 32 to 34); the standard of Council building being maintained throughout. Even so, though the role of the Local Building Authority may have changed over the period and varied in significance, Municipal building played an important part in the residential growth of Tyneside between 1919 and 1939, thus constituting a significant element in the urban landscape; an element which took the characteristic form of low density semi-detached development on peripheral, residential estates.

CHAPTER IV. THE ECONOMICS OF INTER-WAR LOCAL AUTHORITY DEVELOPMENT:
A STUDY OF LAND-COSTS, BUILDING COSTS AND RENTS.

Clearly, the extent and form of residential development can be viewed as a reflection of both the contemporary need for accommodation and the community's planning and architectural ideals. However, in the inter-war years, as at the present, economic factors were instrumental in determining urban form and morphology. Reference has already been made to the influence of economic conditions on estate development (Page 44), and it would seem that Local Authorities were faced with the conflict of having to secure "the fullest economy while giving the maximum accommodation and convenience".¹ As was mentioned in Chapter III, the National Government introduced in 1919, a system of subsidies to improve the standard of working-class accommodation, remedy the housing shortage and reduce rents. In this chapter, an examination is made of the economic conditions which prevailed and which influenced Local Authorities in the provision of accommodation for the working-class. It is intended that such a study should illuminate both the conflict faced by Local Authorities and the solutions adopted. Unfortunately, despite the importance of the study, no detailed regional statistics or records are readily available, and recourse has had to be made to contemporary reports, found chiefly in professional journals and newspapers. Consequently, it has not been possible to make a comprehensive study of the situation on Tyneside, but, when related to the National conditions, it is felt that detailed case studies provide useful indices of the problem and its solution.

Land Costs.

Between the Wars, the cost of land bought by a Council for a housing scheme was a relatively small part of the total costs. Usually the site purchased by a Local Authority was undeveloped, but land which was com-

1. "Report of the Committee on the Provision of Dwellings for the Working-Classes", Page 7.

pletely developed with roads and sewers could be bought. In this section, then, an examination is made of the cost of undeveloped land in South Shields, and this is followed by an analysis of the site on completion of the project.

The Stanley Terrace and Tyne Dock Sites (referred to in Table 4:1) were central sites developed under the 1930 Act, while the Ridgeway was developed under the Act of 1924, and was a peripheral site on the southern boundary of the town. On the first two sites high density flats were erected, but on the latter development took the form of houses which were either semi-detached or four in a block.

Table 4:1 shows that for dwellings built on the peripheral site, under the Act of 1924, the cost of undeveloped land, per acre and per dwelling, was lower than for those dwellings erected on more central sites for slum-clearance and rebuilding schemes under the 1930 Acts.

If public utility services (street works and sewers) are added to land costs (Table 4:2), the central sites appear to have been far more costly to develop. In this instance, the situation is somewhat abnormal since (1) the peripheral site was already partly developed (only the street works were required), and (2) extra foundations were required on the Tyne Dock site, owing to the low bearing power of the ground.¹

Even so, the figures accord with the National experience that the cost of central sites was greater than that of peripheral sites; this feature being recognised by the National Government in the subsidies provided under the Acts of 1930 and 1935 (see Appendix 2, Pages 215 and 216). Thus, the fact that land was available more cheaply in suburban locations was a further incentive for Authorities to build on peripheral sites, and an important factor in the extensive growth of

1. Paton Watson, J., "Recent Municipal Works at South Shields", Journal of the Institution of Municipal Engineers, 24th November, 1931, Page 892.

residential suburbs.

Statistics regarding the cost of land designed for Local Authority estates were not readily available throughout Tyneside. However, land costs for four peripheral estates were obtained, and these are compared in Table 4:3. Prior to the 1959 Town and Country Planning Act, "the price paid by Public Authorities was based on its value at the then current use".¹ Therefore, despite the smallness of the sample, it would appear that the price which Local Authorities paid for land in the inter-war years depended little upon either the location of the site or the date of purchase, but on such factors as the features peculiar to the site, or the owner's desire to sell.

Building Costs.

As Reiss points out, the cost of developed land did not vary substantially between 1919 and 1939, but "the cost of building varied considerably".²

This may be explained by the fact that the costs and rates of building depend largely on economic and demographic factors, and of the former, probably the most important are the cost of labour and materials, and the rate of interest. Because of this, building rates and housing costs are related to the cycle of trade. In brief, it is found that during a depression, the costs of building and the rates of interest fall (as does the purchasing power of the consumer) with the result that the price of property eventually decreases. When recovery commences, interest rates and the cost of living start to rise as does the cost of housing. For this reason, therefore, inter-war building costs must be considered in the light of prevailing economic conditions.

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1. Stone, P.A., "Housing Town Development, Land and Costs", The Estates Gazette, Page 38.
 2. Reiss, R.L., "Municipal and Private Enterprise Housing", J.M. Dent and Sons Limited, 1945, Page 49.

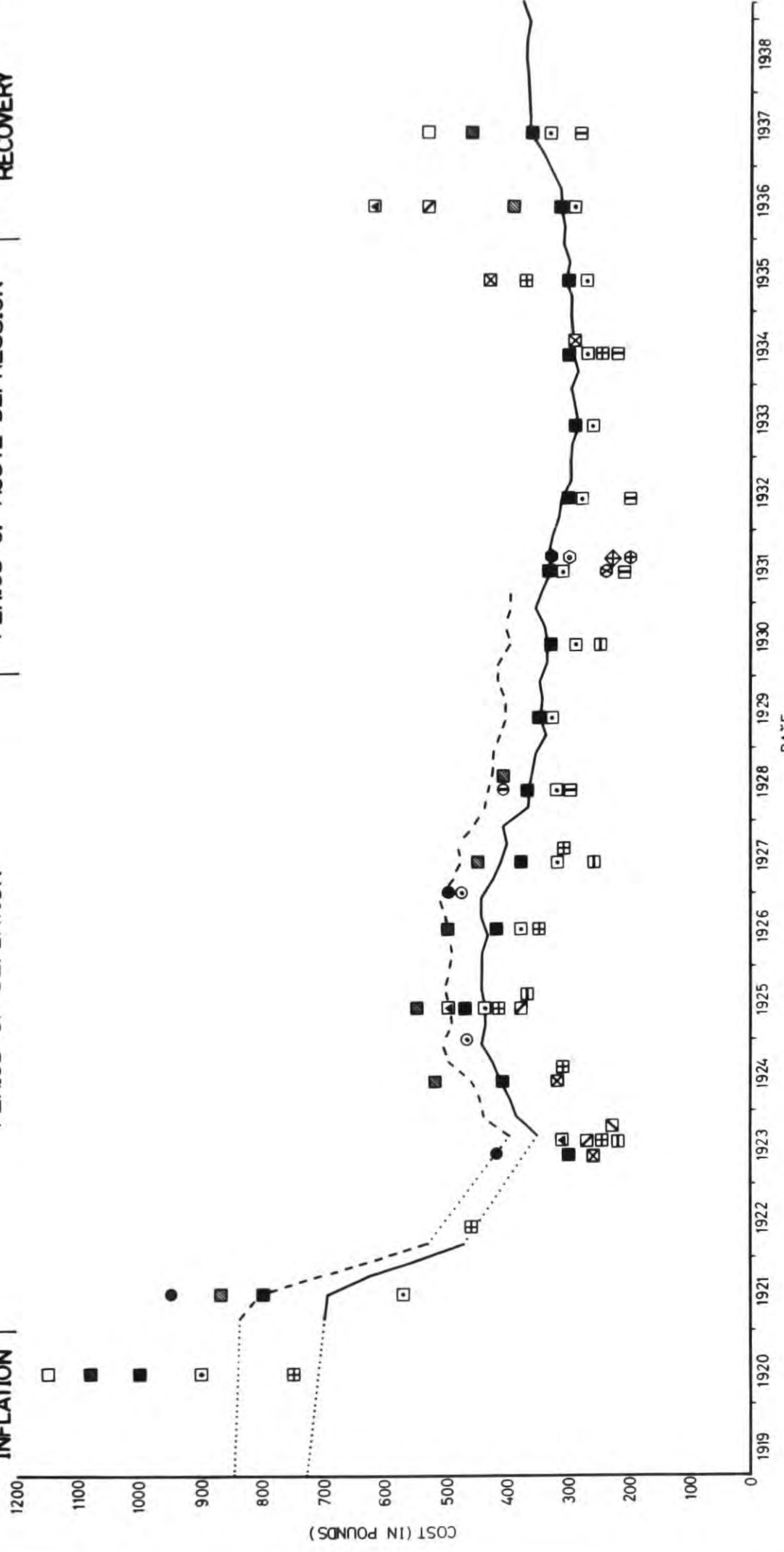
Between 1919 and 1939, four economic periods may be determined. The first occurred immediately after the war and extended from 1919 to 1921. It was a period of marked inflation, in which the cost of living, building costs and interest rates were high. Rapid deflation followed and between 1922 and 1930, the cost of living dropped to about 60 per cent above that of pre-war years. During this period, building costs were lower, but ranged from 65 to 100 per cent above pre-war costs. At the same time, interest rates remained at about 5 per cent (as opposed to about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in 1913-1914 and 6 per cent in 1919). From 1930 to 1935, a period of acute economic depression was experienced. Living and building costs were further reduced as were Local Authority interest rates which fell to $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent in 1935. During the period 1936 to 1938, the economy made a gradual recovery - the cost of living and building indices returned to the 1930 levels and the interest rate rose to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent (in 1938).

Figure 4:1 depicts the average National costs for A3 and B3 dwellings in England and Wales, for the period 1919-1939, and compares them with the average costs for dwellings in Newcastle, and actual costs of dwellings on individual estates in Gosforth, Tynemouth and North Shields.¹ From Figure 4:1, it can be seen that the National average cost of an A3 dwelling was highest immediately after World War I, during the period of inflation. Towards the end of 1920 a general fall in the cost of living had set in, and by 1921 building costs had begun to fall. Thereafter, house building costs fell rapidly, from £696 in June 1921 to £351 in September 1923. Between the latter date and November 1924, a fairly sharp rise occurred, but costs levelled off between November 1924 and December 1926, when a downward trend set in. Building costs continued to fall between 1930 and February 1934 - the period of acute depression when material costs fell, wage rates and the cost of living dropped, and

1. The data regarding National averages was obtained from Jarman, J.R., "Housing Subsidies and Rents", Stevens and Sons Ltd., 1948, Appendix 1, Pages 273-274.

FIGURE 4:1 THE COST OF LOCAL AUTHORITY DWELLINGS, 1919 - 1939.

PERIOD OF INFLATION | PERIOD OF DEFATION | PERIOD OF ACUTE DEPRESSION | PERIOD OF GRADUAL RECOVERY



- ENGLAND & WALES**
- ESTIMATED
- - - 5 ROOMS (3 BEDROOMS) - B3
- 4 ROOMS (3 BEDROOMS) - A3

- TYNESIDE**
- GOSFORTH
- NEWCASTLE
- SOUTH SHIELDS
- ◇ TYNEMOUTH

- HOUSES**
- 6 ROOMS (4 BEDROOMS) - B4
- 5 ROOMS (3 BEDROOMS) - B3
- 4 ROOMS (3 BEDROOMS) - A3
- 3 ROOMS (2 BEDROOMS) - A2
- | 2 ROOMS (1 BEDROOM) - A1

- FLATTED DWELLINGS**
- 5 ROOMS (4 BEDROOMS) - A4F
- × 4 ROOMS (3 BEDROOMS) - A3F
- + 3 ROOMS (2 BEDROOMS) - A2F
- 2 ROOMS (1 BEDROOM) - A1F

- TENEMENT DWELLINGS**
- ▲ 4 ROOMS (3 BEDROOMS) - A3T
- ∨ 3 ROOMS (2 BEDROOMS) - A2T
- ∟ 2 ROOMS (1 BEDROOM) - A1T

the level of unemployment increased. After 1935, the cost of living and the rate of interest rose, with the result that building costs also rose so that, by June 1937, the average National cost of an A3 dwelling was £361 - a sum previously experienced in September, 1927.

The most direct comparison is between A3 and B3 type houses, especially those constructed in Newcastle. The overall trend shows that costs of such property in Newcastle approximate with the average costs of similar houses throughout the country. Prior to 1926, however, the average cost of the B3 type house in Newcastle was about £70 greater than the National average. In 1926, the National average and the Newcastle average costs for B3 dwellings were virtually the same, and from that date prices in Newcastle fell, on average, below those experienced throughout the Nation.

The only other B3 property for which cost data were available was at Gosforth. These data refer to 28 dwellings erected on the Coxlodge estate in 1921. Costs are about £80 higher than the Newcastle averages for that date and £150 above those for the Nation. Moreover, according to a report in the "Newcastle Weekly Chronicle" for 16th April, 1921, costs of the same dwellings twelve months earlier would have been £1,250 which would have been £170 above the Newcastle average and approximately £400 above that experienced nationally. It must be borne in mind, however, that these Gosforth statistics are for actual and not average costs.

Average costs for A3 dwellings in Newcastle show an even closer resemblance to the National average than do the B3 dwellings. Initially, average costs of dwellings of the former type in Newcastle were higher than the average costs for the Nation but, by 1923 they were lower than, and by 1924 equal to, the National average. From 1924 to 1928, Newcastle average costs exceeded the National average (by about £30 in 1925) and then dropped below (by about £10 in 1926 and £30 in 1927).

From then until 1938 they were virtually equal to the average costs, slightly magnifying the inflexions experienced throughout the country.

The lower cost of houses in other regions of the country was, in fact, recognised by the Newcastle Authorities and alleged to be due to "the wages and other expenses being lower than those in Newcastle".¹

Other costs of A3 dwellings were obtained for 20 houses erected in 1923, and 48 houses erected in 1926/27 on the Coxlodge Estate at Gosforth, and for 50 houses erected at the Ridgeway in South Shields. Once again the former are actual costs, and approximate more with the average National costs for B3 dwellings than with those for the A3 type, being about £50 above the latter figure in 1923 and £60 in 1926/27. The South Shields figures are average for two types of property - semi-detached and four in a block. The latter were each £11 dearer than the semi-detached, this being attributed to bad tendering,² and the average costs for the 50 houses built in 1931 were about £12 less than the National and Newcastle averages for the same year.

It is difficult to take the analysis further than this as no detailed statistics are readily available for the comparative National costs of dwellings with fewer than four rooms, or for the various sizes of tenement and flatted dwellings. However, a number of features stand out:-

(a) A2 dwellings in Newcastle in 1920 cost, on average, more than the average for both A3 and B3 dwellings in England and Wales.

(b) The average cost of an A2 flat in Newcastle in 1920 and 1922 was above the National average for A3 dwellings.

(c) A2 dwellings on the Coxlodge Estate, Gosforth were, in 1924/25 and 1926/27, erected at about £30 and £40, respectively,

1. "Newcastle Weekly Chronicle", 17th January, 1920.

2. Paton Watson, J., "Recent Municipal Works at South Shields", Page 896.

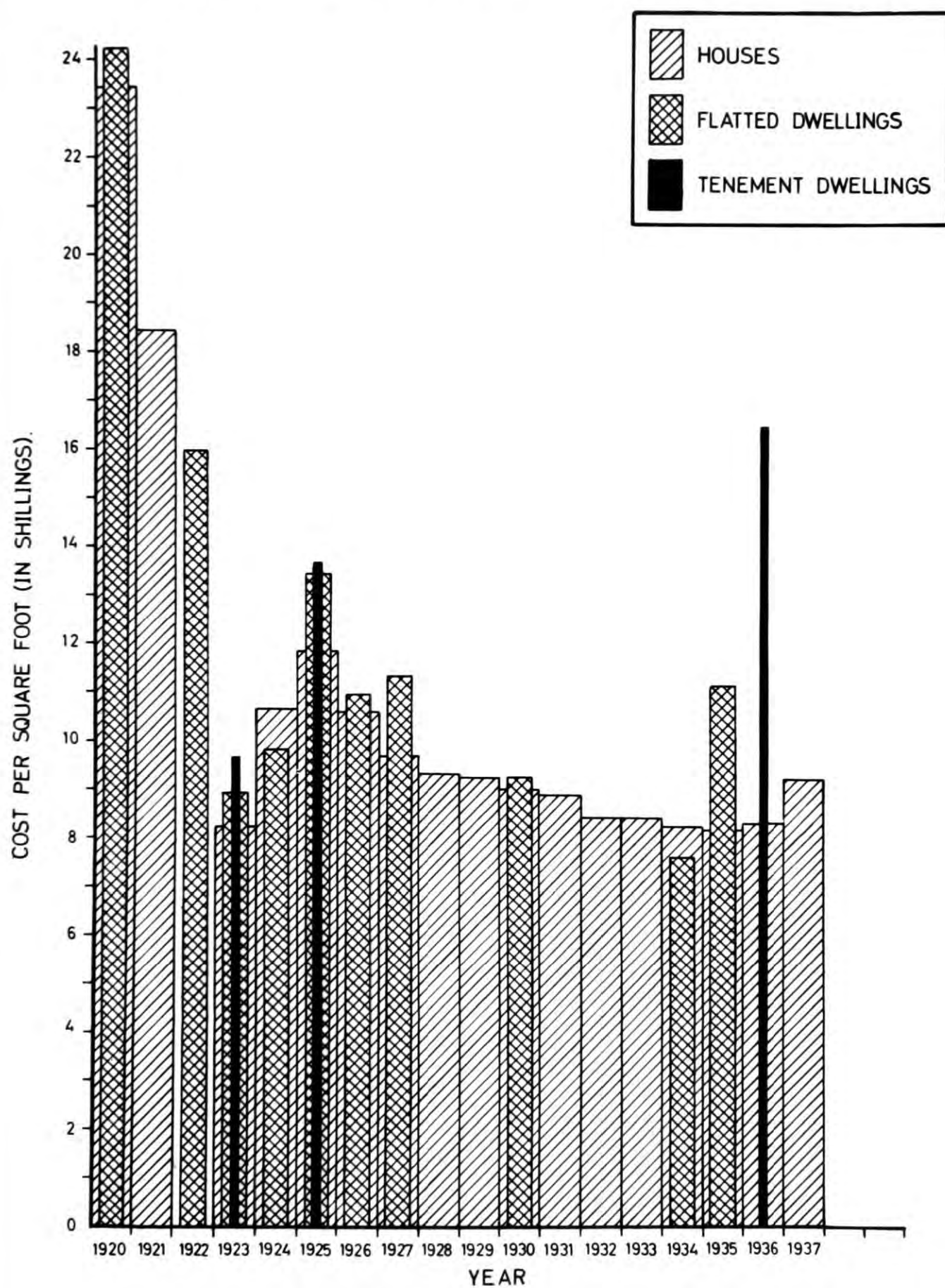
above the National average for the larger A3 dwelling.

- (d) The average cost of an A3 tenement in Newcastle in 1925 was equivalent to the average National cost of a B3 house. At the same time, an A2 dwelling in Newcastle cost, on average, the same as the average for an A3 dwelling throughout the country.
- (e) A1 type terraced houses at Coxlodge, Gosforth, cost more than the average for an A3 house in England and Wales, and the same as an average B3 dwelling in Newcastle.
- (f) Tenements in Newcastle tended to be dearer than flatted dwellings, whilst both, until 1935, were apparently cheaper to build than houses with an equivalent number of rooms. In 1935, the price of an A3 flat in Newcastle was, on average, approximately £130 dearer than an A3 house, whilst an A2 flat was about £100 dearer than a house of the same design. Similarly in 1936, A3 and A2 tenements cost about £310 and £240, respectively, more than the corresponding house.

As was pointed out in Chapter III (Page 55) however, it appears that the general trend was for the size of Council dwellings to be reduced over the period. Moreover, as "there was a considerable variation in the standards of floor space in the houses built by Local Authorities between the wars"¹ a study of unit costs is, in some respects, more important than a study of absolute costs. Unfortunately, no detailed quarterly statistics are readily available regarding the average size of A3 dwellings constructed on Tyneside, but it is possible to study the unit costs of dwellings erected in Newcastle throughout the period. From this, it would appear (Figure 4:2) that the average cost per square foot of all houses in Newcastle declined rapidly from 1920 to 1923. After that date, unit costs rose until they reached a peak in 1926. The nadir

1. Central Housing Advisory Committee "Design of Dwellings", H.M.S.O. 1944, Page 13.

**FIGURE 4:2 NEWCASTLE UNIT BUILDING COSTS
for FLATS, HOUSES & TENEMENTS, 1919 - 1939.**



occurred in 1935.

It can also be seen that the average unit costs for all houses in the years 1920, 1923, 1925, 1927, 1930 and 1935 were lower than similar costs for flatted dwellings. These differences ranged from threepence per square foot more for flats in 1930 to three shillings per square foot more in 1935. By comparison, the average unit costs of all houses erected in Newcastle in the years 1924 and 1934 were greater than those for flatted dwellings - the range being ten pence per square foot in 1924 and eight pence at the latter date.

In all cases where tenement dwellings were erected in Newcastle, the costs per square foot were higher than those for both flats and houses. Thus, in 1923, the unit costs of tenement dwellings were ninepence above those costs for flatted dwellings, and one shilling and fivepence above those for houses. Unit building costs for tenement dwellings were greater in 1925 than the equivalent cost for housing, but only threepence more than those for flatted dwellings. However, costs per square foot for tenements rose steeply again in 1936, and were eight shillings and twopence more than those for houses.

Thus, it would appear that on average building costs per square foot in Newcastle were highest for tenement dwellings, while those for flatted dwellings were higher than those for houses.¹ It would also appear that the absolute average cost of houses in Newcastle at least, was generally higher than that experienced nationally. Moreover, it is clear that the unit costs of construction fell over the period - a result not only of a decrease in absolute costs, but also of the general decrease in the size of property (see Page 55).

Rents.

In the inter-war years, rents for municipal dwellings were determined largely by three factors:

1. A further inducement to the adoption of low-density dwelling-forms.

- (a) Capital costs
- (b) Annual outgoings
- (c) Subsidies received

Capital costs included the cost of the land and its development, erecting the buildings and miscellaneous fees (e.g. legal expenses), while annual outgoings included interest charges on the loan, the estimated cost of maintenance, management, etc., and rates (including water). From the sum of these two groups was deducted the State and Rate subsidies which were both equated over a period of 60 years. This gave the sum which the total aggregate rents had to be if no additional burden, other than the minimum required under the Act, was to fall on the rates; that is, if the rents were to be "economic".

To illustrate the method of calculation, an example may be taken from the Borough Surveyor's accounts for the erection of 294 flats in the Egerton-Farnham Road Housing Scheme in South Shields, under the 1930 Housing Act.

Loan charges on £93,950 (cost of scheme) for 60 years		£6,738
Exchequer grant: 1,446 persons @ 45/- each	£3,235 10s. Od.	
Rates subsidy: 294 flats @ 75/- each	<u>£1,102 10s. Od.</u>	
Payable for 40 years	£4,338 0s. Od.	
Calculated on a 60 year basis making an aggregate rent per annum which must not be exceeded		<u>£3,897</u> <u>£2,841</u>

Once the total annual expenditure on housing had been covered by the total annual income from rents and subsidies, the rents of individual houses could be fixed at the discretion of the Local Authority. Usually, the A3 house was taken as the base from which the rents of larger and smaller dwellings could be determined. This meant that the mere erection of different types of dwellings tended to promote diversity in net rents.

However, apart from differentiation in rents between dwelling types,

significant differences occurred between groups of houses of any one type. In Tynemouth, for example, according to Jarmain¹ special rent reductions were made for dwellings on remote sites² and when difficulty was experienced in letting property.³ Similarly, Newcastle determined the Appropriate Normal Rent for dwellings erected under the 1924 Act according to the amenity value of the estate.⁴

Differential renting was facilitated further by the 1930 Act which provided that Local Authorities may charge in respect of any house, "such rent as they may think fit, and may grant rebates from rent subject to such terms and conditions as they think fit."⁵

Details regarding rent rebate schemes on Tyneside for this period are difficult to obtain, but it would appear that schemes were put into operation under the 1930 Act in Blaydon and Gateshead and eventually, in 1939, in Newcastle.

Because of the lack of central guidance and precedent, forms of rent subsidy differed with the Local Authority. Blaydon, for example, gave rent assistance without reference to any scale whatsoever; the decision as to how much assistance should be given being left to an official. On the other hand, Gateshead inaugurated a table giving the rent payable from the correlation of assessable income, type of house and number in the family. The assessable income was arrived at by disregarding

- (a) ten shillings of earnings and eight shillings of unemployment pay for first son or daughter,
- (b) seven shillings and sixpence of earnings and six shillings of unemployment pay for second son or daughter,

1. Jarmain, J.R., "Housing Subsidies and Rents", Pages 183 and 187.
 2. To counteract the increased living costs involved in journey to work, shop, recreation, etc.
 3. Owing to lack of demand for certain dwelling types, unemployment and bad sites.
 4. Jarmain, J.R., "Housing Subsidies and Rents", Page 85.
 5. Housing Act, 1930, Section 27C - see Appendix 2, Page 215.

- (c) five shillings of earnings and four shillings of unemployment pay for third son or daughter.

At the same time, the maximum "assessable" income above which no rebate was allowed was £2 10s. Od.¹

To enable Local Authorities to make a reduction in the rents of older, more expensive dwellings which were proving, in certain cases, difficult to let, and to even out the anomalies in rents due to dwellings being erected under different Acts, an Equalisation Account was introduced under Section 47 of the 1935 Act (see Appendix 2, Page 217). Once again, it is difficult to ascertain the way Tyneside Local Authorities responded to this. However, it is known that in 1937 Wallsend introduced a general scheme by which low rents should be increased and high rents reduced. It was intended that, by 1940, there should be one rent for each type of house, the only differential being based on the amenities of the situation.²

Actual Rents Charged.

By definition, rents are the tenant's periodical payment to the landlord for the use of property, and strictly they do not include local and water rates which, by law, are paid by the occupier. In practice, however, the landlord usually pays these charges and adds them to the rent or, where the Local Authority is the landlord, these charges are paid as part of the rent. Thus, two categories of rent occur:-

- (a) The gross rent, which includes local rates and water charges.
- (b) The net rent, which excludes these charges.

To the tenant of Local Authority property, then, it is not the net rent but the gross rent which is important. For the purpose of this work, however, it might be interesting to examine the state of net rents as the effect of local rates upon council property makes for less comparability between Local Authorities than already exists (owing to the

1. Jarman, J.R., "Housing Subsidies and Rents", Pages 227, 241 and 247.
 2. Jarman, J.R., "Housing Subsidies and Rents", Page 160.

peculiar factors of local costs, design, financial stability, etc.).

If an examination is made of the average net rents of dwellings of various sizes erected in Newcastle under the principal Housing Acts (Table 4:4) it would appear that the rents of all dwellings were higher under the earlier Acts of 1919 and 1924 than under the later Act of 1930. However, it is noticeable that for the five room house, rents under the 1924 Act appear to have been higher than those under that of 1919. The range of average net rents was from three shillings for a two room bungalow or three room flat built under the 1930 Act to twelve shillings and seven pence for a five room house built under the Act of 1924.

From the sparse figures available in Table 4:5, actual net rents would also appear to be lower under the 1924 Act than under that of 1919, for all types of houses. The policy of rent differentiation on size of house is observable in all areas, there being a difference of two shillings between four and five room dwellings in Gateshead and Newcastle, one shilling and six pence between three and four room dwellings in Newcastle and one shilling between two, three, four and five room dwellings in Gosforth, and three and four room dwellings in Tynemouth.

As the rates a householder pays are proportionate to the size of the house and thus are indirectly dependent upon rent, dwellings erected in the inter-war years under the Housing Acts departed from the normal method of valuation since they were deemed to be let at "privileged" rents, which had no relation to their letting value, and which could not be taken as a basis for determining Rateable Value. Assessments were made, therefore, which were roughly proportionate to the gross value of ordinary private houses of a similar type. Thus, rates on Local Authority property in Newcastle (Table 4:6) varied from one shilling and ten pence per week (on average) for a two room bungalow erected under the Act of 1924, to five shillings and a penny per week for a six room house erected under the 1919 Act. The table also shows that the rates for

dwellings of various types showed no decline over the period, despite the fact that, as was shown in Chapter III (Page 55), the average size of dwellings was reduced. It is interesting to note the proportion of the Gross Rent made up by Rates in Newcastle. From Table 4:7, it would appear that rates contributed between 23.9 per cent of the Gross Rent in five room houses built under the 1924 Act, and 47.8 per cent of that for three room houses built under the Act of 1930. A further feature of interest is the higher rate percentages of Gross Rent per type obtained under the 1930 Act than under the Acts of 1919 and 1924. Whilst rates formed between 26.5 per cent and 29.8 per cent of the Gross Rent of property built under the 1919 Act, and between 23.9 per cent and 32.1 per cent of the Gross Rent of 1924 Act property, they accounted for between 35 and 46.9 per cent of that for 1930 Act property.

It has been shown earlier that

(a) the highest rents occurred under the Acts of 1919 and 1924 (Page 67).

(b) rates did not decline in absolute terms over the period, with the reduction that took place in the size of property (Page 68).

When taken with the fact that, under the 1930 Act, there was generally both a need and the ability to build cheaply, these two features would appear to explain the higher rate percentages experienced under the latter Act.¹

If the rate percentage of weighted Gross Rents for the year ending 31st March, 1939 are observed for Gateshead, Newcastle, Tynemouth, Wallsend and Blaydon, (Table 4:8) it can be seen that values of no less than 28.3 per cent² and no more than 51.8 per cent³ prevail.

Thus, it would appear that rates formed a significant part of weekly

1. It has already been shown that rents were related to the cost of building.
2. This figure is for the rate percentage in the Gross Rent for five room parlour houses in Newcastle.
3. The value for six room parlour houses in Blaydon.

Local Authority rents on Tyneside, frequently raising the net rent by between 30 and 50 per cent, depending on the type of property and area. Moreover, with the exception of Blaydon, these figures are not representative of the most highly rated areas of Tyneside where, as was shown in Chapter I (Page 9), lived the poorer wage earners.

Ability of the Working-Classes to pay for Municipal Accommodation.

Commenting on the success of Council development in housing the working-classes, the Coles, writing in 1937, point out that

"the general run of working-class families, except where they (were) able to obtain exceptionally low-rented Council houses (remained) for the most part in the older dwellings"¹

while it was out of the question for the slum dwellers

"to move into new houses, except where they were forcibly removed under a slum-clearance scheme or demolition order".¹

In this section, it is intended to make an assessment of the success of the schemes carried out by Tyneside Local Authorities by estimating the ability of the working-classes to pay for the new property. This can be achieved by taking into account

- (a) the wage likely to have been received in certain trades, and
- (b) the estimated proportion required to be paid on Gross Rents if the level of subsistence was to be attained.

Two subsistence standards were worked out at 1935 prices. These were Bowley's "bare subsistence living standards" and Rowntree's "Human Needs Standard". According to these, the proportion which a family of five, (man, wife and three children) should spend on Gross Rents was 23.43 per cent and 17.55 per cent, respectively, of the weekly income.

Thus, assuming one wage earner per family and that the proportion to be spent on rent remains constant throughout the working-classes, it is possible to calculate the amount different occupational groups should

1.Cole, G.D.H., and M.I., "The Condition of Britain", Page 155.

spend on gross rents. The data on wage rates is the average for towns other than London, Birmingham, Manchester, and Glasgow at December, 1933. Thus, a third assumption needs to be made - that these rates were similar to those paid in similar trades on Tyneside, at that date.

A fourth assumption is that a family with three children would, on the basis of the 1936 Act, require a three or four bedroom house (four or five rooms).¹ If this is the case, and the Gross Rents required for these are compared with the amounts which it is postulated that the various occupational groups of the working-classes could afford to pay, it can be seen (Table 4:10) that by the Rowntree Standards, none of the labouring classes, (apart from Municipal Labourers in Tyneside who could afford to rent an A4 type dwelling) could afford to pay the rents demanded by their Local Authorities for their property in 1939. Similarly, none of the skilled workers could afford an A3 or an A4 dwelling in Gateshead, or a B3 dwelling in any of the areas. Only the A3 dwellings in Tynemouth, and Wallsend were at all within the range of this latter group, according to the Rowntree standard, and even these were not acceptable to all classes in each region.

The Bowley standard gives a slightly different picture, but it is only a matter of degree. Many of the labouring classes appear only to have been able to afford an A4 dwelling in Tynemouth, while A4 property in Gateshead, Wallsend and Newcastle seems to have been beyond the financial reach of most skilled workers.

The significance of these conclusions is heightened when it is realised that

- (a) both the Rowntree and the Bowley standards underestimated the cost of living outside the six main groups (food, rent, clothing, fuel, and light, insurance and household sundries)

1. See Appendix 5, Chapter II, Overcrowding, 1936, Page 241.

which means that the proportion of the rent in the total income would be much lower than it was in the standard.

In this respect, the rent postulated from the Rowntree standard is regarded as being the more accurate.

(b) wage rates on Tyneside (one of the most depressed areas of the country during the inter-war years) are likely to have been lower than the average of those found in towns other than London, Birmingham, Manchester and Glasgow.

Thus, as those compulsarily moved into new Council property (under Slum-Clearance or Overcrowding programmes) were often, because of the very nature of the problem, the poorest members of the community, it is obvious that the ability to pay rent would be low, unless large rent rebate schemes were inaugurated or basic food requirements were curtailed. As has been shown above (Page 65), rebate schemes do not seem to have been widely adopted on Tyneside during the inter-war years, so it is more likely that a reduction would have to be made in family expenditure.¹

However it is likely that, prior to 1930, the property built in the inter-war years was not always available to the most deserving cases since the allocation scheme was frequently based not only on the need of the applicant, but also on his ability to pay the rent. This is known to have been the case in Gosforth² but it is felt that this, or a similar allocation scheme, was widely used in Tyneside before 1930, in conjunction with the policy, known to be practised in Felling and Jarrow in 1921, of giving ex-servicemen the first preference for the new houses.

Conclusion.

In conclusion it might be pointed out that during the period, the building activity of Local Authorities raised the general standard of

1. As evidence to support this, it might be pointed out that it was argued by tenants of the Primrose Estate, Jarrow, that if the rents of the property built under the 1930 Act went up by eight pence per week, as the Council proposed, then a reduction would have to be made by the housewife in the food provided. ("Newcastle Weekly Chronicle", 13th June, 1936.)

2. "Newcastle Weekly Chronicle", 15th February, 1936.

working-class accommodation, introduced minimum acceptable standards, and created an interest in good housing. In so doing though, the anomalous situation was created whereby the most necessitous areas received assistance from the State, but had to contribute very large sums from the rates. Thus, the burden of the rates, as expressed in the Gross Rents, fell more heavily on those tenants living in the poorer areas than on those living in the less heavily rated, more prosperous areas. Consequently, because of the high level of rents (and rates) the benefits of Local Authority housing tended to go to people for whom they were not intended and, even when the lower-paid working-class families were moved into better accommodation, food budgets were frequently reduced to a level "indispensable for a healthy life, so that most of them (would) drift back to overcrowded slums".¹ Although it would appear, therefore, that Local Authority building failed, directly to improve the conditions of the poorest members of the community, it is obvious that attempts were made to adhere to the principles and standards of the Tudor Walter's Report for, despite a slight reduction in size during the 1930's, standards remained high, as did the quality of building, since contractors had to be efficient to avoid bankruptcy, and operatives had to work hard and well to avoid unemployment. Clearly the costs and rents of Local Authority property varied according to such factors as the property type, the date of construction, and the Act from which the subsidy was received. However, it would seem that economic factors favoured the development of low-density building and the provision of accommodation in attractive and healthful suburban environments. As this conformed with the planning and architectural ideals of the period, Local Authorities were encouraged to develop on the periphery of existing settlements, and it was largely for these reasons that it was as extensive, low-density suburban

1. Cole, G.D.H., and M.I., "The Condition of Britain", Page 160.

development that inter-war Municipal activity found expression in the urban landscape.

CHAPTER V. AN EXAMINATION OF SOME ASPECTS OF THE PRIVATE RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT OF TYNESIDE, 1919-1939.

During the period 1919-1939, it was the private sector of the building industry which accounted for the greatest proportion of residential development in England and Wales. Tyneside did not differ in this respect but, as is shown in Table 5:1, private development accounted for a much smaller proportion of the total building,¹ and, in certain areas,² residential development in the public sector exceeded that in the private sector.

The explanation for these phenomena would appear to result largely from the very nature of municipal development and the changed role of the private builder. As was mentioned above (Page 29), municipal building was encouraged by the Government because the private builder was finding it difficult, if not impossible, to provide good quality housing which members of the working-classes could afford. From 1919, therefore, Local Authorities became increasingly large landlords while the private builders concentrated more on providing houses for sale. Thus, as housing conditions on Tyneside were poor, the level of real income was low, and the level of unemployment was high, it is hardly surprising that Local Authority housebuilding was of such importance in the area.

The aims of the chapter are, therefore,

- (a) to examine, in general terms, the distribution and location of private residential development throughout Tyneside, and attempt some explanation for this.
- (b) to show in detail, through the medium of a case study, how the functions of the private sector contributed to the residential development of one area - Gosforth.

1. Only 57.0 per cent of the total inter-war residential development on Tyneside took place in the private sector, as opposed to an average of 72.1 per cent in England and Wales.

2. Blaydon, Felling, Jarrow, Newburn and South Shields.

The Distribution of Private Residential Development.

The index of concentration of private residential development in the Tyneside area¹ shows that half of the inter-war dwellings erected in the private sector on Tyneside, are concentrated in Local Authority areas containing 42.65 per cent of the region's total inter-war property (Table 5:2). Thus, although the index of 57.35 is not high, some concentration does occur in the distribution of private development, as almost half of the region's private houses are contained in five of Tyneside's Local Authority areas.

Moreover, from the location quotients for private building activity,² it can be seen that these five areas³ are the five which have more than their share of private property. Newcastle and Hebburn have an almost equal share of private and municipal housing, but the remaining seven Authorities⁴ have less than their share of private housing.

Highton lists the percentages of Rateable Value derived from working-class houses⁵ for eleven Tyneside towns (Table 1:4), and it is interesting to note that the areas with the greatest proportions of private housing are the areas with the lowest percentage of rates from working-class property. The correlation would appear to be significant⁶ which would suggest that private residential development eschewed the working-class areas, and was concentrated in the more attractive middle-class, residential areas.

It must be realised, however, that development in the private sector

1. For the method of calculation of the Index of Concentration see Appendix 3 - Index of Concentration.
2. For an account of the method of calculation see Appendix 3 - Location Quotient.
3. Whitley and Monkseaton, Gosforth, Gateshead, Wallsend and Tynemouth.
4. Blaydon, Felling, Jarrow, Newburn, Ryton, South Shields and Whickham.
5. That is, houses of an annual value of £1-£13.
6. If a Spearman's Rank Correlation is calculated for the relationship, then it can be seen that a coefficient of +0.67730 exists (see Appendix 3). A student's t test shows that the correlation is significant at the 5 per cent level.

took two forms - that which received a Government subsidy and that which did not. Under the Housing Acts, a private builder could claim a subsidy from the National Government providing the property conformed to the specifications laid down in the relevant Act (see Appendix 2). By this device, private developers and private Trusts were encouraged to transfer their attentions from providing the more expensive house, to the less expensive, which could be rented by the working-classes. Thus, property erected under subsidy in the private sector was aimed directly at relieving overcrowding and clearing slums, while property erected without a subsidy was intended largely to satisfy the natural increase, and changes in taste, of those families able to buy their own home.

As was mentioned in Chapter III (Page 31), only 18.27 per cent of the total number of dwellings erected in the private sector were constructed with the aid of a Government subsidy; unaided private development being responsible, as in the country as a whole, for the largest proportion of inter-war building. While subsidised private development had practically ceased in England and Wales by 1930, the large contribution made by unaided private development resulted largely from building activity which took place after that date. Unfortunately no statistics are readily available regarding the rate of private building on Tyneside during the inter-war years, but it is apparent that the greatest number of subsidised private enterprise property was erected under the Act of 1923 (which was intended to stimulate the private building industry), while the second largest number was provided under the 1930 Act. These two Acts accounted for some 95 per cent of the total; the remainder being erected primarily under the Act of 1919, but also under the Acts of 1924 and 1925.

Subsidised building in the private sector took place in each area but, with an index of concentration of 70, it would appear to be highly concentrated. Indeed, half of the region's subsidised private enterprise housing is concentrated in an area that contains only 30 per cent of all Tyneside's

inter-war private housing.

This area is composed of Jarrow, Blaydon, Gateshead, Hebburn, Ryton, South Shields and part of Tynemouth. For subsidised private housing in each of these areas, the location quotient is greater than one, showing that each area has more than its share of subsidised private property. Other areas with a location quotient greater than one include Wallsend and Whickham.

