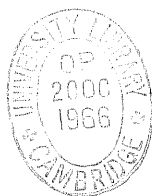


ROCHDALE

WARDLE

The Deeplish study

Improvement possibilities in
a district of Rochdale



London Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1966.

Foreword by the Minister of Housing and Local Government

We all know that the 'rural slum' is often a misnomer: a slum is what you make it. The dwelling condemned by the health authorities as unfit for habitation can be made - if the money is available - into a comfortable home in a pleasant setting. The same kind of ambiguity is to be found in some of those run-down residential districts which surround the centres of our industrial cities. The city planner, ambitious for wholesale redevelopment, easily writes them off as the slums of tomorrow and decrees a clean sweep. Yet on closer examination these 'twilight areas' are often found to contain hundreds of comfortable family homes in neighbourhoods of marked character and community feeling.

Deeplish is such a place. The first impression of its streets and alleys is dispiriting. Yet this first impression is both superficial and one-sided. Repairs and conversions undertaken by owner occupiers can work wonders. Of course Deeplish has its slum houses, but not many of them. What is remarkable is the loving attention which so many homes here have received. But how long will this last? Like so many of the older parts of our industrial towns Deeplish is in danger of going rapidly downhill unless the improvement of the individual house is reinforced by a quite new kind of environmental improvement.

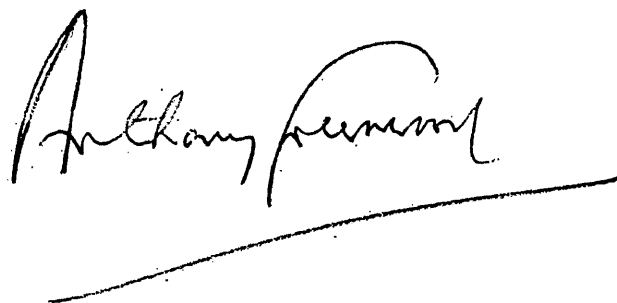
In this study, after a painstaking and sympathetic description of the facts, an attempt is made to give some practical substance to this concept of environmental improvement. The authors have tried - and I think their efforts have been successful - to get away from the old, over-simplified assumptions about what is and what is not unfit for habitation. They assess the situation in human as well as physical terms. They look not just at the house but at the whole neighbourhood and its setting, seeking to find out what the people who live there like and dislike about it.

South East Lancashire is the hard core of the national housing problem. At the building rate of recent years it would have taken nearly 30 years to clear even the certified slums. The Government is determined to step up that rate as much as possible. But on any realistic assessment in 20 years' time there would still be many old houses - without baths, indoor w.c. or hot water, not to speak of gardens or garages - where another generation of children will be growing up. As well as building new houses a sustained effort must be made to improve these areas of old houses and provide them with as many as possible of the neighbourhood amenities now taken for granted in new housing estates. The team who prepared this report, by taking one place and studying it in depth, have demonstrated that this can be done. But they have

exposed the grave human as well as technical obstacles that have to be overcome.

The report shows very clearly the effect of the post-war domestic revolution of which so little notice has been taken - the shift from tenancy to home ownership in hundreds of thousands of these older houses up and down the country. Not so long ago the normal house in Deeplish was landlord owned. Now over 60 per cent of the residents own their own homes and many of them have carried out big improvements. Owner occupation has undoubtedly retarded the deterioration of old properties and provides a sense of satisfaction which a tenant seldom possesses. But when attention is turned to area improvement in many cases formidable obstacles are created by it which are not easily overcome under the existing law.

If area improvement is very difficult and slow under the 1964 Act it will be a mistake to jump to the conclusion that all that is needed is a new Act with much bigger powers of compulsion. To the preparation of legislation this study of Deeplish provides an invaluable contribution. It is a notable example of inter-disciplinary research applied to practical problems which should always precede new legislation. The new Centre for Environmental Studies will be taking a great interest in this kind of work which I hope to see followed up in Universities and elsewhere. But I hope that local councillors, as well as their professional officers, will also read the report and be stimulated by it to see the problems of their own districts in a new light, for wise decisions on area improvement require the judgement of laymen as well as the knowledge of experts.



Anthony Freeman

Acknowledgment

This study could not have been carried out without the help of the members and officers of the Rochdale County Borough Council, including the police, Corporation transport staff and school teachers; the British Railways staff at Rochdale station; the factory managers in Deeplish and –above all–the residents and landlords in Deeplish. This help was given unstintedly and was much appreciated.