Seven of these nine areas¹ may be regarded as non-residential - the areas where private residential development was aimed chiefly at improving the chronic housing conditions that existed. This is supported by the fact that in only one of these areas (Gateshead) was the location quotient greater than one for the distribution of all types of private enterprise housing.²

The remaining areas (Tynemouth and Wallsend) may be regarded as areas of mixed development. In these, development by private enterprise made a proportionately larger contribution than municipal development, and development by subsidised private enterprise made only a slightly larger contribution than did unsubsidised private development.

Of the five areas³ in which location quotients for the distribution of unsubsidised private enterprise development were greater than one, in only two (Gosforth and Whitley and Monkseaton) did development by private enterprise proportionately exceed municipal development. These two areas may be regarded as the only true residential areas of inter-war Tyneside, as municipal property formed a greater proportion of the residential development in the remaining three. Because of this, two of these areas (Felling and Newburn) may be regarded as non-residential, but as

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1. Blaydon, Gateshead, Hebburn, Jarrow, Ryton, South Shields and Whickham.
 2. That is, development by private enterprise made a proportionately larger contribution than municipal development.
 3. Felling, Gosforth, Newburn, Newcastle and Whitley and Monkseaton.

municipal development only marginally exceeded private development in Newcastle, this area may be regarded as one of mixed residential development.

The Location of Areas of Private Residential Development.

In Chapter III (Pages 45 and 47) it was pointed out that areas of municipal development were either located in areas of central redevelopment (especially after 1930), or tacked on to the fringe of the existing development. The Tudor Walter's Report of 1918 advised Local Authorities that while factors other than cost must be considered¹ "those (sites) will naturally be selected which can be most economically developed".² By building on undeveloped land on the outskirts of towns, Local Authorities were able, therefore, to provide improved accommodation in an attractive residential setting, without incurring needless expenditure on long extensions to sewers, sewage disposal works, water, gas and electric light mains; hence the obvious preference of Local Authorities for such sites.

In the private sector, only the builder of subsidised property which augmented or substituted for municipal development would be tied so stringently to such economies; the contract builder would presumably operate on a site chosen (usually for its attractiveness) by his client, while the stringency of economic controls would vary for the speculative builder according to the sector of the market for which he was building. Even so, contemporary newspaper evidence would suggest that attractiveness of site was a factor of considerable importance in the location of estates by this form of development. For example:

- (1) "At Benwell (Newcastle), private enterprise has resulted in the laying out of an estate according to the Garden City styles, with generous views of the Derwent Valley and Whickham Hills ... It adjoins and overlooks Hodgkin Park, with its picturesque dene on the North and South, and the well-timbered grounds of the Victoria Schools for

1. For example, attractiveness of site, proximity of work-place, places of education, etc.
2. "Report of the Committee on the Provision of Dwellings for the Working-Classes", Page 10, Part IV, Para. 43.

the Blind, the Joseph and Jane Cowen Memorial Home and the Benwell Grange on the North and East, with the grounds of St. James' Church in the immediate vicinity".¹

- (2) "Axwell Park (Blaydon) is just the sort of place where the jaded town worker would desire to live. It is comparatively near the hub of industry and business and yet sufficiently removed to be a rural retreat. It has beautiful woodlands, green, grassy slopes and a lake through which the Derwent sends an offshoot, and altogether it gives the visitor a delightful feeling of repose".²
- (3) Newton Park Estate (Newcastle) "stands in a healthy position - the highest in Heaton. It is an ideal site, overlooking the Dene, while Freeman's Park is just across the road".³
- (4) "Welburn Estate (Newcastle), at the junction of Jesmond Road and Jesmond Dene Road, faces Jesmond Dene and has one of the most picturesque sites in Newcastle".⁴
- (5) The 40-acre site at Winlotion (Blaydon) "has a fine view over the Hollinside and Gibside Estates on the opposite bank of the river and picturesque Axwell Park is to the left".⁵

Thus, because the economy factor was less, and the attractiveness factor was more, important in the location of areas of private residential development, it might be assumed that the private developer was less restricted in his choice of sites; that while the edge of the built-up area proved highly attractive for municipal development, private development frequently moved farther away from the existing town (and, incidentally, the town centre) in search of the most suitable site; that while Local Authorities were advised to avoid "steep, hilly land, especially that with a much broken surface",⁶ because of the

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1. "Newcastle Weekly Chronicle", 28th February, 1920.
 2. "Newcastle Weekly Chronicle", 7th April, 1923.
 3. "Newcastle Weekly Chronicle", 21st March, 1931.
 4. "Newcastle Weekly Chronicle", 6th June, 1931.
 5. "Newcastle Weekly Chronicle", 15th September, 1934.
 6. "Report of the Committee on the Provision of Dwellings for the Working-Classes", Page 10, Part IV, Para. 45.

additional expense involved in "cutting and filling for the roadways, deep digging for the drains, and building up of foundations to form level sites for the groups of building on such land",¹ private developers could choose, within limits, such land to provide their development not only with picturesque views, but also with a healthful environment.

For these reasons it would not be surprising to find that areas of private residential development are located farther from the centre of the town than areas of municipal development and, at the same time, are located at higher altitudes.

A. The Distance of Areas of Development from Town Centres.

Because the area is divided into 14 individual administrative units, and residential development in each area took place in relationship to the particular phenomena peculiar to the area, the pattern of residential development is somewhat confused. However, a number of interesting features can be observed. Firstly, it is noticeable that the areas of better-class private housing tend to be located away from the areas of municipal development.² (Figure 3:4). Secondly it is interesting to note that in certain areas private development is located nearer to the town centre than municipal development (e.g. South Shields), while in others (e.g. Gateshead) the majority of the area's private development is located beyond the limit of municipal development.

To test whether, in actual fact, areas of private development were located farther from the town centres than areas of municipal development, measurement was made of the crow-fly distance of the nearest and farthest points of development from the town centre.³ From this data, a relative

1. "Report of the Committee on the Provision of Dwellings for the Working-Classes", Page 10, Part IV, Para. 45.

2. Visualise, (Figures 1:1 and 3:1) the location of high-class private residential development in Jesmond and Benton, Newcastle and lower-class municipal development at Walker and St. Anthony's; similarly the separation of the low-class municipal estates of Old Fold, Saltmeadows and Low Team in Gateshead from the areas of better-class private development at Deckham, Lobley Hill and Chowdene.

3. That is, the municipal offices or the Tyne Bridge in the case of Newcastle and Gateshead.

frequency histogram (Figure 5:1) and a percentage ogive (Figure 5:2) were prepared for the location of areas of private and municipal development at various distances from town centres.

These indicate that for both categories, building activity was confined to within five and threequarter miles of town centres. A slightly larger proportion of private building occurs at this distance (i.e. between five and a half and five and threequarter miles) but a greater proportion of municipal development is located between five and five and a half miles. However, the majority of development¹ lies within four miles of town centres. Approximately 70 per cent of all Tyneside's inter-war municipal property and 68 per cent of its private development is located within two miles of town centres while between two and four miles, on the other hand, the proportion of private development (30 per cent) exceeds municipal development (27 per cent).

Thus, within this four mile zone of town centres the proportion of municipal development exceeds that of private development in the nearer two miles and the proportion of private building exceeds that of municipal building in the farther. From this, it would appear that areas of private development are located farther from town centres than areas of municipal development. A chi-squared test (χ^2) was carried out to test the significance of this phenomenon and the results indicate that the observed conditions could have occurred by chance with a probability of just over 10 per cent (see Appendix 3). This being so, it is unjustified to postulate a difference of any great statistical significance between these two forms of development in terms of the distance from town centres.

However, it must be remembered that the situation is complicated somewhat by the fact that it has not been possible to separate subsidised from unsubsidised development in the private sector.

1. 99 per cent of all Tyneside's inter-war private property and 97 per cent of its municipal development.

FIG. 5:1 TYNESIDE, RELATIVE FREQUENCY HISTOGRAMS OF THE DISTANCE OF PRIVATE & PUBLIC DEVELOPMENT FROM TOWN CENTRES.

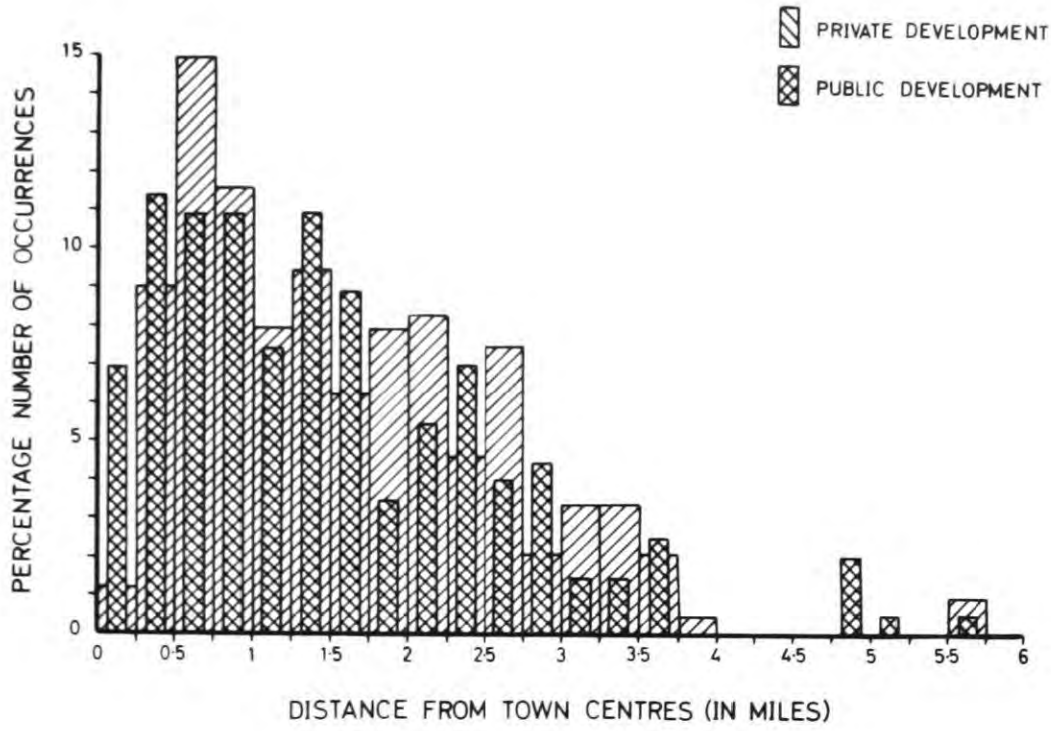
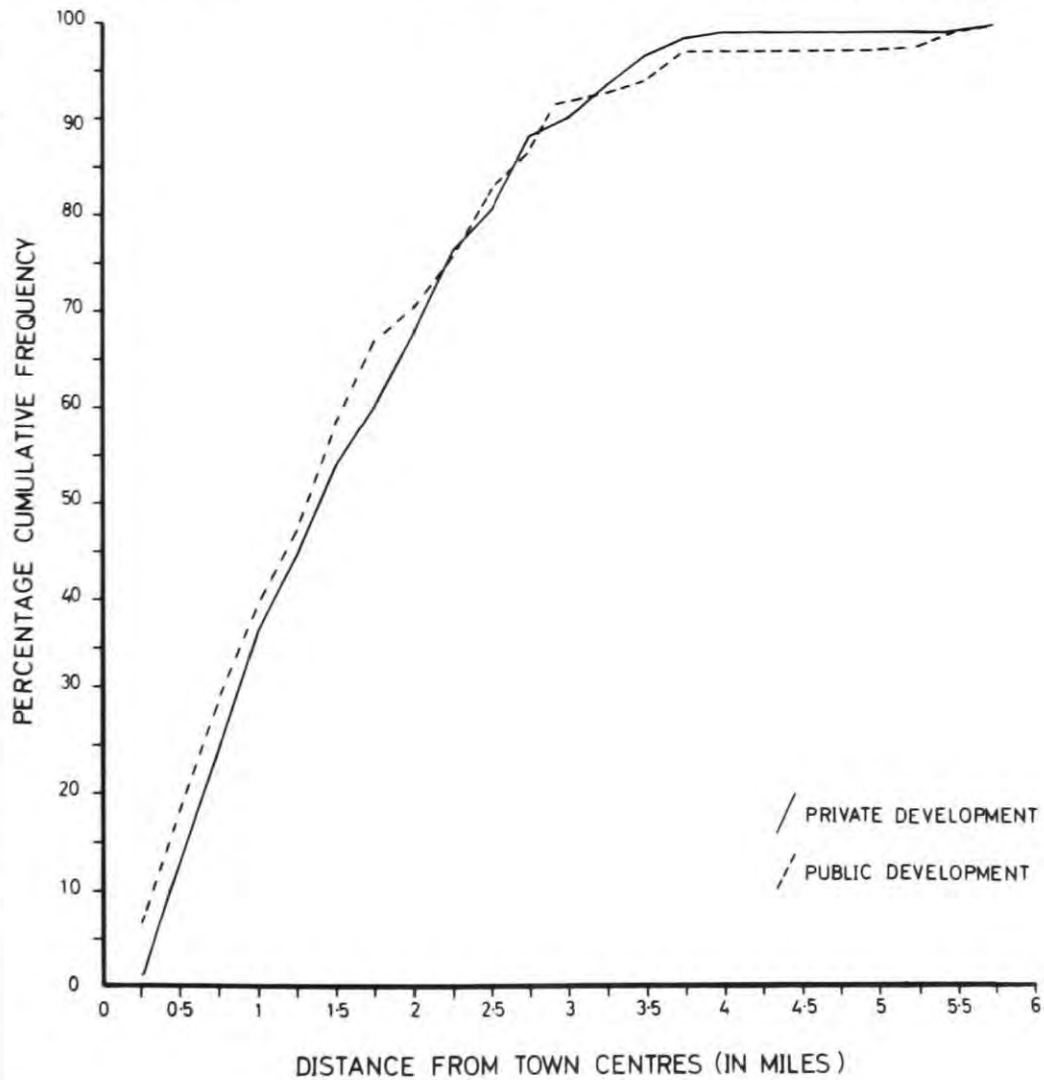


FIG. 5:2 TYNESIDE, PERCENTAGE OGIVES FOR THE DISTANCE OF PUBLIC & PRIVATE DEVELOPMENT FROM TOWN CENTRES.



B. The Height of Areas of Development above Sea-Level.

To test whether areas of private development were located at higher altitudes than areas of municipal development, a procedure was adopted which closely resembled that outlined above. Firstly, a record was made of the frequency with which development took place at particular heights above sea-level. From this data it was possible to plot a relative frequency histogram (Figure 5:3) and a percentage ogive (Figure 5:4), and so to compare the altitudinal locations of areas of private and municipal residential development.

The relative frequency histogram indicates that building took place in the public sector to an altitude of 500 feet and that the limit to private development was higher, at 575 feet. It also indicates that proportionately more council development took place at altitudes of between 0 and 125 feet, 225 and 300 feet and 325 and 475 feet, while proportionately more private property was erected between 125 and 225 feet, 300 and 325 feet and 475 and 575 feet.

This would seem to suggest that development in the private sector occurs at higher altitudes than development in the public sector. An analysis of the percentage ogive for heights above sea-level supports this. From the percentage ogive, it can be seen that the majority of development (over 60 per cent) in both categories took place below 225 feet. Of all private property 23 per cent was constructed in the 100 feet between 125 and 225 feet. On the other hand, the greatest proportion of municipal development took place at the lower level; 34 per cent of all municipal property being located below 125 feet and only 27 per cent between the 125 and 225 foot contour levels.

Almost all of the remaining development in both categories took place between 225 and 475 feet. However, although nearly 100 per cent of all municipal development occurs below 475 feet, only 97 per cent of all private development is located below this level. It was pointed out above that the limit to the height at which municipal building took place was lower than that for private building. Thus only 0.41 per cent of all

FIG. 5:3 TYNESIDE, RELATIVE FREQUENCY HISTOGRAMS OF THE HEIGHT OF PRIVATE & PUBLIC DEVELOPMENT ABOVE SEA LEVEL.

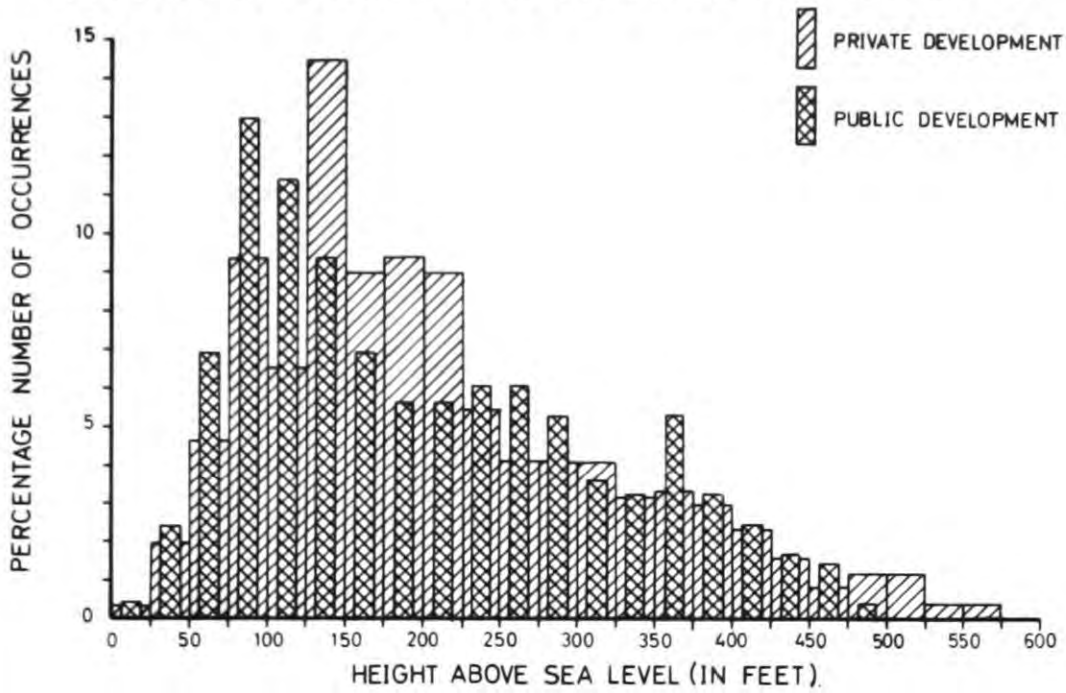
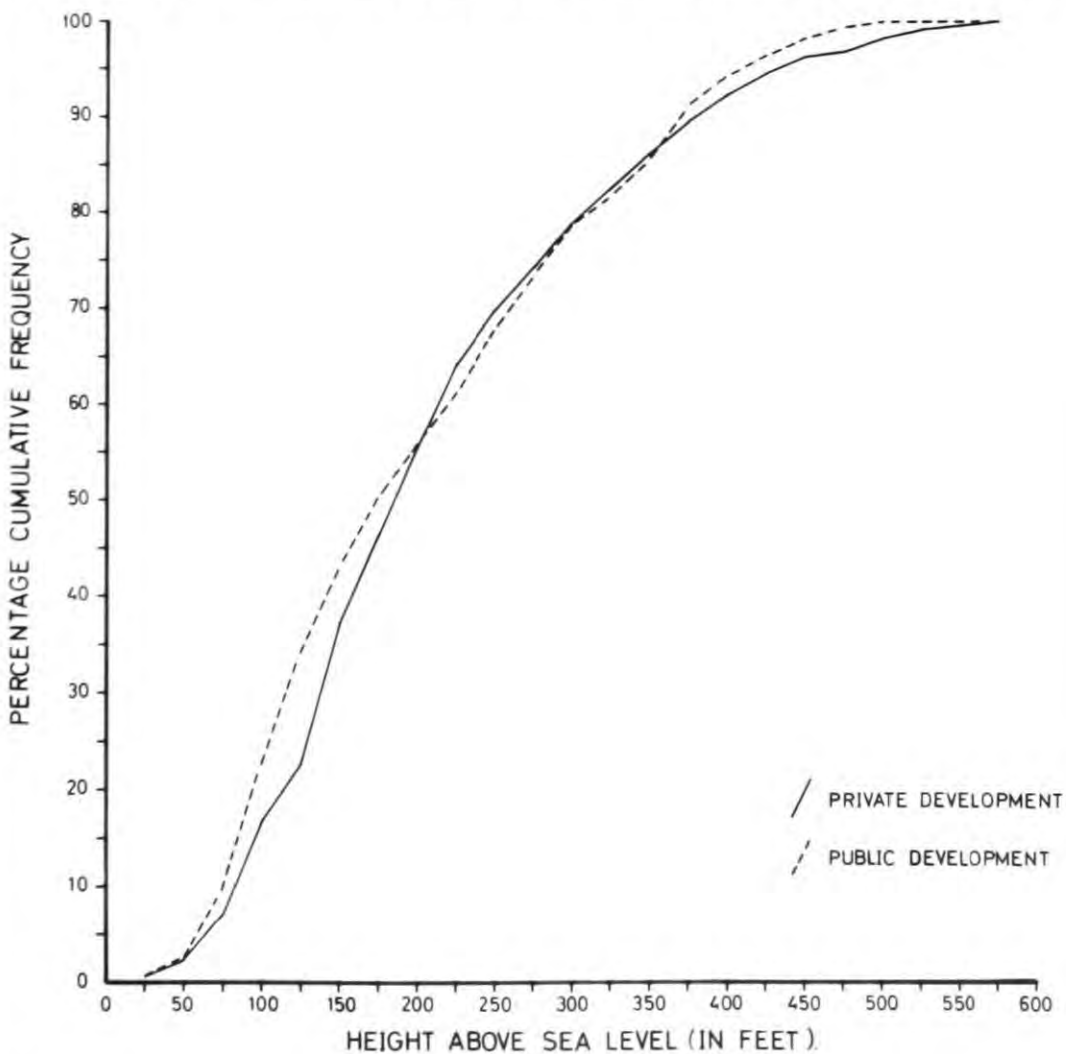


FIG. 5:4 TYNESIDE, PERCENTAGE OGIVES FOR THE HEIGHT OF PRIVATE & PUBLIC DEVELOPMENT ABOVE SEA LEVEL.



building in the public sector was above 475 feet while some 3.13 per cent of that in the private sector occurred between 475 and 575 feet.

This would seem to support the thesis that development in the private sector occurred at higher altitudes than development in the public sector. However, the results of a chi-squared (χ^2) test indicate that the observed conditions could have occurred by chance with a probability of more than 10 per cent.

Gosforth - A Case Study.

The aim of this section is to examine the whole process of inter-war residential development in both the private and the public sectors. However, so as to place in perspective the previous detailed studies of development in the public sector, it is intended that the present case study should focus largely, though not exclusively, upon the processes associated with the private sector; hence the choice of Gosforth. In this area, as can be seen from Table 3:7, 86.76 per cent of the 2,948 dwellings erected in the period 1919-1939 were constructed in the private sector. The average for Tyneside during this period was only 57.04 per cent and only in Whitley and Monkseaton (90.57 per cent) was there a greater proportion of dwellings erected privately. Moreover, the private sector accounted for only 66.05 per cent of the dwellings erected in the area (Gateshead) in which the ratio of private to public development was next highest. This was felt to give insufficient scope for a study of the processes involved in private residential development; that is, although the balance between private and public development approximated more to the Tyneside norm, it was felt that the processes of public development would confuse a study which was to include a detailed analysis of the activities of the private sector.

Gosforth lies on fairly high ground¹ two and a half miles to the north of Newcastle from which it is separated by the Town Moor - a

1. The site slopes gently down from 250 feet in the south west to approximately 170 feet in the north east.

vast grassy expanse of 839 acres. In 1919, the Urban District covered an area of 1,303 acres but in 1935 Castle Ward was incorporated and the area extended to 1,739 acres.

During the period of study, the population rose from approximately 17,500 in 1919 to 20,650 in 1939, and the total number of dwellings from 3,437 at the former date to 6,267 at the latter.

Originally a village, Gosforth had become, by 1919, a pleasant, middle-class suburb, mainly for people working in Newcastle. From a study of occupants of dwellings, it would appear that, by the Medical Officer of Health's definitions, no more than 50 per cent of the dwellings were occupied by working-class families in any one year (Table 5:6). Obviously not all of Gosforth was suburban in character and Coxlodge, for example, remained a typical pit village. Even so, residences in Gosforth were, as the Borough Engineer and Surveyor pointed out in 1929, "generally of a high-class order".¹

As was mentioned in Chapter I (Page 8) Gosforth provided a greater proportion of the Rateable Value for Tyneside than it did population, and derived only a small proportion (7.7 per cent) of its Rateable Value from working-class houses.² In addition, the total Rateable Value for Gosforth rose, between 1919 and 1939, from £102,368 to £199,090, and, at the same time, the total rate in the pound remained lower than for the remaining Tyneside towns.

These figures help to illustrate the residential and prosperous nature of Gosforth. As a residential suburb it proved, in the 1930's attractive to residential development and, as a prosperous urban district it was potentially capable of providing the social services required by its inhabitants.³

1. Nelson, G., "The Urban District of Gosforth, Northumberland", Journal of the Institution of Municipal and County Engineers, 1929, Vol. 55, Page 1277.

2. Property with an annual value of less than £13.

3. Schools, libraries, health and welfare services, parks and gardens, etc.

The Effect of Inter-War Building on the Town Plan.

By comparing Figures 5: 5 and 5:6 it can be seen that the effect of inter-war building activity on the town plan of Gosforth was two-fold - the existing built-up area was filled in, largely as a result of private piecemeal development, and extended, chiefly through the process of peripheral private and municipal estate development.

To appreciate these procedures, it is essential to realise that the present boundary (as indicated in Figure 5:6) did not exist until after 1935. As a result land was relatively scarce for most of the period and the availability of land for development must be viewed against the conditions which existed in 1918.

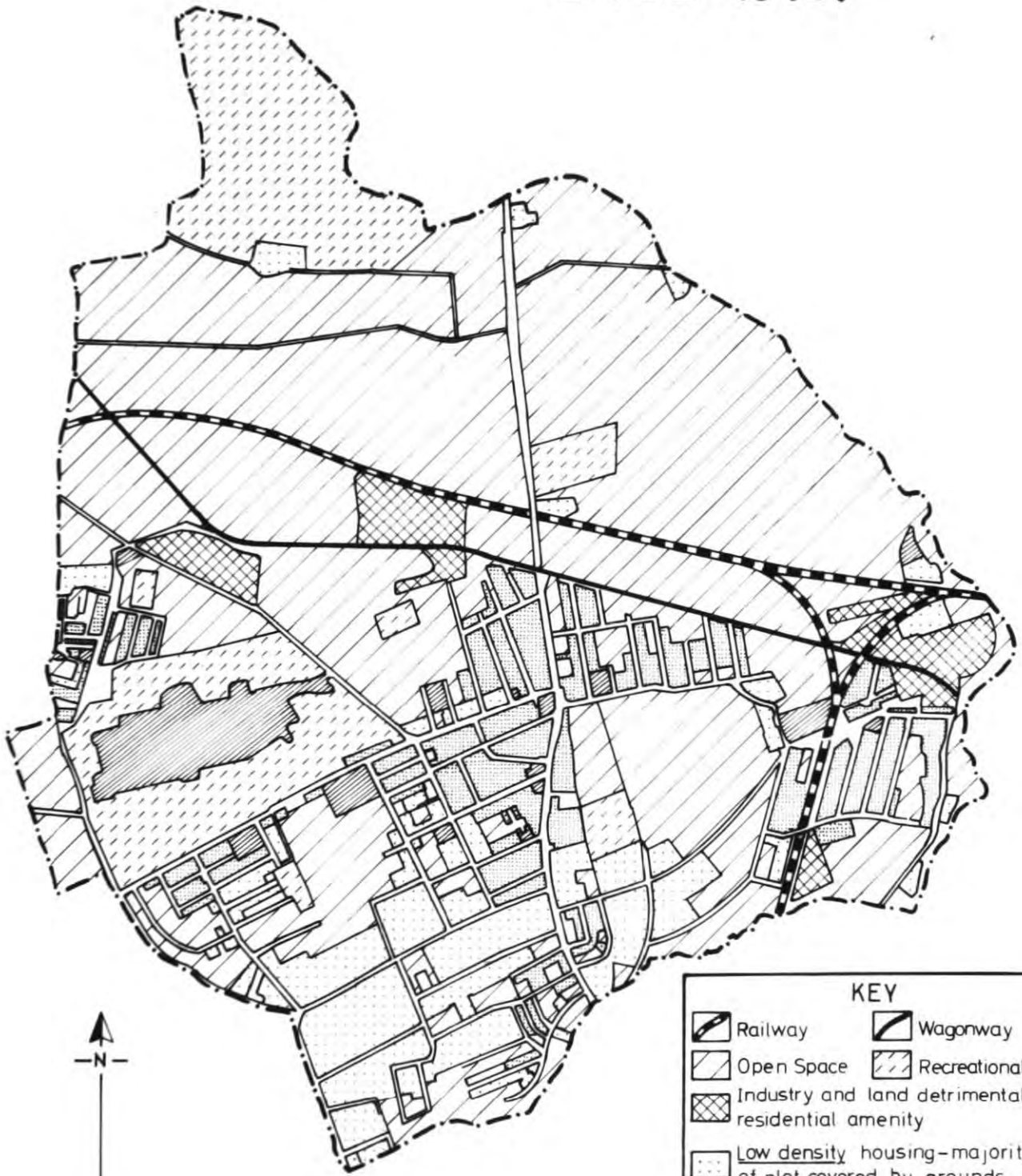
In 1918, Gosforth was largely residential and the built-up area was confined chiefly to the south of the Fawdon Wagonway. Three nuclei existed at Coxlodge on the western boundary, at South Gosforth in the East, and at Bulman Village at almost the geographic centre of the District. By 1918, these three distinct nuclei were beginning to merge, but by far the greatest amount of development had taken place in a belt which lay to the south west of Bulman Village and which was confined largely to the west of the Great North Road (A1). This belt of development formed a nucleus for inter-war building which, in the form of private piecemeal development, proceeded to fill in the urban tract by either









- (a) colonising the areas of open land which existed between the main areas of settlements, or
- (b) filling in vacant plots on sites partly developed at an earlier period.

These were the two main development procedures in this zone but, especially in the south and west (on the boundary with Town Moor and Nuns Moor), small-scale piecemeal development resulted in

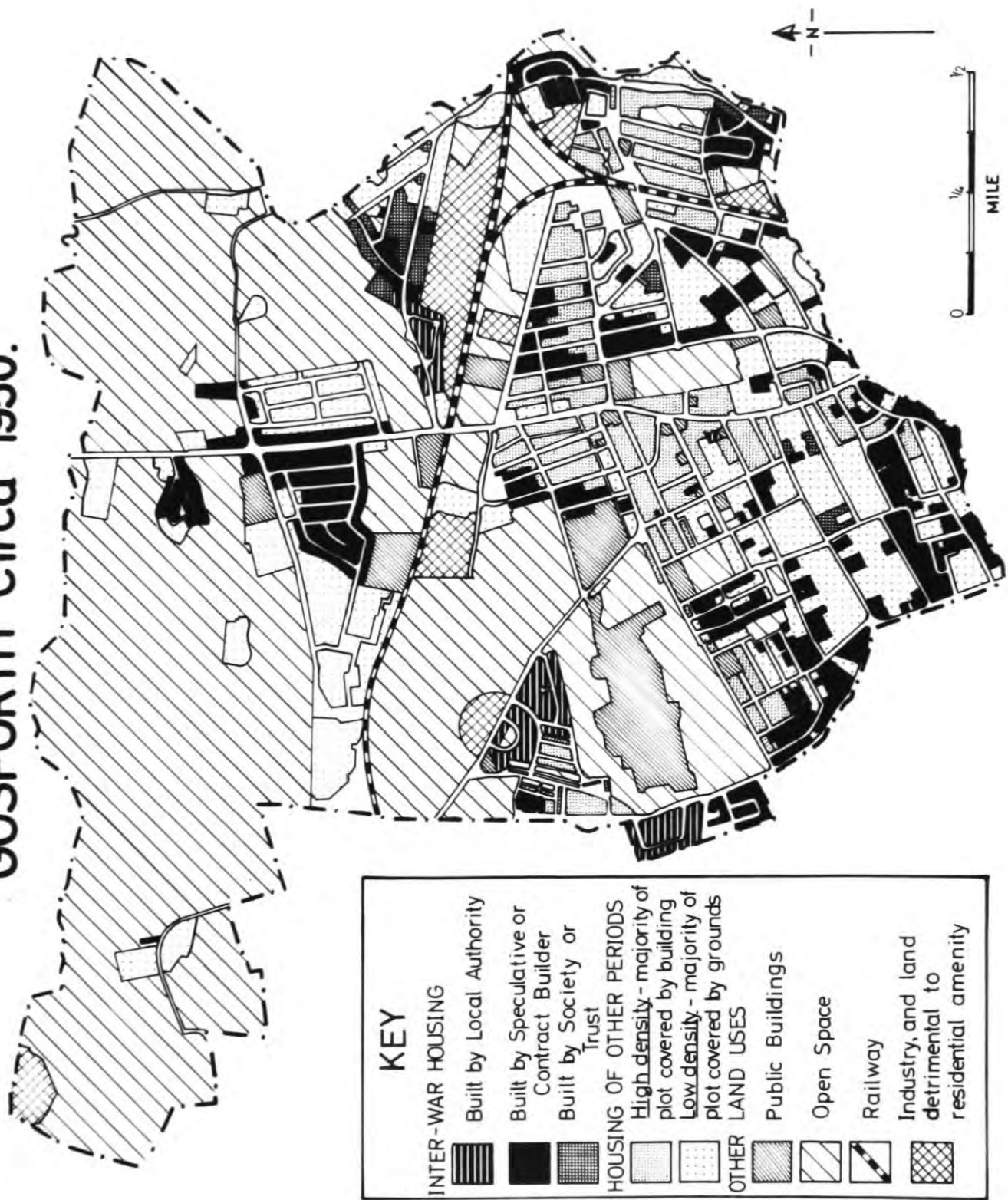
- (a) infilling by development in the grounds of existing large houses or on the sites of Halls and Lodges demolished in the inter-war period, and

FIGURE 5:5 GOSFORTH: LAND-USE Circa 1918.



KEY	
	Railway
	Wagonway
	Open Space
	Recreational land
	Industry and land detrimental to residential amenity
	Low density housing-majority of plot covered by grounds
	High density housing-majority of plot covered by building
	Public Building

**FIGURE 5:6 INTER-WAR HOUSING AND LAND-USE
GOSFORTH Circa 1950.**



(b) the extension of the built-up area by colonisation of land on the boundary.

Little or no industry existed in the area in 1918, but disused coal pits were located in close proximity to the Fawdon Wagonway at Coxlodge (about half a mile to the west of the Great North Road) and at South Gosforth. To the north, open land (used either for recreation or farming) extended from the track of the Ponteland and South Gosforth Branch Railway to the boundary of the district. This area was ideal for large-scale estate development, and three estates were located here in the inter-war years. First, the London North Eastern Railway Company started to build a "Garden Village" in the south-eastern corner of the area, then work was commenced on an estate which flanked the Great North Road, and then the Council extended the "Garden Village" westward by the construction of the small Hollywood Estate.

However, peripheral estate development took place at four other localities to the south of the branch line. Two small estates (one public and one private) were developed in the extreme east of the district at South Gosforth - the more northerly of the two being built on the cleared site of the Mary and Fanny Pit. With the exception of the development at Kenton, each estate was contiguous to an area of pre-existing residential development and, with the exception of the Coxlodge Estate, each development abutted the boundary of the Urban District.

Demographic and Social Factors.

In October 1919, as was mentioned in Chapter II (Page 13), each Local Authority had to carry out a survey to determine the number of houses required for the three-year period 1919-1922. The results of this survey (Table 5:7) show that Gosforth estimated that it required 514 dwellings. Compared with Newburn, a settlement of similar size in 1919, the housing situation in Gosforth was far less acute.

In Chapter II (Page 13), it was felt that these Local Authority estimates of the number of dwellings required were somewhat conservative.

In the case of Gosforth, this would certainly seem to be true. From Table 5:7 it would appear that Gosforth Council either

- (a) took no account of overcrowding when estimating the housing requirements of the district, or
- (b) considered the area to be free from it

Whatever the reasons, it would seem that there were cases of overcrowding within the Urban District in 1919. According to the 1921 Census (Table 2:2) 2,020 persons (13.80 per cent of the population of Gosforth) were living in overcrowded conditions only two years after the Council had made their Survey in 1919. Moreover, in his annual report for 1919, the Medical Officer of Health for Gosforth stated that considerable overcrowding was to be found in the urban district owing to the cessation of building operations.

This would suggest that overcrowding was a problem in Gosforth in 1919 (possibly not as great as it was in Newburn) and that, as no mention was made of it in the Council's Survey, the housing situation in Gosforth was worse, and the requirements were greater than was expressed in the official statement (Table 5:7). To what extent these figures were an underestimate it is difficult to judge, but it is essential to realise their conservative nature.

By 1931, the number of persons living in overcrowded conditions had been reduced from 2,020 to 1,128, with the result that overcrowding was prevalent among a smaller proportion of the total population (Table 2:1). Similarly, the difference between the number of private families and the number of structurally separate, occupied dwellings had also been reduced from 177 in 1921 to 103 in 1931 (Tables 2:5 and 2:11). These improvements took place, moreover, despite

- (a) an increase in both population and the number of families
- (b) none of the dwellings which were vacant, prior to 1923, being of a suitable size for members of the working-classes
- (c) no attempt being made by the Council to deal with overcrowding until after 1927.

From the Medical Officer's Report, it would appear that by 1930 the Council owned 194 houses, and there existed a shortage of about 150 houses (estimates made in Chapter II were for 103 dwellings). According to the Report, the standard of housing in the district was comparatively good but, as the subsoil in the Gosforth area is clay, and many of the older houses had no damp course, the principle defect was dampness.

In 1933 only 16 dwellings (0.38 per cent of the 1931 housing stock) were scheduled for demolition.¹ According to the Medical Officer's Report, a further 86 dwellings were declared unfit for human habitation from 1934-1939 and, based on the estimates made in Table 2:13, it would appear that approximately 120 dwellings would be needed to replace them.

Moreover, the Medical Officer's Report for 1930 indicates that about 35 houses in the area were overcrowded as "there were no houses at the end of the year of a suitable size for persons of the working-class". The Census for 1931 gives 1,128 persons as being overcrowded, which involves about 278 dwellings² or some 32 persons per room if the Medical Officer's estimates are correct. This latter figure is likely to be somewhat high, but at the same time, it is felt that the Medical Officer's estimates are similarly conservative. However, whatever the situation, by the end of 1936, 105 of the 137 families recorded in the Overcrowding Survey remained in overcrowded conditions. Thus, on the basis of the estimates made in Table 2:17, 63 dwellings were required to alleviate overcrowding. By the end of 1939, 21 families were still living in overcrowded conditions and, on the same basis, it is estimated that about 13 dwellings were required.

Between 1931 and 1939, 1,887 dwellings were erected, of which 94 (5 per cent) were in the public sector and 767 were built for the working-classes (Table 5:8). As only 206 of these dwellings can be attributed to

1. See Table 2:13 or "Slum Clearance Programmes of Local Authorities, England and Wales, 1933", (Cd. 4535).

2. This figure was obtained by dividing the number of persons overcrowded in 1931 by the average size of a private family and the average number of families per occupied dwellings.

Local Authority building,¹ and as the 293 dwellings erected in the private sector with subsidies from the Acts of 1919 and 1923 could not have been erected during this period,² it seems that much of the property (about 73 per cent) built for the working-classes resulted from unsubsidised private enterprise activity. In fact, in the period 1930-1938, when interest rates and building costs were low, it seems that some 29.97 per cent of the property erected by unassisted private enterprise activity was constructed for the working-classes. On the other hand, between 1919 and 1929 only 195 houses were constructed for this class and, as 293 of the 664 properties erected in the private sector were under subsidy and 208 properties were erected in the public sector, it would seem that few, if any, of the properties erected by unassisted private development were constructed for the working-classes.

Building Rates.

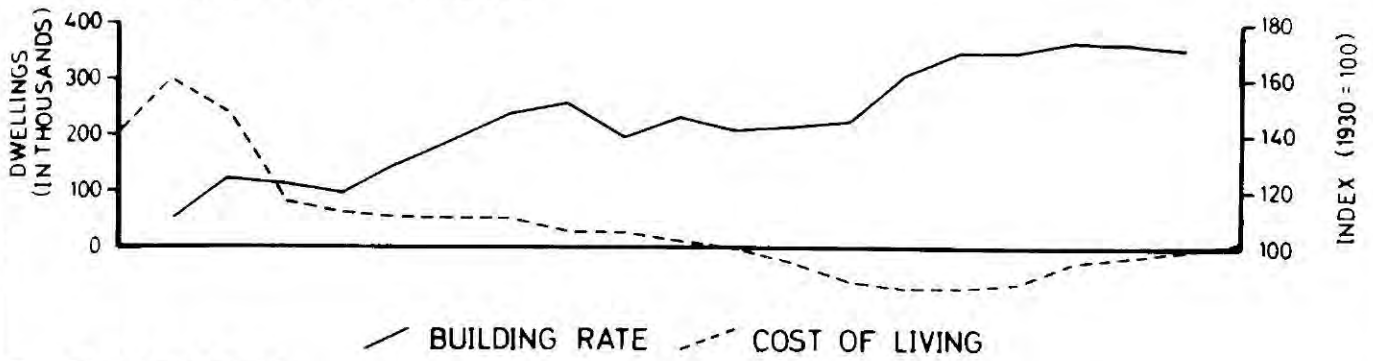
From an examination of Table 5:8 and Figure 5:7, the complementary nature of municipal building in Gosforth is obvious. In the years 1920, 1928, 1931-35 and 1937-38 no building took place whatsoever in the public sector and only in 1921 and 1930 did municipal building exceed activity in the private sector. Municipal building proceeded in waves in response to changes in policy under the Housing Acts; those of 1923, 1924, 1930 and 1935 being responsible for the peaks in 1925, 1930 and 1936.

In 1920 and 1921 the building industry was disorganised, living costs and interest rates were high and the rate of private building was consequently low. By 1922, the cost of living index had fallen from about 160 in 1920 to 120 and the interest rate from approximately 5.3 to 4.4 per cent. This, together with the favourable subsidy to private developers

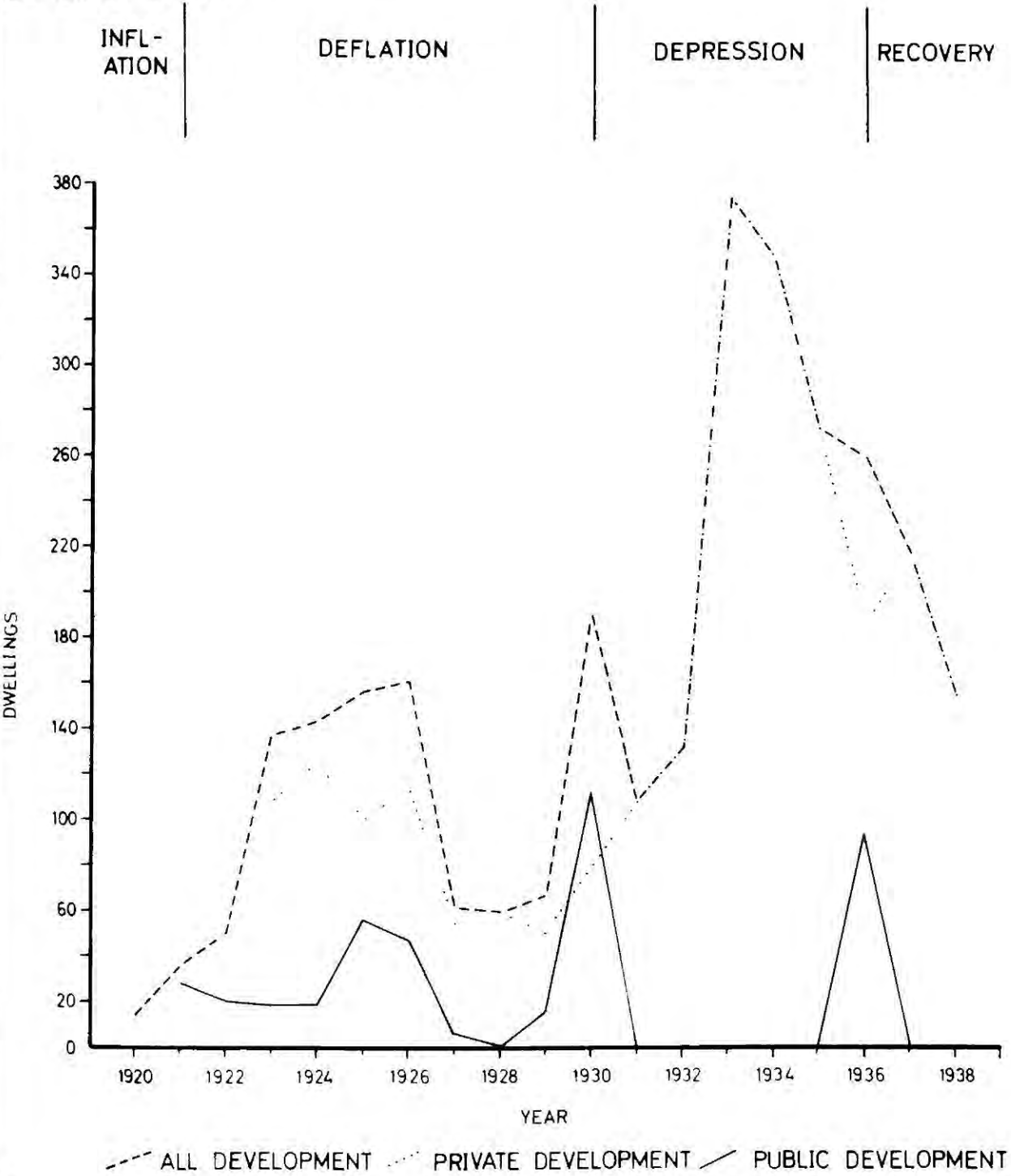
-
1. The 112 built by the Council in 1930 were not taken into consideration until 1931, the date of the first occupation - see Table 5:10.
 2. Subsidies were only paid under these Acts on properties erected prior to July 1921 and September 1927, respectively.

FIGURE 5:7 BUILDING RATES, 1919 - 1939.

A. ENGLAND AND WALES.



B. GOSFORTH



under the Act of 1923, brought about an increase in the rate of private building. With the introduction of the 1924 Housing Act (which was aimed at stimulating municipal development) the building rate for private development began to drop and, despite small increases in the years 1925/26 and 1927/28, reached its lowest level in 1929. This was associated with the withdrawal of the 1923 Act subsidy to private builders in 1927 and a slight rise in the interest rate. From 1929, however, the interest rate began to fall and the rate of private building began to rise, reaching its peak in 1933 when the cost of living index was at its lowest.

The Dwelling Stock.

During the period 1919-1939 the total number of dwellings in Gosforth increased from 3,436 to 6,267; an increase of 2,830 dwellings or 82 per cent (Table 5:10). Over the same period, 2,950 dwellings were erected, suggesting a wastage of some 120 as a result of either demolition, the transfer of dwellings to non-residential purposes or closure by the Council. The greatest wastage took place after the introduction of the 1930 Slum Clearance Act. Indeed, during the period 1930-1939, there occurred a gross wastage of some 191 dwellings and a net wastage of 141 dwellings.¹ By comparison, the period 1919-1929 experienced a net wastage of only 31 dwellings, the greatest proportion occurring during 1922/23.

The Influence of Municipal and Private Development.

As was mentioned above (Page 83), the predominant building activity in Gosforth took place in the private sector. This was the case throughout the period with the result that, by 1939, only about 13.6 per cent of the property had been erected in the public sector over the 21 year period.² In this section, it is intended to look at these two

-
1. 50 dwellings were added to the housing stock as a result of boundary extensions in 1935.
 2. In the period 1919-31 this had been 30 per cent.

forms of development, dealing firstly, and briefly, with Local Authority development.

Development in the Public Sector.

Residential development in the public sector took the form of three peripheral estates located in the northern sector of the urban district. As was mentioned in Chapter III (Page 48), none of the estates was developed more than one mile from the town centre and the nearest, Hollywood Estate, is only half a mile away.

Building was carried out by contract labour, five contractors being engaged by the Authority during the period. Two contractors, Booth and Hindmarsh, were responsible for the construction of Hollywood Estate, the former being responsible for 13 A1B and 28 B3 dwellings (which accounted for 44 per cent of the estate) under the 1936 Act. Like Booth, Hall operated on one estate, Coxlodge, but was responsible for 65 per cent of its development.¹ However, not all contractors confined their activities to one estate. Both Hindmarsh and Hetherington assisted with the construction of Coxlodge Estate² and both were the main contractors responsible for the development of individual estates - Hindmarsh constructed 53 dwellings on the Hollywood Estate which accounted for 56 per cent of that scheme, and Hetherington, through the construction of 99 dwellings in 1931 under the 1924 Act, was responsible for 89 per cent of Kenton Estate. Last and Freeman, the least important of the contractors, operated solely on the Kenton Estate. However, they played only a minor role in the construction of that estate and, for that matter, in the residential development of Gosforth.

It would appear that one contractor, Hall, was responsible for much of the early activity of the Authority (i.e. up to 1930) but from that date onwards, contractors worked together, Hetherington being the more important in the earlier part of the 1930's and Hindmarsh in the latter.

-
1. He built 120 dwellings under the Acts of 1919 and 1923, and operated from 1922 to 1928.
 2. Hindmarsh was responsible for 48 A3 dwellings under the 1923 Act in 1927, and Hetherington for 16 A2 dwellings in 1930 under the 1924 Act.

Each estate was built under a different set of Acts, and at different periods of time. Coxlodge Estate, for example, had 26 per cent of its dwellings erected under the 1919 Act, 65 per cent under the 1923 Act and 9 per cent under the Act of 1924, while all of the dwellings composing the Kenton and Hollywood Estates were erected under single Acts - those of 1924 and 1936, respectively. Similarly, Coxlodge, the largest estate, grew up over eight years (between 1922 and 1930) while the estate at Kenton was developed in 1931, and Hollywood Estate, the smallest, was developed during the years 1937 and 1938.

From an examination of Table 5:12, it would appear that no rigid pattern was maintained regarding the provision of dwelling types on estates. Each estate was composed of two-, three-, four- and five-room dwellings, but in differing proportions. From a study of the relationship between Act and property type (Table 5:13) it would also appear that only the larger dwellings (the four- and five- room houses) were erected under the 1919 Act, while the smallest dwellings (those with two rooms) were built in increasing proportions under the later Acts.

Similarly, a study of the relationship between date of construction and dwelling-type (Table 5:14) shows that only the larger A3 and B3 dwellings were erected during the period of the first experiment (1919-1923), three-roomed dwellings being erected from 1925 onwards and the smallest dwellings, those with two rooms, from 1928.

Development in the Private Sector.

Approximately 2,548 inter-war dwellings were erected in the private sector in Gosforth. These developments took place on approximately 2,027 building plots which, as was mentioned above (Page 85), were located within the limits of the existing built up area or on open land between the edge of the built up area and the Borough boundary.

From Table 5:15 it can be seen that the spatial development of the

district, by private enterprise, can be divided roughly into six periods and, as each period is supposed to contain an equal proportion of developed plots, the great effect of post-1930 building can also be observed.

Figure 5:8 shows the date at which plots were developed, according to the six major periods. This reveals quite clearly the largely piecemeal development of the inner area¹ and the planned development of estates in the outer zone.²

Type of Property.

It would appear (Table 5:16 and Figure 5:9) that the semi-detached house was the dwelling type most frequently constructed by private enterprise in Gosforth between 1919 and 1939. Almost 54 per cent of all dwellings constructed were of this type while seven-storey flats, terraced dwellings and two-storey flats accounted for approximately 15 per cent, 13 per cent and 12 per cent, respectively. Together these four property types account for some 94 per cent of the total property erected.

Only in the periods 1931-33 and 1938-39 did the importance of the semi-detached dwelling, as a principal building type, fall below 60 per cent of the total. In each of these periods greater emphasis was placed on flatted dwellings, the smaller of which (i.e. those with only two storeys) were built only after 1927, while the larger three- and seven-storey dwellings were constructed solely in the period 1938-39. Apart from these two periods, the semi-detached dwelling was the principal building type, and it is interesting to note the decreasing importance of the detached house and bungalow, the semi-detached bungalow and the terraced dwelling. The first three show a general decline over

-
1. Note the multitude of dates at which plots or groups of plots were developed.
 2. Each estate was constructed in no more than four of the major periods.

the period; the last, a rapid fall off in importance after 1935.

The semi-detached house would appear to be the universal building type in Gosforth. All other property types apparently have a more limited distribution. Detached dwellings would seem to be confined largely to the southern area of the borough - the area which, in 1918, was one of low density development. However, a few detached dwellings are scattered throughout the zone of peripheral estate development. Terraced housing has two main localities. Firstly it formed infilling in the northern part of the central area - around the area of high density development (see Figure 5:9) - and secondly it often formed part of the development of peripheral estates. Flatted dwellings had an even more restricted distribution. Four small areas of two-storey flats are scattered throughout the zone of piecemeal development, but the greatest incidence of this form of building occurred in the zone of peripheral estate development, particularly in the north, as ribbon development flanking the Great North Road. Three and seven-storey building occurred in two localities - the former near to South Gosforth in the zone of peripheral estate development, and the latter, in the form of luxury flats, as piecemeal colonisation of the southern boundary of the borough.

Size of Dwellings.

From Table 5:17 and Figure 5:10 it would appear that the medium sized dwelling was most frequently built by private enterprise in Gosforth during the period 1919-1939. Dwellings with four, five or six rooms accounted for some 77 per cent of the total building stock of the period, while seven-room dwellings accounted for a further 10 per cent. Thus, the very large dwellings (i.e. those with eight to fifteen rooms) and the very small (i.e. those with two or three rooms) made up only about 13 per cent of the total built.

Despite minor fluctuations it would appear that the general tendency was for the relative importance of the larger dwellings (those with

between six and fifteen rooms) to decrease while the small and medium sized dwellings (those with between two and five rooms) increased in relative importance.¹ Similarly the most frequently built five-roomed dwelling decreased in importance from about 29 per cent of all residential building in the period 1919-26 to 58 per cent of that of the period 1938-39.

The greatest proportion of the larger dwellings are located in the southern sector of the zone of piecemeal development, but some six-room dwellings and a number of even larger properties are to be found in the zone of peripheral estate development, especially in the north and west. The largest dwellings tended to be concentrated in the south, in the zone of low density development, while small and medium sized dwellings were constructed largely on the peripheral estates. However a number of four and five room dwellings were constructed in the northern sector of the zone of piecemeal development, in an area of high density development.

Building Agents and Scale of Building.

The speculative builder was responsible for the greatest proportion (almost 90 per cent in fact) of all private building in the area during the period 1919-39 (Figure 5:11). Building under contract and by special Trust formed an almost equal proportion of the total building, accounting for approximately five and six per cent of the total respectively (Table 5:18). However while the relative importance of speculative building tended to increase over the period, contract building and Trust development showed a relative decrease. Contract building accounted for approximately 19 per cent of all building in the period 1919-26, but only 1.88 per cent in that of 1938-39. Building by Trust showed a similar decline but, unlike contract building, Trust development was of considerable sig-

1. Small and medium sized dwellings accounted for approximately 4 per cent of the total built in the period 1919-26, 43 per cent in that of 1931-33 and 45 per cent in that of 1936-37.

nificance until 1930 and of zero significance in the period 1931-1933.

Property erected by the speculative builder is distributed throughout the district while contract building is restricted largely to the south in the zone of low density housing, where occurred the greatest proportion of large houses. A number of properties built under contract were, however, erected in the extreme north of the borough. Gosforth Garden Village, an example of peripheral estate development, represents the most significant contribution made by housing Trusts in the area. Other smaller areas of trust development are located in this peripheral zone, while in the low density zone of piecemeal development four areas of small-scale Trust development are to be found.

In all, approximately fifty-four builders were operating in this area in the inter-war years, either as speculative or contract builders. The majority were solely speculative builders, but nine (Cussins, Kent, Liddle, McAlpine, Ridley, Spetch, Thompson, Tulip and Woolfe) also operated under contract. In addition, six builders (Long and Christie, Nordcliffe Properties, Parkinson, Rutherford, Smelt and Walton) built solely under contract, while two (Metcalf and Storey) were chiefly contract builders, but were also engaged in some speculative building. It is interesting to note that, of the five builders operating under contract with the Local Authority, only two (Hall and Hindmarsh) were active in the private sector.

Cussins was the most important builder of the period, being responsible for the construction of approximately 33 per cent of all inter-war speculative or contract building in Gosforth. Six other builders (Chapman, Hall, Hindmarsh, Kent, Liddle and Woolfe) together accounted for a further 37 per cent. Thus, approximately 70 per cent of the total speculative and contract building of the period was carried out by seven builders, the remaining forty-seven builders being responsible for the construction of only 30 per cent of the total (Table 5:19).

As might be expected from the above, the majority of building operations were small in scale. The seven most significant operators¹ each constructed between 97 and 803 dwellings over the 21 year period, while eighteen (33 per cent)² were of medium importance, constructing between 14 and 45 dwellings, and a further twenty-nine (54 per cent)³ may be regarded as being of little importance as each constructed no more than 13 dwellings over the period.

It must be realised, moreover, that in all cases operations took place over some period less than the 21 years under study. For example, the most important builder, Cussins, built only during the 15 year period from 1925-1939, while Long and Christie, one of the least important builders, operated solely in the year of 1928.

This time factor is of considerable importance since it throws light on the absolute scale of the building operations. For example, if a builder with a relatively large proportion of the total building in an area had been operating for a long period of time, it could be that the scale of the operations was quite small, and vice versa.

Thus, of the seven builders making the most significant contribution to the residential growth of Gosforth in the inter-war years, the operations of one (Hall and Son) may be regarded as large since he was responsible for some 242 completions over the two year period, 1935-36 (i.e. an average of 121 dwellings were erected per annum). Cussins, the most important builder, and Liddle, the third most important, may be regarded on the other hand as medium size operators, accounting for an average of 53 and 32 completions per annum, respectively. (Table 5:20). The remaining four of these seven most significant builders

1. Chapman, Cussins, Hall, Hindmarsh, Kent, Liddle, Woolfe.
2. Armstrong, Brown, Collinson, Emmerson, Gibson Bros., Gunning, Hill, Hope, Moat McAlpine, Nordcliffe Properties, Ridley, Smart, Spetch, Tulip, Turner, Walker and McKenzie, Wilson.
3. Bell, Corrigan and Hunter, Cunningham, Fitch, Hedley, Hogg, Jameson, Longstaff and Bain, Lisle, Long and Christie, Mark Bros., Metcalfe, Mills, Milne, Parkinson, Potts and Finlay, Revell and Revell, Robertson, Robson, Rutherford, Sharratt, Smelt, Smith, Storey, Telford, Thompson, Turnbull, Vetch, Walton.

(Chapman, Hindmarsh, Kent, Woolfe) may all be regarded as being relatively small operators as none constructed more than 10 dwellings per annum, on average. In addition, five (Armstrong, McAlpine, Turner, Gibson Bros., Collinson) of the developers of medium importance, and three (Longstaff and Bain, Lisle and Mark Bros.) of the least important may be regarded as operating on the same scale. The remaining 39 developers may all be regarded as a very small scale operators - constructing between 0.5 and six dwellings per annum.

Thus it can be seen that the majority of building operations were small in scale. However, from a study of Table 5:21 it would seem that in the period 1934-35 the proportion of properties built was almost double that in the previous period of 1931-33. At the same time it can also be seen that the numbers of builders operating in the later period increased only marginally - from 22 to 26. This would suggest an increase in the scale of operations of builders. This is emphasised by the fact that the number of builders operating in the subsequent periods fell to 15 in 1936-37 and 11 in 1938-39, though the proportion of properties erected in those periods greatly exceeded the proportions built in earlier periods. Clearly it appears that the scale of operations began to increase after the period 1931-33, and increased building activity was carried out by fewer builders.

Case Studies.

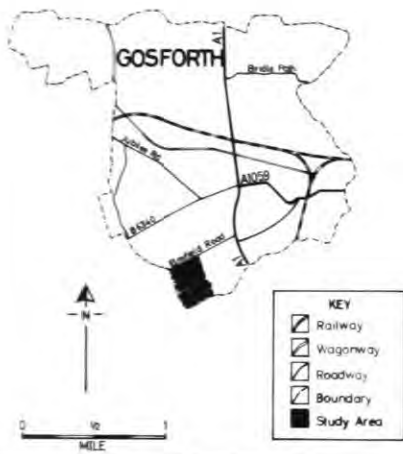
(a) Elmfield Road/Westfield.

As can be seen from Figure 5:12 this area, located on the southern and western boundary of the district, lies within the central belt of piecemeal development (Page 85 above). Evidence for the piecemeal development of the Elmfield Road/Westfield area is afforded by the varying dates at which plot development took place (Figure 5:12 C), the variety of building agents (Figure 5:12 D) and the lack of uniformity in building types (Figure 5:12 E and F).

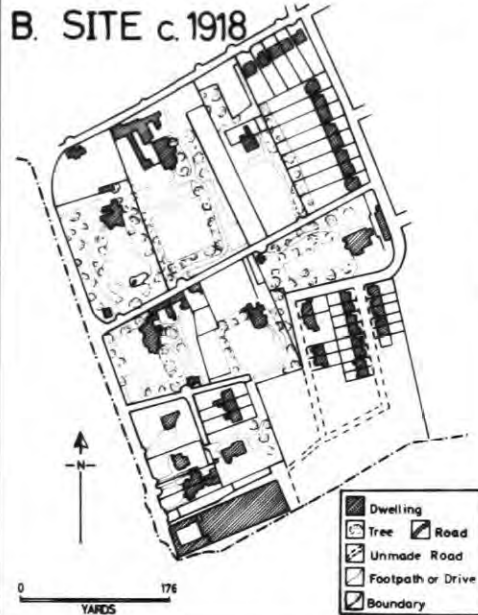
Even though more than half (60) of the 101 building plots in this

FIG. 5:12 GOSFORTH. ELMFIELD Rd./WESTFIELD

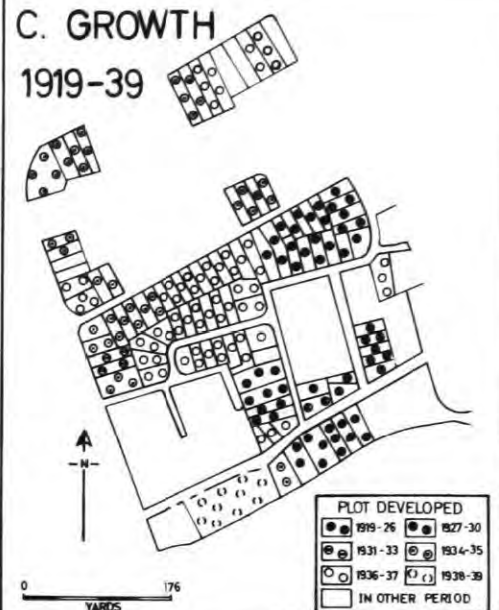
A. LOCATION DIAGRAM



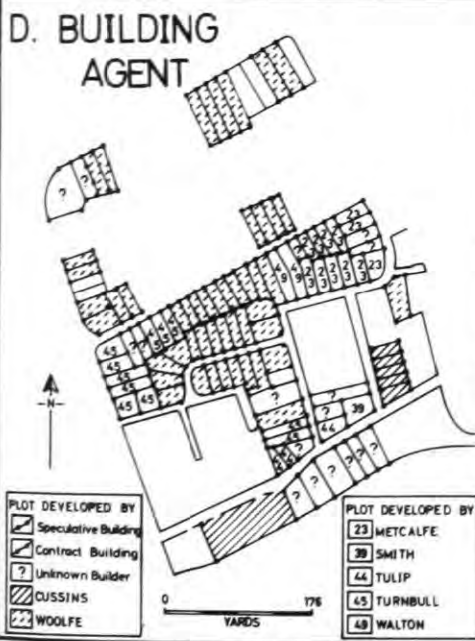
B. SITE c. 1918



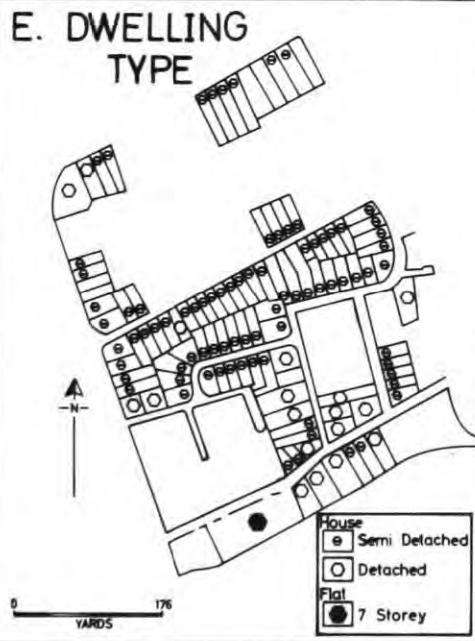
C. GROWTH
1919-39



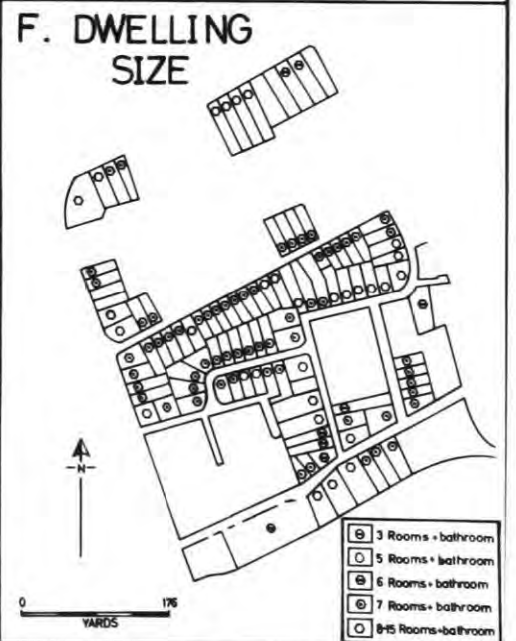
D. BUILDING AGENT



E. DWELLING TYPE



F. DWELLING SIZE



study area were developed between 1934 and 1937, development took place over the whole of the 21 year period, 35 plots being developed prior to 1930, five between 1931 and 1933 and one between 1938 and 1939. Seven builders are known to have been operating in the area and it would appear (Figure 5:12 D) that speculative building was the chief mode of development. Only about 27 plots were developed by builders under contract, and of these six were developed by Parkinson, two by Walton and one by Woolfe.¹ Unfortunately it was not possible to ascertain the name of the developer for 18 of the 27 plots, but, it would appear (Figure 5:12 C and D) that development by contract building took place prior to 1935, and was concentrated chiefly in the period 1919-26, when 20 of the 27 plots were developed.

The chief speculative builder in the area, Woolfe, was responsible for the development of some 48 plots (Figure 5:12 D). With regard to the number of plots developed, Cussins, Metcalfe, Smith, Tulip and Turnbull (the other builders) operated on a small scale, being responsible for the development of no more than six, five, one, three and eleven, respectively. However, it must be realised that this is only true in respect of plot development. If attention is paid to the number of dwellings constructed, then it is clear that Cussins was the largest builder in the area, being responsible for the construction of 406 seven-storey flats, and five semi-detached houses, as opposed to the 46 semi-detached and two detached dwellings of Woolfe. Building operations of the other speculative builders were small in scale - eight semi-detached and three detached houses being constructed by Turnbull, five semi-detached houses by Metcalfe, two semi-detached and one detached house by Tulip and one detached house by Smith.

It is interesting to note, moreover, that on only 9 per cent of the plots developed by speculative building were detached properties

1. Both Woolfe and Parkinson also carried out speculative building operations in this area.

constructed. On the other hand, detached dwellings were built on about 11 per cent of the plots developed by contract building.

By comparing Figures 5:12 B and C, it can be seen that the inter-war residential building activity in this area brought about the filling in of the built up area, as well as the extension of it. Infilling, the more important of the two, took three main forms.

- (a) the construction of properties in the grounds of existing large houses. This was carried out chiefly in the north of the region between 1934 and 1937. It involved a small amount of contract building, but resulted largely from speculative building by Woolfe (Figure 5:12 D).
- (b) comparatively high density re-development on the sites of property demolished in the inter-war years. The most extensive evidence of this is in the centre of the area, where some 53 semi-detached and four detached inter-war dwellings were erected on the site formerly occupied by three vast Halls or Lodges (Figure 5:12 B and E). This process took place between 1919 and 1926 and later between 1931 and 1937, and was largely the result of speculative building by Woolfe, Turnbull, and Metcalfe, though some contribution was made by contract building (Figure 5:12 D). This process also took place on a smaller scale on Elmfield Road and Westfield. At the former location properties were demolished and Woolfe constructed two six-room semi-detached houses on the vacant sites during the period 1936-37, while in the latter case, Cussins constructed a block of seven-storey luxury flats between 1938 and 1939, on a site which, in 1918, had previously been occupied.
- (c) the completion of sites which had been laid out for residential development at an earlier period. An examination of Figure 5:12 B and C shows this to have occurred in the east of the area to the north of Westfield, development having taken place

between 1919 and 1930, as a result of small-scale speculative and contract building.

Small-scale extension of the built up area took place to the south of Westfield, between Westfield and the southern boundary of the district. This development occurred between 1919 and 1926, (and later between 1934 and 1935) with the construction of four detached and two semi-detached houses, by contract building.

(b) Gosforth Garden Village.

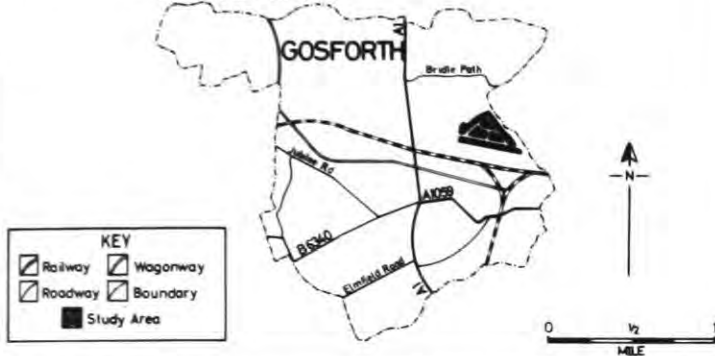
The development of Gosforth Garden Village, a planned residential estate on the periphery of the built up area of Gosforth, is in complete contrast with the development of the Elmfield Road/Westfield area. It differs from the Elmfield Road/Westfield area in its method of development, building types and form of development.

As can be seen from Figure 5:13 B and C, the Garden Village was, unlike the Elmfield Road/Westfield area, developed on land which in 1918 was free from all urban development. In addition, unlike the Elmfield Road/Westfield area, it was planned as a unit with its own internal road network, open land and shopping facilities. Similarly, unlike the Elmfield Road/Westfield area, which was developed by a number of speculative and contract builders, it was developed largely by one agent - the London North Eastern Railway Company Housing Trust - for the housing of some of its employees in the Newcastle area.

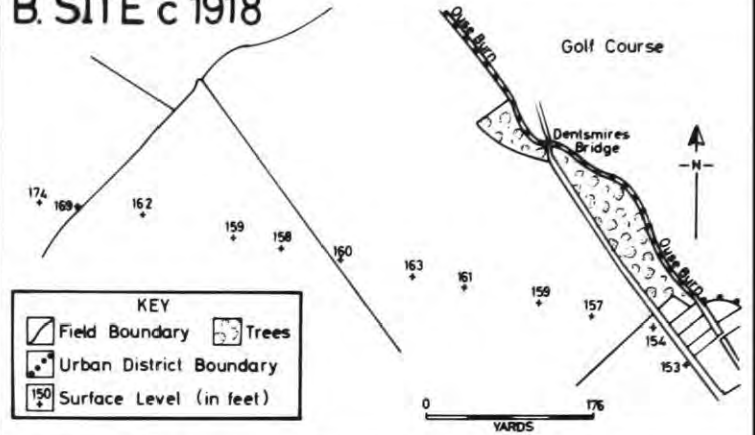
The company commenced development in 1925 and by 1930 approximately 98 dwellings had been erected (Figure 5:13 C). Thirty six of these, all semi-detached houses, were constructed during the years 1925 and 1926, while the remaining 62 dwellings (56 semi-detached houses and six semi-detached bungalows) were erected between 1927 and 1930. Later, infilling took place when Hindmarsh (between 1936 and 1939) constructed a further 46 dwellings - two detached bungalows, 36 semi-detached houses, six terraced houses and two shops and houses. Also, during the period 1936-37, the estate was extended by the addition of a grove which took the form of 20 aged mine workers' cottages.

FIG. 5:13 GOSFORTH. GARDEN VILLAGE.

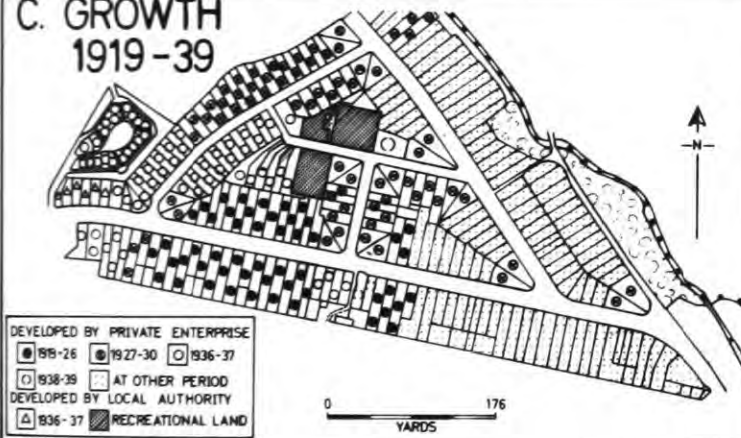
A. LOCATION DIAGRAM



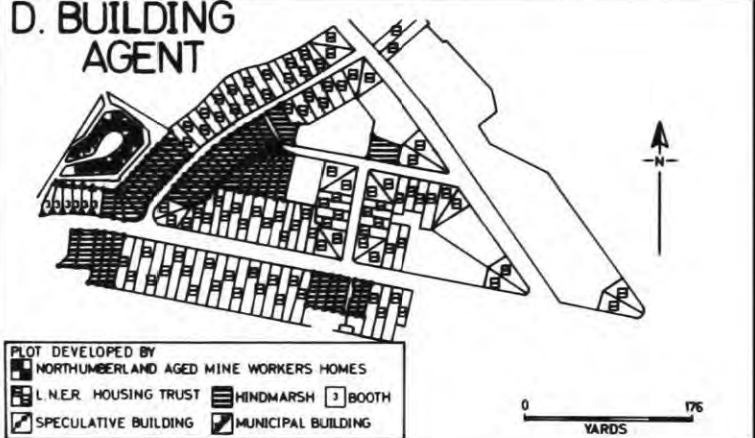
B. SITE c 1918



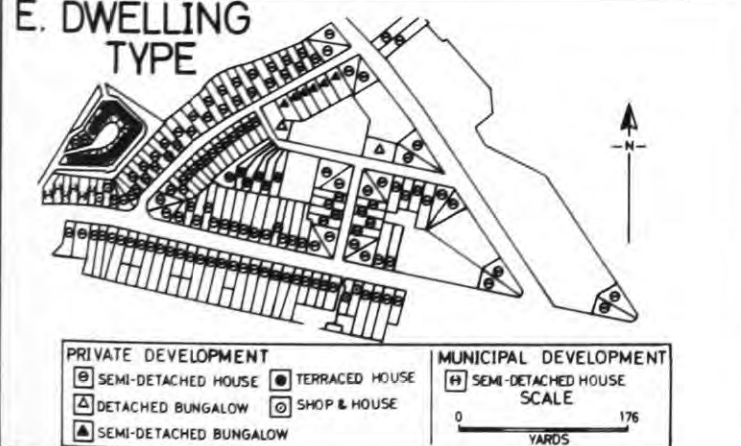
C. GROWTH 1919-39



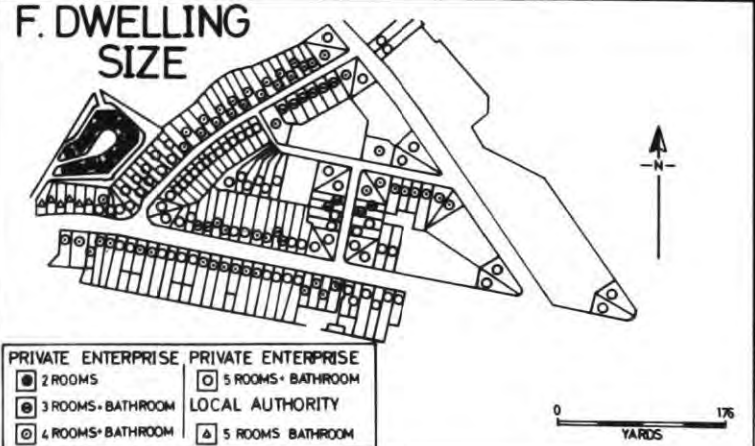
D. BUILDING AGENT



E. DWELLING TYPE



F. DWELLING SIZE



Thus the Garden Village differs from the Elmfield Road/Westfield area in its planned form and development. It also differs with regard to the type and size of dwellings. For example it can be observed that no terraced houses, shops and houses or detached or semi-detached bungalows were constructed in the Elmfield Road/Westfield area. Similarly no detached houses or flatted dwellings were constructed in the Garden Village. Furthermore, as the dwellings were largely constructed for the poorer, working-class families they tended to be smaller. None of the dwellings had more than five rooms, whereas in the Elmfield Road/Westfield area the largest dwellings were those with between eight and fifteen rooms. Similarly the smallest dwellings in the Elmfield Road/Westfield area were the three-room luxury flats, while in the Garden Village they were the two-room terraced houses of the aged mine workers.¹ Altogether some 128 semi-detached houses were constructed in the Garden Village. Seventy-one of these have five rooms, 49 - four rooms and eight - three rooms. A further 26 dwellings (six with five rooms and 20 with two) were terraced houses while there also occurred six three-roomed semi-detached bungalows, two four-roomed detached bungalows, and two five-roomed houses and shops. (Figure 5:13 F).

Thus the Garden Village provides an example of

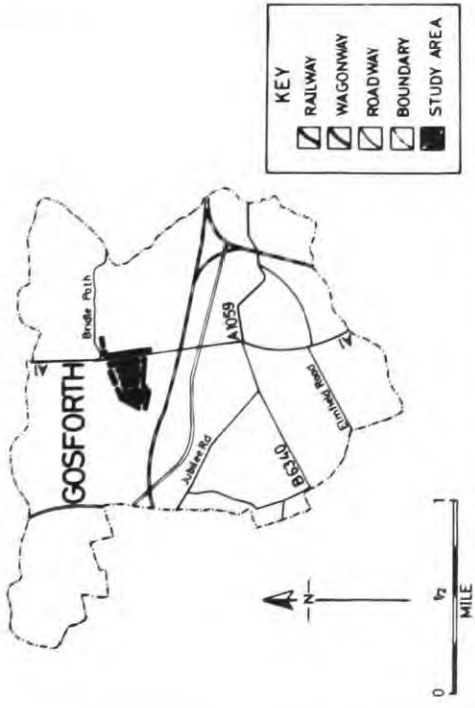
- (1) Planned estate development on open land on the periphery of the built up area.
 - (2) Development by a Housing Trust.
 - (3) Private enterprise housing provided chiefly for the working-classes.
- (c) Grange Estate.

The Grange Estate is located on the northern periphery of the built up area of Gosforth, to the west of the Great North Road (A1) (Figure 5:14 A). In its development it resembles the Garden Village, as it was planned and developed as a unit on what was, in 1918, open land. (Figure 5:14 B). With regard to the process by which it was developed, however, it differs from the Garden Village in that it was developed wholly by

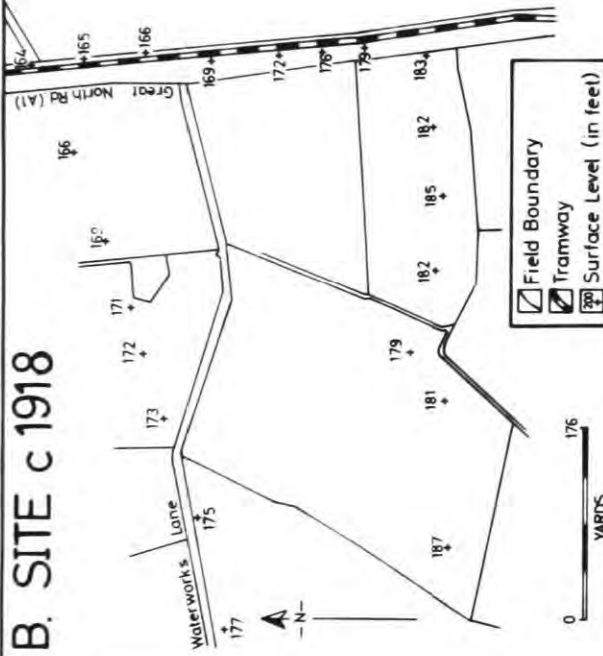
1. It is interesting to note that these latter dwellings were constructed without a bathroom.

FIG.5:14 GOSFORTH. GRANGE ESTATE.