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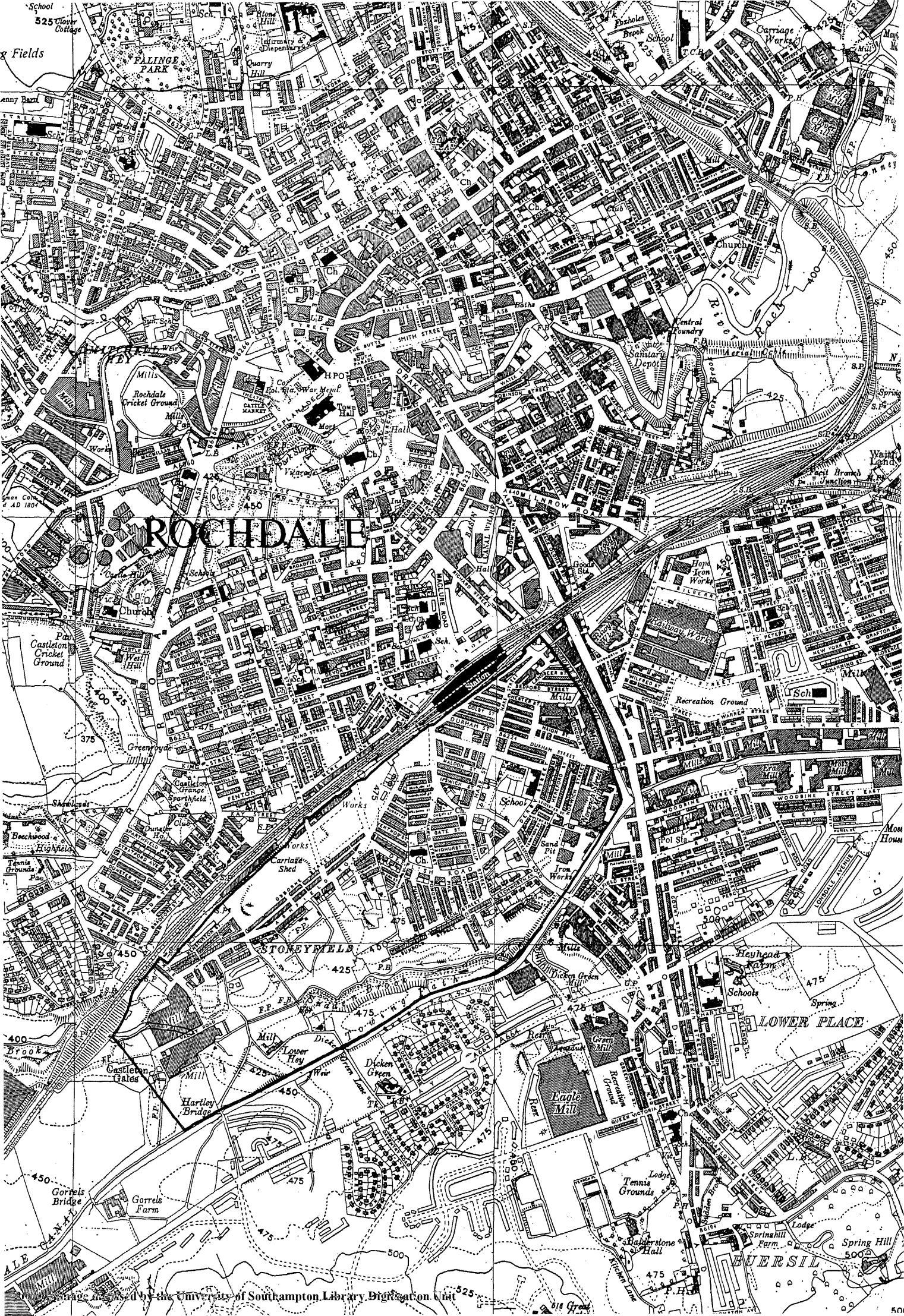
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ROCHDALE

STONEYFIELD

LOWER PLACE

BURSIL

Chapter 1 Introduction

Aims and methods of the study

1.1 This publication is about Deeplish, a part of Rochdale in Lancashire, and reports the results of a study made of the place and the people. Deeplish was chosen because it seemed to be fairly typical of older urban neighbourhoods which are not slums. It is a mixed but mainly residential area, one of the many neighbourhoods of small terrace houses built during the nineteenth century industrial revolution. These neighbourhoods are falling behind, relatively speaking; new housing is going up on the outskirts of towns; slum clearance is dealing with areas which can be condemned; town centres are being renewed by commerce; but these older residential areas do not, as a rule, give the same impression of progress and improvement as the rest. A question mark hangs over their future. They represent a major part of the total urban fabric, but the national income has increased several-fold since they were built, the standard of new housing has become much higher and ways of living have greatly altered. The growing discrepancy between twentieth century standards and nineteenth century housing forces us to consider the future of these parts of our towns. Will they deteriorate soon or remain in fair physical condition? What could be done to bring the houses and their environment up to more acceptable standards and what would the cost of various degrees of rehabilitation be? Would rehabilitation be worth the cost, compared to the cost of clearance and rebuilding, or of new development elsewhere? How satisfactory is such housing and environment to the existing residents? What disturbance for the residents would rehabilitation entail? Is the existing machinery adequate for any necessary improvement? In order to study these questions, a team was assembled in the Ministry of Housing and Local Government to make a survey of a typical area. This is the report of their work.

1.2 The team included a number of professional disciplines; architects, planners, traffic engineers, research workers, sociologists, quantity surveyors and estates officers. Some worked full time on the job, but most worked for only part of their time. Part of the intention was to develop an inter-disciplinary approach to the subject and so to explore it in greater depth.

1.3 Deeplish lies about half a mile south of the town centre, immediately behind the railway station (see map 2 opposite). The railway and the Rochdale canal give it well-defined boundaries, which are in large measure also barriers; the district has relatively few ways in and out. This characteristic gives it a physical identity which makes it convenient to study. Within the boundaries the ground falls from a plateau by the railway to the well-marked valley of the Sudden (or Jacky) Brook, whence it climbs again to the Rochdale canal. Most of the building is on the

plateau ; the valley is mainly open unused land. The slopes from the plateau to the valley are moderately steep, and face south ; but they are largely ignored by the layout of existing development.

1.4 Deeplish covers about 150 acres and contains about 1,600 houses ; it is mainly residential, and industry is not physically dominant. The houses are mostly late-Victorian red brick terrace houses ; there are several types, but they are minor variations on the main theme of 'two up and two down' with a backyard but no gardens either front or back. The curtilages are small and net densities are therefore high, over 30 houses to an acre in the built-up parts. Over all, there are more than ten houses to every acre although only about half of Deeplish is built on at all.

1.5 By the usual standards of large towns, most of the area is quiet and there is not much traffic. Apart from the mills in the north-east corner, there are no really offensive or disturbing land uses. The most important category of property after houses and factories is the shops. There are many corner shops scattered through Deeplish, and one or two more concentrated groups. They evidently do the main part of the retail trade and they create an important part of what traffic there is.

1.6 The houses are usually clean and neat. So are the made-up streets. But unmade roads, ill-kept back alleys, allotments, derelict land, old broken walls, groups of garages, the dirty brook and some untidy buildings contribute to a generally run-down impression. The area looks, on the surface, well past its best. It looks as though the people responsible for various parts of it have given up trying to make it look attractive. More telling still, it looks as though no one is or feels responsible for some things. Probing beneath this surface soon shows, however, that most of the buildings are still solid structures ; that the people have a deep concern for their houses and their way of life ; and that the layout of the area allows a number of things to be done to improve it, ranging from broad, large-scale improvements, such as turning the valley into a 'proper' open space, to small improvements such as making up a street. All these aspects are important ; an area is only worth improving if the property is sound, if the residents still care about it and if there is the space to make improvements.

1.7 The better one knows Deeplish, however, the harder it becomes to generalise and the larger loom the variations between streets. The physical survey shows marked variations in the quality of the houses. They are best in the middle of Deeplish, around the church, and the average quality falls off at both ends. The north-east end has the worst houses, most closely packed, with least open space and closer to factories, and taken by itself would probably have a simpler and shorter future than the rest.

1.8 An old-established area like this is, however, much more than a collection of buildings and topographical features. People live and work there, and help to give it its character. A study of this kind must be as much about the people as about the place. The balance between these two sides has shaped this report.

1.9 The report first (in Chapter 2) examines the physical fabric of the area, setting it in its context as a part of Rochdale and considers when the possibilities of re-development might occur. This part describes the house types and conditions within the area, the pattern of land uses and of traffic. Part of the task of the team was to look into the possibility of developing a tool to measure house condition. This House Condition Index was tested in the survey and is described in Chapter 2 and applied in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. The report next turns to the people themselves (Chapter 3) whose characteristics must be known both when assessing the possibilities of renewal and for anticipating the consequences of any recommendations. It describes how far the residents are affected by their housing situation, which is determined not only by the physical amenities and condition of their homes but by their space standards, cost of housing, tenure and stability of residence. It examines how far they are themselves improving their houses or allowing them to deteriorate and whether they welcome the prospect of renewal.

1.10 Chapter 4, headed 'Improvement Studies', includes a catalogue of the technical possibilities, that is, the ways it would be possible to improve the houses and the environment, and a series of three 'Sector Studies', applying most of these possibilities to one sector of Deeplish, the area around St. Luke's Church. Estimates of cost are included in each sector study.

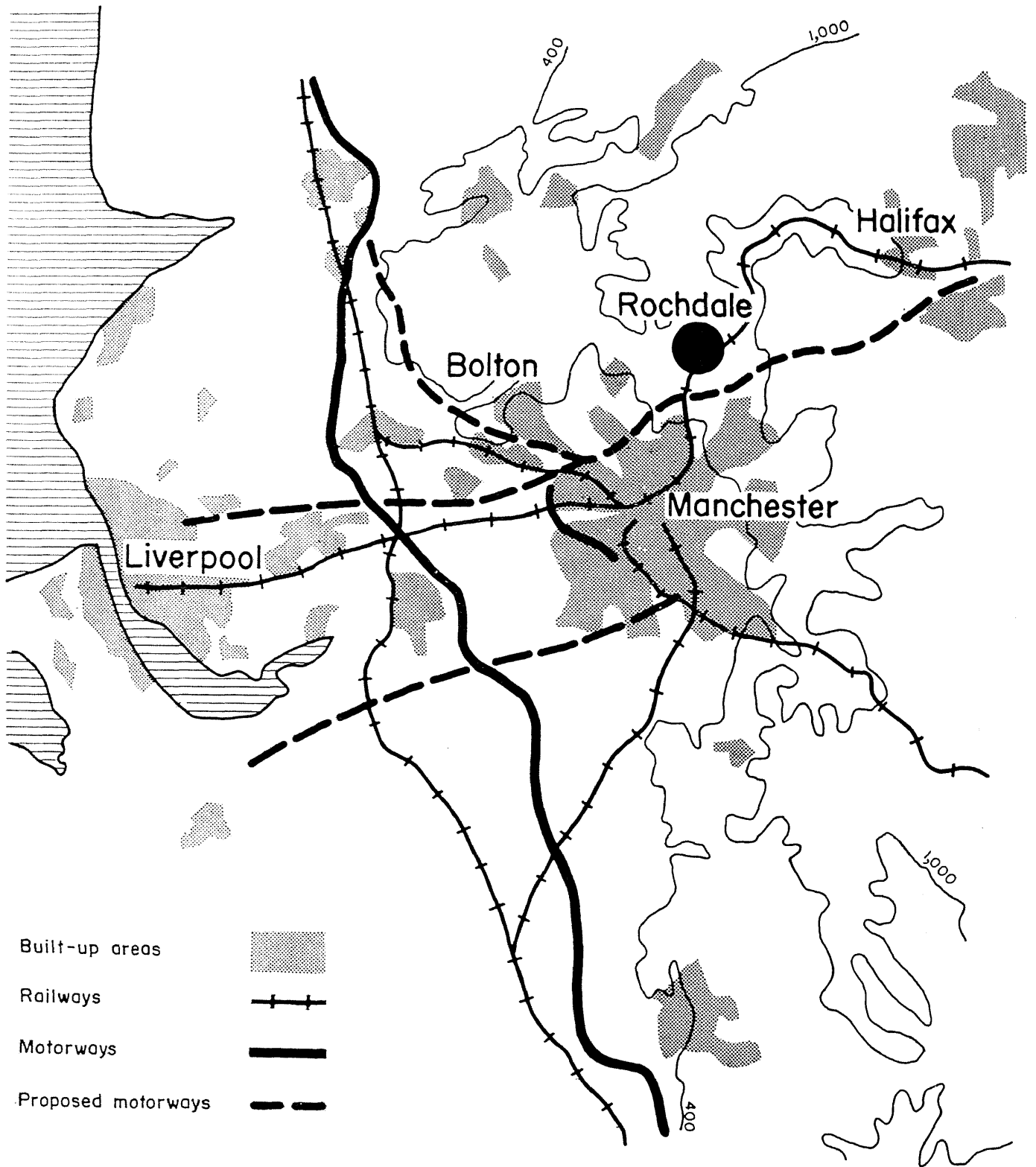
1.11 Chapter 5 looks at the factors which the study throws up as significant for local authorities about to embark on area improvement. Among these factors, one of the most important is the possible order and pace of renewal for the whole of Rochdale, since it is this, as well as the intrinsic quality of Deeplish, which determines whether it would be possible to think of redevelopment instead of improvement. A plan to spend money on improving Deeplish should be related to the length of time the houses may remain in use and to future housing supply and requirements. The 'Sector Studies' in Chapter 4 do no more than examine what could be done on some assumptions. As these assumptions might have to be revised in the future and as Deeplish is a small area in a particular situation, great care must be taken in drawing conclusions of general application from this report. For this reason, Chapter 5 is confined to an outline indication of the significant factors and indicates only a very broad approach to the problem. This chapter also