A. LOCATION DIAGRAM



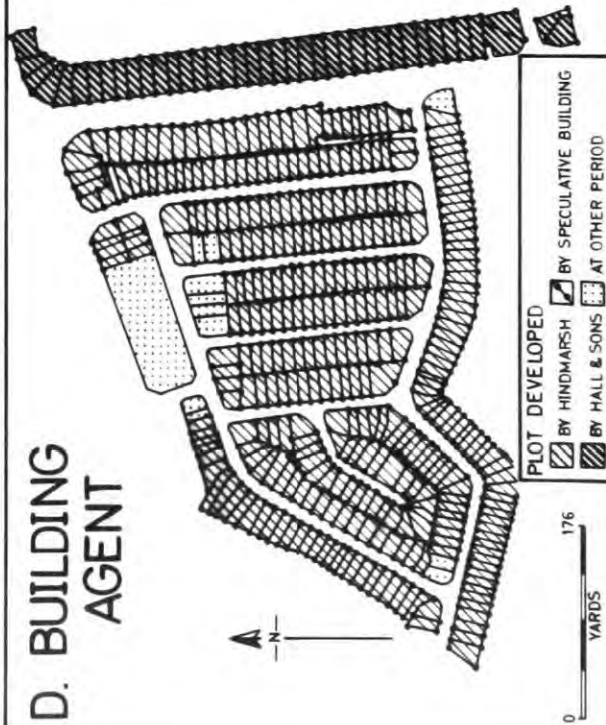
B. SITE c 1918



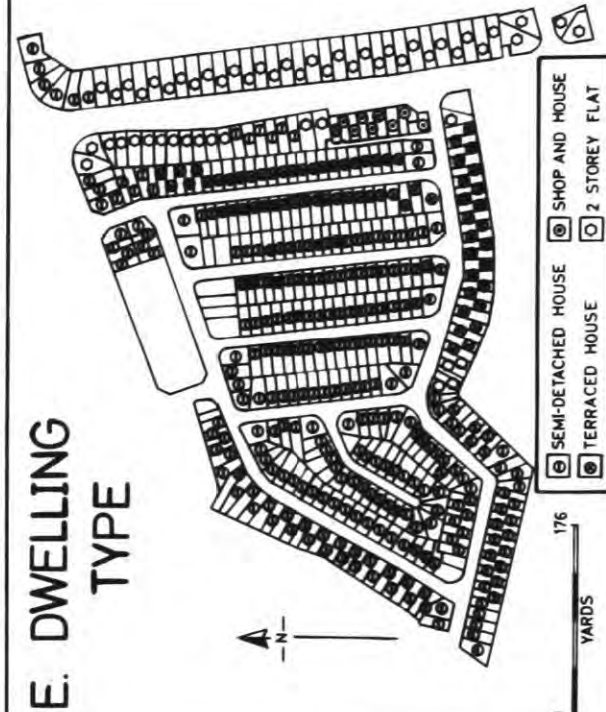
C. GROWTH 1919 - 39



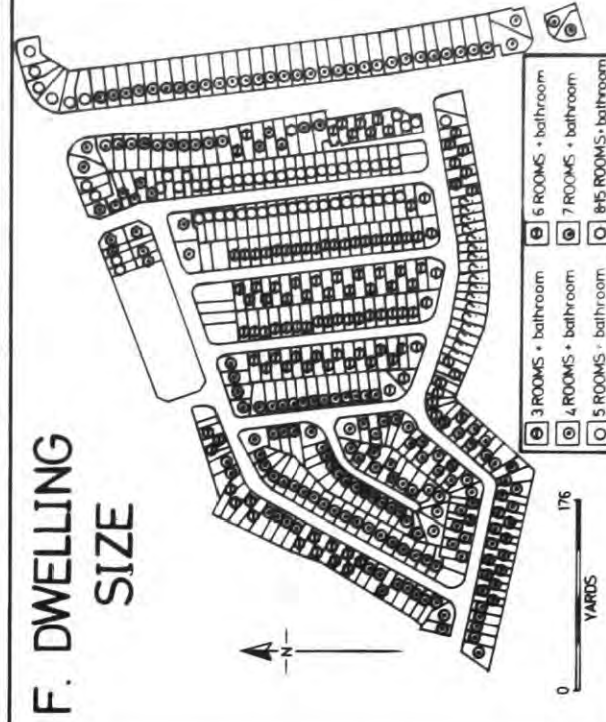
D. BUILDING AGENT



E. DWELLING TYPE



F. DWELLING SIZE



one speculative builder - Cussins; an example of the larger-scale operations of builders in the 1930's (see Page 98).

Development commenced during the period 1931-33 with the construction of 17 semi-detached and 13 terraced houses, and 10 houses and shops. Spreading westwards, the estate was extended by the further construction of 116 dwellings (61 semi-detached and 55 terraced houses) during the period 1934-35. This westward growth was continued between 1936 and 1937 with the construction of a further 162 semi-detached houses. However, this concluded the main development phase, and the period 1938-39 was basically a period of consolidation - 27 vacant plots being filled in by the construction of 12 semi-detached houses and 15 semi-detached two-storey flats.

Very little variety occurred with regard to the type of property constructed. Altogether semi-detached houses were developed on some 252 (73 per cent) of the 345 building plots, and only three other building types were constructed - terraced houses, two-storey semi-detached flats and shops and houses (Figure 5:14 E). Of these, 68 (20 per cent of the building plots) were developed as terraced houses, 15 (4 per cent) as flats and 10 (3 per cent) as shops and houses.

By comparison, the range of property types built in the Garden Village was greater (Figure 5:13 E) but still the semi-detached house was developed on some 128 (78 per cent) of the 164 building plots. This illustrates the importance of the semi-detached house as an inter-war building type.

Similarly dwelling sizes on the Grange Estate tend to be larger than those of the Garden Village (but smaller than those of the Elmfield Road/Westfield area). As was shown above (Page 102), the smallest dwellings constructed in the Garden Village were those with two rooms, while the largest were those with five (Figure 5:13 F). On the Grange Estate, on the other hand, the smallest properties have three rooms and the largest between eight and 15. (Figure 5:14 F). Altogether some 136 of the estate's dwellings were constructed with four rooms, while

there were a further 117 constructed with six. Of the remainder, 48 have five rooms, 20 - seven rooms, four - eight to 15 and only two have three rooms.¹ The flatted dwellings were quite small, consisting mainly of four rooms, while the terraced houses and the shops and houses were of moderate size, having either five or six rooms. The majority of semi-detached dwellings had either four or six rooms, but the two smaller properties were, in fact, semi-detached houses, as were the largest 24.

The case study provides an example of the extension of the built up area as a result of peripheral estate development by large scale speculative building. By comparison with the Elmfield Road/Westfield area, the chief characteristic of this form of development is uniformity - uniformity not only in the size and type of dwellings, but also in the residential plan layout.

Conclusion.

These three studies are examples of the general processes of private residential development; they provide a detailed analysis of the development process and show how in fact, the built up area of Gosforth was filled in by piecemeal speculative and contract development, and extended largely by planned peripheral estate development. Obviously, the effect of private residential development on the town plans of Tyne-side's Local Authority areas would vary according to the local circumstances but, as in Gosforth, it is likely that until the 1930's private residential development took the form of small scale piecemeal development. Prior to the 1930's it would seem that the agents responsible for the development were numerous and their scale of operation was small. However, with the fall in the interest rate and the cost of building, it appears that the number of builders operating in an area was reduced and the scale of operations was increased. Thus, during the Depression, the larger building firm was increasingly responsible for the residential

1. It has not been possible to find the size of two semi-detached houses and 16 terraced houses.

development of the private sector, while the privately built estate became a more common feature of both the town plan and the urban landscape. In not all of the areas, however, was the influence of private development as great as it was in Gosforth. In Tyneside itself, the proportion of privately built property was much lower than it was nationally, and only in the two residential areas (Gosforth and Whitley and Monkseaton) was the influence of private development above the National average. Indeed, the contribution of the public sector to the residential growth of five of Tyneside's Local Authority areas¹ was greater than that of the private sector. Moreover, just over 18 per cent of the private residential development of Tyneside was subsidised under the various Housing Acts. These properties, especially when built by a Housing Association or Trust, were intended for the working-classes, and, morphologically, were similar to the characteristic Council estate, as indeed were many of the estates built during the 1930's by unsubsidised speculative building.

1. Blaydon, Felling, Jarrow, Newburn and South Shields.

SECTION II. SURVEY OF THE SUITABILITY OF THE INTER-WAR COUNCIL
DWELLING FOR HABITATION, 1967/68.

"Geographers will surely not be happy in their work unless they can see some relation in its purpose to the current goals of human endeavour, and can relate its practice in some way to the needs of the times".¹

Chapter VI. INTRODUCTION.

As has been mentioned above, the policy governing the erection of Local Authority dwellings in the period 1919 to 1939 was expressed in the Tudor Walter's Report of 1918.² In this, it was argued that "it is only wise economy to build dwellings which ... will continue to be above the accepted minimum, at least for the whole period of the loan with the aid of which they are to be provided, say 60 years".³ However, as has also been shown, the economic causes determining cost, the uniform spread of subsidy, and the maintenance of high building standards worked against the policy of housing the working-classes, with the result that standards (which were framed largely in terms of minimum sizes of rooms) were somewhat reduced over the period (Page 54). Even so, while there was a tendency for the size of dwellings to be reduced, the standard of building remained high as the greatest changes took place in subsidy schemes and in the role of the Local Building Authority in the total building programme. The majority of Tyneside's inter-war Council dwellings were of a substantial traditional construction, and though the appearance and lay-out of estates tended to be monotonous, in many areas inter-war municipal development has matured into as pleasant a residential environment as is found in the private sector. Conversely, in some localities the residential environment has the appearance of a twilight zone. As paintwork in such areas is

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1. Linton, D.L., "Geography and the Social Revolution", Geography, Vol. 42, 1957, Page 13.
 2. Local Government Boards for England and Wales, and Scotland, "Report of the Committee on the Provision of Dwellings for the Working-Classes", (Tudor Walter's Report), Cd. 9191, H.M.S.O., 1918.
 3. Report of the Committee on the Provision of Dwellings for the Working-Classes, Page 8.

frequently dull and blistered, rough-cast is often peeling and fences and paths have commonly been allowed to fall into disrepair, it is clear that the property is deteriorating physically as a result of inadequate maintenance.

However, none of the dwellings erected in the inter-war years have reached the limits of their expected life of 60 years, and on few, if any, has the loan been repaid. In this section, therefore, it is intended to examine the social adequacy of inter-war municipal development on Tyneside, and to assess the need for rehabilitation or modernisation. In ascertaining the suitability of a dwelling for habitation, five different aspects of housing quality need to be considered. These are:

- (a) the space available to individual households (persons per room, bedroom requirements, etc.),
- (b) the privacy available in multi-occupied dwellings (sharing accommodation and facilities, sound insulation, etc.),
- (c) the structure and condition of the house (stability, damp, natural lighting, etc.)
- (d) the equipment and services built into the dwellings (W.C., water supply, drainage, artificial lighting, etc.)
- (e) the quality of the surrounding environment.

In the case of the first two of these aspects, little, if any, constructional change has traditionally been necessary to meet the space requirements of the inhabitants as, in theory at least,

- (1) it has been possible for the Local Housing Authority to redistribute families as changes took place in their patterns of living and, thus, their housing requirements.
- (2) the inter-war dwelling, built "against a background of larger families than are common now, and a need to guard against overcrowded or cramped conditions of living",¹ is often sufficiently large to meet the "more floor space" priority of the Parker Morris Report.

From Table 6:1, it can be seen that the average three-bedroomed

1. Central Housing Advisory Committee, "Homes for Today and Tomorrow", (Parker Morris Report), H.M.S.O., 1961, Page 3.

house (the property type most frequently constructed on Tyneside and in England and Wales in the inter-war years) compares favourably in size not only with property erected in post-war years, but also with the recommendation of the Parker Morris Report. Indeed, it can be seen that the minimum standards for the parlour-type dwellings erected under the 1919 Act, were higher than the standards laid down in the 1961 Report.

The greatest constructional changes are likely to be required in respect of the last three items. The structure and condition of the property is broadly dependent upon

- (a) the standard of construction
- (b) the age of the property
- (c) the level of maintenance
- (d) the quality of the tenant

Of these, probably the most important factor is the level of maintenance. In the public sector, each Authority has to pay into its repairs fund a statutory contribution of at least £8 per dwelling per annum, and each tenant can usually call upon the Authority to remedy failures and breakages to fixtures and finishings provided by the Authority. At the same time, each Authority generally has a policy of planned maintenance, whereby it carries out the maintenance required to keep the property in a structurally sound condition. Usually, the Authority is not responsible for internal decoration and cleanliness, but attempts are normally made to bring the dwelling up to a habitable standard when a change of tenancy occurs. However, the amount an Authority can carry out would seem to depend, to a large extent, upon the amount it can afford to contribute to the repair fund and for this reason the question of maintenance forms an important aspect of study.

Another area where inter-war property is likely to be unsatisfactory is in the equipment and services which are built into the dwelling - unsatisfactory because the facilities provided do not function as effectively as modern standards require, and unsatisfactory in that the

dwelling lacks some of the equipment and services basic to a modern home. In 1944, the Dudley Committee commented on the fact that the equipment of an inter-war dwelling was deficient in relation to contemporary needs.¹ This was particularly true of the facilities for heating, cooking, washing and drying clothes and storage, and for kitchen fittings, plumbing and sanitary fittings, light and power points and the amount of daylighting received. In the course of planned maintenance, some of these problems may have been rectified but this remains an area where deficiencies are likely to arise.

Similarly, the Dudley Report noted that while a relatively pleasant environment was created on inter-war estates, they were purely residential areas and insufficient attention was placed on the quality of the surrounding environment with regard to the amenities it provided.² According to the Report, the most serious mistakes occurred with regard to

- (a) the provision of churches, schools, club buildings, shops, open spaces and other amenities.
- (b) the tenants' journey to work.
- (c) the provision of smaller open spaces and playgrounds.

A study involving the examination of all five factors is obviously vast, and because of the stringent restrictions on the resources available, it was felt that the subject matter should be curtailed somewhat. For this reason Section II involves a study of the inter-war dwelling only in relation to

- (a) the type and cost of maintenance operations.
- (b) its present use and standard of amenity.

1. Central Housing Advisory Committee "The Design of Dwellings", (the Dudley Report), H.M.S.O., 1944, Pages 28-31.

2. Central Housing Advisory Committee "The Design of Dwellings", Page 11.

Obviously by ignoring the environment of the dwellings, the study is failing

- (1) to make a fully comprehensive examination of the suitability of the inter-war Council dwelling for habitation.
- (2) to follow the recommendation of the Central Housing Advisory Board that "more emphasis needs to be placed on the effect of unsatisfactory environment on housing conditions".¹

However, the decision to ignore the environmental factor stems not from disagreement with the Central Housing Advisory Board nor from the belief that the environmental factor is of little significance; it stems simply from the magnitude of the study. Moreover, as little attention has been paid to the social adequacy of the inter-war dwelling for habitation in the latter half of the twentieth century, it is felt that detailed information is required on the standard of accommodation which the dwelling provides.

1. Central Housing Advisory Committee "Our Older Homes a Call for Action", H.M.S.O., 1966, Page 23, Paragraph 53.

CHAPTER VII. EXPENDITURE BY TYNESIDE LOCAL AUTHORITIES ON THE
MAINTENANCE OF INTER-WAR LOCAL AUTHORITY DWELLINGS.

Maintenance is the work necessary to preserve a building in its initial state, so that it provides amenities and facilities similar to those provided at the time of its erection; it covers the repair, servicing, decoration and cleansing of buildings, and the renewal of building components. Clearly maintenance is an important element in ensuring the continued structural suitability of dwellings for habitation. However, as maintenance also involves the care of open spaces on estates, it also affects the appearance of the residential environment. Thus, man's activities in the form of maintenance operations affect not only the rate of deterioration of property, but also the rate of depreciation of the urban environment. Consequently, an examination of the maintenance operations of Local Authorities forms an important element in a study which is intent on determining

- (a) the process by which man modifies his environment.
- (b) the suitability of inter-war dwellings for habitation in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Detailed records of the activities of Local Authorities with regard to maintenance are unfortunately not available¹. However, as costs over the life of a fully maintained building "tend to be on the same scale as the original costs of construction",² or, when discounted, equivalent "to around a quarter to a third of the initial costs"², Local Authorities are required by Law to keep a separate Housing Repairs Account. Thus, such Accounts provide details of the expenditure of Authorities on maintenance, and act as indices of the general maintenance operations of Authorities.

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1. Most Local Authorities keep property or house repair cards but, as yet, there is little standardisation in the form of these, and records are frequently destroyed after two or three years.
 2. Stone, P.A., "The Economics of Maintenance", Paper at the Maintenance Conference, March, 1965, organised by the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works.

However, because of the shortage of both capital and dwellings, and because annual maintenance costs form only a small percentage of initial costs, public administrators have shown little interest in the cost of maintaining property. As a result, "methods of recording facts and figures vary from simple book entries to complicated-looking and not always efficient business systems, and there is no doubt that a good deal is often committed to the memory".¹ Because of this lack of standardisation, it is frequently impossible to determine the true significance of published figures, while meaningful and valid comparison is consequently difficult.

With this in mind, it is intended that this chapter should attempt to answer six questions. These are:-

1. How does expenditure on maintenance vary (a) inter-regionally?
(b) intra-regionally?
2. How do the Tyneside Authorities compare with those of the rest of England and Wales with regard to expenditure on maintenance?
3. How is expenditure on maintenance and the type of maintenance affected by the age of the property?
4. How is expenditure on maintenance and the type of maintenance affected by the type of development?
5. Are changes in the expenditure of Authorities on maintenance a result of economic factors or changes in the scale and frequency of maintenance operations?
6. Are figures of the amounts Local Authorities spend on maintaining their inter-war property a reflection of the costs of maintenance or of the amounts Authorities are prepared to spend?

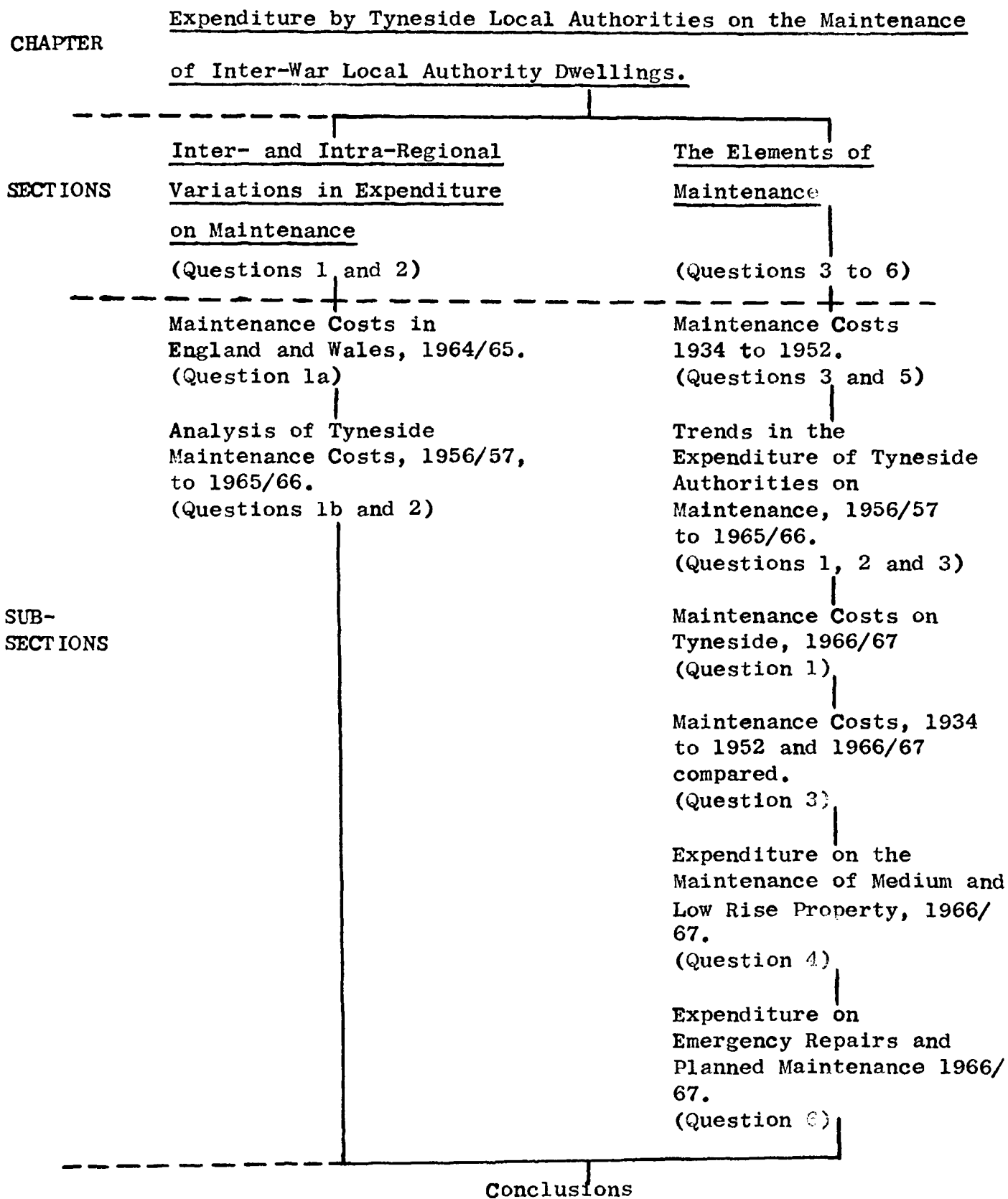
To answer these questions, the chapter is divided into two sections, entitled

- (a) Inter- and Intra-Regional Variations in Expenditure on
Maintenance, and

1. Institute of Housing, "Repairs and Maintenance of Council Dwellings", Part 1, Page 35, Housing, Vol. XXII, No. 2, September, 1960.

(b) The Elements of Maintenance.

The first of these is concerned mainly with answering questions one and two, while the latter deals chiefly with questions three, four, five and six. However, neither section is totally exclusive. Moreover, because the data is not standardised, each section consists of a number of sub-sections, each of which attempts to answer one or more of the questions. In an attempt to facilitate identification of the aims of each sub-section, a plan of the chapter has been drafted out below.



Inter- and Intra- Regional Variations in Expenditure on Maintenance.Maintenance Costs in England and Wales, 1964/65.

As outlined in Appendix 5, Page 246, figures for the annual expenditure of Local Authorities on maintenance appear in "Housing Statistics", an annual publication of the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants. To facilitate this study, the figures from the 1964/65 publication have been used. Though not providing the most comprehensive coverage nor the most recent statistics, this edition does contain a larger sample than the edition for 1965/66, and a larger proportion of Authorities showing costs on pre-war property than earlier editions (Table A5:4).

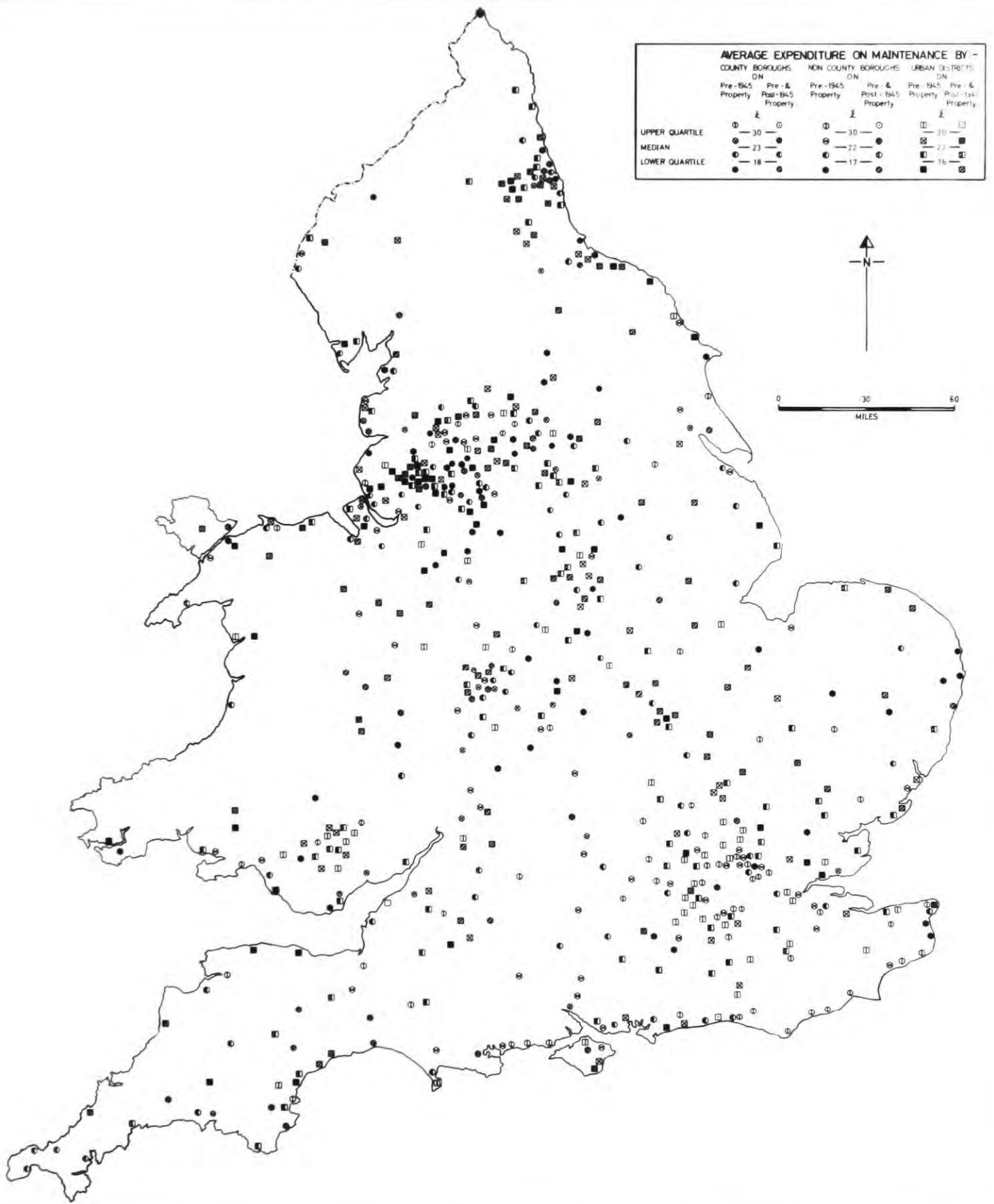
The data for 1964/65 has been mapped according to the overall scatter of the values about the median for the respective administrative units.¹ To avoid confusion no statistics have been plotted for any of the London Boroughs or the Rural Districts, and from Figure 7:1 it is clear that in the south and south east (around London) values lie largely above the median value, and above the upper quartile near the capital. In the Midlands, fewer Authorities have costs above the upper quartile value, and more sub-median values are found. Similarly the level of expenditure most characteristic of those Authorities located within the north east and north west of England would appear to be below the median value. However, in both areas expenditure frequently lies between the median and the upper quartile levels.

The findings of Clapp support these observations.² Using biennial survey data for 1959/60, Miss Clapp shows that the highest maintenance costs on pre-war dwellings occur in London and the South, while the

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1. The median values are £23 for the County Boroughs and £22 for the Non-County Boroughs and Urban Districts.
 2. Clapp, M.A., "Cost Comparisons in Housing Maintenance", Local Government Finance, 1963, Vol. 67, (October), Pages 250-3.

FIGURE 7:1 ENGLAND AND WALES.

MAINTENANCE COSTS ON PRE-1945 PROPERTY, 1964/65.



lowest are in the North (Table 7:1). However Reiners,¹ using figures for the average cost per dwelling for pre- and post-1945 property, found that in 1952/53 maintenance costs in the Midlands were marginally lower than those in the North (Table 7:2).

Both Clapp and Reiners are agreed that the variations in total cost between regions arise largely from differences in policy regarding decorations; in the North and Midlands most Authorities expect tenants to undertake all internal decoration, while in the south many Authorities either do all decorations or provide assistance. Even so, though the regional variations are greatly reduced when decorating costs are subtracted, costs remain lower in the North and Midlands than in the South and around London (Tables 7:1 and 7:2) - presumably a reflection of regional price differences in respect of labour and materials.

Analysis of Tyneside Maintenance Costs, 1956/57 to 1965/66.

Studies of regional variations in the expenditure of Local Authorities on maintenance have traditionally been based on expenditure in a sample year - that is, they have taken the form of the above analysis. Such studies clearly provide interesting and apparently explicable results. However, as little is known about regional variations in Local Authority expenditures over time, it is difficult to determine to what extent the studies are representative of the actual situation. In this section an attempt is made, therefore, to examine the regional variations in the expenditure of Local Authorities over time. Unfortunately, only four Tyneside Authorities² show expenditure data on pre-war property for the whole of the period; the remaining Authorities³ fail, for at least part of the period, to differentiate between expenditure on pre- and post-1945 dwellings. However for comparative purposes, the data for Hebburn

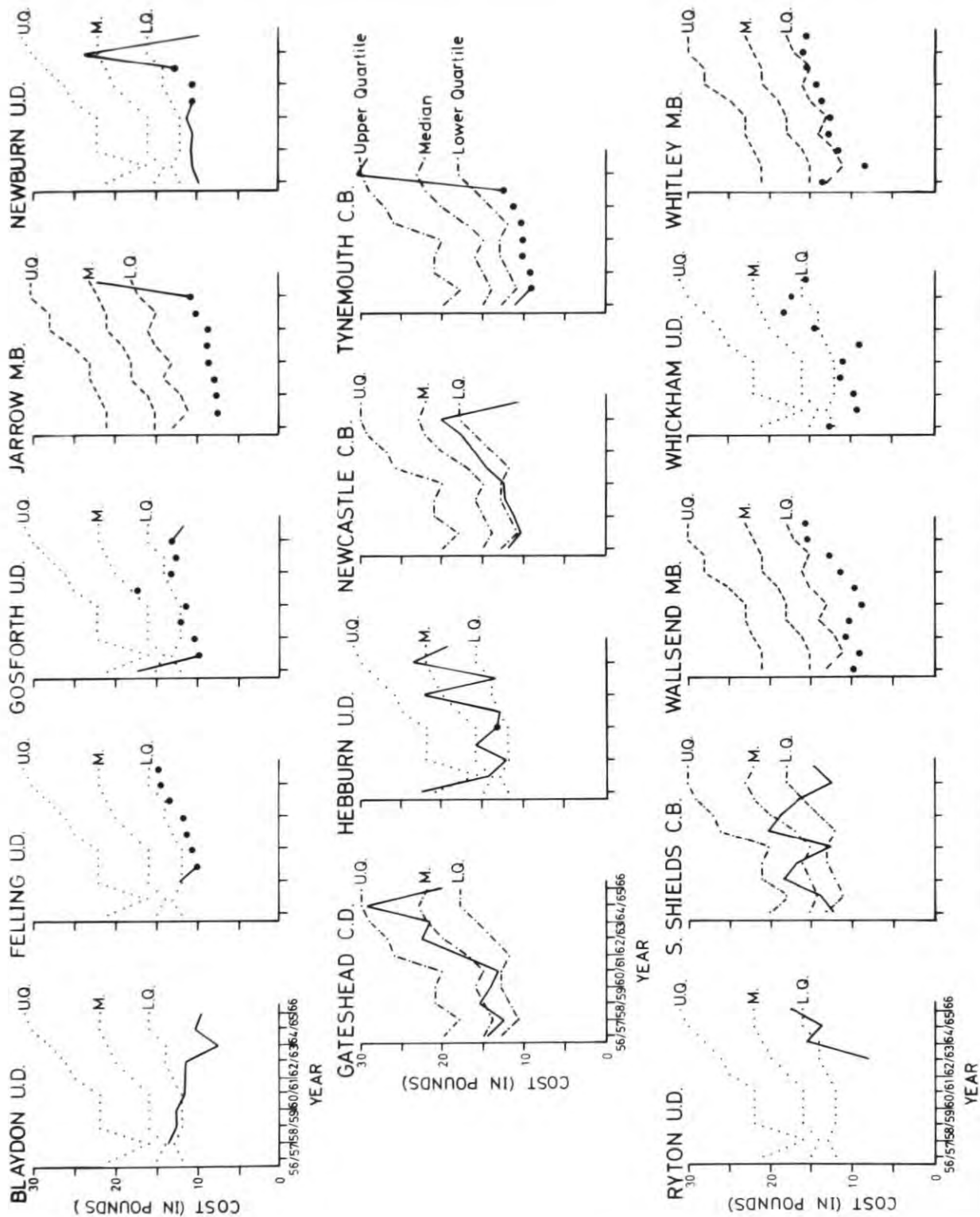
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1. Reiners, W.J., "Maintenance Costs of Local Authority Housing", Journal of the Institution of Municipal Engineers, 1955, Vol. 81, No. 9, Pages 514 to 424.
 2. Blaydon Urban District and the County Boroughs of Gateshead, Newcastle and South Shields.
 3. Excluding Ryton, for which information is provided for four years only.

(with only two years in which costs were undivided) and Newburn (with three) can be used, together with that for the four Authorities which show expenditure on pre-1945 property for the whole of the period.

Figure 7:2 compares, therefore, the maintenance expenditures of these six Tyneside Authorities (for the period under study) with the upper quartile, median and lower quartile values for the respective administrative units. From the histograms it would seem that each of these Authorities illustrates the fault of generalising about regional variations from an analysis of one year's expenditure on maintenance; clearly expenditure on the maintenance of pre-1945 property fluctuates, and the magnitude and frequency of the fluctuations varies from one Authority to another. Blaydon, for example, had declining costs and, after 1959/60, the amount spent on maintenance fell below the lower quartile level. Prior to that date, however, maintenance costs in Blaydon were above the lower quartile, but below the median value. Hebburn, another Urban District, experienced increasing costs, but the annual expenditure fluctuated considerably. Apart from 1956/57, when the amount spent on maintaining pre-war property was above the upper quartile level, and 1963/64 when it was below the lower quartile level, expenditure in Hebburn fell within these two limits. For Newburn, the situation is more complicated than for Hebburn and Blaydon, as the data for the years 1961/62, 1962/63 and 1963/64 is only an average of the amount spent on pre- and post-war property. Once again however, the tendency over the period was for expenditure to rise. Prior to 1963/64, Newburn was one of the 93 Urban Districts of England and Wales whose expenditure on the maintenance of pre-war property was below the level of the lower quartile value. In 1964/65, the amount spent by Newburn was above the median value, but in 1965/66, Newburn was again ranked with the bottom 25 per cent of all Urban Districts.

During the period, expenditure by 50 per cent of the County Boroughs of England and Wales differed by no less than £7 and no more than £14 (Figure 7:2). Despite marked fluctuations, the expenditure of Gateshead

FIG. 7:2 LOCAL AUTHORITY MAINTENANCE COSTS, 1956/57 - 1965/66



URBAN DISTRICTS /
 MUNICIPAL BOROUGHS /
 COUNTY BOROUGHS /
 PARTICULAR AUTHORITY /
 ALL PROPERTY

County Borough remained within the limits prescribed by the upper and lower quartile values, the amount spent exceeding the median value in 1958/59, 1961/62 and 1963/64. On the other hand, expenditure in Newcastle never exceeded the median, and it was only in 1961/62, 1962/63, 1963/64 and 1964/65 that it exceeded the lower quartile level. In South Shields County Borough, expenditure on pre-1945 property showed two peaks and two troughs. In 1958/59 and 1961/62 expenditure rose above the median value but dropped below the lower quartile level in 1960/61 and 1964/65. However, despite these marked fluctuations, the tendency was for expenditure to rise over the period.

Clearly expenditure on the maintenance of pre-1945 dwellings tended to increase over the period 1956/57 to 1965/66. However, the increases were not regular in magnitude or in frequency, and varied from one Authority to another and from one year to the next. This obviously makes for difficulty when attempting to identify inter- and intra-regional variations in expenditure. Even so, despite these great variations, it would appear that the expenditure of Tyneside Authorities on the maintenance of pre-1945 property was below the median for similar Authorities in England and Wales. Explanations of this phenomenon would seem to depend on the nature of Local Authority expenditure on maintenance; if it is the amount Local Authorities spend to preserve dwellings in their initial state, then it would seem that differences reflect regional variations in the cost of material and labour and/or the amount of maintenance required; if it is the amount which Local Authorities are able or willing to spend on maintenance, then it would seem that regional differences reflect variations in the standard of maintenance. Which of these explanations is correct it is difficult to decide, though the principal students of Local Authority expenditures on maintenance seem traditionally to have favoured the former, regarding expenditure figures as expressions of the cost of adequate maintenance.

The Elements of Maintenance.

It is intended that an attempt should be made in this section to determine

- (1) the type of maintenance which has been carried out.
- (2) the changes which have taken place over time in the level of expenditure on maintenance and the type of maintenance.
- (3) the factors which determine the level of expenditure on maintenance.

However, because of the fragmentary nature of the data, different sources of material have had to be used and different techniques of analysis have had to be adopted. Details of expenditure on the maintenance of pre-1945 property since the date of construction are not readily available, and the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants has only published information on the maintenance of pre-1945 property since 1956/57 (see Appendix 5, Page 246). Fortunately the Building Research Station possesses data on the maintenance of 110 dwellings in Wallsend for the period 1934-1952. This property was constructed on the High Farm Estate in 1930/31, and the data enables a case study to be made of the form of maintenance and the magnitude of costs, in the immediate post- construction period.

Changes in Maintenance Costs and Operations, 1934-1952.

It can be seen (Table 7:3) that the total expenditure per dwelling for the period was only £10.4. The main expenditure was on water and sanitary services, the next most important item being expenditure on the maintenance of finishings and fixings. Together, these two elements accounted for more than 50 per cent of the total costs. Repairs to the external structure, accounting for a further 16 per cent of the total expenditure, formed the next most important item, closely followed by expenditure on domestic appliances and site works, respectively. Together, however, internal and external decorating accounted for only 1.17 per cent of the total.

Over the period the majority of the expenditure (60 per cent)

occurred between 1946 and 1952 and, as expenditure was slightly higher between 1940 and 1945 than between 1934 and 1939, it would seem that the cost of maintenance, as intimated on Page 117, increases with time (the age of the dwelling). Table 7:4 shows, however, that though the per dwelling expenditure for each element was greatest between 1946 and 1952, the amount spent on external decorating, site works and finishings and fixings was larger between 1934 and 1939 than between 1940 and 1945. This, however, is probably a direct result of the war when only emergency repairs are likely to have been performed.

Similarly Table 7:5 shows that the elements of maintenance costs appear to change in importance with the age of the dwelling. Though internal and external decorating remained of little importance, expenditure on structural repairs and water and sanitary services increased over the period, while the importance of expenditure on domestic appliances, site works and finishings and fixings decreased.

By the period 1940-1945, expenditure on water and sanitary services constituted the most important element in costs, though it had ranked only fourth in importance during the preceding period. Similarly, the increase which took place in expenditure on structural repairs resulted in this element rising in importance from fifth place in the period 1934-1939, to second in the period 1946-1952. Conversely, expenditure on finishings and fixings decreased in importance, with the result that the maintenance of finishings and fixings (originally the most important element) became only third in importance between 1946 and 1952. The percentage expenditure on domestic appliances and site works also declined, and, after being third and second in importance during the initial period, these elements became fourth and fifth during the last.

Clearly expenditure on maintenance appears to rise with the increasing age of the dwelling, and the importance of the various elements of maintenance seem to change. However, this increase in expenditure could occur as a result of

(a) inflationary processes (i.e. a fall in the value of money as a result of the rising price of labour, raw materials, etc.),

(b) an increase in the amount of maintenance required through prolonged use of the dwelling.

The following section constitutes an attempt to resolve the problem.

Number of Operations and the Cost Per Item, 1934-1952.

To facilitate this study, indices of maintenance costs and operations have been constructed from 42 different items.¹ The period 1934-1939 has been taken as the base (i.e. 1934-1939 equals 100), and from Table 7:6 it can be seen that, excluding internal and external decorating, the index of total costs per dwelling for the period 1946-1952 was more than three times greater than the index for 1934-1939, while the index for 1940-1945 was almost one third larger than that of the base period.

The indices for all elements of maintenance in the period 1946-1952 showed increases over the respective indices for the period 1940-1945. As might be expected from the above analysis (Page 119), the greatest increases were in respect of structural repairs and water and sanitary services. Similarly the indices reveal that these were the two elements which experienced the greatest increases during the period 1940-1945. However, it is noticeable that the indices for expenditure on site works and repairs to finishings and fixings, during the period 1940-1945, were less than those of the base period, 1934-1939.

It was pointed out above (Page 120) that increased costs could result from inflationary processes or from an increase in the amount of maintenance required. In turn, an increase in the amount of maintenance could result from

1. Six items are classed as structural repairs, 13 as finishings and fixings, ten as water and sanitary services, seven as repairs to domestic appliances and six as site works.

- (a) an increase in the number of maintenance operations,
- (b) an increase in the scale of maintenance.