illustration 1 The derelict land is wasteful and unsightly, but children play on it

illustration 2 A residential street. St. Luke's Church—a landmark and centrepiece for the area

illustration 3 A typical back alley between houses





includes a study of some of the implications of using statutory improvement area procedures in Deeplish.

The Regional setting

1.12 Rochdale lies in the North-west Economic Planning Region. This is, after London, the country's most densely populated area, and five millions of its total population of 6½ millions live in the Liverpool-Manchester belt which includes Rochdale. After a period of massive growth in the nineteenth century, the rate of growth became much slower after the first world war as the local industries passed their peak. Workers left the older industrial towns, and the death rate was higher than the national average. The North-West Regional Study, recently published by the Government, has estimated that the region's population may increase by about 800,000 by 1981 and that the population of South-east Lancashire, including Rochdale, would increase by nearly 25,000.

1.13 The Rochdale share of this growth is defined in numbers of separate households. There would be about 32,600 households in 1971, an increase of 1,100 over 1959, and 33,800 in 1981, a further increase of 1,200. These figures make no allowance for migration. Migration within the conurbation may move to the north of Manchester as building sites become harder to find in the centre and south; but, around Rochdale, the most attractive areas for building lie outside the county borough.

1.14 The characteristic economic features of the region are that the rate of growth of employment has been lower recently than in any other region; productivity per worker is comparatively low; and income per head is also below average, although income per household is slightly above (because a higher proportion of the population are actually in the work-force). In Rochdale, employment declined by 6% between 1952 and 1958, and by 2% between 1959 and 1963, without causing substantial recorded unemployment. The decline has been most severe in industries

employing women. There are few growth industries in Rochdale. If employment regionally continues to rise as it did between 1951-63, this would indicate a slower rate than the national rate; if, however, employment followed the 1959-63 trend it would keep pace with the increase in the labour force up to 1971, after which it might again be outstripped.

The Region's housing problems

1.15 Replacement is by far the largest element of housing need. Nearly half the region's slums are in South-east Lancashire where, in all, roughly 25% of the housing stock is said to be in need of clearance, by 1981. Table 1 gives an indication of the scale of the housing problem. It also suggests that local estimates of slum clearance may exclude a considerable amount of poor housing; compare the figures in col. 5 with those in cols. 6-8, which are other indices of poor housing. It will also be seen that Rochdale is somewhat worse than the regional average.

1.16 On the assumption that slum clearance will continue in the future to be the responsibility of local authorities, and that this will be a major focus of their housing programme, we reckon that current building rates would need to be more than doubled to clear areas estimated to be ripe for redevelopment between 1964 and 1981. At present rates of building, 29 years would be required to do the job in South-east Lancashire. If the objective were to clear all buildings with rateable values under £30 (see col. 8 of table), 36 years would be needed.

1.17 Whatever the increase in building rates, conservation and improvement of existing dwellings will be important where practical. Old but sound housing will have to be used to the best advantage, not only by encouraging individual improvements with grants, but also by carrying out wider environmental improvements to mitigate the general impression of untidiness and dereliction which is widespread in the industrial north-west.

Table 1 **Assessment of poor housing in North-West Region**

Area	(1)		(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)					
	Estimates of dwellings ripe for redevelopment 1964/81							1961 Total Dwellings	Per cent Col. 2 to Col. 4	Per cent Dwellings built before 1881 (1961)	Per cent Dwellings lacking fixed bath (1961)	Per cent Dwellings with Rateable Value less than £30 (1963)
	(2) Slum	(3) Other										
N.W. Region	439,970	41,410	2,124,144	20%	41%	25%	26%					
S.E. Lancs.	211,060	11,840	888,083	24%	45%	26%	30%					
Rochdale	9,800	820	32,000	31%	39%*	43%	51%					

*Before 1890



Chapter 2 The physical survey

General

2.1 The first though by no means the only factor determining the possibilities of renewal in an area is its physical condition. This section therefore reviews the most relevant physical characteristics of Deeplish, starting with its topography and climate, continuing with the land uses and services, and then describing the results of the detailed studies of the traffic, and condition of the houses. The chapter concludes with a general survey from existing census and other data of the relative place of Deeplish housing in the Rochdale housing stock. This is important for determining whether and when it would be feasible to think of redeveloping Deeplish. (The report returns to this in Chapter 5).

The physical form of Deeplish

2.2 The accompanying map shows the contours, the main landmarks (the railway, the canal, the brook and the church) and the main streets.

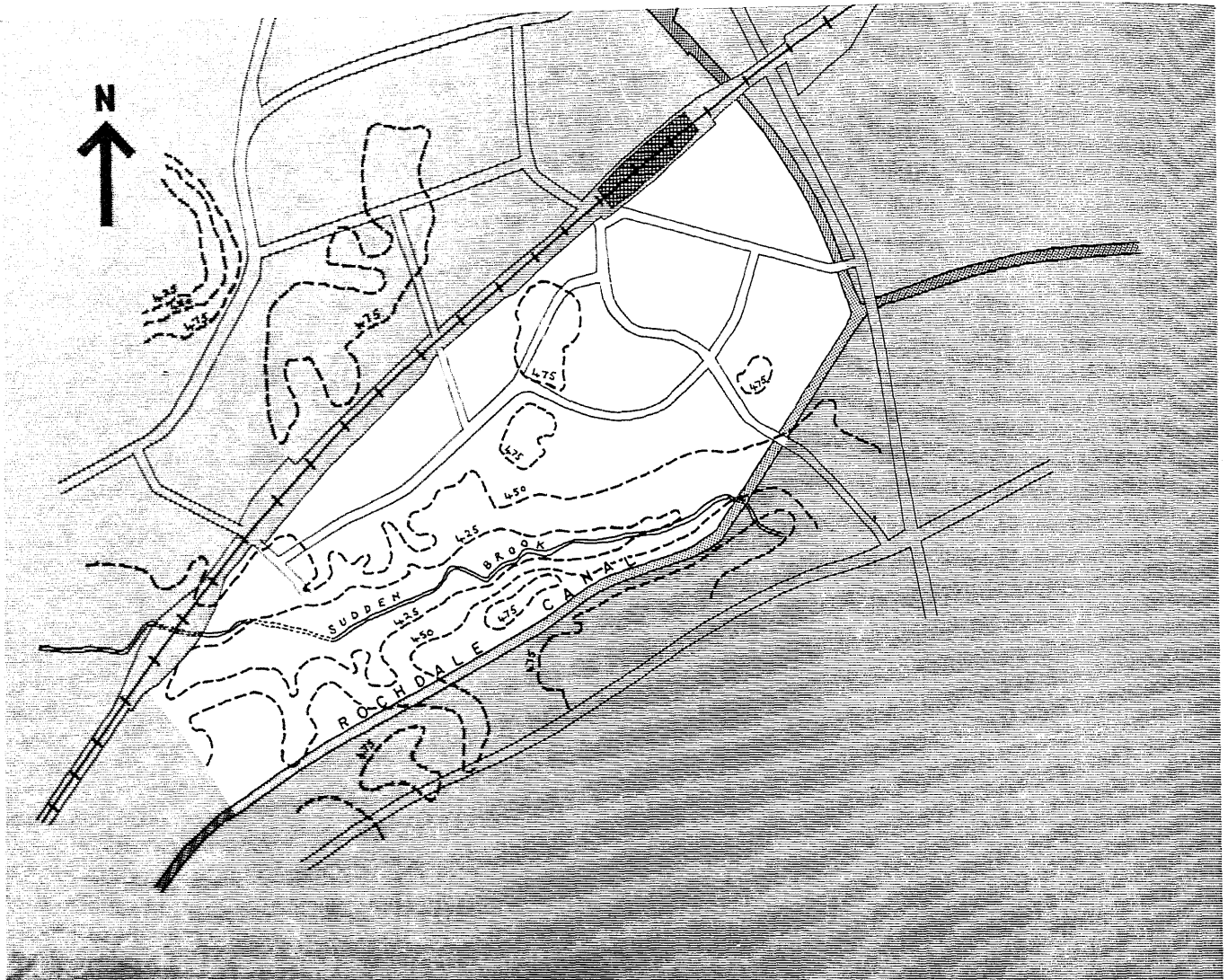
2.3 Deeplish is mainly a plateau with a fairly level top and a moderately steep fall into the valley of the brook, from which the ground rises again on the south. The plateau top is about 475 feet above sea level, which is fairly high although not untypical in Rochdale, and is not sheltered by any higher ground close at hand. The valley bottom is for the most part about forty or fifty feet below the plateau. The valley leads out through Castleton towards open countryside and an area which is about as rural as any to be found in South-east Lancashire.

2.4 The Rochdale canal runs at a little below the 475 feet contour. It curves round Deeplish to finish, as the Rochdale Branch Canal, close to the town centre. This canal begins in the heart of Manchester, and when new must have been a very convenient route between the two towns. It is not now used for navigation, although it is still doing a job of land drainage and water supply to industry. Along its banks there is a pleasant walk in places, although there has been some dumping of rubbish in and near it.