Table 7:7 provides an index of the number of maintenance operations. From comparison with Table 7:6, it can be seen that over the period, the total number of operations increased. With the exception of finishings and fixings, the same was true of all component elements. This would suggest that the increased expenditure on maintenance was a result of an increase not only in the number of maintenance operations, but also in the cost of materials and labour and/or the scale of maintenance operations. On the other hand, with regard to finishings and fixings, it can be seen that the index of maintenance operations was less in the period 1946-1952 than in the base period, and that the index of costs was greater. This seems to indicate that, for finishings and fixings, the increase in costs was largely a result of inflationary processes or the increased scale of maintenance operations. Similarly the indices for site works and finishings and fixings, during the period 1940-1945, were less than the indices for the base period. As the indices of expenditure on maintenance were also less, it is clear that, as was suggested above (Page 119), the reduction in expenditure on site works and finishings and fixings was a result of a reduction in the number of maintenance operations. However, as the reductions in the indices of cost are less than the reductions in the indices of operations, it is also clear that the level of expenditure was not determined solely by the number of operations performed.

Because of the lack of data, it is not possible to determine whether the scale of maintenance operations increased over the period and, as most items in the indices contain a scale component, it is difficult to determine whether the cost per item increased as a result of inflationary processes. However, a number of operations take the form not of repairs (involving a considerable scale component) but of direct replacements. If indices are constructed of the cost of replacements, then it should be possible to observe the effect of economic conditions on at least

these operations.

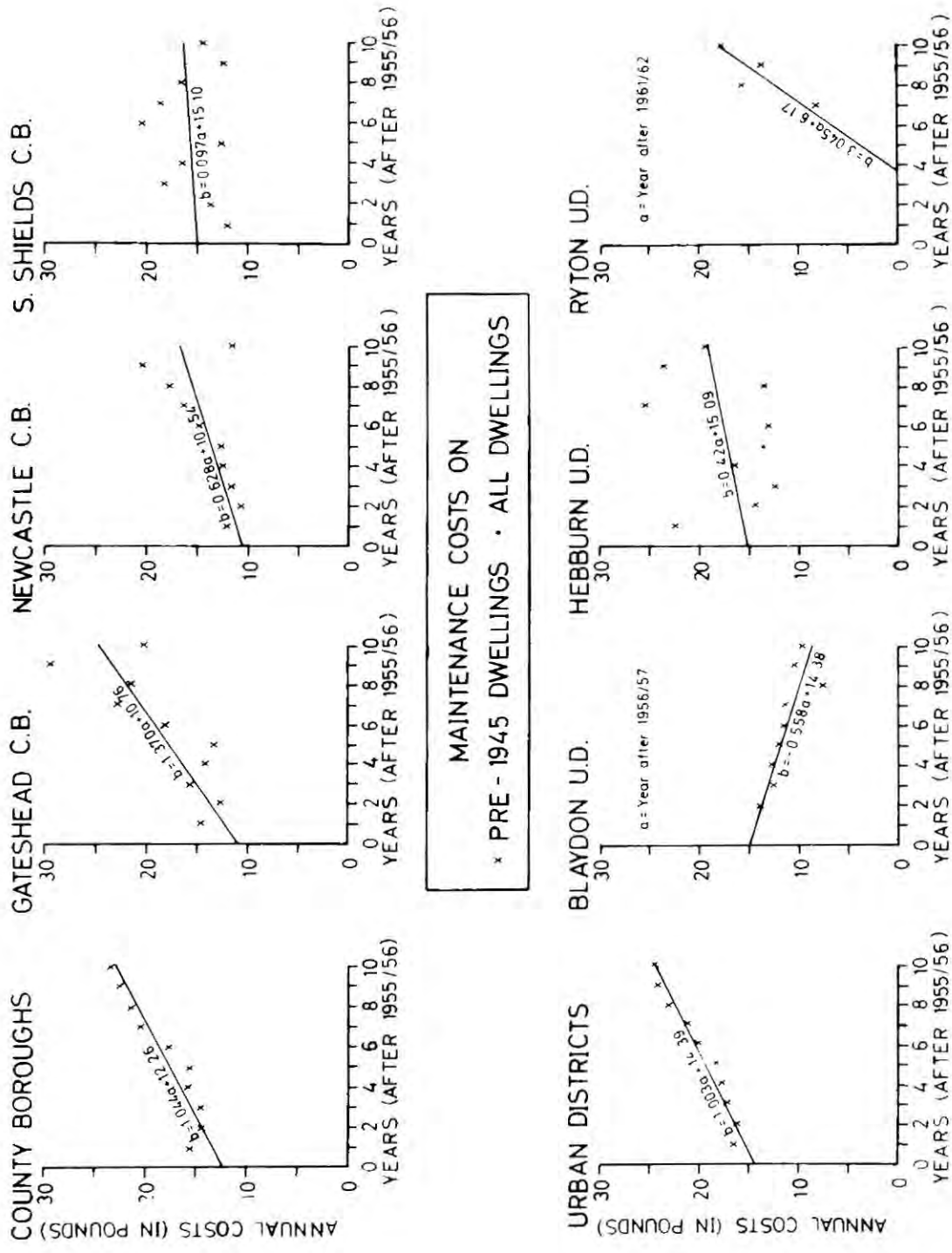
Table 7:8 provides indices of the cost of replacing various elements of the dwelling over the period 1934 to 1952. The majority of the operations took the form of repairs and it has only been possible to include ten (of the 42) items in the indices. Even so, it would seem that during the war years (1940-1945) the cost of replacing various elements of the dwelling had risen by almost half, and by the period 1946-1952 it had more than doubled.

Thus it is clear that expenditure on maintenance, over the period 1934 to 1952, rose as a result both of the increased number of maintenance operations and of inflationary processes. It would seem that the cost of materials and labour increased at a rate which was faster than the increase which took place in the number of operations. This would suggest that expenditure on maintenance rose largely as a result of the increased costs of materials and labour. However, it must be appreciated that the majority of the operations performed during the period took the form of repairs which, though it has not been possible to show, would be likely to increase in scale with the increased age of the dwelling.

Trends in the Expenditure of Tyneside Authorities on Maintenance, 1956/57 to 1965/66.

Figures published by the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants facilitate a study of the effect of time on Local Authority expenditure on the maintenance of pre-1945 dwellings. However, the study deals only with expenditure in the post- 1956/57 period as the Institute published expenditure figures for pre-1945 dwellings for the first time in that year (see Appendix 5, Page 246). Moreover, as only four Tyneside Authorities distinguish between maintenance expenditure on pre- and post-1945 dwellings for the whole of the period, it is only possible to use, with any confidence, the data for these four Authorities. Additional figures are also provided by Ryton for the years 1962/63, 1963/64, 1964/65 and 1965/66 and, as Hebburn has only one "undivided" value,

FIGURE 7:3 CHANGES IN AVERAGE MAINTENANCE COSTS, 1956/57 TO 1965/66.



the data for these two Authorities may also be included in the analysis, though no undue significance ought to be placed on either case.

On the National level, expenditure on maintenance rose presumably as a result of the increasing age of the dwelling, and the rising costs of labour and materials. Although expenditure at the beginning of the period was greatest in the Non-County Boroughs (Table 7:9 and Figure 7:3), the greatest increases took place in the County Boroughs and Urban Districts, where the average per annum increases were approximately £1 0. 10. and £1 0. 0. respectively.

However, with regard to Tyneside, perhaps the most striking feature was the trend for expenditure by Blaydon to decline over the period at an average rate of 11 shillings and twopence per annum. Elsewhere on Tyneside, expenditure rose. The most rapid rise occurred in Gateshead, where a per annum increase of £1 7. 5. was experienced. While Gateshead increased its average expenditure at a rate faster than the average County Borough, expenditure by both Newcastle and South Shields increased at a much lower rate.¹ However, it is noticeable that although costs rose in South Shields at such a slow rate, the Authority's expenditure on the maintenance of pre-1945 dwellings in 1956/57 was some £3 more than that of the average County Borough. Conversely, though expenditure in Gateshead increased over the period at a greater than average rate, expenditure in 1956/57 was below the County Borough average. Both Hebburn and Ryton follow the same respective patterns, but Newcastle, while having a below average initial expenditure, increased its annual expenditure at a rate which was also below that for the average County Borough² and Blaydon, instead of increasing its expenditure on maintenance at the average rate of about £1 per annum, actually reduced its outlay by approximately 11 shillings per annum.

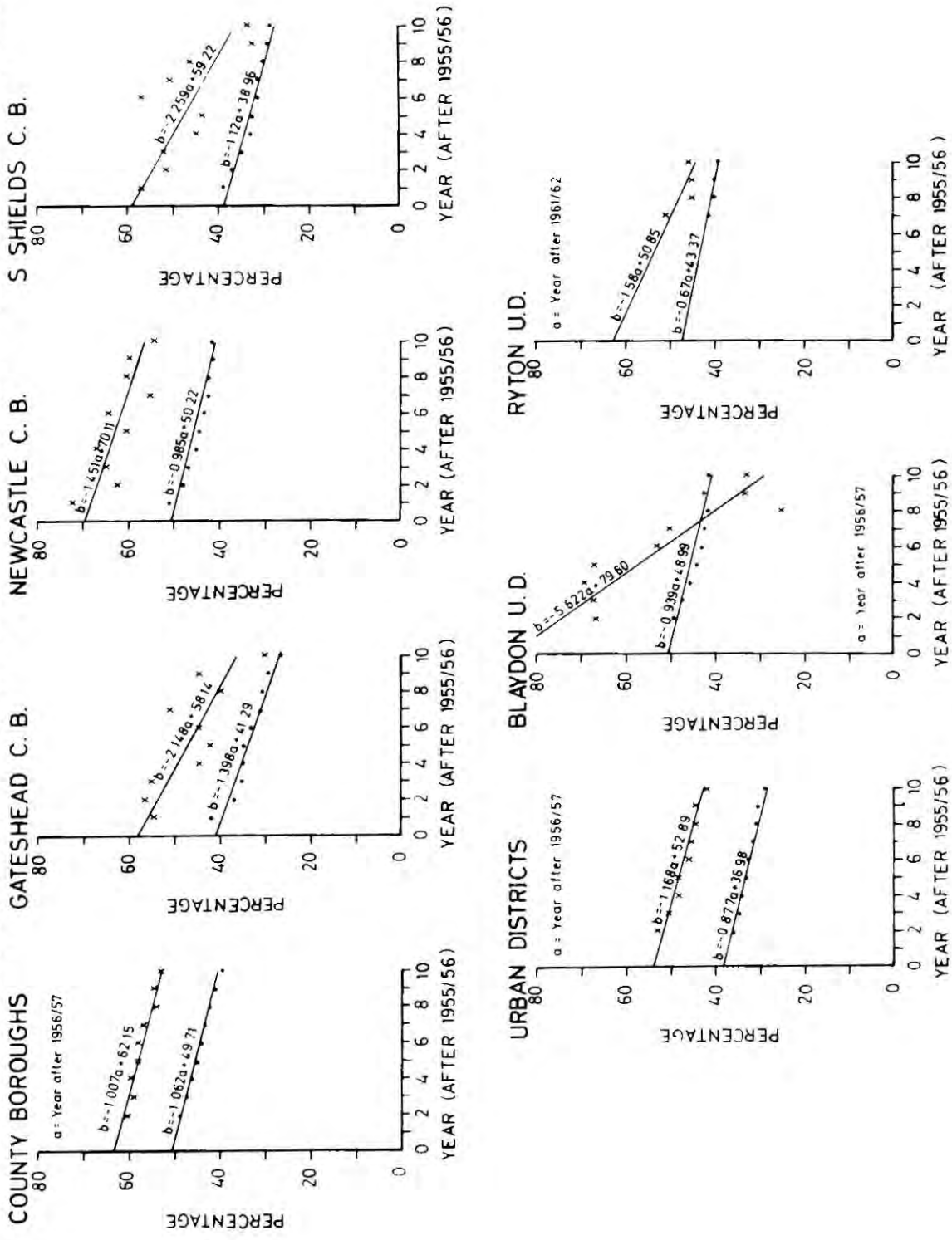
Even so, it would seem that the higher the level of expenditure in

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1. At rates of 12 shillings and sixpence and one shilling and eleven pence respectively.
 2. That is, at only 12 shillings and sixpence per annum as opposed to £1 0. 10.

FIGURE 7:4 COMPARISON OF

a. THE PROPORTION SPENT ON MAINTAINING PRE-1945 DWELLINGS IN THE TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON MAINTENANCE.

b. THE PROPORTION OF PRE-1945 DWELLINGS IN THE DWELLING STOCK.



1956/57, the lower the rate of increase over the period. The converse also seems to hold true.

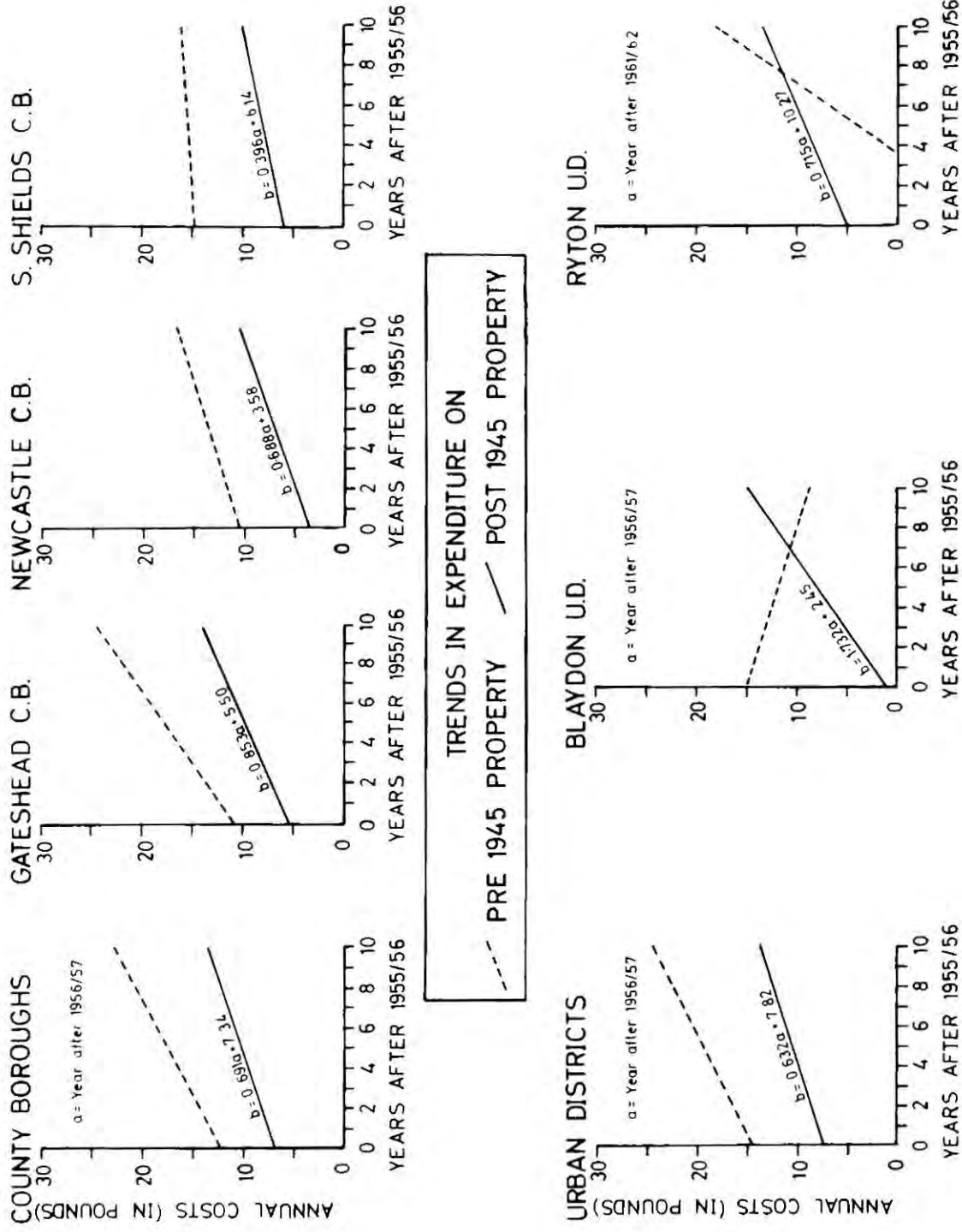
Despite the absolute rise in expenditure on maintenance in all areas except Blaydon, a decrease occurred over the period in the proportion spent on pre-1945 dwellings in the total maintenance expenditure. This could have resulted from

- (a) continued post-war building
- (b) maintenance costs on post-war property increasing at a relatively faster rate than maintenance costs on pre-war property.

From Table 7:10 and Figure 7:4 it is clear that in all areas the proportion of pre-1945 property in the total municipal dwelling stock was decreasing over the period. However, it is also clear that in the Urban Districts of England and Wales, and in all of the Tyneside Local Authority areas, the rate of decrease in the proportion spent on pre-1945 property in the total expenditure exceeded the rate of decrease in the proportion of pre-1945 property in the dwelling stock.

This clearly resulted from the fact that in all areas it was becoming increasingly costly to maintain post-war property. From Table 7:11 and Figure 7:5, however, it is also clear that only in Blaydon, Newcastle and South Shields was expenditure on the maintenance of post-war dwellings increasing at a faster rate than that on pre-1945 property. Thus, it would seem that the proportion of total expenditure allocated to the maintenance of pre-war dwellings has decreased, and will continue to decrease, as a result of continued post-war building and increasing expenditure on post-war property. However, there seems little doubt that expenditure on the maintenance of pre-1945 property will continue to rise. In 1955, Reiners observed that maintenance costs increased at the average rate of about five shillings per dwelling per annum for the first 30 years, after which they became more constant. The above analysis has shown however, that expenditure on the maintenance of pre-1945 dwellings

FIGURE 7:5 TRENDS IN MAINTENANCE COSTS ON POST - 1945 PROPERTY, 1956/57 to 1965/66.



has continued to increase at a rate greatly in excess of five shillings per dwelling per annum. Whether costs will continue to rise depends on the nature of the maintenance operations previously performed. If the published figures represent an attempt by Authorities to preserve dwellings in their initial state, then it is likely that the scale and number of maintenance operations will decline, as will expenditure. However, if planned maintenance and non-essential repairs have been neglected, and the figures represent the costs incurred by Authorities largely in the execution of emergency/essential repairs, then it is likely that expenditure will continue to rise. It has not been possible to determine which policy the figures represent, but it is common knowledge that there has been a tendency, since the war, to postpone expenditure on site works (the maintenance of paths, fences and drains). If this is the case, and only urgent repairs have been executed, then a substantial hidden charge could be accruing against the Repairs Account.

Maintenance Costs on Tyneside, 1966/67.

In October, 1967, a questionnaire was sent to all 14 of the Tyneside Authorities (see Appendix 5, Page 250) concerning expenditure on the maintenance of pre-1945 property in the year ending 31st March, 1967. The results of the survey form the basis of this section. Unfortunately, only five Authorities¹ were able to provide statements in the required detail. For these five Authorities, however, it would seem that the average per dwelling expenditure for 1966/67 exceeded £19 (Table 7:12). Expenditure on finishings and fixings² accounted for almost 27 per cent of this, and was by far the most important element. Repairs to the structure of the property³ accounted for a further 19 per cent and formed the next most important item, while expenditure on the maintenance

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1. Felling, Gateshead, Newcastle, South Shields and Tynemouth.
 2. That is, on doors, windows, glazing, plastering, wall-tiling, etc..
 3. To walls, foundations, chimney stacks, roofs, floors, staircases, skirtings, etc..

of water and sanitary services accounted for another 15 per cent. External decorating accounted for approximately 11 per cent of the expenditure, while similar proportions were spent on the repair and maintenance of such domestic services and appliances as electric wiring, points and pendants, gas points and piping, heating and cooking appliances, etc., and on the maintenance of paths, sewers, fences, boundary walls, gates, etc.. Though expenditure on internal decorating exceeded that on the maintenance of miscellaneous items, it formed only a small proportion (four per cent) of the average per dwelling expenditure.¹

The amount by which values deviate from the mean varies according to the area and the component. Table 7:13 shows the standard deviation of individual values from the mean for component costs in the five areas under study. The greatest variation in expenditure occurs over external painting, finishings and fixings, and internal decorating, while the smallest is for expenditure on miscellaneous items.

When actual costs are compared with mean costs, (Table 7:14) it can be seen that the area with the most frequent deviations greater than the standard deviation was South Shields. In this area, actual expenditure on finishings and fixings, structure and site works was more than one standard deviation below the mean, and more than one standard deviation above the mean for external painting, domestic appliances and miscellaneous items. Similarly expenditure in Tynemouth was more than one standard deviation above the mean for finishings and fixings, and below the mean for domestic appliances and water and sanitary services. In Gateshead, expenditure on structural repairs and site works was greater than the mean and exceeded the standard deviation parameter, while in Felling and Newcastle it was only with respect to

1. From the schedule, it is clear that three of the Authorities (Felling, South Shields and Tynemouth) regard internal decorating as the tenant's responsibility, while two (Gateshead and Newcastle) regard it as the tenant's responsibility except on change of tenancy.

expenditure on internal decorating and water and sanitary services that this occurred.

The actual and proportionate expenditure on the various elements is shown in Table 7:15. As would be expected from the above analysis, each Authority varied from the mean for Tyneside. Even so, it can be seen that expenditure on finishings and fixings accounted for a high proportion of the expenditure of each Authority, as did expenditure on the structure of the dwelling (except in South Shields). It is interesting to note, moreover, that in this latter area the largest proportion of the total expenditure was on external painting, while in Felling it was on water and sanitary services. Other interesting features are the relatively large proportions spent on

- (a) internal decoration in Newcastle
- (b) finishings and fixings in Tynemouth
- (c) external decorating in South Shields

and the relatively low expenditure on

- (a) external decorating in Gateshead
- (b) structure, site works and finishings and fixings in
South Shields
- (c) domestic appliances in Tynemouth.

Maintenance Costs, 1934-1952 and 1966/67 Compared.

When the average per dwelling expenditure in 1966/67 is compared with that for the period 1934-52, further details of the effect of time on the costs and elements of maintenance are obtained (Table 7:16). For 110 dwellings in Wallsend, the average per dwelling expenditure over the first 19 years appears to have been only half that for the year 1966/67 on some 25,000 dwellings in five Tyneside areas.

With regard to component costs, only expenditure on water and sanitary services was comparable; in fact, in 1966/67 slightly less was spent on water and sanitary services than between 1934 and 1952. On all other elements, however, expenditure had increased. Excluding miscellaneous items, the components on which the greatest increases had occurred

were internal and external decorating - the least important of the elements over the period 1934 to 1952. Moreover, as the smallest increases (excluding water and sanitary services) were on domestic appliances and site works (the fourth and fifth most important elements over the period 1934-1952), the three principal components (accounting for over 60 per cent of the expenditure) were the same in 1966/67, as they had been in the period 1934-52. However, it is noticeable that the order of importance had changed. Finishings and fixings had risen from second to first place, while structural repairs had become next in importance, and water and sanitary services had fallen from first to third place (Table 7:17).

During the period 1934-1952, the trend was for external decorating, structural repairs and water and sanitary services to increase in relative importance, while internal decorating, finishings and fixings, domestic appliances and site works decreased. Since 1952, it would seem that the relative importance of external decorating has continued to increase, as that of site works and domestic appliances has continued to decline. For the other elements, however, the trend seems to have been reversed, and the relative importance of structure and water and sanitary services seems to have declined, while expenditure on internal decorating and finishings and fixings seems to have become relatively more important.

Thus, the tendency would seem to be not only for expenditure to rise, but also for more importance to be placed on the formerly minor items.

Expenditure on the Maintenance of Medium and Low Rise Property, 1966/67.

In Felling, South Shields and Tynemouth, no dwellings erected by the Local Authority prior to 1945 have more than two storeys; in Newcastle and Gateshead, however, dwellings with three and four storeys were erected. Thus, the statements of these Authorities enable the effect of property height on maintenance expenditure to be examined.

When the average maintenance costs for the two types of development

are combined (as in Table 7:18), expenditure on three and four storey property is seen to account for more than 60 per cent of the total. Thus it would appear that the cost of maintenance increases with the height of the property. This seems to be particularly true for external decorating, but it also seems to apply to the maintenance of water and sanitary services, domestic appliances and site works. However, the maintenance costs on miscellaneous items and structure would seem to be markedly greater for dwellings with one and two storeys.

Moreover, when the expenditures of the two Authorities are compared, (Table 7:19), it is clear that the average per dwelling expenditure on one and two storey property in Newcastle exceeds that on property with three and four storeys. This applies to each component element in Newcastle, and it is noticeable that it also applies to expenditure on the maintenance of the structure of the dwelling, and miscellaneous items in Gateshead.

Expenditure on Emergency Repairs and Planned Maintenance, 1966/67.

Tynemouth was the only Authority on Tyneside to differentiate between expenditure on emergency repairs and planned maintenance (Table 7:20). In 1966/67, the expenditure of Tynemouth on pre-1945 property was approximately £16 per dwelling. However, it is noticeable that this did not include the cost of internal decoration, which the Authority regards as the tenant's responsibility.

Maintenance, according to Stone, "depends more on policy than on the incidence of failures and breakages".¹ It seems, however, that in Tynemouth this is not the case. Table 7:20 shows the expenditure of Tynemouth on the maintenance of pre-1945 property in 1966/67. From it, it can be seen that planned maintenance accounted for little more than 33 per cent of the total expenditure.

1. Stone, P.A., "Housing, Town Development, Land and Costs", The Estates Gazette, Page 91.

As in most areas, external decorating is the responsibility of the Authority, and is carried out at regular intervals which are determined by the policy of the Authority.¹ As might be expected, therefore, all expenditure on external decorating is classed as planned maintenance. Similarly, three-quarters of the expenditure on miscellaneous items, and slightly more than half of the expenditure on structural repairs, appears to have been planned. However, the expenditure on all three of these elements accounted for only 29 per cent of the total (Table 7:15), and of the remaining 71 per cent, the majority was unplanned. This was particularly true of expenditure on domestic appliances, finishings and fixings and water and sanitary services.

Thus it would seem that the majority of the maintenance expenditure for pre-1945 property is unplanned - it depends more on the incidence of failures and breakages than on the policy of the Authority. Expenditure figures would appear, therefore, to reflect the cost of maintenance. However, it may be that Authorities have neglected planned maintenance - that less urgent items of maintenance have been postponed. If this is the case, figures of expenditure on maintenance represent the amount an Authority has been able or prepared to spend.

It is not clear to what extent expenditure figures represent the true cost of maintenance, but it would seem that public officials are agreed that the standard of maintenance is governed, to a large extent, by financial considerations.²

Conclusions.

To conclude, expenditure on the maintenance of pre-1945 property is lowest in the North and Midlands. These variations largely arise from

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1. In the case of Tynemouth, dwellings are decorated externally once every five years.
 2. Tucker, L.J., "Repairs and Maintenance of Local Authority Houses", Housing Review, January/February, 1957, Vol. 6, No. 1, Page 5.

differences in policy regarding internal decoration. However, when decorating costs are discounted, the variations are reduced, but expenditure remains lowest in the North and Midlands. Despite the annual fluctuations in expenditure and the variations between one Authority and another, it would seem that the general tendency is for the expenditure of Tyneside Authorities to be below the median value which, in 1964/65, was £23 for the County Boroughs and £22 for the Non-County Boroughs and Urban Districts. Even so, the amount spent on the maintenance of Tyneside's pre-1945 dwellings seems to be in excess of the statutory repairs contribution of £8 per dwelling per annum, and it would appear that Authorities have been using contributions made in respect of newer dwellings to maintain their older property.¹ The proportion spent on the maintenance of pre-1945 property in the total expenditure appears to be decreasing as a result of,

- (a) continued post-war building
- (b) increased maintenance expenditure on post-war property.

However, the absolute expenditure on pre-1945 property is rising, in most areas, by about £1 per annum per dwelling. Whether it will continue to rise it is difficult to determine, since it is not clear whether expenditure figures represent,

- (a) the cost of preserving dwellings in their initial state
- (b) the amount an Authority has been prepared or able to spend on maintenance.

It seems generally agreed, however, that many Authorities have neglected planned maintenance, causing the urban environment to deteriorate in many areas, and a substantial hidden charge to accrue. This being the case, it is likely that expenditure on the maintenance of pre-1945 dwellings

1. The average expenditure of the seven Tyneside Authorities showing expenditure on the maintenance of pre-1945 property in 1964/65, for example, was approximately £20 5. 0.. The average contribution of the same Authorities to the Repairs Account was £14 7. 0. per dwelling.

will continue to rise as a result both of inflationary processes, and the increased number and/or scale of maintenance operations required to make the property fit for continued habitation.

CHAPTER VIII. THE USE OF, AND STANDARD OF ACCOMMODATION PROVIDED BY, THE INTER-WAR COUNCIL DWELLING: GATESHEAD A CASE STUDY, 1968.

As was pointed out in Chapter VI (Page 109), it is not proposed that this thesis should make a fully comprehensive study of the suitability of the inter-war Council dwelling for habitation. Instead, it is intended that a detailed examination should be made of the use of the inter-war Council dwelling and the standard of accommodation provided by it. This ignoring of the environmental factor stems from the scale of the exercise. As Haggett points out, however, "this can hardly be regarded as a new problem",¹ and quite frequently "for research to be tolerable at all we have to restrict our investigation to the observation of relatively few of the factors".² Indeed not only is it necessary to ignore certain factors, but it is also often necessary to restrict the observations to a population somewhat smaller than the total - i.e. a sample has to be taken. In this case a questionnaire survey was undertaken in only one of Tyneside's 14 Local Authority areas - Gateshead - and, as only a proportion of the total inter-war dwelling stock of Gateshead was examined, two samples have, in effect, been taken. Essentially, the choice of Gateshead is a purposive sample,³ while the survey itself is a random probability sample. Further details regarding the questionnaire and the sampling procedure are provided in Appendix 5, Pages 250 to 268.

The Use of Inter-War Council Dwellings.

Persons Per Room.

In Chapter VI (Page 107), it was pointed out that one of the five factors requiring consideration in any assessment of the suitability of a

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1. Haggett, P., "Locational Analysis in Human Geography", Arnold, 1966.
 2. Moroney, M.J., "Facts from Figures", Penguin, 1961, Page 275.
 3. The choice was, however, influenced by the fact that (1) the Local Housing Department did not object to the interviewing of its tenants, (2) the total population was such that it was possible to handle the desired sample.

dwelling or dwellings for habitation is the space available to individual households. This is traditionally measured by the number of persons per room and, according to the Census of 1961, a dwelling becomes overcrowded when each room is occupied by more than 1.5 persons. Apart from this, no parameters are laid down, but it is felt that a dwelling may be regarded as being under-occupied when it is inhabited by fewer than 0.33 persons per room. Patently, therefore, it is at a normal level of occupancy when the density of occupation is between 0.34 and 1.49 persons per room.

Basing observations on these standards, it would appear (Table 8:1) that in 1968, approximately 10 per cent of the dwellings were under-occupied, while 13 per cent were overcrowded; households living at a "normal" level of occupancy thus formed 77 per cent of the total. Cullingworth found¹ that in 1962 only five per cent of all Council dwellings in England were under-occupied, while eight per cent were overcrowded. This would suggest that the misuse of property was greater in inter-war Council dwellings in Gateshead than was found, on average, in all Council dwellings in England.

A comparison of density of occupation with house type indicates that excessive under-occupation occurs in dwellings with three rooms - 14 per cent of the three-room dwellings (which account for 55 per cent of the total dwellings stock) being under-occupied. On the other hand, only nine per cent of the three-room dwellings are overcrowded, whereas overcrowding occurs in one quarter of the five-room dwellings and 15 per cent of those with four rooms. Conversely, though none of the two room dwellings are under-occupied, under-occupation appears to be least prevalent in four and five room property whilst two and three room dwellings are the least overcrowded.

It is not uncommon for dwellings to be misused in this manner,

1. Cullingworth, J.B., "English Housing Trends", Occasional Papers on Social Administration, No. 13, Bell and Sons, 1965, Page 24.

partly because of the fluctuations which take place in a household during its life, and partly because of the low level of household mobility. By law, the landlord cannot permit overcrowding so the Local Authority is responsible for the upward adjustment of a household's standards. However, as under-occupation may not be socially undesirable, it is not legally defined, so the Authority has no obligation to adjust the household's standards downwards. Generally, the under-occupation of a Council dwelling is produced when a large household, occupying a large dwelling, contracts in size or when an Authority, in anticipation of an increase in family size, allocates to a young, small household, a dwelling which is in excess of its requirements. Usually this is a deliberate action which is not regarded as being wasteful since it permits household expansion. What is regarded as being wasteful, however, is the under utilisation produced when a household begins to contract in size.

In Gateshead, all of the under-occupied properties are inhabited by individual households, and the households which are most likely to increase in size (i.e. those in which the "housewife" is aged between 16 and 44) form only 10 per cent of the total. On the other hand, the households which are least likely to increase in size (i.e. those in which the "housewife" is aged over 60) form 76 per cent of the total. Thus, it would appear that in Gateshead over three-quarters of the under-occupation of inter-war Council property is economically undesirable. Moreover, a study of the overcrowding statistics only emphasises the bad alignment of families and dwellings. Overcrowding occurs predominantly in the dwellings occupied by large family and large adult households, and since 67 per cent of these are young households (i.e. households in which the "housewife" is aged between 25 and 44), it is quite likely that the situation will get worse.

As was mentioned above, the low level of household mobility is partly the cause of the uneven occupation of the housing stock. In Gateshead, approximately 44 per cent of the tenants of inter-war Council

property would like to move. In the overcrowded property, the proportion is considerably higher (68 per cent) as might be expected, but in the property which is under-occupied it is much lower. Even so, more than one quarter (29 per cent) of the households living at a density of up to 0.33 persons per room¹ are interested in moving, and if this could be effected, it is likely that some improvement would occur in the utilisation of inter-war Council property.

The Bedroom Standard

Since the number of persons per room is only a very crude measure of housing space, the Social Survey produced, in 1960, a "bedroom standard" which was to deal "statistically with the problem of under-occupation".² Details regarding the standard, which takes into consideration the varying bedroom requirements of households, are provided in Appendix 5, Page 263.

Table 8:2 shows the results of the standard when applied to inter-war Council property in Gateshead. From it, it can be seen that about a third (34 per cent) of the households have all bedrooms equal to the standard, while at least one bedroom is above it in almost half (47 per cent) of the dwellings. However, only 11 per cent of the tenants have two or more "extra" bedrooms, and as it is socially acceptable for a household to have one extra bedroom, perhaps the level of gross under-occupation is not greatly in excess of 10 per cent (Page 135).

The standard is as, if not more, useful when assessing overcrowding. From Table 8:2, it would appear that approximately 20 per cent of the tenants of inter-war Council property have bedrooms below the standard - 15 per cent having one bedroom, four per cent, two and one per cent, three. Apparently, therefore, overcrowding is more severe than was first estimated when the arbitrary persons per room standard was applied.

1. As these are all individual households they must all be living in dwellings with three or more rooms.

2. Cullingworth, J.B., "English Housing Trends", Page 37.

It is interesting to note that, according to Cullingworth's findings¹ in 1962, 47 per cent of Local Authority dwellings in England had all bedrooms equal to the standard, while 20 per cent were overcrowded and 34 per cent under-occupied. It is also interesting to note that in Gateshead, overcrowding appears to be greatest in the five-room property, while under-occupation is greatest in that with four rooms.

The Use of Rooms.

In a study of the use of Council dwellings, it is, perhaps, not only the use to which the Council puts the property which is important, but also the use to which the dwelling is put by the tenant.

The use to which a dwelling is put depends upon the way in which its rooms are used, and this, in turn depends upon such factors as the size, age and sex composition of the household, its socio-economic class and its educational background. Obviously, most rooms are multi-functional - a bedroom for example, may be used not only for sleeping in but also as a dressing room and, at times, as a sick room, while a living room is traditionally a communal room which may be used to satisfy the educational, recreational and subsistence needs of the household. In this section, it is not intended to look at the whole range of functions performed in a dwelling and its component rooms, but to look at the suitability of the design for the major functions for which the rooms are used.

Table 8:3 indicates that 79 per cent of the rooms occupied by the tenants of inter-war Council dwellings in Gateshead are used solely for the purpose for which they were designed. (i.e. as bedrooms or living rooms), while a further 12 per cent are used as spare bedrooms (in which people sleep in the advent of sickness or when the household has visitors). The remaining nine per cent of the rooms perform either a dual function, or a function different from that for which they were intended.²

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1. Cullingworth, J.B., "English Housing Trends", Page 38.
 2. Altogether eight per cent of the rooms perform a dual function and one per cent an alternative function.

In the former category, it is found that four per cent of the rooms designed as bedrooms are also used as storage places, while a further two per cent are used as studies. In addition, the bedroom, in a number of cases, is used as a sitting room or a place for airing clothes, while the living room is occasionally used for sleeping in.

As might be expected these dual purpose rooms are found most frequently in the smallest dwellings, though the five room property also has a large proportion. It is noticeable, however, the the functions differ somewhat with the size of the dwelling; in the two-room dwellings seven per cent of the rooms are used as storage places as well as bedrooms, while a further five per cent are used as combined living rooms and bedrooms. On the other hand, five per cent of the rooms in the five-room dwellings are used as bed-sitting rooms,¹ while four per cent are used as storage places, and a further two per cent as bedrooms and studies.

Where a room serves an alternative function, it is usually the bedroom which is used as a sitting room, playroom or a sewing room. Usually this feature is found most frequently in the larger dwellings² which would suggest that it is only possible where the pressure upon space is low.

On the other hand rooms appear to be used for dual functions where the pressure upon space is high, and under such circumstances it is likely (dependent upon the function) that privacy may be restricted, performance may be reduced or living conditions may be impaired. Obviously, because of the lack of privacy, the enforced use of a living room as a bedroom is undesirable and suggests that the dwelling is not suited to the requirements of the tenant,³ while the use of a bedroom as a place for storage or for airing clothes suggests that the dwelling is insufficiently provided with storage space or facilities for the airing

1. Presumably places where the children can entertain.
2. For example, only in the five-room dwellings is a room intended as a bedroom used as a sitting room or a sewing room.
3. The bedroom may be too cold or damp to sleep in or the tenant may possibly require a dwelling with a bedroom or bedrooms on the ground floor or, simply larger accommodation.

of clothes. The use of a bedroom as a study or bed-sitting room is socially acceptable, but it must be realised that the bedrooms of an inter-war dwelling were not designed for this purpose, and probably pose problems with regard to space, heating and the use of electrical appliances, which may deter households from using these rooms for such purposes.

In 1944, the Dudley Report pointed out that "there was no convenient place in the inter-war house for many ordinary family activities"¹ such as "study and homework the reception of visitors; and the transaction of the minor business necessary in every household".¹ However, that was almost a quarter of a century ago. Since then "the country has undergone a social and economic revolution, and the pattern of living is still changing fast",² which would suggest that the inter-war dwelling is even less suitable for accommodation than it was in 1944. From this brief survey of the use of rooms, it would appear that the inter-war dwelling often lacks space for storage and facilities for study and entertainment. In the next section, it is hoped to develop this theme further - to examine the adequacy of the equipment and services of an inter-war dwelling.

The Standard of Amenity Provided by Inter-War Council Dwellings.

During its life, a dwelling may become physically and socially obsolete. Physical obsolescence occurs when the structure of the dwelling becomes outworn; hence the rate of physical obsolescence can be effectively retarded by regular and thorough maintenance. As was briefly pointed out above, social obsolescence is dependent upon the rate at which socio-economic changes take place in the society, and it is social obsolescence which forms the subject of this section.

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1. Central Housing Advisory Committee, "Design of Dwellings", Page 11.
 2. Central Housing Advisory Committee, "Homes for Today and Tomorrow", Page 1.

Since the inception of the inter-war Council dwelling, households have become more prosperous, with the result that their material possessions have increased, and their patterns of living have changed. Many working-class households now possess, for example, motor cars, washing machines, television sets, vacuum cleaners and refrigerators, and "these possessions are spreading fast through all income groups, (and) fastest of all in the lower bracket".¹ This increased material wealth, together with the trend for

(a) a shorter working week,

(b) the housewife to have less drudgery and more free time, and

(c) the school leaving age and opportunities for higher education to be increased,

has meant that the pressure placed upon the home is greater than it was 30-50 years ago. Thus, it would seem essential that an examination be made of the ability of the inter-war dwelling to cope with the changes in the way people want to live, and with the things they own and use.

The Government has laid down 12 points to which a dwelling must comply before it is regarded as being satisfactory for habitation. Therefore, in attempting to examine the standard of accommodation provided by an inter-war Council dwelling, the property is reviewed in the light of this standard. Once this has been carried out, an examination is made of the level of satisfaction of householders with the dwelling, and the reasons why they would like to move. It is hoped that this will provide further information on the suitability of the dwelling for habitation, while a study of the maintenance operations of householders should also indicate the main areas in which tenants feel improvements ought to be made.

From Table 8:4, it can be seen that all of Gateshead's inter-war Council dwellings possess a kitchen sink, a fixed bath or shower, hot and cold water, and windows and electric lighting in each room. In these respects, the dwellings officially measure up to the Government's

1. Central Housing Advisory Committee, "Homes for Today and Tomorrow", Page 2.

12 point standard. However, based on the housewife's subjective judgement, the inter-war dwelling would appear to fall below the standard with regard to the provision of heating, natural lighting, power points and food storage space. Altogether only 86 per cent of the households regard the dwellings as having sufficient natural light, while no more than 75 per cent appear to possess sufficient space for storing food, and less than half (45 per cent) claim that the dwellings possess sufficient power points or that all rooms are warm enough to be comfortable. Moreover, only 81 per cent of the dwellings possess a hand-washbasin separate from the kitchen sink, while only 62 per cent of the households claim that the dwellings provide adequate storage space. These are both factors which are omitted from the 12 point standard, but it is felt that they are both desirable for modern living. Indeed the standard recommended in the Dennington Report requires that a dwelling should possess a hand-washbasin,¹ while the Parker Morris Report emphasises the need for storage space.²

It is noticeable that only the two and three room dwellings do not possess a washbasin, though the omission is found much more frequently in the two room property than it is in the three. In addition, though more than half of the households in each dwelling type complain that each room does not get enough warmth to be comfortable, complaints are greatest with regard to the two room dwellings. Furthermore, it would appear that the two room dwelling is the least well equipped with food storage facilities, while it also appears that the smaller the dwelling, the less well equipped it is with general storage facilities. However, Table 8:4 also shows that the four room dwelling is the least well equipped with power points, while the larger the dwelling, the less

1. Central Housing Advisory Committee, "Our Older Homes: A Call for Action", Page 13.

2. Central Housing Advisory Committee, "Homes for Today and Tomorrow", Pages 23 and 24.

adequate is the supply of sunlight.

All households have a gas or electric cooker¹ but only 59 per cent regard the one they possess as being "very good" for the amount of cooking they have to do (Table 8:5). A further 25 per cent regard the cooker as being "fairly good", but 11 per cent regard it as "not very good", while to a further 5 per cent it is "not at all good". It is noticeable that a much lower proportion of the tenants of two room dwellings claim to possess cookers which are "very good" and, correspondingly, a larger proportion (33 per cent) of households living in two room accommodation have unsatisfactory cooking facilities (i.e. cookers which are classed as either "not very good" or "not at all good"). When comparison is made between the quality of the cooker and the size of the household, it can be seen that the large and small family households have a greater than average proportion of cookers which are unsatisfactory for the amount of cooking they have to do, while the large adult households have a much smaller proportion than is average. However, it would appear to be the very young housewife who has the most unsatisfactory cooker.

All dwellings meet up to the 12 point standard, moreover, in that they possess a fixed bath or shower which is located in a room separate from any other habitable room or kitchen (Table 8:6). However, although this is the case, in only 84 per cent of the dwellings is the bathroom used solely for personal hygiene. Altogether, it is used by some 10 per cent of the households as a room in which clothes are dried and aired, while it is used for storage by a further 5 per cent, and for one per cent, it is the place where the washing is done. This would seem to suggest that the inter-war dwelling is lacking in space - especially for the convenient drying and airing of clothes.

It is interesting to note, once more, that it is the two room dwelling in which the bathroom is most frequently used for these functions

1. As opposed to an electric hotplate or a coal, wood or oil stove.

- only 59 per cent of the households used the bathroom for the sole purpose of personal hygiene. It is also interesting to note that it is the large adult household and the young housewife that most frequently use the bathroom for these other functions.

Table 8:7 shows the location of toilet facilities within the inter-war dwelling. From it, it can be seen that all dwellings meet up to the Government's 12 point standard, in that they are all provided with an internal water closet. Moreover, though none of the dwellings have more than one closet, as is recommended in the Parker Morris Report,¹ 44 per cent do have a separate toilet and bathroom. It is noticeable, however, that 97 per cent of the two room dwellings have a combined bathroom and toilet, whereas this feature is found in only 34 per cent of the five room dwellings. Thus, the separate toilet and bathroom may be regarded, essentially, as a characteristic feature only of the larger dwellings.

Only 28 per cent of the households claim that the dwelling has a sufficient supply of hot water "all of the time". Thus it would appear (Table 8:8) that less than one-third of the dwellings are equipped with an efficient and adequate means of supplying hot water. A further 66 per cent of the households claim that they obtain sufficient hot water "most of the time" (that is, when the living room fire is lit), but in 7 per cent of the dwellings, the supply seems to be grossly inadequate - three per cent of the households claim that they "almost never" have a sufficient supply of hot water, while a further four per cent claim that it is sufficient only "some of the time".

Only eight per cent of the two room dwellings receive an adequate supply of hot water "all of the time" - a much lower proportion than in any of the other dwelling types. However, it appears to be in the three room dwelling that the supply is most inadequate. Similarly

1. Central Housing Advisory Committee, "Homes for Today and Tomorrow", Page 12.

though only 21 per cent of the individual households receive a sufficient supply of hot water "all of the time", it is the small family household which has the most inadequate supply. On the other hand, it appears to be the very young housewife who is most dissatisfied with the hot water supply.

In conclusion, it would appear that only a small proportion of Gateshead's inter-war Council dwellings fail to meet the minimum fitness standard laid down by the Government in Section 4 of the Housing Act of 1957. All dwellings are supplied with hot and cold water, and each possesses an outside window in each room, a fixed bath or shower in a bathroom, an internal water closet, and a sink with a wastepipe. However, basing evidence on the housewife's judgement, almost three quarters of the dwellings do not provide an adequate supply of hot water, while over half have insufficient power points and are not warm enough to be comfortable, and one quarter fail to provide sufficient food storage space. In addition, 14 per cent of the dwellings do not receive adequate natural lighting, and 16 per cent do not possess a cooker which is adequate for the amount of cooking the housewife has to do.

This seems to be particularly true of the two room dwellings of which almost three quarters are occupied by pensioners (Table 8:9). It is, perhaps, least true of the five room dwelling, but doubt may be cast on the value of using the housewife's judgement in attempting to assess the level of fitness; it may be, for example, that the housewife is conditioned by her own experience - the dwelling could be unfit in one aspect or another but, because the housewife has experienced nothing better, she may not be dissatisfied with its performance. Similarly, because the survey tested chiefly for the existence of the equipment and services and not the condition, it could be that more dwellings are below standard. It must be realised, however, that it is not intended in this section to produce a schedule of unfit dwellings - rather it is intended to highlight the main areas of dissatisfaction of households with the inter-war dwelling. Suffice it to be said, therefore, that when

measured against the official standard, the inter-war dwelling would appear to most unsatisfactory with regard to the supply of power points and the provision of cooking facilities, food storage space, hot water, thermal comfort and natural lighting.

Level of Satisfaction and Desire to Move.

Table 8:10 shows that 10 per cent of the households living in Gateshead's inter-war Council dwellings are "completely dissatisfied" with the property in which they live. A further 11 per cent claim to be "rather dissatisfied", so it would appear that almost one quarter (21 per cent) of the occupants are dissatisfied with inter-war Council property. In fact, only 42 per cent claim to be "completely satisfied" with the dwelling they inhabit.

When a study is made of the level of satisfaction and dwelling type, it can be seen that the proportion of dissatisfied tenants seem to be highest among the occupants of two room property, and lowest among those living in accommodation with four rooms, while the dwellings providing the most complete satisfaction would appear to be those with five rooms.

Altogether, almost half (42 per cent) of the dwellings are occupied by housewives who are classed as being old aged (that is, over 60). However, it is not among the old that the greatest dissatisfaction occurs. Only 12 per cent of the old aged housewives claim to be dissatisfied with the dwelling they occupy, and 52 per cent find that the inter-war property they inhabit is completely satisfactory. On the other hand, 34 per cent of the young housewives (who occupy one quarter of the dwellings) are dissatisfied with their accommodation, and, as only 23 per cent of the middle aged housewives (who occupy almost one third of the property) are dissatisfied, it would appear that the level of dissatisfaction decreases with age.

It is noticeable that dissatisfaction is also highest among the households that have lived in the dwelling they occupied in 1968 for between four and 22 years. The households taking up residence in the three years prior to 1968 form only 16 per cent of the total, and of this,

only 10 per cent express dissatisfaction with their accommodation. Similarly, dissatisfied households form only about 14 per cent of the 31 per cent living for between 23 and 49 years in the accommodation they occupied in 1968. Dissatisfaction was expressed by over one quarter (29 per cent), however, of the 41 per cent living for between four and 22 years in the dwelling they occupied in 1968. Thus, with the exception of the most recent movers, it would appear that dissatisfaction decreases with the length of tenancy, and vice versa. This may be a function of age (the longest inhabitants are likely to be the oldest households, and therefore the least desirous of modern conveniences) or it may be a function of adaptation (the longer the tenancy, the longer the time the household has to adapt to the dwelling), or it may be a combination of these and other functions.

Table 8:10 also shows that more than half (55 per cent) of the households who took up residence in the accommodation they occupied in 1968 did so either because their previous accommodation was condemned or demolished, or because they wanted larger accommodation - a reflection of the slum-clearance and decrowding policies of the Authority. However, a significant proportion (16 per cent) moved because they wanted better accommodation or accommodation in a better area, while eight per cent did so because they wanted smaller accommodation, and a further seven per cent because they wanted to be near or with relatives.

Apparently 29 per cent of the households who moved to be with or near relatives are dissatisfied with their accommodation, as are almost one quarter of those who moved either because their previous accommodation was condemned or demolished or because they wanted larger accommodation. On the other hand, dissatisfied households form no more than 12 per cent of the tenants who moved because they wanted smaller accommodation, but 17 per cent of those who wanted better accommodation, or accommodation in a better area. It is interesting to note, moreover, that of those who wanted to be in a Council dwelling, none are dissatisfied, while dissatisfaction is expressed by 18 per cent of those who moved because they

disliked living in flatted dwellings.

When a study is made of the level of satisfaction of households with Council maintenance, it is found that only 14 per cent of the tenants believe that the Council maintains the property "very well". Almost half (43 per cent) believe that the level of Council maintenance is poor, while 38 per cent believe that the Council maintains the property "fairly well". It would appear from Table 8:10, moreover, that a relationship exists between the level of satisfaction of households with the dwelling, and the level of satisfaction of households with the maintenance operations of the Council. Clearly the proportion of "completely satisfied" households decreases with the lower esteem with which the maintenance operations of the Council are viewed, while the largest proportion of households dissatisfied with their accommodation, are those who regard the level of Council maintenance as being poor.

From Table 8:10, it can also be seen that, over the three years 1965-68, the annual rate of movement of households was only in the order of five per cent. This may have been the result of households not wishing to move, or it may have been a result of the inability of households to move. Whatever the situation, it would seem that in 1968, 56 per cent of the households occupying inter-war Council dwellings wanted to remain in the accommodation they occupied, while 44 per cent wanted to move (Table 8:11). As might be expected, a close relationship exists between the level of satisfaction of the household with the dwelling, and the desire of the household to move. Of the completely satisfied households, only 15 per cent want to move, whereas a desire to move is expressed by more than half (52 per cent) of those claiming to be only "fairly satisfied" with the dwelling. Similarly, almost three-quarters of those households which claim to be "rather dissatisfied" and 98 per cent of the "completely dissatisfied" do not want to remain in their present accommodation. Obviously the desire of households to move is inversely related to their level of satisfaction with the dwelling.

In approximately 81 per cent of the dwellings, (Table 8:11) the head

of the household is either retired or is a skilled or semi-skilled manual worker. Of the retired households (which form 57 per cent of the total) only 37 per cent want to move, whereas 51 per cent of the skilled manual workers (who form 22 per cent of the households) are anxious to move, as are 46 per cent of the semi-skilled manual workers (who form 21 per cent of the households). It is interesting to note, moreover, that all of the professional and personal service workers want other accommodation - a desire shared by a large proportion (67 per cent) of the own account workers. On the other hand, all of the small employers and the intermediate non-manual workers want to remain in their present accommodation, as do some 80 per cent of the foremen and supervisors. Together, however, these six groups account for no more than five per cent of the households occupying Gateshead's inter-war Council property. Of the remaining 14 per cent, four per cent of the junior non-manual workers (who form five per cent of the total) are anxious to move, as are 55 per cent of the unemployed (who also form five per cent of the total) and 50 per cent of the unskilled manual workers (who form a further four per cent).

Although 44 per cent of the households would like to move, no more than 18 per cent have made any effort to do so. Of those that have, only five per cent have approached an estate agent (presumably with a view to purchasing property); the remainder have all approached the Council - 66 per cent applying for a transfer to vacant property, and 29 per cent for an exchange with another tenant. Moreover of the 83 per cent making no effort to move, 32 per cent are households which would like a change of accommodation. Thus, as only a small proportion of those who have made an effort to move want to remain in their present accommodation, the proportion of households wanting to move would seem to be greater than the proportion applying to the Authority for either an exchange or a transfer.

Reason for Wanting to Move.

From a study of the reasons for households wanting to move (Table

8:12), it can be seen that almost one third (30 per cent) of the households want accommodation in a better area, while one fifth (20 per cent) want more modern accommodation and one per cent want a smaller garden - an index of the unsuitability of an inter-war Council dwelling for habitation. A further 31 per cent of the households want to move because the dwelling is either too small or too large. This may be regarded as an index of the maldistribution of dwellings and households and, as such, it is interesting to note that 15 per cent want to move because the dwelling is too small for their requirements and 16 per cent because it is too large. The remaining reasons for households wanting to move are not related specifically to the condition or use of inter-war Council dwellings. Significant among them, however, is the desire of households for accommodation without stairs, and the desire to move from flatted dwellings. Altogether, six per cent of the households want to move either to be near relatives or for health reasons, but a surprisingly small proportion (two per cent) of the households want to become owner occupiers, while high rents are responsible for less than one per cent of the households wanting a change of accommodation.

When comparison is made with the type of dwellings, it can be seen that among the tenants of two room dwellings, the most frequent reason for wanting to move is the desire to live in a better area. Similarly, this is the case with the tenants of three and five room property, but for those living in accommodation with four rooms, the most frequently expressed reason for wanting to move is either a desire for smaller or more modern accommodation.

The desire for smaller accommodation is the most frequently encountered reason for individual and small adult households wanting to move, while, for both the small family and the large adult households, it is the desire for a more modern home. The large family households usually want accommodation in a better area, as do the young and the middle aged households. However, the old aged households most frequently

want to avoid climbing stairs, while the very young want to purchase accommodation of their own.

Sources of Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction in Inter-War Council Dwellings.

As was mentioned above (Page 145), only 42 per cent of the tenants in Gateshead were completely satisfied with the inter-war Council dwellings which they occupied in 1968. However, a much larger proportion (66 per cent) were able to pinpoint the feature they disliked most about the dwelling (Table 8:13). The chief single source of dissatisfaction appears to be the steel window frames which, not only cause window panes to crack (owing to the different rates of expansion of the glass and the metal), but which are also prone to rusting. A second major area of complaint is the kitchen, which, in a number of cases, is too small, while the existence of inside coal storage is also a source of dissatisfaction.

Collectively, it would appear that the condition of such fixtures and fittings as the bath, toilet, sink, hand basin and fireplace cause most dissatisfaction. Among at least 27 per cent of the tenants this was the case - nine per cent listing the bath as the chief source, eight per cent the sink, four per cent the fireplace and three per cent either the toilet or the hand basin. Similarly, for some 22 per cent of the households the smallness of the rooms is a major source of dissatisfaction. As was mentioned above (Page 150) 12 per cent regard the kitchen as being too small, while six per cent are dissatisfied with the size of the bedrooms, and four per cent with that of the bathrooms. Again, 13 per cent find that the location of the toilet is the most displeasing feature of the dwelling - five per cent not liking either a combined toilet and bathroom or a toilet in the kitchenette, two per cent expressing dissatisfaction with the downstairs location of the toilet, and one per cent objecting to the toilet being located near to the front door.

It is interesting to note, however, that whereas approximately one third of the tenants of two, three and four room dwellings do not

know what they dislike most about the property they occupy, almost half (45 per cent) of the tenants of the five room accommodation are in this class. It is also interesting to note that the dissatisfaction of households with fixtures and fittings is greatest in the two room property, and least in that with three rooms. Altogether, some 68 per cent of the tenants of two room property express dissatisfaction with either the bath, toilet, sink, hand basin or fireplace, while something more than one quarter of the tenants of four and five room property express similar feelings, as do less than one fifth of the households living in accommodation with three rooms. Similarly, dissatisfaction with the size of rooms appears to be greatest among the tenants of two room property. Indeed, in this case, it would appear that the larger the dwelling, the less complaint there is about the smallness of the rooms. On the other hand, dissatisfaction over the location of the toilet is greatest among the tenants of four room property, and least among those living in dwellings with two rooms.

Similarly, it can be seen that the most frequently disliked individual feature varies with the type of dwelling - in the two room property, it is the sink, while in three and four room dwellings it is the steel window frames, and in the five room property it is the fireplace.

These then, are some of the features which Gateshead tenants find most dissatisfying about an inter-war Council dwelling. It must be borne in mind, however, that approximately 42 per cent of the housewives are completely satisfied with their accommodation. If this is the case, then the property ought to possess certain redeeming features. However, only about 27 per cent of the households are able to say what they like most about the accommodation they occupy, which would suggest that, to a number the dwelling means little more than shelter.

From Table 8:14 it would appear that the most desirable feature of the inter-war dwelling is the amount of sunlight that is permitted to enter. This, according to approximately seven per cent of the housewives,

is the feature they like most about the dwelling, while a further 10 per cent claim that the most desirable feature is either the size of the garden or the spaciousness of the rooms.

As with the most disliked feature, however, the most liked feature varies with the dwelling type. The proportion of housewives not knowing what feature they like most about the inter-war Council dwelling is lowest among the occupants of four and five room property, and highest among those who occupy two and three room accommodation. By far the most frequently liked feature of the two room dwelling is its compactness. Thirteen per cent of the occupants of two rooms property like its compactness, while five per cent like both the spaciousness of the rooms and the lack of stairs. In the case of three and four room property, the most desirable features of the dwelling are the amount of sunlight received, the spaciousness of the rooms and the size of the garden. Similarly, these appear to be the most liked features of the five-roomed property but, in this case, it is the garden which is most frequently liked, followed by the amount of sunlight received, and the spaciousness of the rooms.

In brief, therefore, it would appear that while 58 per cent of the housewives are not completely satisfied with the inter-war Council dwelling which they occupy, only 44 per cent are sufficiently dissatisfied to want to move. Of these, almost one third (31 per cent) are dissatisfied with the dwelling and its environment. Apparently, the chief individual sources of dissatisfaction are the metal window frames, the small kitchen and the indoor coalstore. Collectively, however, concern would seem to be greatest in respect of the condition of the fixtures and fittings, the smallness of the rooms, and the location of the toilet. Since, approximately 42 per cent of the housewives are "completely satisfied" and 56 per cent do not want to move, it may be inferred, however, that the inter-war Council dwelling has certain attractive features. On examination, this would appear to be the case, and the most satisfying of these would seem to be the amount of sunlight that is permitted to enter

the dwelling, the spaciousness of the rooms, and the size of the garden.

Validity problems obviously arise once more, as a result of basing analysis on the housewife's judgements. For example, although only 10 per cent of the households are completely dissatisfied with the property and may reasonably be expected not to like any feature of the dwelling, approximately 73 per cent of the housewives are unable to identify a feature which they like. This would seem to suggest that a large number of housewives were either unable to identify the features which give greatest satisfaction or were not sufficiently interested in the survey to provide an answer, or deliberately avoided answering the question. As only 34 per cent of the housewives were unable to say what they disliked most about the dwelling, however, it would appear that the majority of housewives were interested in the survey, and, as only 10 per cent claimed to be completely dissatisfied with the dwelling, it would also appear that it was not a case of a large number deliberately avoiding the question. For these reasons it is felt that many housewives are not capable of identifying, without being prompted, the features of the dwelling which give greatest satisfaction. Consequently, while the views expressed in Table 8:14 are not representative of the total population, perhaps they are representative of its more perceptive members.

Similarly, it could be that a number of housewives would not or could not say what they dislike most about the dwelling - would not for fear of the information being misused, or could not either because they were not interested in the dwelling or the survey or because there was nothing in the dwelling which they disliked. It is not possible to determine from the survey why households "do not know" what they dislike about the dwelling they occupy. Fortunately however, only one third of the housewives are in this category, and in an attempt to eliminate any households who may not know what they dislike about the dwelling because they have adapted it to their liking, an examination has been made of the maintenance operations of households.

The Maintenance Operations of Households.

In this section, it is not intended to see whether the maintenance operations of households have influenced them in their ability to identify features generating dissatisfaction. Rather it is intended that the modernising activities of the tenants be used as an index of the main sources of dissatisfaction. This however, is not the only aim of the study - the other is simply to determine the extent to which tenants of inter-war Council property maintain the dwellings they inhabit.

In Gateshead, as in most other areas, the Local Authority is responsible for the external decoration and the maintenance and repair of all dwellings under its control; the tenant being responsible for the internal decoration and cleansing of the property.¹ From Table 8:15, it would appear that only a small proportion (two per cent) of the Gateshead tenants fail to do this, while 58 per cent claim to carry out not only the internal decoration of the dwelling, but also its internal modernisation or renovation.

Apparently it is among the occupants of four room property that modernising activities are most frequent. Indeed, it would seem that modernisation is most frequently performed by the tenants of three and four room property, and least frequently by those living in accommodation which has two or five rooms. However, over 95 per cent of the occupants of all property decorate their accommodation internally, and all of the five room properties are decorated.

The age of the household (as indicated by the age of the housewife) would seem to have some bearing on the level to which the tenant maintains the property. From Table 8:15, it can be seen that all of the dwellings occupied by a very young housewife are decorated internally, but no main-

1. The tenant "shall make good all damage which may be caused by his fault or negligence ..." and shall keep the dwelling "clean and tidy and properly fired and aired". County Borough of Gateshead, "Conditions of Tenancy under Housing Schemes", Paragraphs 4 and 5.

tenance whatsoever is performed in at least four per cent of the dwellings occupied by an old aged housewife. Moreover, it can also be seen that whereas 75 per cent of the young housewives claim to have carried out some form of modernisation, a similar claim is made by only 53 per cent of the old aged housewives.

When the level of maintenance is compared with the density of occupation, it can also be seen (Table 8:15) that at least 10 per cent of the under-occupied properties are not maintained by their occupants. On the other hand, internal decorating is performed in approximately 99 per cent of the dwellings which have between 0.34 and 1.49 persons per room, and in all of those with 1.50 persons or more. However, it would appear that the proportion of households performing some form of modernisation decreases with increased crowding - in the under-occupied properties, approximately 61 per cent of the households have done some modernisation, but in only 48 per cent of the overcrowded dwellings is this the case.

When the level of employment of tenants is examined (Table 8:15), it would appear that just over one third (34 per cent) of the dwellings are occupied by households in which there is nobody in full-time employment (i.e. working for more than 30 hours per week), while in 40 per cent, only one person is working. Of the remainder, less than one fifth (17 per cent) are occupied by households in which two people have full-time employment, and less than one tenth (9 per cent) by households in which there are three or more persons working full-time.

Irrespective of the level of employment, at least 96 per cent of the households carry out internal decoration. However, only where two or more members of the household are working full-time, are all of the dwellings decorated internally. With regard to modernisation, it can be seen moreover, that of the dwellings occupied by households in which no member is working full-time, less than half (49 per cent) have experienced some form of modernisation. On the other hand, where one or more persons are employed, over 60 per cent of the dwellings have been modernised in

some way.

As has been pointed out above (Page 154), approximately 98 per cent of the households decorate the accommodation they occupy. The frequency with which internal decoration is performed is, of course, an important aspect of maintenance, and from Table 8:16 it would appear that this varies according to the use to which rooms are put. Three major room types were identified in the survey,¹ and housewives were asked how frequently (on average) they decorated each room. The results show a marked positively skewed distribution for the frequency with which households decorate living rooms and kitchenettes, but only a moderately positive skew for the frequency with which they decorate bedrooms. Thus it may be inferred that the living rooms and kitchenettes are decorated more frequently than the bedrooms.

From a study of Table 8:16, it would appear that the modal classes² for the frequency with which rooms are decorated are 12-23 months for the living rooms and kitchenettes, and 24-35 months for the bedrooms, while the median values are 16 months, 17 months, and 24 months, respectively. Apparently, therefore, households decorate living rooms more frequently than kitchenettes and both living rooms and kitchenettes more frequently than bedrooms.

Usually, a "don't know" answer to the question means that the household decorated so infrequently that it was not possible for the housewife to estimate an average time-span. This being the case, only four per cent of the households do not know how frequently they decorate the living rooms and bedrooms, and five per cent the kitchenette. Excepting the "don't knows", the longest re-decoration cycle is 5-6 years, but only two per cent of the households wait that long before re-decorating the living rooms and kitchenettes, and three per cent before re-decorating the bedrooms. Moreover, a considerable proportion of the households

-
1. Living rooms, bedrooms and kitchenettes.
 2. The class containing the greatest number of values.

decorate the living rooms and kitchenettes every 6-11 months.

From a comparison of median values and property types (Table 8:11), it would appear that in all dwelling types, the bedrooms are less frequently decorated than either the living rooms or the kitchenettes. However, it is also apparent that while the living rooms are decorated more frequently than the kitchenettes in three and five room properties, the kitchenettes are decorated as frequently as the living rooms in the four room dwellings, and more frequently in the two room property.

Furthermore, it is apparent that the larger the dwelling, the more frequently the living room is decorated - the median value for the frequency with which living rooms are decorated falls from 29 months for the two room property to 23 for the five room. No similar trend is apparent for the frequency with which bedrooms are decorated, but their decoration seems to be least frequent in three room property, and most frequent in that with five rooms. Similarly, it is apparent that kitchenettes are decorated in two room property as frequently as they are in three room property and as frequently in dwellings with four rooms as they are in dwellings with five rooms. At the same time, it is equally apparent that they are decorated more frequently in four and five room dwellings than in two and three room property.

Obviously the frequency with which households decorate depends upon such factors as the type, quality and durability of the materials used, the prosperity of the household, and the rate at which the housewife (usually) wants to exert her control over the environment. No attempt has or will be made to analyse the reasons for the decorating cycle - the study is merely an expression of one aspect of the level of maintenance. Rather, it is intended now to progress to another aspect - the type of modernisation performed by tenants.

As has already been pointed out, Table 8:15 indicates that approximately 58 per cent of the tenants have performed some form of modernisation on the dwelling. Of these, 69 per cent of the households have

installed a new fireplace, while 53 per cent have modernised the doors.¹ These are the forms of modernisation most frequently encountered in Gateshead's inter-war Council property, and presumably these are two of the areas where dissatisfaction is greatest. However, a further 43 per cent of the tenants, have boxed (panelled) in the bath, while 41 per cent have fitted a sink unit, and 31 per cent have installed new power points.

It would seem that these improvements, as well as many of those less frequently performed, (table 8:17) are intended to improve the appearance and performance of the dwelling, and/or to make housework easier and the accommodation more comfortable. Moreover, the majority are modifications to the fixtures and fittings of the dwelling, rather than modifications to its structure. Some important structural modifications have been carried out, however, and these include the removal or conversion of the internal coalstore,² the lowering of the staircase ceiling,³ and the removal of the pantry.⁴

Table 8:15 shows that while the tenants have performed some form of modernisation in only 32 per cent of the two room dwellings, and 43 per cent of those with five rooms, more than 60 per cent of the three and four room dwellings have been modernised in some way. Not only is the level of modernisation lower in two and five room dwellings, but fewer types of improvement have been performed in this property. In the five room dwellings, the most frequent improvement has been the modernising of the doors, followed by the fitting of a new fireplace,

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1. Either by flushing with hardboard or by converting into or fitting glass doors.
 2. The coalstore is frequently inconveniently located in, or off, the kitchenette. With its removal or conversion, the nuisance of coal-dust inside the dwelling is eliminated.
 3. Inter-war Council dwellings quite frequently possess high staircase ceilings which not only increase decorating costs, but also pose problems for the home decorator and also reduce the thermal efficiency of the dwelling since warm air rises to the ceiling height.
 4. By removing the pantry, more floor space is provided in the kitchenette, but food storage space is reduced. This can be overcome by fitting wall cupboards, as six per cent of the modernisers appear to have done.

the boxing in of the bath, and the fitting of a sink unit. In all other dwellings, the most frequently performed improvement has been the fitting of a new fireplace.¹ It is noticeable moreover, that in none of the two room dwellings has a sink unit been fitted, while the plastering of scullery walls seems to have taken place on a significant scale only in the four room property. Similarly, it is apparent that the proportion of households installing power points is much lower among the occupants of four and five room property than among those occupying dwellings with two and three rooms.

Conclusion.

To summarise, it is felt that the proportion of tenants claiming to have carried out some form of modernising activity is surprisingly large. In improving his accommodation, the owner occupier is motivated by the desire not only to improve the quality of the environment, but also to increase the value of the property (with or without the aid of the Government). For the tenant, however, no governmental assistance is available for improving the dwelling, and no economic returns accrue on termination of tenancy. Thus, the only motivating force is the desire to improve the environment and, as the tenant often requires written permission before any alterations can be made to the premises,² even this force is, in many cases, somewhat weakened. Hence it is quite surprising that as many as 58 per cent of the tenants have performed some form of improvement on the dwellings.

Because the sole motivating force behind tenants modernising their dwellings seems to be a desire to improve the environment, it can be argued that the improvements which tenants do perform accurately indicate some of the major areas of dissatisfaction. However, because of the lack

1. Perhaps this is a reflection of the fact that the Local Authority fits new fireplaces free of charge, while a local dealer, in conjunction with the Local Authority, gives discounts to all Council tenants purchasing a new fireplace.
2. "The tenant shall not make any additions to or structural alterations on the house or premises ... without the written approval of the Corporation". County Borough of Gateshead "Conditions of Tenancy Under Housing Schemes", Paragraph 8.

of financial inducement, it may be that the tenant only carries out the low-cost activities. Conversely, the more a tenant is aware of a dissatisfaction, the more he is likely to spend to have it removed. Obviously, a level must be reached, however, where the tenant decides either that he cannot afford to remove the dissatisfaction, or that it is not worth spending such a sum on property which he will never own. Such a level will vary from household to household, so the improvement operations of tenants cannot, themselves, be taken as reliable indices of the major areas of dissatisfaction. If, however, the types of modernisation are related to the features which households find most unsatisfactory, then an accurate indication of the main areas of dissatisfaction should be achieved.

This has been done, and the ten most unsatisfactory features of inter-war Council dwellings have been ranked in Table 8:18. Basing analysis on these findings, it would appear that attention needs to be paid to the fireplace, bath, sink and doors, the provision of power points, the condition of the window frames, the location of the coal-store, the size of the kitchenette, the provision of storage space and the height of the staircase ceiling. Some of the tenants have, in fact, rectified the situation, as can be seen from Tables 8:17 and 8:18, but the majority have not. Furthermore, it must be remembered that, according to many housewives, certain features of the inter-war Council dwelling do not comply with the standards expressed in the Government's "12 point" standard. Chief among these are the supply of power points and the provision of cooking facilities, food storage space, hot water, thermal comfort and natural lighting. Despite this, inter-war Council property is markedly habitable - it is supplied with piped hot and cold water, and has an outside window in each room, a fixed bath or shower in a separate bathroom, an internal water closet, and a sink with a waste-pipe. Indeed, so satisfactory is it as a dwelling that at least 56 per cent of the occupants do not want to move. Of those that do, moreover, only 20 per cent are dissatisfied with the standard of accommodation

provided. A larger proportion (31 per cent) want to move because the size of the dwelling is ill suited to their requirements. At least 15 per cent of the households claim that the property is too small, while 16 per cent want smaller accommodation. This is important since, according to the persons per room standard, 13 per cent of the dwellings are overcrowded (i.e. have 1.50 or more persons per room); a situation which the Local Authority, by law, cannot permit. Thus, if the Local Authority is to apply the same standards to its own dwellings as it requires in those which are privately owned, then it must relieve the overcrowded accommodation under its management and, if its inter-war property is to be considered satisfactory for habitation in the second half of the 20th century, then attention should be paid to the features outlined above.

CHAPTER IX. THE USE OF, AND STANDARD OF ACCOMMODATION PROVIDED BY, THE INTER-WAR COUNCIL DWELLING: GOSFORTH, A COMPARATIVE STUDY, 1968.

It is intended in this chapter to make a comparative study of the use of, and standard of accommodation provided by, inter-war Council dwellings, in an attempt to place the previous chapter in perspective. Thus, the present analysis attempts to outline the similarities or differences in the inter-war dwelling stock of the two Authorities, Gateshead and Gosforth.

A pilot survey, which was intended as a test for the questionnaire to be used in the Gateshead survey, provides the data for this chapter. However, as a result of the pilot, certain questions were added to the Gateshead survey (see Appendix 5, Pages 257 to 262), which means that direct comparison is not possible in all cases. Even so, though the standard proportional error of the Gosforth survey is higher than that of the Gateshead survey (see Appendix 5, Page 255) it is felt that the levels of error are comparable and the questionnaire sufficiently alike to permit such a comparative study. It must be borne in mind, however, that the Gosforth survey is slightly less accurate than that carried out in Gateshead.

The decision to test the questionnaire in Gosforth results largely from the fact that a sampling frame existed. As in Gateshead the sampling frame was based on the records of the Renting Officer (see Appendix 5, Page 250). However, to construct the sampling frame did not involve extracting the relevant material (i.e. addresses, house types, and estates) from the records, as it did in Gateshead - a tedious, laborious and time consuming task. This had already been done, and the frame merely needed structuring in preparation for the drawing of a random sample. Furthermore, it was possible for a relatively small sample to be taken with what was felt to be an acceptable level of accuracy.¹ In choosing Gosforth, however, a sample was being taken in

1. Largely because of the timing factor it was desirable that the sample size should be kept as small as was tolerably possible (see Appendix 5, Pages 253 to 254).

an area which is neither similar to Gateshead nor representative of Tyneside.

In Chapter I, it was pointed out that

- (a) while Gosforth is, in 1968, one of the four wealthy Tyneside towns, Gateshead is one of the ten poor Authorities (Page 8) and
- (b) while Gosforth is a middle class residential suburb, Gateshead, though it is a dormitory for people working elsewhere on Tyneside, has a number of established industries and a strong working class element (Page 6).

Again, basing evidence on the mode of provision of inter-war dwellings, it was pointed out in Chapter V, (Page 77) that Gateshead is essentially a non-residential area, while Gosforth is one of the two truly residential areas of Tyneside.

Bearing this in mind, a comparison of the inter-war dwelling stocks of these two Authorities should be interesting as well as revealing.

The Use of Inter-War Council Dwellings.

Persons Per Room.

According to the persons per room standard (outlined in Appendix 5, Page 263), it would appear from Table 9:1 that approximately 5 per cent of the dwellings are under-occupied while 10 per cent are overcrowded, and 85 per cent are at a "normal" level of occupancy. This would suggest a better distribution of households and dwellings in Gosforth than in Gateshead, and it is apparent that these findings are similar to those of Cullingworth for all Council dwellings in England.¹

Under-occupation is confined to three and four room dwellings but, as in Gateshead, it is greatest in property with three rooms, which accounts for 34 per cent of the Council's inter-war dwelling stock (as

1. Cullingworth, J.B., "English Housing Trends", Page 24.

opposed to 55 per cent in Gateshead). In Gosforth, four room dwellings account for a larger proportion (38 per cent) of the total, than in Gateshead (25 per cent), and these are the dwellings which are most chronically overcrowded.¹ The two room property, unlike that in Gateshead of which 11 per cent is overcrowded, is occupied at the "normal" level of between 0.34 and 1.49 persons per room.

In Gateshead a small proportion of the property (no more than five per cent) is occupied by very young large adult and large and small family households, by young individual and small adult households, and by old aged small family households. In Gosforth this is not the case, but the distribution of household types throughout the dwelling stock is otherwise very similar - the greatest differences occurring in the proportions of young large family, young large adult and old aged adult households.²

As in Gateshead, all of the under-occupied properties are inhabited by individual households, but none are occupied by those households which are most likely to increase in size (i.e. those in which the housewife is aged between 16 and 44 years). Moreover, in Gosforth the households which are least likely to increase in size occupy 80 per cent of the under-occupied property, whereas in Gateshead they occupy no more than 76 per cent. Thus the proportion of permanent uneconomic under-occupation appears to be slightly greater in Gosforth than it is in Gateshead, though the magnitude of the problem is similar.

The overcrowding statistics bear further witness, as they do in Gateshead, to the bad alignment of households and dwellings. Once again, only the large family and large adult households are overcrowded and, as 80 per cent of these are young households (i.e. households in which the housewife is aged between 25 and 44 years), it is quite feasible that

1. In Gateshead, it is the five room dwellings which are the most overcrowded.

2. Proportionately more young large family and young large adult households occur in Gosforth than in Gateshead, while the reverse is true for the occurrence of old aged large adult households.

the situation will worsen. This was also found to be the case in Gateshead, where 67 per cent of the overcrowded dwellings are occupied by young households.

Some 36 per cent of Gosforth's households express a desire to move (Table 9:1), whereas in Gateshead it would appear that a similar desire is expressed by approximately 44 per cent of the tenants. As in Gateshead, however, the proportion of households wanting to move is highest (60 per cent) among those living in overcrowded conditions, and lowest (20 per cent) among those living in dwellings which are under-occupied.

The Bedroom Standard.

When the bedroom standard was applied to the use of inter-war Council property in Gateshead, it was found (Table 8:2) that one per cent of the dwellings have either three bedrooms above or below the standard. This is not the case in Gosforth, where none of the dwellings possess three bedrooms which are either over- or under- utilised.

Approximately 63 per cent of the households have at least one "spare" bedroom, but only 14 per cent have two. Thus, as it is socially acceptable for a household to possess a spare bedroom, it is apparent that a more favourable situation exists in Gosforth than in Gateshead, where only 47 per cent of the households have at least one spare bedroom. However, if two spare rooms are regarded as being uneconomic, then contrary to first impressions, it would appear that the uneconomic misuse of dwellings is slightly greater in Gosforth than it is in Gateshead.

Furthermore, the proportion of tenants occupying Gosforth's inter-war Council property and having two bedrooms above the standard is greater than the proportion living at a density of less than 0.34 persons per room. This is not the case in Gateshead, and it would appear that in Gosforth the uneconomic misuse of dwellings is greater than it was suggested by the original estimates (Page 163).

On the other hand, it seems that no more than 10 per cent of the dwellings are overcrowded. Table 9:1 indicates that only 10 per cent of

the households are living at a density of 1.50 persons per room, or more, and according to the bedroom standard, no more than 10 per cent of the dwellings have below standard bedrooms.

Thus, in Gosforth, overcrowding would appear to be less severe than it is in Gateshead, but the under-occupation of dwellings seems to be more prevalent - possibly a reflection of the smaller housing problem and the relative prosperity of Gosforth.

When comparison is made with Cullingworth's findings for all Council dwellings in England in 1962,¹ it is interesting to note that a smaller proportion of Gosforth's inter-war dwellings are overcrowded than was average for all Council dwellings in 1962, while a much larger proportion could be classed as being under-occupied. However, though this appears to be the case, the level of uneconomic under-occupation is not that much higher (14 per cent as opposed to eight per cent).

It is also interesting to note that, as in Gateshead, Gosforth's five room dwellings are the most frequently overcrowded while under-occupation is most usual in accommodation with four rooms.

The Use of Rooms.

By comparing Tables 8:3 and 9:3 it can be seen that rooms are put to fewer dual and alternative uses in Gosforth than they are in Gateshead. Apparently, none of the rooms used as sitting rooms are used as bedrooms (as they are in Gateshead) and none of the bedrooms are used as storage places or for airing clothes. In addition, none of the rooms intended as bedrooms are used as playrooms. However, in Gosforth, though not in Gateshead, the bedroom is sometimes used for the alternative function of providing storage space.

As in Gateshead, slightly more than three quarters (81 per cent) of the rooms, occupied by the tenants of Gosforth's inter-war Council dwellings, are used either as living rooms or bedrooms (i.e. for the

1. Cullingworth, J.B., "English Housing Trends", Page 38.

purpose for which they were designed). A further 10 per cent act as spare bedrooms, while some seven per cent are used as dual purpose rooms, and just over one per cent are used for functions other than those for which they were designed.

The situation is, in fact, very similar to that which exists in Gateshead, but it is noticeable that none of the rooms in which people sleep are used for storage, whereas in Gateshead at least four per cent of the bedrooms perform this dual function. On the other hand, a larger proportion of the rooms in Gosforth are used as study bedrooms.

In Gateshead it was found that dual purpose rooms are most frequently encountered in two room property. However, none of the rooms in Gosforth's smallest dwellings (i.e. those with only two rooms) are used for either dual or alternative functions. Only in the three and four room dwellings are rooms used for alternative functions, and it appears to be the four room property in which the rooms are used most frequently for dual purposes.