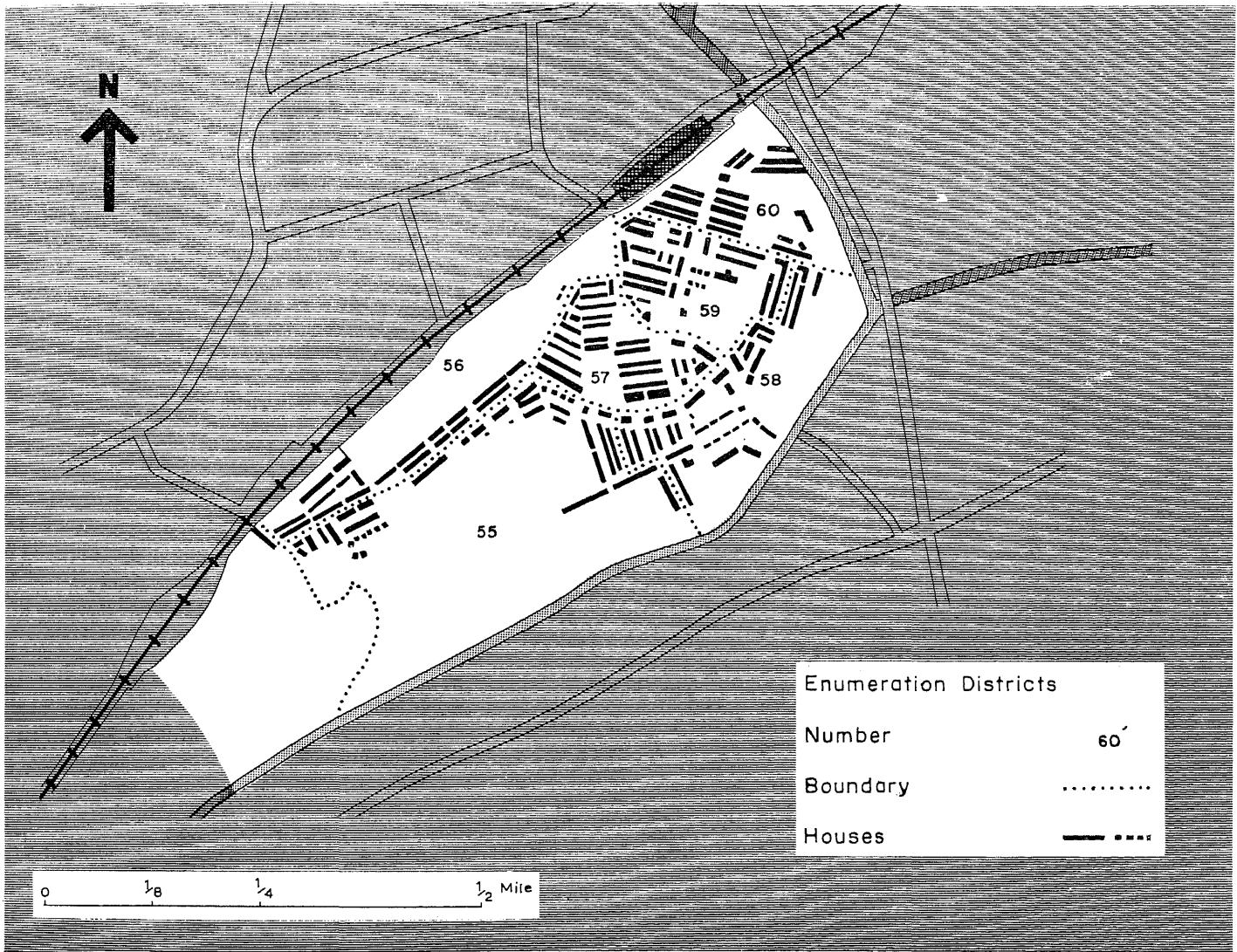
The Valley

2.5 The valley is generally derelict except for some allotment land mostly in poor condition.

2.6 The valley could, however, be developed as an open space; it is well inside the built-up area and would be convenient, for example, for the housing estates to the south of the canal. It is a potential site for any recreational development for Rochdale as a whole. The possible value of the canal for recreation is enhanced if it is considered together with the valley which adjoins it and with the other parts of the canal to the south.



map 5 Housing. This map also shows the number and boundaries of Census Enumeration Districts



The subsoil

2.7 The subsoil of Deeplish is mostly sand and gravel with bands of loam and clay. There was some tipping on the valley slopes about sixty years ago, but this has now compacted and nearly all the area seems to have adequate load-bearing capacity, certainly for residential buildings of the kind likely to be erected. Some foundation settlement was observed, however, in the vicinity of Rumbold Street, Clifford Street and New Barn Lane.

Climate and air

2.8 The weather compares as follows with the average for England and Wales:

- (i) Rain is some 25% more than the national average;
- (ii) Sunshine is about 9% less;
- (iii) Average temperature about $1\frac{1}{2}$ °F. lower;
- (iv) There is also a slightly greater incidence of high winds, mainly from the west and south-west to which Deeplish largely lies open.

The weather does not call for any unusual structural precautions nor does it have a very marked effect on the vegetation. However, plants that are marginal in the British Isles and enclosed sunless gardens may not be successful. Rainfall varies within Rochdale according to the height of land – about 45" per annum average at 400' above sea level to about 60" at 600'. Deeplish is about 475'.

Housing

2.9 The residential buildings and roads which give Deeplish its character occupy 58.1 out of its 150 acres. There are about 1,600 houses, and the average net density is 27.5 an acre. The houses are mostly two-storey, in terraces, 65% having four rooms. About half lack baths: about 300 have been improved with grants. The poorest houses are in Census Enumeration Districts 59 and 60 (see map 5). The condition of the houses generally is adequate. Some have deteriorated while some, owner-occupied, are very well maintained. Over this area generally there are substantial arrears of maintenance to make up. There are many untidy corners, vacant lots covered with junk, flank walls in poor condition, and houses with old paint, which taken with the derelict land and untidy allotments, create a depressing effect.

Derelict land and allotments

2.10 The land used for allotments or derelict, accounts for 54.29 acres. Most of this land is hillside, covered with thin scrub vegetation sometimes bare and eroded. A large number of structures – 265 of any substance – stand on this land. Most of these are garages, but some appear to be henhouses or huts.

2.11 Another general use of this land is for children's play; the presence of these often very interesting areas for older children's games means that the use which would be made of more formal playgrounds might be limited unless the derelict land were also brought into use.

2.12 Map 6 indicates the distribution of open land and of other non-residential uses.

Industry

2.13 Another important use of land is for industry and commerce, other than shops. With surrounding roads, this amounts to 26.2 acres. There are in all 48 premises employing 1,100 people. The main trades include sheet-metal working, spring-making, carpet-making and garment manufacture. Three main concentrations of industry occur. The biggest is alongside the canal at the north-eastern end of Deeplish. The second is at the other end, in Valley Road. There is also a group between Ambrose Street and the railway. In addition, there is a scattering of small industry across the whole of the area; no part is distant from some industrial use.