Functional dualism takes two forms in Gosforth - either the living room is used as a bedroom, or the bedroom is used as a study. By far the greatest proportion of dual purpose rooms are study bedrooms, but in three room property, three per cent of the rooms are used as a combined living room and bedroom, and three per cent as study bedrooms.

As has been pointed out, in only three and four room dwellings are rooms used solely for activities alternative to those for which they were originally designed. Where this is the case, it is usually the bedroom which is used for storage. However, in four room property, a bedroom is occasionally used as a sewing room.

With regard to the use of dwellings, it is apparent that the situation is similar in both areas (in order of magnitude). However, uneconomic under-occupation appears to occur less frequently in Gateshead than it does in Gosforth, but conversely, overcrowding appears to be less severe in Gosforth. Perhaps this reflects the difference in the general housing situation, but, whatever the case, it is necessary now to examine

the standard of amenity which an inter-war Council dwelling provides.

The Standard of Amenity Provided by Inter-War Council Dwellings.

As in Gateshead, all of Gosforth's inter-war Council dwellings officially measure up to the Government's 12 point standard with regard to the provision of a kitchen sink, fixed bath or shower, hot and cold water, and windows and electric lights in each room (Table 9:4). However, though each dwelling possesses a separate hand-washbasin,¹ only 40 per cent of the households claim that each room of the dwelling is warm enough to be comfortable. This is only a slightly smaller proportion than in Gateshead (45 per cent), but it is noticeable that among the tenants of the four room property only 18 per cent claim that all of the rooms are warm enough to be comfortable, while this condition appears to be met in approximately 89 per cent of the two room dwellings. On the other hand, approximately 42 per cent of the four room Gateshead properties have each room warm enough to be comfortable, as do 40 per cent of the dwellings which possess two rooms.

As in Gateshead, all dwellings are equipped with a gas or electric stove, but it can be seen (Tables 8:5 and 9:5) that a slightly smaller proportion of Gosforth's households² regard the cooker they possess as being "very good" for the amount of cooking that has to be done. A larger proportion, however, claim that the cooker is "fairly good", while a slightly smaller proportion (14 per cent as opposed to 16) regard it as being either "not very good" or "not at all good". Even so, it is noticeable that almost double the proportion of Gosforth households possess a cooking facility which they regard as "not at all good". The Gateshead study showed that it is in the two room property that the largest proportion of unsatisfactory cookers occur. This is also the case in Gosforth where exactly the same proportion (33 per cent) of the

1. It was found that only 81 per cent of the Gateshead inter-war Council dwellings possessed a handbasin.

2. 51 as opposed to 59 per cent.

dwellings possess unsatisfactory cooking facilities. On the other hand, the smallest proportion of households possessing cookers which they regard as being "very good" are, in Gateshead, those living in accommodation with four rooms. Furthermore a comparison of the quality of the cooker and the size of the household shows that in Gosforth it is among the large adult households, that the quality of the cooker most frequently causes dissatisfaction. In this respect, the findings are completely at variance with those for Gateshead, but in both areas it is apparent that the youngest households possess the most unsatisfactory cooking facility.

All of the Gosforth inter-war Council dwellings possess a fixed bath or shower in a separate non-habitable room but, as in Gateshead, not all of the households use the bathroom solely for personal hygiene. From Table 9:6, it would appear that the bathroom is used for additional purposes (such as storage and the washing, drying and airing of clothes) in at least 40 per cent of the dwellings. This constitutes a much larger proportion than was found in Gateshead, which would suggest that the inter-war dwelling in Gosforth has even less space than its counterpart in Gateshead. Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine the type of space in which the inter-war dwelling is deficient since the survey made no attempt to determine the uses to which the bathroom is put. It is noticeable, however, that the greatest proportion of households using the bathroom for additional purposes are the small families and those households living in four room dwellings. This is not the case in Gateshead (where it is the large adult households and those living in two room dwellings) but, in both areas, it is the young housewife who most frequently uses the bathroom for these additional functions.

Table 8:7 shows that all of the dwellings in Gateshead meet up to the Government's 12 point standard with regard to the provision of an internal water closet. However, it appears from Table 9:7 that approximately 26 per cent of Gosforth's inter-war Council dwellings have outside toilets (normally off an open porch at the rear of the property). In

this respect, these may be regarded as being below standard, but it is noticeable that 65 per cent have an internal toilet separate from the bathroom (as recommended by Parker Morris). In Gateshead, this is essentially a feature of the larger dwellings, but in Gosforth this is not the case. All of Gosforth's two room dwellings, but only 35 per cent of its three room properties, possess an indoor toilet which is separate from the bathroom, and it is noticeable that while outdoor toilets are characteristic of three, four and five room property, it is mainly among the three room dwellings that they prevail.

However, the Gosforth dwellings would appear to be provided with a more efficient and adequate means of supplying hot water. Some 10 per cent more of the Gosforth households claim that they receive an adequate supply of hot water "all of the time" (Table 9:7), while only a small proportion (two per cent) claim that the supply is insufficient.

A larger proportion of Gosforth's two room dwellings provide an adequate supply of hot water but, as in Gateshead, the proportion of two room dwellings to which this applies is much smaller than the proportion of larger dwellings. However, it is not the two room dwelling which has the most inadequate supply - in Gateshead, it is the three room property, while in Gosforth it is that accommodation with four rooms. Moreover though the individuals form the smallest proportion of households receiving an adequate supply of hot water, "all of the time", the group which most frequently has an inadequate supply is, as in Gateshead, the larger unit - in this case, it is the large adult household whereas in Gateshead it is the small family. In Gosforth, the age of the housewife seems to have less bearing on the level of satisfaction of the household with the hot water supply than it does in Gateshead. It is clear from Table 9:7 that though the smallest proportion of households claiming to receive an adequate supply of hot water "all of the time" are the old aged, those complaining most frequently about the inadequacy of the supply are the middle aged. In Gateshead, on the other hand, it was found that the smallest proportion of house-

wives receiving an adequate supply are the very young, and these are the group which most frequently complain that the supply is inadequate.

Thus, all of Gosforth's inter-war Council dwellings appear to be supplied with piped hot and cold running water, and seem to possess a kitchen sink with a wastepipe, a fixed bath or shower in a separate, uninhabited room, and an outside window and electric lights in each room. In this respect they meet up to the Government's Minimum Fitness Standard, as do the Gateshead properties. However, only 74 per cent of the Gosforth dwellings possess an inside toilet, while, on the basis of the housewife's subjective judgement, no more than 51 per cent appear to be equipped with a cooker which is adequate for the amount of cooking that has to be done, and only 40 per cent seem to have each room warm enough to be comfortable. From this point of view the Gosforth dwellings would appear to be less well equipped than those in Gateshead. None of the Gateshead dwellings have outside toilets, while 59 per cent have an adequate cooker, and 45 per cent have each room warm enough to be comfortable. Moreover, whereas the bathroom is used for additional purposes by some 40 per cent of the Gosforth households, this is the case in only 16 per cent of Gateshead's dwellings. On the other hand, the Gosforth dwellings seem to be better equipped with regard to the hot water supply, the provision of an indoor toilet separate from the bathroom, and a hand-washbasin separate from the kitchen sink. In Gosforth, all of the dwellings have a separate washbasin, whereas this is a feature of only 81 per cent of the Gateshead dwellings. Similarly, a toilet separate from the bathroom is a feature of 65 per cent of the Gosforth properties, but of only 44 per cent of those in Gateshead, while 38 per cent of the Gosforth households, but only 28 per cent of those in Gateshead, claim to have an adequate supply of hot water.

As in Gateshead, therefore, the inter-war Council dwelling appears to be particularly unsatisfactory for habitation with regard to the provision of cooking facilities, hot water and thermal comfort. In Gateshead the most unsatisfactory accommodation is provided, apparently,

by the two room property (occupied largely by the retired households), but in Gosforth, it would seem to be the larger dwellings (especially those with four rooms) which provide the most substandard accommodation, and these are inhabited mainly by skilled manual workers (Table 9:9).

Level of Satisfaction and Desire to Move.

In Gosforth, only two per cent of the tenants of inter-war Council dwellings claim to be "completely dissatisfied" with the dwelling they inhabit, while 12 per cent claim to be "rather dissatisfied". This situation compares quite favourably with that in Gateshead, where complete dissatisfaction with the dwelling is felt by some 10 per cent of the tenants, and a further 11 per cent are "rather dissatisfied". Furthermore, it is noticeable that not only is the proportion of dissatisfied households smaller in Gosforth than in Gateshead, but the proportion of tenants claiming to be "completely satisfied" is larger. Thus, the Gosforth inter-war Council dwelling appears to provide a more satisfactory level of accommodation than does its counterpart in Gateshead.

From a study of the level of satisfaction and dwelling type, moreover, it can be seen (Table 9:10) that the proportion of "completely satisfied" households is highest among the occupants of two room property, and lowest among those occupying four room accommodation. Conversely the proportion of dissatisfied tenants is highest among the occupants of four room property and lowest among those living in two room dwellings. This is exactly the reverse of the Gateshead situation, but, as in Gateshead, the most dissatisfied households are those living in what appears to be the most substandard property.

Whereas the housewife, in some one per cent of the Gateshead households, is under 25 years of age, in Gosforth none of the households contain a "very young" housewife, but the age distribution of households is much more even than it is in Gateshead. Even so, as in Gateshead, it is the old aged households which predominate, and the young households which are most frequently dissatisfied with their accommodation. Only five per cent of the old aged households claim to be dissatisfied (in any form)

with the dwelling they inhabit, and 76 per cent are "completely satisfied". Conversely, some 24 per cent of the young housewives are dissatisfied with their accommodation and only 35 per cent claim that the dwelling provides completely satisfactory accommodation. Thus, as approximately 13 per cent of the middle aged housewives express dissatisfaction with the property they occupy, and only 48 per cent find it completely satisfying, it would appear that though differences occur in the magnitude of the results, the level of satisfaction increases in both areas with the age of the housewife - possibly a reflection of the more modern ideas of the young housewife.

It is also apparent (Table 9:10) that, as in Gateshead, it is not among the longest or shortest residing tenants that dissatisfaction is greatest, but among those who have lived in the dwelling they occupied in 1968 for between four and, in the case of Gosforth, 18 years. None of the most recent of Gosforth's tenants express any dissatisfaction with the dwelling, while only nine per cent of those occupying the property for between 19 and 49 years claim to be dissatisfied. Among those having resided for between four and 18 years in the same property, the proportion of dissatisfied tenants ranges from 16 to 34 per cent - the proportion tending to decrease with the length of tenancy.

In Gateshead, almost one third of the tenants of inter-war Council property moved into their present accommodation under slum-clearance schemes. This is not the case in Gosforth (Table 9:10). Only eight per cent of the Gosforth tenants moved because their previous accommodation was condemned or demolished. By far the greatest proportion (39 per cent) moved because they wanted smaller accommodation, or better accommodation or a better area in which to live. However, similar proportions moved to be near or with relatives, because the accommodation was required by the owner, or for health or personal reasons.

When the level of satisfaction is compared with the reasons for the tenant moving into its present accommodation, it would appear that there is very little similarity in the findings of the two surveys. In

Gateshead, complete satisfaction with the inter-war dwelling was expressed by all of the tenants who moved because they wanted a Council dwelling, an upstairs flat, a garden or simply "a change". On the other hand, it is clear that the completely satisfied Gosforth households are those who moved from slum property, or because they wanted a home of their own, cheaper accommodation, a house (rather than a flat), accommodation with a garden, or because they wanted to live in Gosforth. None of the Gosforth tenants claim to have moved because they wanted Council accommodation, a change, or an upstairs flat, and none of the Gateshead tenants moved because they wanted to live in Gateshead. Moreover, some form of dissatisfaction was expressed by approximately one quarter of those in Gateshead who moved because they wanted their own home, cheaper accommodation, or a house, or because their previous accommodation was condemned or demolished. Thus it would seem that the only households who are "completely satisfied", in both areas, are those who moved because they wanted a garden. Furthermore, it would seem that proportionately fewer of the Gosforth households who moved to better accommodation, or to be near or with relatives, are dissatisfied with their accommodation, while the reverse is true of those who moved to smaller property.

It would also appear from Table 9:10 that a larger proportion of Gosforth's tenants are satisfied with the level of Council maintenance. Approximately 25 per cent of Gosforth's households, but only 14 per cent of Gateshead's, believe that the Council maintains the property "very well". At the same time, one quarter of Gosforth's tenants regard the level of maintenance as being poor, while in Gateshead this contention is held by some 43 per cent of the tenants. Thus the reputation of Gosforth Council with respect to house maintenance seems to be better than that of Gateshead. As in Gateshead, however, the proportion of "completely satisfied" households increases with the quality of Council maintenance, and vice versa. Thus it would appear that a direct relationship exists between the level of satisfaction of households with the

dwelling, and the maintenance operations of the Council.

It would also appear that the mobility of Gosforth's households over the three year period 1965-1968 was lower than that of the Gateshead households. From Tables 8:10 and 9:10, it can be seen that in Gateshead the annual rate of movement of inter-war Council tenants was little more than five per cent, whereas in Gosforth it was something less than this. However, it can also be shown that the proportion of households wanting to move is smaller in Gosforth than it is in Gateshead. Table 9:11 shows that in Gosforth no more than 36 per cent of the tenants of inter-war Council property desire to move, while in Gateshead this desire is expressed by some 44 per cent of households. As in Gateshead, it is clear that an inverse relationship exists between the level of satisfaction of the household with the dwelling, and the desire of the household to move. It is noticeable that the proportion of Gosforth's completely satisfied households wanting to move is the same (15 per cent) as Gateshead's. Indeed, in both areas the proportion of households wanting to move is similar for all levels of satisfaction - a desire to move being expressed by a slightly larger proportion of Gosforth's households.

Furthermore, the head of the household in approximately 81 per cent of Gosforth's dwellings is, as in Gateshead, either retired or a skilled or semi-skilled manual worker. However, skilled manual workers form a larger proportion of the total in Gosforth than they do in Gateshead, while there are proportionately fewer retired and semi-skilled manual householders. None of Gosforth's tenants are small employers or professional workers as are a small proportion of those in Gateshead but, in one per cent of the Gosforth dwellings, the head of the household is a large employer. Unlike the small employers in Gateshead, Gosforth's large employer desires to move as, however, do all of Gosforth's unemployed householders.

On the other hand, a desire to move is expressed by all of the Gosforth households in which the head is a personal service worker,

foreman or supervisor, unskilled manual worker or own account worker. This conflicts with the situation in Gateshead, where it was found that none of the personal service workers and only 80 per cent of the foremen and supervisors, 50 per cent of the unskilled manual workers, and 33 per cent of the own account workers want to move. Very little similarity occurs when the statistics for the two Authorities are compared for the remaining socio-economic classes. Thus it would seem that the desire of tenants to move bears little relationship to the socio-economic class of the head of the household.

As has been mentioned above (Page 175), 36 per cent of the households in Gosforth express a desire to move. However, from Table 9:11, it would appear that efforts have been made to move by only three per cent of the tenants, and in each case the household has only applied to the Council for a transfer to a vacant dwelling. None of the households who have made an effort to move are those who now want to remain in their present accommodation, but of those households who have made no effort to move, about 34 per cent want to. In Gateshead a larger proportion want, and have made efforts to move, but the proportion of households wanting to move but having made no efforts to do so would seem to be similar. Thus in both areas it would appear that the proportion of inter-war Council tenants anxious to move is greater than is indicated by the official records (i.e. the transfer and exchange registers).

Reason for Wanting to Move.

While it is apparent that proportionately fewer Gosforth tenants want to move, it is also clear that the Gateshead tenants have more reasons for wanting a change of accommodation (Tables 8:12 and 9:12). Moreover, compared with Gateshead, only a relatively small proportion (11 per cent) desire to be in a better area - an indication, perhaps, of a difference in the quality of inter-war Council areas in the two districts. By far the largest proportion (28 per cent) of Gosforth's households want more modern accommodation. This is a larger proportion than in Gateshead (20 per cent), and it could be the result of Gosforth

households being more aware of, or responsive to, modern design or it may simply be that more of the dwellings have been modernised in Gateshead than in Gosforth. Neither of the Authorities have performed any large scale comprehensive modernisation projects, and it would appear that if this is the case, it is a result of the difference in the action of individual households. Whatever the situation, it would seem that the inter-war Council dwellings are regarded by a considerable proportion of the tenants as being insufficiently modern.

Though overcrowding is less severe in Gosforth than in Gateshead, a greater proportion of the households desire larger accommodation. Possibly this results from the traditionally lower occupancy levels in Gosforth than in Gateshead, but whatever the case, it is noticeable that the proportion of Gosforth's households wanting to move to a smaller dwelling is similar to the corresponding proportion in Gateshead, though under-occupation of property is greater in Gosforth.

As in Gateshead the remaining reasons for people wishing to move are not related specifically to the condition or use of inter-war Council dwellings. However, a significant and relatively larger proportion (11 per cent) want accommodation without stairs, while approximately the same proportion (five per cent) in both areas want to be with or near relatives. Perhaps as a result of the greater level of owner occupation in Gosforth, a larger proportion of the Gosforth households want to own their own home. Altogether, some 17 per cent of the Gosforth tenants desire their own property, whereas in Gateshead this desire is expressed by no more than two per cent of the households.

It is interesting to note that among the occupants of two and three room property, the most frequent reason for households wanting to move is a desire for larger accommodation. This contrasts with the situation in Gateshead, where the occupants of this type of property most frequently want to move to a better area. Among the tenants of Gosforth's four and five room property, the most frequently expressed reason for wanting to move is a desire for a more modern home. On the other hand, among the

Occupants of similar property in Gateshead this is only one of the most frequent reasons for households wanting to move, other important reasons being the desire for smaller accommodation and for accommodation in a better area.

As in Gateshead, however, the desire for smaller accommodation is the most frequently expressed reason for individual and small adult households wanting to move. Similarly, the large adult household in both areas most frequently wants more modern accommodation - a desire shared with the large family in Gosforth, and Gateshead's small family households. In Gosforth, the small family household most frequently wants to move either to become an owner-occupier or to obtain larger accommodation.

When comparison is made with the age of the housewife and the reason for wanting to move, it can be seen that there is little similarity between the two areas. In Gateshead, the young and middle aged housewives most frequently want to live in a better area, while the old aged households want accommodation without stairs. This is not the case in Gosforth, where the young households most frequently want larger accommodation, the middle aged more modern property and the old aged a smaller dwelling.

Sources of Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction in Inter-War Council Dwellings.

Table 9:13 shows that some 71 per cent of the tenants of Gosforth's inter-war Council dwellings are able to indicate the feature or features which they dislike most in the design of the dwelling. This constitutes a slightly larger proportion than in Gateshead, but it appears that fewer features are disliked by Gosforth households than by those in Gateshead. Some 25 features are commonly disliked by the households of both areas while a further 25 are peculiar to the Gateshead property and four to that in Gosforth.¹

The chief single source of dissatisfaction would appear, as in

1. These are the lowness of the ceiling, the possession of only one toilet and the location of the toilet outside the dwelling and the kitchen at the front of the accommodation.

Gateshead, to be the steel window frames, and it is interesting to note that a virtually equal proportion of households in both areas regard the window frames as the most unsatisfactory feature. As is also the case in Gateshead, the kitchen is a second major area of concern. In Gosforth, however, it is not so much the smallness of the kitchen which causes dissatisfaction (though six per cent of the households regard it as the most unsatisfactory feature of the dwelling) but its location at the front of the dwelling. In Gateshead the inside coalstore is another major individual source of complaint, but this is not the case in Gosforth. However, it is clear that the outside location of the toilet is a source of dissatisfaction to some nine per cent of the Gosforth households.

The dwelling's fixtures and fittings are the major collective source of dissatisfaction in Gateshead property. In Gosforth only six per cent of the households claim to be dissatisfied with the fixtures and fittings, but some 20 per cent express dissatisfaction over the location of the toilet. None of the Gosforth households are dissatisfied with the handbasin or the fireplace, but dissatisfaction is expressed over the bath, toilet, sink and gas stove. In Gateshead, some 13 per cent of the households are dissatisfied with the location of the toilet and in Gosforth this is the chief collective source of dissatisfaction.¹ As in Gateshead, the smallness of the rooms is another major collective source of dissatisfaction, but it is not such an unsatisfactory feature. Dissatisfaction with the room size is expressed by some 22 per cent of Gateshead's households, while in Gosforth no more than 12 per cent claim that the rooms are too small. In both districts, however, the main concern is over the size of the kitchen, followed by the bedrooms and the bathroom.

In Gosforth, some 29 per cent of the tenants are unable to say what they dislike most about the property they occupy. However, the proportion

1. In Gosforth, nine per cent of the households dislike the outside toilet, three per cent the combined toilet and bathroom, one per cent the toilet near to the front door, six per cent the downstairs toilet, and one per cent the toilet in the kitchenette.

varies according to the property type, and it is noticeable that it is lowest among the occupants of the four room dwellings - the most substandard property (Page 172). This is not the case in Gateshead, however, but as was shown in Chapter VIII (Page 150), the proportion is more evenly distributed throughout the property types.

It is interesting to note that while none of the occupants of the two room property express dissatisfaction with the fixtures and fittings, the location of the toilet or the smallness of the rooms, the location of the toilet is the most undesirable collective feature of the three and four room property, and the smallness of the rooms is the least desirable collective feature of the five room dwellings. This differs markedly from the situation in Gateshead, and it is noticeable that, whereas dissatisfaction with the smallness of the rooms decreases in Gateshead with the increased number of rooms in the dwelling, in Gosforth it increases.

As in Gateshead, however, the most disliked individual feature varies according to the dwelling type. In the four and five room property greatest dissatisfaction is expressed over the steel window frames, while the outside location of the toilet is the chief source of complaint among the occupants of the three room property. Thus, when these property types are considered, in only the four room accommodation is the main source of dissatisfaction the same in both areas. This is also true of the two room dwellings. In Gateshead, the most disliked individual feature of the two room dwelling is the sink, but in Gosforth it appears that equal dissatisfaction is expressed over nine features (Table 9:13).

As was shown in Table 9:10, approximately 54 per cent of the households are completely satisfied with the dwellings they occupy. Presumably therefore not all of the features of inter-war Council property are dissatisfying. However, only 45 per cent of the households are able to identify the feature or features which they like most about the dwellings (Table 9:14). Even so, this is a larger proportion than in Gateshead, where only 27 per cent of the households are able to say what they like

about the property, though some 42 per cent claim to be completely satisfied with their accommodation.

The most frequently liked feature of the inter-war Council dwelling is apparently the garden. This is true of some 16 per cent of Gosforth's inter-war Council property, while the compactness of the dwelling is found by a further 10 per cent of the households to be most pleasing, and for some eight per cent, the spaciousness of the rooms is the most desirable feature.

When comparison is made with the dwellings in Gateshead, it can be seen that, as with the most disliked feature of the property, the range of most liked features is greater in Gateshead than it is in Gosforth. Altogether, about 10 features are common to the properties in both areas, but 10 are peculiar to the Gateshead property and two (the side door and freedom from damp) to that found in Gosforth. However, with the exception of the amount of sunlight entering the dwelling (which is claimed by only one per cent of the Gosforth tenants to be the most liked feature of the property) the features most frequently liked appear to be similar in both areas.

As in Gateshead, the proportion of households not knowing what they like most about the dwellings varies with the property type. The situation in Gosforth, however, is exactly the reverse of that in Gateshead - the highest proportion of Gosforth's households not knowing what they like most about the dwelling are those occupying the four and five room property, while the lowest are those occupying accommodation with two and three rooms.

In Gateshead, it appears that there are four features of the two room property which appeal to the inhabitants. These are, according to the frequency with which they are liked, the compactness of the dwelling, the spaciousness of the rooms and the lack of stairs, and the fixed bath. On the other hand, it would appear that only three features of Gosforth's two room property are liked by its occupants. Two of these (the compactness of the property and the lack of stairs) are, however, the same as

in Gateshead, and it is interesting to note that a further 22 per cent of the occupants of Gosforth's two room property claim that the garden is the most likeable feature of the dwelling. Indeed, the garden is the most liked feature in all of the property, irrespective of type, while the compactness of the property, and the spaciousness of the rooms form the second most frequently liked features of the three and four room property, respectively.

To summarise, it appears that some 46 per cent of the households occupying Gosforth's inter-war Council dwellings are not "completely satisfied" with the property. However, though only 36 per cent of the households are sufficiently dissatisfied to want to move, it is interesting to note that the desire for a more modern home or accommodation in a better area is the motivating force behind some 39 per cent of those that do. The chief individual source of dissatisfaction appears to be, as in Gateshead, the steel window frames, while it is clear that many households dislike the location of either the kitchen at the front of the dwelling, or the toilet outside the property. However the inter-war dwellings in Gosforth appear not to be completely unsatisfactory for present-day habitation. Approximately 54 per cent of the tenants claim to be completely satisfied with their accommodation, and about 64 per cent are sufficiently satisfied with it not to want to move. The garden seems to be the most pleasing feature of the property, but a considerable proportion of the tenants like the compactness of the property and the spaciousness of the rooms. Differences occur between the two areas, but generally speaking, the situation is very similar. Chief among the differences are the fact that in Gateshead dissatisfaction is more frequently expressed over the smallness of the kitchen and the outdoor location of the toilet, while the amount of sunlight which the Gateshead dwellings receive seems to be more satisfactory. Even so, though dissatisfaction is expressed by proportionately more households in Gateshead than in Gosforth, and the proportion wanting to move is greater, the situation in the two areas is similar.

The Maintenance Operations of Households.

From Table 9:15, it is clear that, as in Gateshead, only a small proportion (three per cent) of the tenants of Gosforth's inter-war Council dwellings fail to maintain, in any way, the property they occupy. However, it would seem that proportionately more of Gosforth's tenants decorate the property, while proportionately fewer modernise or renovate the accommodation. Thus, as only 47 per cent of the households in Gosforth have attempted to improve the property, it appears that the level of maintenance of inter-war accommodation (as performed by households) is slightly lower in Gosforth than it is in Gateshead, where approximately 58 per cent of the tenants claim to have carried out some form of modernisation (See Chapter VIII, Page 154).

Unlike the situation in Gateshead, where the tenants of almost one third of the two room dwellings have attempted some form of modernisation, none of the tenants of two room property in Gosforth have made any efforts to improve their accommodation. However, as in Gateshead, it would appear that it is among the occupants of four room property that modernising activities are most frequent, and among the tenants of five room accommodation that they are least frequent. Indeed, it is apparent that, in four and five room dwellings, modernisation has been performed by a similar proportion of tenants in both areas, though the proportion in Gosforth is slightly smaller. In respect of three room property, however, this is not the case - a much lower proportion occurring in Gosforth.

On the other hand, all of the tenants of Gosforth's two, four and five room dwellings decorate the property they occupy, whereas this is true in Gateshead for the five room property, only. However, in Gateshead at least 97 per cent of the two, three and four room dwellings are decorated, but in Gosforth no decorating is performed by some nine per cent of the tenants of the three room property.

It can also be seen from Table 9:15 that the level of maintenance in both areas, appears to be related to the age of the household. Though

the proportions differ somewhat, the proportion of dwellings which have been modernised, and which are occupied by an old aged housewife is smaller than the proportion which is occupied by a young housewife. Thus, modernisation is performed most frequently by the young households. Perhaps this is because they are more aware of the deficiencies of the inter-war dwelling for modern living than are the old aged households, whose patterns of behaviour are perhaps influenced as much, if not more, by the past than by the present. On the other hand, it could be that the old aged households have neither the energy nor the money to cope with home improvements. Whatever the case, it is noticeable that modernisation has been performed by some 74 per cent of the young Gosforth households, but by only 19 per cent of the old aged. Furthermore, the only property which is not being maintained is that occupied by eight per cent of the old aged.

The level of maintenance also appears to be related to the level at which the dwelling is occupied. As in Gateshead, the most significant proportion of Gosforth's tenants not performing any maintenance operations are those under-occupying the accommodation they inhabit (i.e. living at a density of less than 0.33 persons per room). As the majority of the under-occupied properties in both areas are inhabited by the old or middle aged (See Tables 8:1 and 9:1), and as none of the tenants of Gosforth's under-occupied property have carried out any form of modernisation, this may simply be a function of the age of the household. However, modernisation has been performed by the tenants under-occupying some 61 per cent of Gateshead's inter-war Council dwellings, and as the proportion of tenants carrying out some form of modernisation is lower in both areas where the tenants are living in overcrowded conditions than when they are living at the normal level of occupancy, then it would seem that the level of crowding does affect the level of maintenance. Leastways, modernisation has been performed by some 51 per cent of Gosforth's tenants living at a density of 0.33 to 1.49 persons per room, but by only 40 per cent of those living at a density of 1.50 or more persons per

room.

As is indicated by Tables 8:15 and 9:15, the level of employment of households in both areas is very similar. In both areas, just over one third (34 per cent) of the dwellings are inhabited by households in which no one is working for more than 30 hours per week. However, households in which there are three or more persons in full-time employment form a slightly larger proportion of the total in Gosforth than in Gateshead, and there are proportionately fewer households in which only one or two persons are working full-time.

In Gosforth, though not in Gateshead, all of the dwellings are decorated in which one person or more is employed. Indeed, only nine per cent of the dwellings are not decorated, and these are inhabited by households in which no one is working for more than 30 hours per week. However, a much lower proportion (44 per cent) of the Gosforth dwellings, which are occupied by households in which one person or more is employed, have been modernised. As in Gateshead though, by far the smallest proportion of dwellings which have been modernised are those occupied by households in which no one works for more than 30 hours per week. Even so, it would appear that in both areas little relationship exists between the level of employment and the level of maintenance.

A comparison of Tables 8:15 and 9:15 respectively, shows that some 98 per cent of Gateshead's households, and about 97 per cent of Gosforth's, decorate the accommodation they occupy. The proportions are very similar in the two areas but proportionately fewer of the occupants of Gosforth's inter-war Council dwellings appear to decorate their accommodation. Similarly from an examination of Tables 8:16 and 9:16 it is apparent that the Gosforth tenants decorate their accommodation less frequently than do those in Gateshead. Whereas in Gateshead the living rooms are decorated more frequently than the kitchenette, in Gosforth the living rooms are decorated as frequently as the kitchenette, but more frequently than the bedrooms. In Gosforth, monthly median values for the frequency with which the living rooms, bedrooms and kitchenette are decorated are 18,

29 and 18 respectively, while in Gateshead they are 16, 24 and 17.

A "don't know" answer to the question "How frequently do you decorate each room?" means, as in Gateshead, that because decorating is so infrequent, the housewife cannot estimate the decorating cycle. Altogether about 12 per cent of Gosforth's households do not know how frequently they decorate either the living rooms, bedrooms or kitchenette. This is a larger proportion than in Gateshead, where only five per cent are unable to say how frequently they decorate the kitchenette and four per cent the living rooms and bedrooms.

As in Gateshead, the largest recognised redecorating cycle is five to six years. However, only one per cent of Gosforth's households wait that long before redecorating, while some four per cent of the households decorate the bedrooms every five to six years. Similarly, the shortest redecorating cycle is six to 11 months, but it is noticeable that the proportion of households decorating with such frequency is smaller in Gosforth than it is in Gateshead.

A comparison of median monthly frequencies and property types indicates that, in contrast to the situation in Gateshead, the living rooms are decorated as frequently as the kitchenette in two, four and five room dwellings, while the kitchenettes are decorated more frequently than the living rooms in three room property. The comparison also reveals however that the relationship which exists in Gateshead between the size of the dwelling and the frequency with which households decorate the living room is not apparent in Gosforth, where the only really significant feature is the relative frequency with which households decorate the individual rooms.

At this stage in the Gateshead study, an examination was made of the activities of those tenants who had attempted to modernise their inter-war accommodation. As the Gosforth survey failed to record these activities, a comparative study cannot be made, and without knowing what types of modernisation households have already performed it may be argued that it is not possible to identify the most unsatisfactory features of the

inter-war Council dwelling. In fact, the features outlined are either those which the non-modernisers regard as being the most unsatisfactory, or those which the modernisers regard as being, at this point in time, beyond their scope; they are not necessarily the most unsatisfactory features of the property.

Conclusion.

The 10 most frequently disliked features of Gosforth's inter-war Council dwellings appear to be the steel framed windows, the outside toilet, the kitchen at the front of the dwelling, the downstairs location of the toilet or bathroom, the smallness of the kitchenette, the lack of storage space, the poor heating system, dampness, the surfeit of inside doors, and the scarcity of power points. When comparison is made with the 10 most unsatisfactory features of Gateshead's inter-war Council dwellings, it can be seen that it includes four of the most disliked features of the Gosforth property (the steel framed windows, the smallness of the kitchenette, the lack of storage space, and the scarcity of power points). However, only two of the remaining six most unsatisfactory features (the old bath and the old sink) of the Gateshead property are features which are most frequently disliked by the Gateshead households; the remaining four (the old fireplace, the old doors, the inside coalstore and the height of the staircase ceiling) are mainly features which have been modernised or improved by the household. Because no attempt has been made to examine the modernisation activities of Gosforth households, the comparison can go no further. However, about 47 per cent of Gosforth's households have carried out some form of maintenance, and, from the Gateshead study, it would appear that their activities are most likely to have been concentrated on installing a new fireplace, modernising doors, encasing the bath, fitting a new sink unit, and installing power points. If this is the case, then a list of the 10 most unsatisfactory features of the dwellings in both areas would be very similar.

By comparison with some 19th century property, Gosforth's inter-war Council dwelling provides, as does its counterpart in Gateshead, an

adequate standard of accommodation. All of the properties in both areas possess a kitchen sink with a wastepipe, a fixed bath or shower in a separate uninhabited room, piped hot and cold water, and windows and electric lights in each room. In addition, all of the Gosforth dwellings possess a hand-washbasin separate from the kitchen sink, and 65 per cent have a toilet separate from the bathroom. The standard of accommodation in fact, is such that approximately 54 per cent of the households are "completely satisfied" with the property they occupy, while some 64 per cent are sufficiently satisfied not to want to move. Indeed, the level of satisfaction appears to be much higher than it is in Gateshead, but it is noticeable that of those who want to move, a larger proportion of the Gosforth households want more modern accommodation. Unlike the Gateshead property, not all of Gosforth's dwellings have an inside toilet and, as in Gateshead, not all of the inter-war accommodation has each room warm enough to be comfortable, a cooker that is adequate for the amount of cooking that has to be done, or an adequate supply of hot water. Thus, attention ought to be paid to these features, as well as to the steel framed windows, the size of the kitchenette, the provision of storage space, the scarcity of power points and, possibly, such fittings and finishings as the fireplace, bath, sink, toilet, doors, etc.. Moreover, while overcrowding appears to be less severe in Gosforth than it is in Gateshead, approximately 10 per cent of the Gosforth dwellings are overcrowded, and it is the responsibility of the Local Authority to rectify this before the property can be considered fit for habitation.

CHAPTER X. CONCLUSION: INTER-WAR COUNCIL DWELLINGS - THE SCOPE FOR MODERNISATION.

Because of their high capital value, dwellings, whether privately or publicly owned, are one of a nation's most important assets. The expected life of a house is frequently taken as between 80 and 100 years, but its actual life usually depends on

- (a) the quality of the original construction
- (b) the level of maintenance
- (c) the rate of social and economic change.

Consequently, a dwelling may become unfit for human habitation before its expected life is completed, as a result of

- (a) the level of disrepair, and
- (b) the standard of amenity it provides.

Obviously, therefore, to avoid the wasting away of the national assets, the dwelling must be properly maintained and modernised to keep pace with rising standards.

With regard to the maintenance of Local Authority property, Councils are obliged, under the 1936 Act, to pay a minimum of £8 per dwelling per annum into a Housing Repairs Account. However, for some time now, many Authorities have been using contributions made in respect of new property, to offset the high maintenance costs on the older dwellings. On the surface, this may not seem unreasonable, but it seems clear that the long-term policy is not very healthy. Table 10:1 shows that while most Authorities make contributions greater than the statutory minimum repairs contribution, the amount spent on the maintenance of pre-1945 property is greater than the per annum contribution, while the amount spent on post-war dwellings is almost equal to the annual contribution. At the same time, the annual closing balance is frequently less than one year's contribution, and it is obvious that, at current levels of contribution, it is not going to be possible for Local Authorities to accumulate adequate reserves for future (higher) maintenance costs. Indeed, on Tyneside, only Gateshead C.B. and Whitley and Monkseaton M.B. have an annual contribution

which exceeds the annual expenditure on pre-1945 property, while only in Gateshead does the closing balance approximate to the per annum contribution (Table 10:1).

Thus, many Local Authorities are being forced to transfer more responsibilities to tenants - an undesirable solution as the Authorities concerned have no control over the level or standard of the repair and maintenance work.

At the same time, while maintenance costs seem to be reaching prohibitive levels, inter-war Council dwellings are subject to the process of social obsolescence. Dwellings become socially obsolete when they fail to meet the activity demands of the occupants. A dwelling can become socially obsolete, therefore, because

- (a) it does not possess the facilities which society regards as being required by the household
- (b) the facilities it does possess are functionally substandard.

Thus, as many of the inter-war Council dwellings in Gosforth and Gateshead seem not to possess sufficient natural lighting or electrical power points, adequate cooking or food storage facilities, or an efficient and adequate means of heating and supplying hot water, then it would appear that they are below the 12 point fitness standard introduced by the Government in 1958. Moreover, as the tenants of inter-war Council property express dissatisfaction with the size of the kitchenette, the height of the ceilings (especially on the staircase), the indoor location of the toilet and the condition of the fireplace, bath, sink, doors and window frames, then it would also appear that much of the property is socially obsolete.

However although inter-war Council dwellings seem to be socially unsuitable for habitation in various respects, by comparison with some 19th century property, they do provide an adequate standard of accommodation. Therefore, in view of

- (a) the housing shortage
- (b) the slow rate of building

(c) the backlog of slum-clearance

(d) the slowness of the slum-clearance cycle

it would also appear that it would be uneconomic for an Authority to demolish its inter-war Property.

Clearly, therefore, as maintenance costs and living standards rise, Local Authorities will find it increasingly difficult to keep the inter-war dwelling in an adequate state of repair, and at a level of maintenance which is acceptable to prospective tenants. Indeed, in areas where a rent pool exists, and the rents of pre-war dwellings are raised to offset the cost of new housing, it is apparent that some Authorities are having increasing difficulty letting their pre-war property - prospective tenants preferring to wait and pay the extra for a more modern, better equipped dwelling. Under such circumstances, it seems that Local Authorities need to improve the quality of their pre-war dwelling stock in the most economical manner possible and, at the same time, reduce the level of expenditure on maintenance operations. Large scale renovation and modernisation would appear to satisfy these requirements.

The Inadequacies of Pre-War Council Property - A Study of Local Authority Modernisation and Renovation Programmes.

On Tyneside, six Authorities¹ are either considering modernisation schemes or have actual programmes in hand. Of these, Gateshead is still at the planning stage, but the remainder are actually implementing their proposals. These range from spending £29 per dwelling on providing electric power points and a handbasin in Wallsend, to spending over £900 per dwelling in South Shields.

The Tynemouth scheme was commenced in 1965 and involves the modernisation of approximately 200 dwellings per annum at an approximate average cost of £550 per dwelling. Included in the programme are

1. These are Gateshead, Newcastle, South Shields, Tynemouth, Wallsend and the North Eastern Housing Association.

- (1) General repairs to the structure of the building (e.g. repainting, roof repairs, plumbing, etc.).
- (2) the renewal of doors.
- (3) the plastering of all fair-faced brickwork.
- (4) the removal of all fireplaces and the provision of a modern, tiled slab and hearth in the living room.
- (5) the insulation of roof space.
- (6) the removal of the internal larder and fuel store (to enlarge the kitchen) and the provision of floor units (with work tops) and ventilated wall cupboards.
- (7) the replacement of the original sink with a modern unit.
- (8) the renewal of the bath.
- (9) rewiring and the provision of 1-13 amp. socket in each habitable room, plus one cooker unit and 1-13 amp. socket outlet in the scullery.
- (10) the replacement of rusted, ungalvanised steel windows.
- (11) redecoration after improvement.

A similar scheme is being carried out by Newcastle Corporation. At 31st March, 1968, 4,460 of the Council's 13,000 dwellings had been modernised at an average cost of about £520 per dwelling.¹

With regard to both cost and the type of operations, the Newcastle scheme closely resembles that being pursued by the Tynemouth Housing Department. It involves

- (1) the covering of concrete floors (in the kitchenette, back porch and water closet) with thermoplastic tiles.
- (2) the plastering of all fair-faced brickwork.
- (3) the removal of all fireplaces and the provision of a Parkray 66 K.D. in the living room.

1. This does not include the cost of general repairs to the structure of the property (averaged at £150 per dwelling) but does include the provision of central heating.

- (4) the provision of central heating and roof insulation.
- (5) the renewal of all plumbing facilities and the provision of a hot water cylinder.
- (6) the removal of the larder and the provision of ventilated food cupboards.
- (7) the removal of the inside fuel store and the enlarging of the kitchenette.
- (8) the provision of a new sink unit.
- (9) the renewal of the bath, washbasin and water closet.
- (10) rewiring and the provision of 13 amp. sockets and an immersion heater, if required.
- (11) the provision of a new back door to the porch, to create an internal water closet.
- (12) the building of a cylinder cupboard.

In South Shields, improvement schemes are costing somewhat more than schemes operating elsewhere on Tyneside. A pilot scheme of 34 dwellings has recently been completed, and it is intended that the Council's 4,049 pre-war dwellings should be modernised over a period of 10 years. Currently, expenditure on modernisation in South Shields is averaging £921 per dwelling but, on comparison with other schemes, it would appear that the major discrepancies in cost arise from the quantity and standard of the work performed, rather than from the type (Table 10:2).

Rehabilitation schemes approved by, and receiving a grant from, the Ministry are intended to raise the standard of pre-war accommodation to the level of the Ministry's 12 point fitness standard. Because of this, improvement schemes can be regarded as an index of the unsuitability of pre-war accommodation for present-day habitation. In October 1967, a survey was made of all County Boroughs in England and Wales, in an attempt to determine the scale and type of rehabilitation being carried out. Replies were received from about half of those Authorities contacted, and these indicated that no more than a dozen County Boroughs had attempted

to rehabilitate their inter-war Council property, though a number expressed an intention to inaugurate such a scheme. From an examination of the schemes already in operation, it would appear that little attention has been paid to the environment of the dwellings, and that the most frequent operations are

- (1) the plastering of all fair-faced brickwork.
- (2) the renewal of floors, and the laying of thermoplastic tiles.
- (3) the fitting of a new fireplace in the living room, and the removal of fireplaces in the bedrooms.
- (4) the provision of central heating.
- (5) the renewal of all electric wiring.
- (6) the installation of 13 amp. power points and a 30 amp. cooker control unit.
- (7) the provision of a new sink unit
- (8) the provision of kitchen floor units and ventilated wall cupboards.
- (9) the provision of a new bath, lavatory and W.C. suite.

These then are the features regarded by Local Authorities as being most deserving of attention, and the most important factors involved in improving the standard of amenity of a pre-war Council dwelling. Obviously schemes will vary both in price and type of operations according to the conditions peculiar to the Authority,¹ but it is interesting to note the similarity between the schemes outlined above and the deficiencies which were revealed (in Chapters VIII and IX) in the Gateshead and Gosforth properties. None of the Authorities appear to have involved themselves with the large scale conversion of dwellings in an attempt to achieve a better distribution of households and accommodation. Rather they seem to

1. Especially with regard to the cost of material and labour within the Authority, the prosperity of the Authority and the tenant, the standard of housing in the district, the standard of the original construction, the level of maintenance operations carried out by the Authority and the tenant, etc.

have transferred overcrowded tenants to larger property or permitted them to exchange with tenants wanting smaller accommodation.¹ The main objective of those Authorities carrying out rehabilitation schemes appears to be the improvement of the condition of the property and the standard of accommodation which it provides. It is noticeable that many of the unsatisfactory features of the property in Gateshead and Gosforth (Pages 160 and 188) seem to be included in the schemes outlined above, but it is clear that more emphasis seems to be placed on plastering the walls of the kitchenettes, and the renewal of floors. On the other hand, less attention is apparently given to improving the hot water system, modernising windows and improving the supply of natural light, enlarging the kitchenette, improving the cooking facility, lowering ceilings and modernising doors. Even so, there is a noticeable similarity, and it is with respect to this type of facility that the inter-war Council dwelling is socially obsolete; it is also to this type of facility that the Local Authority ought to direct its attention.

The Cost of Modernisation to the Authority.

The economic case for renovation is based on two premises.

(a) that in a decision concerning renewal, money already spent is irrelevant - renewal only being concerned with the reduction of future expenses (i.e. renewal is only worthwhile if the maintenance costs of the renewed elements together with the annual equivalent of their initial costs, are less than the expected maintenance costs of the existing components).

(b) that the present worth of a series of periodical payments is much less than the face value of the payments.

1. In practice, this policy does not seem to have been successful (See Pages 134 and 163 above), and it is interesting to note that, in an attempt to encourage Local Authorities to effect a more economic distribution of households and dwellings, the Government has provided a "conversion grant". Under sections 17 and 18 of the Housing Act, 1969, a grant of up to £1,250, or half of the total cost involved, can be given to a Local Authority for the provision of dwellings by the conversion of houses or other buildings.

By using the process known as "discounting" it is possible to bring future sums of expenditure down to a common reference point,¹ and from this it can be seen, for example, that the present worth of £20 paid annually for 60 years at an interest rate of 5% is approximately £379.² Economically therefore, it makes no difference whether £379 is spent now, or £20 is expended annually for 60 years. Thus, for a house with an anticipated life of 60 years, it would not matter whether £20 were spent annually on maintenance or £379 initially to avoid the annual expenditure.³

However, it might be expected that a renovated dwelling, like any other property, would not be entirely free from maintenance costs over its life. Thus, the amount it is economic for an Authority to spend on renovation should not exceed the present value of the difference between the expected annual maintenance costs, before and after renovation, for the anticipated life of the property. In algebraic terms

$$c = \frac{d}{i} \left(1 - (1+i)^{-n} \right)$$

where c = the cost of adequate renovation

i = the interest rate

n = the anticipated life of the property in years

d = difference in maintenance costs per annum

1. Usually their present-day worth

2. As opposed to its face value of £1,200

$$3. \frac{m}{i} \times 1 - (1+i)^{-n} \quad \text{where } m = \text{expenditure per annum}$$

$$\frac{20}{0.05} \times 1 - (1+0.05)^{-60} \quad \text{\textit{i} = interest rate (at 5%}$$

$$\frac{20}{0.05} \times 1 - \frac{(\log 1)}{(\log 1.05 \times 60)} \quad \text{\textit{i} = 0.05)}$$

$$\frac{20}{0.05} \times 1 - \frac{(0.00000)}{(0.02119 \times 60)} = \frac{20}{0.05} \times 1 - \frac{0.00000}{1.27140}$$

$$\frac{20}{0.05} \times 1 - 2.72860 = \frac{20}{0.05} \times 1 - 0.053529$$

$$\frac{20}{0.05} \times 0.946471 = \underline{\underline{\pounds 379}}$$

The basic difficulty arises from the dearth of information on

(a) maintenance costs, and

(b) the durability of components

Ideally, predictions of maintenance costs should be based on an analysis of the costs of maintenance in similar circumstances. Unfortunately, the data available are not sufficiently detailed to provide, for example, estimates of the costs of different components nor estimates of durability. However, they can be used as a basis for forecasting maintenance and repair costs at a broad level, and it is, therefore, only a simple matter to estimate the average amount of maintenance which is likely to be paid per annum if the property is not renovated.

It is not so easy, however, to estimate the annual costs of repairs and maintenance once modernisation and renovation have taken place, partly because of the lack of data on the cost of maintaining new (as opposed to traditional) materials, and partly because of the lack of data on the costs of maintaining renovated materials.

It may be assumed that the property would be renovated and improved to the standard at which the Housing Authority would receive a discretionary improvement grant. At this level, the dwelling must be in a good state of repair and free from damp.¹

Thus, if the dwelling is initially put into a good state of repair, then reductions will be brought about on approximately 73 per cent of the total maintenance costs for 1966/67, and it would appear that costs on renovated pre-war property are likely to be similar to those on new property. Unfortunately no data is available on component costs for new housing, but it seems reasonable to assume that, in the first year after

1. "Externally all roof coverings should be intact and properly secured, brickwork or stonework should be sound and well pointed, all ironwork and flashings securely fixed and exposed woodwork undecayed. All painted surfaces should be in good order.

Internally, all plastered surfaces should be firm and undamaged, and the woodwork of both the fabric and the fixtures in a sound condition. All sanitary fittings, fitted cooking ranges, fire grates and fittings, and electrical and gas installations should be in good working order". Central Housing Advisory Committee "Our Older Homes - A Call for Action", Page 14, Note 38b ii.

renovation, (taking increased costs into consideration, as well as the fact that costs on renovated property are likely to be higher than on newer property) maintenance costs are not likely to exceed the cost of maintenance over the first eleven years life of an inter-war dwelling - i.e. £4 (Table 7:14). At the same time, it might be expected that the maintenance costs on the renovated and modernised inter-war property of a particular Authority might increase at a similar rate as the maintenance costs on post-war property in the same Authority.

Once this has been established, it is a relatively simple matter to compute the average amount it would be economic for an Authority to spend on renovation.

The formula is a simple one concerned solely with

- (a) the life of the building and its components
- (b) the rate of interest
- (c) current and future costs of maintenance

Obviously far more factors are concerned - the formula merely includes the major factors required for determining the amount which it is economic for an Authority to spend. The amount will vary from area to area, but this poses no serious problem as the houses in different areas would probably differ in size, age and quality of construction, whilst it is quite feasible that differences will also exist between areas in the costs of materials and labour. It would appear that the formula takes no account of the different levels of maintenance between Authorities - i.e. an Authority in which the dwellings were poorly maintained would be able to spend less on renovation than an Authority in which the dwellings were properly maintained. This, however, would not seem to be the case for, as shown on Page 123, the Authorities which have low initial maintenance costs are the Authorities which are experiencing the most rapid increases in costs, and vice versa. This trend would be emphasised with the projected life of the property and some compensation would thus be made for the previously low levels of maintenance.

If the formula given above (Page 196) is applied to maintenance costs in South Shields, it can be seen that, at a five per cent interest rate,¹ it would be economic for the Authority to spend approximately £160 per dwelling on renovation, if the property is to remain in existence for a further 30 years.²

As can be seen, this accounts for approximately only 20 per cent of the basic scheme and only 15 per cent when the optional items are included. However, under Section 9 of the Housing (Financial Provisions) Act, 1958, as amended by Section 13 of the House Purchase and Housing Act, 1959, and Housing Act, 1964, it is possible for South Shields to receive, over a period of 20 years, a subsidy equal to three eighths of the annual loan.

1. It should be noted that the interest rate can be adjusted to suit the prevailing financial conditions, and that the higher the rate of interest, the greater the amount it will be economic to spend.
2. This calculation is based on the assumptions that
 - (a) maintenance costs on pre-war property will increase by £0.097a + 15.1015 per annum, where "a" is the year after 1955/56 and
 - (b) maintenance costs on modernised property will increase at a rate of £0.216a + 4 per annum, where "a" is the year after 1967/68.

Over a period of 30 years, an average of £17.7 would be spent per annum on unmodernised pre-war property and £7.3 on modernised property. Thus substituting in the formula

$$c = \frac{d}{i} \times 1 - (1+i)^{-n}$$

$$c = \frac{10.40}{0.05} \times 1 - \frac{(\log 1)}{(\log 1.05 \times 30)}$$

$$c = \frac{10.40}{0.05} \times 1 - \bar{1} .3643$$

$$c = \frac{10.40}{0.05} \times 1 - 0.23137$$

$$c = \frac{10.40}{0.05} \times 0.76863$$

$$c = \underline{\underline{£159.89}}$$

charges on an approved allowable expenditure or £700, whichever is less.¹ Thus, Table 10:2 indicates the items on which it is possible for the Authority to claim a grant for the improvement of the property. From this, it can be seen that, excluding the optional items (i.e. central heating and a second water closet) the expenditure on which a grant is allowed is £749 9. 0..² This leaves £77 to be paid by the Authority for repairs and replacements for which no exchequer contribution is made, plus the amount required for general repairs to the structure of the building (for which no grant is received) together with a further £218 when the two optional items are included and the amount remaining once the Government subsidy has been subtracted. From the above calculation, it would appear that, at an interest rate of five per cent, it would be economic for the Local Authority to spend approximately £160 on renovation, if the property were to last for a further 30 years, but the remainder of the expenditure³ would have to be financed either by an increase in the rent of the property or a direct rate fund contribution.⁴

Summary of Conclusions, and the Scope for Future Research.

To summarise, it is clear that to avoid the large scale decay of dwellings and the wasting of National assets, the Central Government is anxious to encourage house owners to keep their property maintained and modernised. As landlords, Local Authorities are responsible for the repair and maintenance of the property they own but, for some time, many Authorities have been offsetting the high maintenance costs on older property against the low costs on the newer dwellings. As costs rise,

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1. Under Part I (Sections 17 and 18) of the Housing Act, 1969, the Local Authority can now receive half of the approved expense of the work (up to £1,000), or a sum payable annually for a period of 20 years which is equal to three quarters of the annual loan charges, whichever is less.
 2. The average allowable expenditure per dwelling in the pilot scheme is £648 5. 0..
 3. That which is not covered by a Government subsidy or by the amount which it is economic for an Authority to spend in the light of future expenditure.
 4. South Shields have chosen to increase the rent of pre-war property by 10 shillings per week once rehabilitation has taken place.

however, many Local Authorities are finding it increasingly difficult to finance maintenance operations and, at the same time, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the pre-war Council dwelling is, in many respects, socially obsolete. An immediate and obvious solution to the problem would seem to be the rehabilitation of all pre-war Council property, but as in South Shields, it would appear that the amount it is economic for an Authority to spend may be below the amount required to improve the standard of accommodation to the desired level. Under such circumstances, the decision as to whether an Authority should rehabilitate its pre-war property will depend on the circumstances and policies peculiar to the Authority concerned. If, for example, the Authority believes that it ought to raise the standard of accommodation provided by its pre-war property, or finds that it is having difficulty letting this accommodation, then it may wish to spend more than the economic amount on renovation and improvement, charging the difference to the rates and/or the tenants involved. On the other hand, if the Authority finds that there is a demand for pre-war property, it may decide only to renovate the property, and concentrate on raising the general housing standard by demolishing slum property - using the lower standard pre-war accommodation to house those tenants that are unable or unwilling to afford the rents of the newer property. Such a policy may be socially acceptable in many ways but, not only would it conflict with the economic policy of preserving capital assets, it would also undermine the position of the Authority if Local Authorities are "to take the lead and drive the policy (of improvement and repair) forward in each town and district".¹

Moreover, no matter how low the rent, it is likely that inevitable increases

1. Ministry of Housing and Local Government, Welsh Office "Old Houses into New Houses", Cd. 3602, H.M.S.O., 1968, Page 2.

will produce increased dissatisfaction over the standard of accommodation provided.¹ Even so, if the National Government is anxious that as many as possible of the older Council dwellings should be modernised, then it may have to offer greater financial inducements especially to the poorer Authorities.

As Bartholomew points out, "arguments about subject boundaries seem particularly futile when exploring new territory".² However, if the

1. In this respect it is interesting to note a letter published in the "Durham County Advertiser" on Friday, 14th March, 1969, under the title "Council House Rent Increases".

"Sir - Reference the recent increase in rents, the Durham City Council appear to have overlooked the commonsense view that ground values should equate with amenities value. This does not appear to be the case where the Moorlands Estate is concerned. Built in 1921-22 on swampland without proper drainage and with little, if any, damp course in the houses, they must surely rank as the dampest houses in Britain. Incuriably damp as the City Treasurer must well know. The non-parlour type houses also have outside toilets, damp and in cold weather a positive health risk, especially where old people are concerned.

While the more progressive and efficient councils modernised their early 1920 houses years ago, the City Council have not contributed one item of modernisation. Over the years, Moorland tenants have had to instal and maintain their own electricity supply (Council supplied gas only), cookers, and replace the Victorian type kitchen range with a modern fireplace.

True, the Council did make a small grant towards the fireplace and some time ago did offer to make a small grant to any tenant prepared to instal a new bath and fittings. It is understood that the City Council are pioneering a modernisation scheme on a much younger estate. By-passing the Moorlands Estate (the City's oldest), is surely a clear indication that, not only are the Moorlands tenants expected to modernise at their own expense, but to pay a large increase in rents to help modernise other estates. Truly a Gilbertian situation, would the City Treasurer care to confirm or deny that by increasing the ground value, he has also increased the rateable value, and as a result tenants may have to face a weekly rate increase of 4s. - 5s.? Finally, can anyone inform me how the Prices and Incomes Board can sanction a large rent increase without knowledge of the houses in question". - Yours, etc.

KATHLEEN

Durham.

2. Bartholomew, D.J., "Stochastic Models for Social Processes", Wiley, 1967, Page 1.

Urban Geographer "is concerned primarily with the urban settlement as an expression of man's activities on the earth's surface",¹ then studies of both rehabilitation schemes and obsolescence would appear to fall well within the scope of Urban Geography.

Rehabilitation is another form of urban renewal. Thus the study of rehabilitation schemes should interest the Urban Geographer as they indicate, as do studies of the traditional slum clearance schemes, the process by which urban areas are renewed and the urban environment is modified. Moreover, as is observed by Mayer and Kohn, "urban renewal is one of the many socially useful fields where the concepts of urban geography may be applied with the help of the geographer's knowledge and experience".² Recent academic studies have attempted to show the advantage of rehabilitation over redevelopment in terms of cost.³ However, more suitable data is required and much work still needs to be done, especially with regard to the total benefit of rehabilitation to society. It is particularly in this sphere that the future work of the Urban Geographer could be important.

Mayer and Kohn also observe that "in recent years much attention has been focussed upon the physical deterioration of cities".⁴ Naturally, applied studies have given priority to the need for the replacement and, more recently, rehabilitation of obsolete dwellings. However, to avoid being "faced with the millions of houses that demand replacement or radical improvement at great expense",⁵ attention needs to be paid to the process by which dwellings, and therefore the residential areas of cities, become unfit for future habitation. Traditionally, this has been

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1. Dickinson, R.E., "The Scope and Status of Urban Geography: An Assessment", in Mayer, H.M. and Kohn, C.F., "Readings in Urban Geography", Chicago University Press, 1959, Page 18.
 2. Mayer, H.M., and Kohn, C.F., "Readings in Urban Geography", Page 586.
 3. See, for example, Needleman, L., "The Economics of Housing", Staples Press, 1965, Pages 1919-203 and the continuing discourse between Needleman and Sigsworth, E.M. and Wilkinson, R.K., in "Urban Studies", Volume 4, No. 2 (June, 1967), and Volume 5, No. 1 (February, 1968).
 4. Mayer, H.M., and Kohn, C.F., "Readings in Urban Geography", Page 585.
 5. Central Housing Advisory Committee, "Our Older Homes - A Call for Action", Page 25.

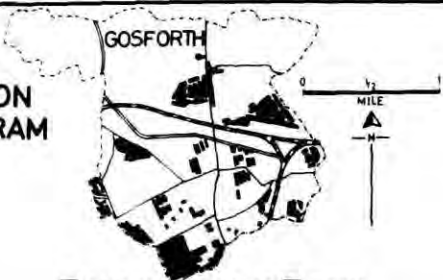
explained at the filtering concept level¹ and in terms of style, social/functional and physical obsolescence. However more information is required, particularly with regard to the maintenance of dwellings, and more detailed studies of the effect of social and physical obsolescence are needed. Perhaps one of the socially most useful contributions which the geographer could make, would involve a study of the process by which dwellings become socially obsolete. Bertalanffy has pointed out that "if we could have a well developed science of the human society, and a corresponding technology, it would be the way out of the chaos and impending destruction of the present world".² If the Urban Geographer could understand the process by which the living habits of households change and alter the functional demands which are placed upon dwellings, then it should be possible

- (a) to predict the way in which the living habits of households are likely to change,
- (b) to determine the demands which households are likely to place on the dwelling, and
- (c) to determine the functions which it is likely that a dwelling will be required to perform

With this information, the designer should then be able, as far as is economically possible, to produce a dwelling which instead of being socially obsolete almost as soon as it is conceived, "will continue to be above the accepted minimum",³ - thus reducing the rate at which dwellings, and residential areas, become socially unsuitable for habitation.

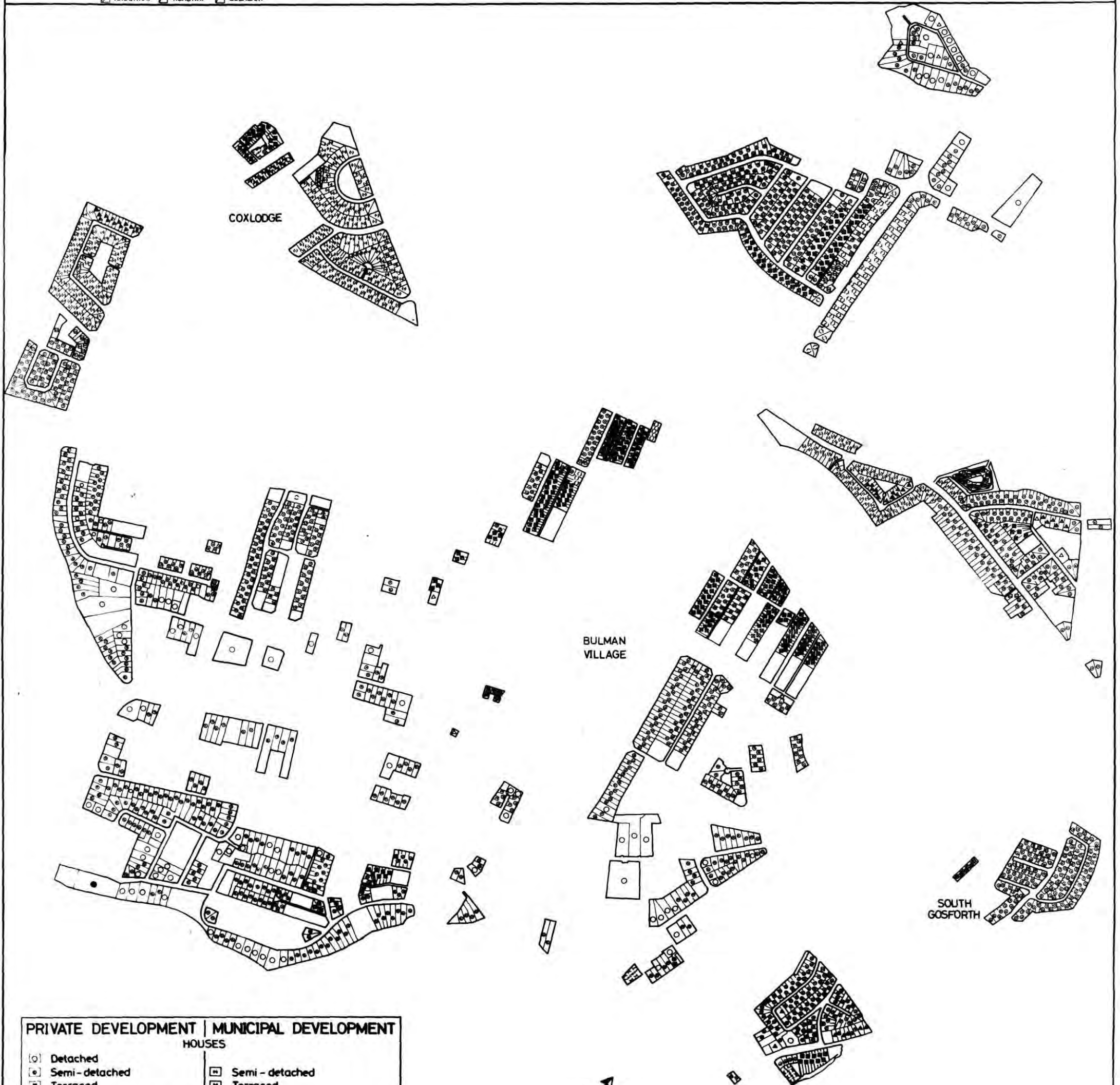
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1. See Lowry, Ira S., "Filtering and Housing Standards; a conceptual analysis", "Land Economics", Vol. XXXVI, 1960, Pages 360-370.
 2. Bertalanffy, L. Von, "General Systems Theory", "General Systems," Vol. I, 1956, Page 10.
 3. "Report of the Committee on the Provision of Dwellings for the Working Classes", Page 8.

LOCATION
DIAGRAM

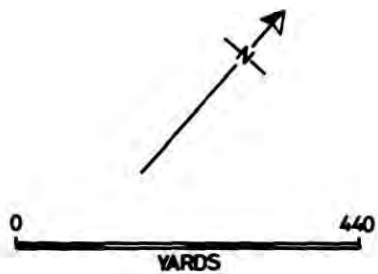


INTER WAR DEVELOPMENT RAILWAY
 WAGONWAY ROADWAY BOUNDARY

FIG. 5:9 GOSFORTH. DWELLING TYPE, 1919-1939.



PRIVATE DEVELOPMENT		MUNICIPAL DEVELOPMENT	
HOUSES			
<input type="checkbox"/> Detached	<input type="checkbox"/> Semi-detached	<input type="checkbox"/> Semi-detached	<input type="checkbox"/> Terraced
<input type="checkbox"/> Terraced	<input type="checkbox"/> Shop and House		
BUNGALOWS			
<input type="checkbox"/> Detached	<input type="checkbox"/> Semi-detached	<input type="checkbox"/> Semi-detached	
FLATTED DWELLINGS			
<input type="checkbox"/> Two-storey	<input type="checkbox"/> Three-storey	<input type="checkbox"/> Seven-storey	



LOCATION DIAGRAM

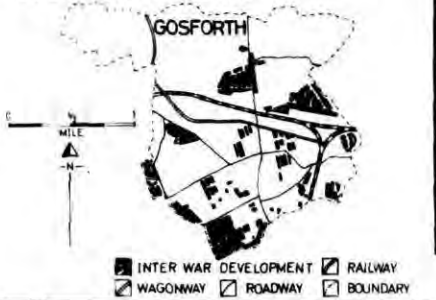
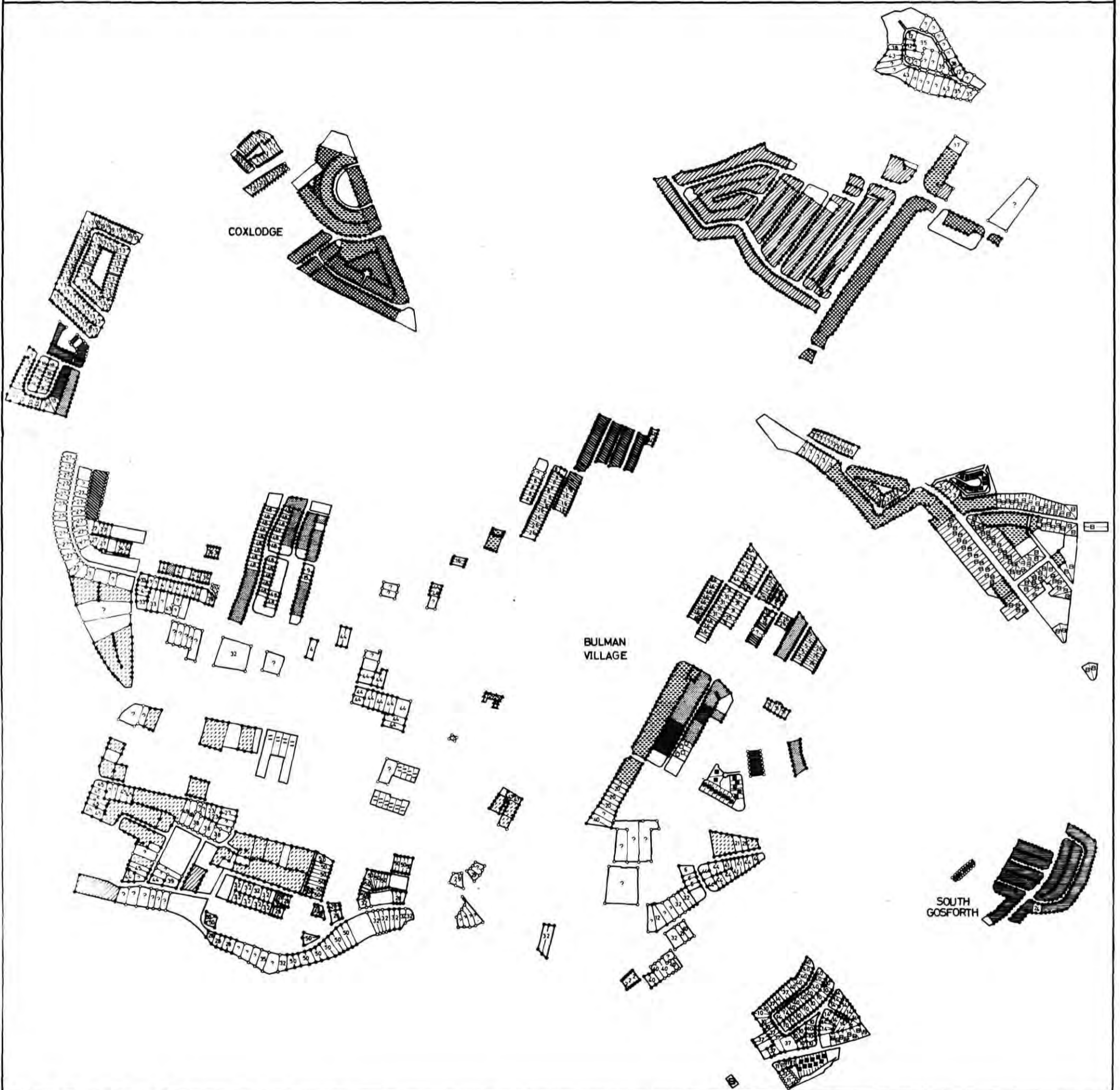


FIG. 5:11 GOSFORTH. DEVELOPING AGENT, 1919-1939.



PLAN DEPOSITED BY

- ☑ BUILDER (Speculative Building)
- ☑ BUILDER under CONTRACT with LOCAL AUTHORITY
- ☑ SOLICITOR or ARCHITECT (Contract Building)
- HOUSING or BUILDING Society or Trust.
- ☐ Brunton Park Building Syndicate
- ☐ Co-operative Building Society
- ☐ London North Eastern Railway Company

LOT DEVELOPED BY

- ☐ Manor Building Estate Co
- ☐ Northumberland Aged Mine - Workers' Homes
- ☐ Tyne Housing and Development Company
- ☐ Chapman
- ☐ Cussins
- ☐ Hall and Sons
- ☐ Hindmarsh
- ☐ Kent
- ☐ Liddle and Sons

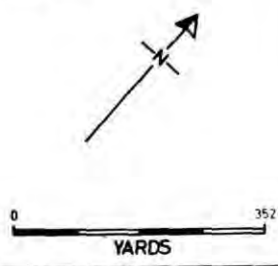
- ☐ Woolfe
- ☐ Unknown Builder
- ☐ Armstrong
- ☐ Bell
- ☐ Booth
- ☐ Brown
- ☐ Collinson and Emmerson
- ☐ Corrigan and Hunter
- ☐ Cunningham
- ☐ Emmerson
- ☐ Fitch
- ☐ Gibson Brothers

- ☐ Gunning
- ☐ Hedley
- ☐ Hetherington
- ☐ Hill
- ☐ Hogg
- ☐ Hope
- ☐ Jameson
- ☐ Langstaff and Bain
- ☐ Last and Freeman
- ☐ Lisle
- ☐ Long and Christie
- ☐ Mark Brothers

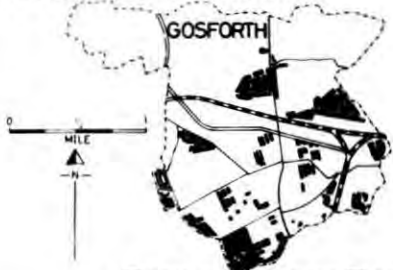
- ☐ Metcalfe
- ☐ Mills
- ☐ Milne
- ☐ Moat
- ☐ McAlpine
- ☐ Nordcliffe Properties
- ☐ Parkinson
- ☐ Potts and Finley
- ☐ Revell and Revell
- ☐ Ridley
- ☐ Robertson
- ☐ Robson

- ☐ Rutherford
- ☐ Sharratt
- ☐ Smart
- ☐ Smelt
- ☐ Smith
- ☐ Spetch
- ☐ Storey
- ☐ Telford
- ☐ Thompson
- ☐ Tulip
- ☐ Turnbull
- ☐ Turner

- ☐ Vetch
- ☐ Walker and McKenzie
- ☐ Walton

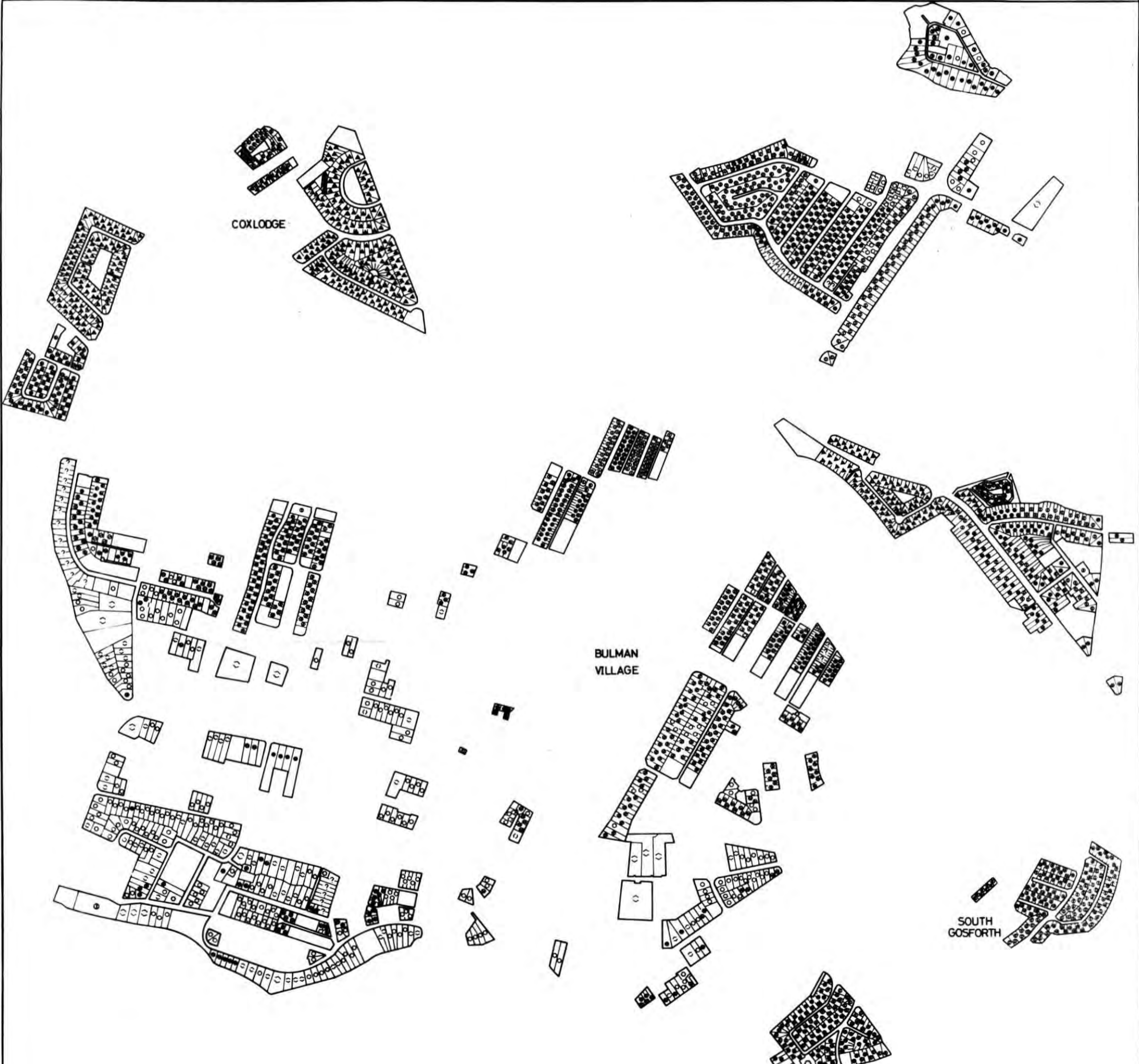


LOCATION DIAGRAM



- INTER WAR DEVELOPMENT □ RAILWAY
- ▨ WAGONWAY □ ROADWAY □ BOUNDARY

FIG. 5:10 GOSFORTH. DWELLING SIZE, 1919-1939.



PRIVATE DEVELOPMENT

- 2 ROOMS plus BATHROOM
- 2 ROOMS without BATHROOM
- 3 ROOMS plus BATHROOM
- 4 ROOMS plus BATHROOM
- 5 ROOMS plus BATHROOM
- 6 ROOMS plus BATHROOM
- 7 ROOMS plus BATHROOM
- 8-15 ROOMS plus BATHROOM
- NOT KNOWN

MUNICIPAL DEVELOPMENT

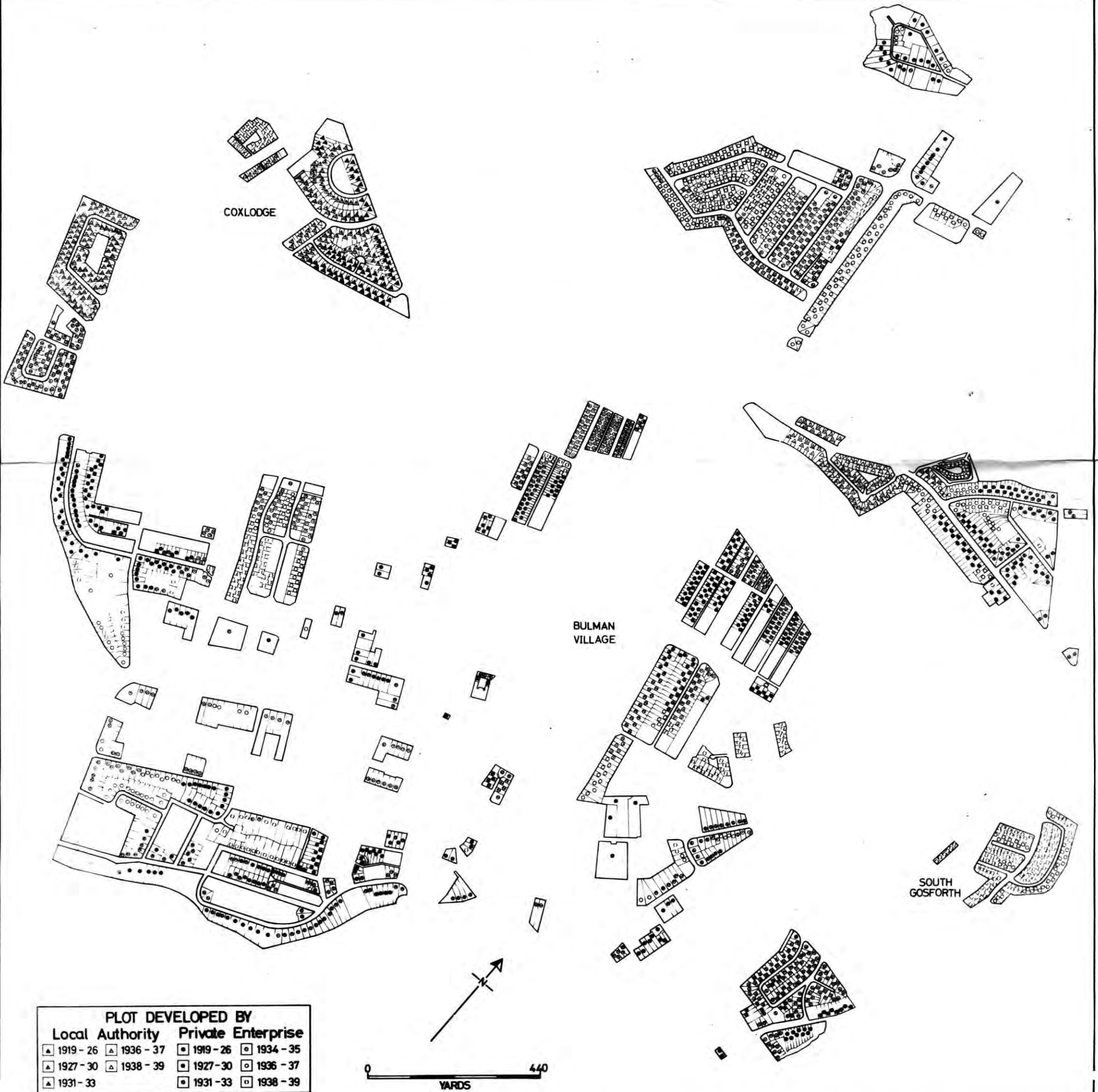
- ▲ 2 ROOMS plus BATHROOM
- ▲ 3 ROOMS plus BATHROOM
- ▲ 4 ROOMS plus BATHROOM
- ▲ 5 ROOMS plus BATHROOM



LOCATION DIAGRAM



FIG. 5:8 GOSFORTH. DATE OF PLOT DEVELOPMENT, 1919 - 1939.



PLOT DEVELOPED BY			
Local Authority		Private Enterprise	
▲ 1919 - 26	▲ 1936 - 37	■ 1919 - 26	■ 1934 - 35
▲ 1927 - 30	▲ 1938 - 39	■ 1927 - 30	■ 1936 - 37
▲ 1931 - 33		■ 1931 - 33	■ 1938 - 39

0 440
YARDS