Road space

2.14 No less than 29.6 acres are in use as road space of varying types: this includes some roads not made up. This substantial figure is due in part to a layout of streets which is not economical.

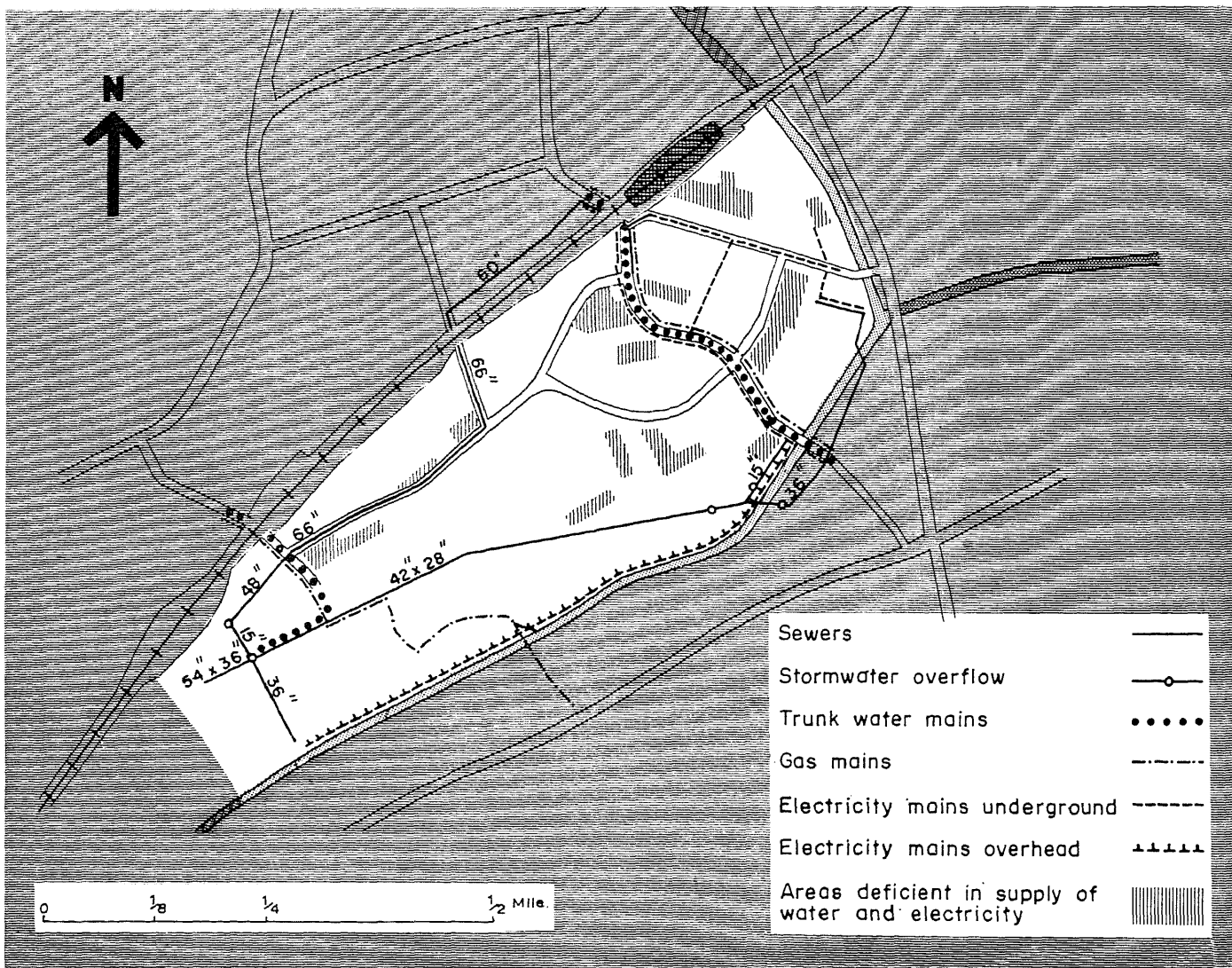
Open space

2.15 Public open space accounts for 5.3 acres. The main public open spaces are two football pitches and a fitted children's playground on Stoneyfield Common. There is a private bowling green next to St. Luke's Church. This amount of open space is less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres per thousand population, which would usually be accounted low provision. However, the 50 acres of derelict or open land, largely open to all comers, make Deeplish seem quite well-provided with open uses and places for older children to play. There is little provision for organised games and the derelict land is only usable by older children; very small children are not usually allowed on it. Deeplish is not well provided with trees, although there is nothing in the soil or climate which prevents trees growing.

Churches and clubs

2.16 Churches and clubs account for 2.6 acres. The most important is St. Luke's Church and Church Hall. These are architecturally nondescript, but they make an imposing group in an open setting and provide a dignified landmark and centrepiece for the area. The hall serves as a clinic and for many social purposes. There is a Baptist Church in Deeplish and a Roman Catholic Church just outside the





area within an easy walk. Among the social institutions is an Anglo-Yugoslav Club.

Education

2.17 Education takes 2.5 acres. The primary school is a conspicuous building of some architectural character. It is about 85 years old and has recently been modernised. There is also a Junior Training Centre and a centre for school meals.

Shops

2.18 Shops take only 0.2 of an acre: a very small area for so important a use, although this does not record separately the small corner shops which form part of a house and which are inseparable from housing. There are in all 77 shops scattered throughout the area, with three concentrations at Durham Street, Milkstone Road and Ashfield Road. These cater for the daily needs of people living and working in Deeplish. Nearly 300 vans deliver daily but few shops have off-street loading space. The proportion of shops for the population is high, one shop for 55 people.

Main services

2.19 The capacity of main services has an obvious bearing on plans for renewal such as the addition of bathrooms. Map 7 illustrates the general position.

2.20 The drains and sewers are on the combined system and are about 60 years old. Some houses have no drainage system incorporating soil waste. Drains run in private alleys by way-leave in Osborne, Hardwick and Ashfield Streets. The sewers are adequate to take increased effluent from baths, and are generally in good condition except where foundation settlement was noticed. The sewer mains step down to 15 inches near Sudden Brook and this reduction in capacity means that in times of heavy flow the overflow goes into the brook.

2.21 The water mains are not quite as satisfactory. They are usually as old as the houses, and often groups of 12 to 36 houses may be served by one $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch main. Where the consumption of water in a house would be substantially increased by improvement, a new storage tank would be necessary. New mains may also be necessary.

2.22 The gas mains serve the entire site. They are generally adequate and could take normal growth in demand for some time to come. Any sharp increase in demand, for example, by installing water or space heating by gas beyond the normal rate of increase, might pose difficulties for the Gas Board.

2.23 Electricity is available to all houses, and almost all cables are underground. As with gas, the network is sufficient to cope with the usual demand in an area like

this, but a rapid increase in the number and size of appliances may cause problems. This may happen whether or not there is any systematic improvement in the houses or the area: in some cases money may be spent on appliances as an alternative to spending it on the house.

2.24 The telephone main cable runs in Milkstone Road; house services are carried on poles. The service was renewed in the 1950s, and a survey has been done to assess future needs. This service is adequate; it will, however, be noted that several residents suggested 'more call boxes' as a desirable improvement to the area.

2.25 There is only a limited rediffusion service in Deeplish.

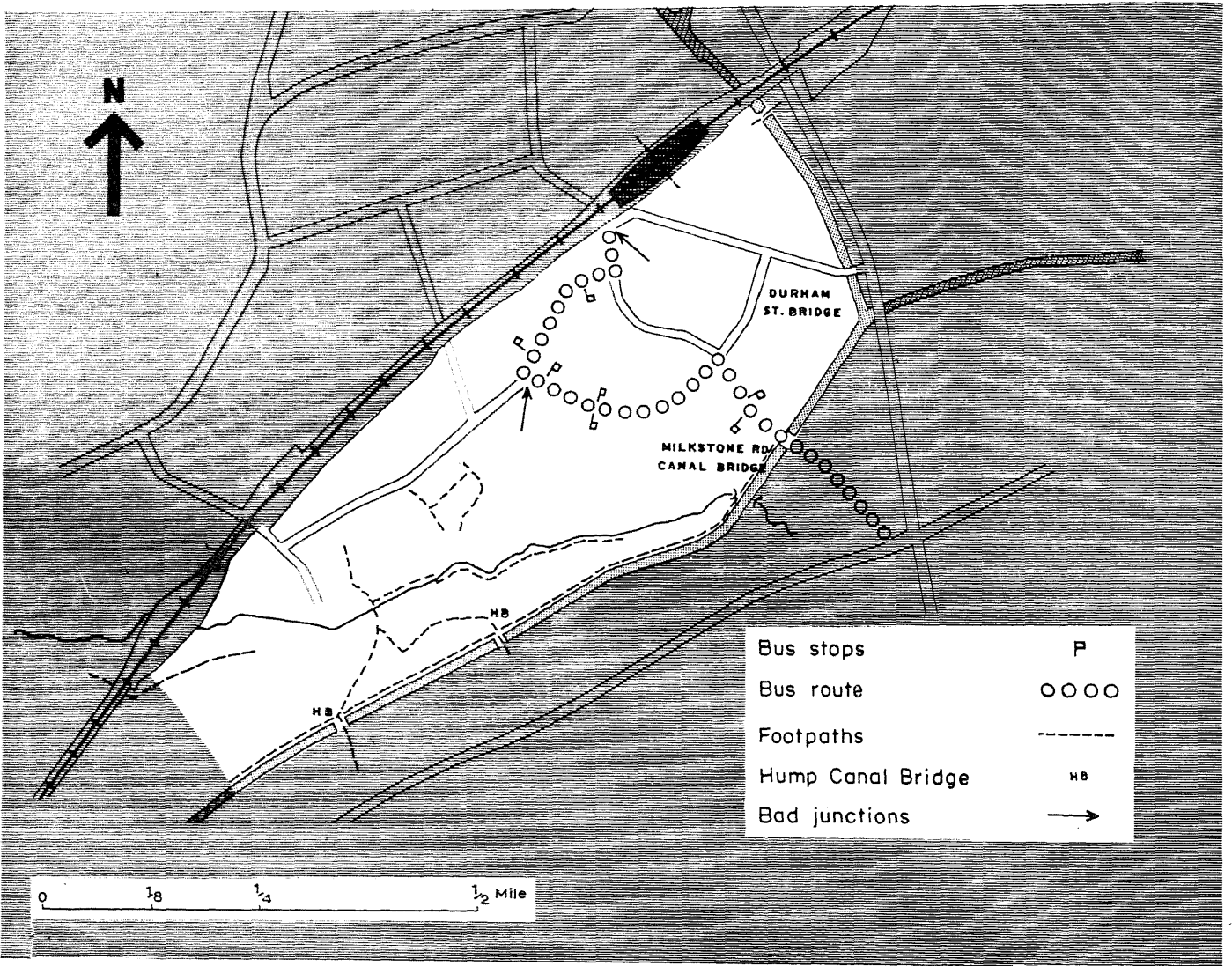
Traffic survey

2.26 In order to plan for improvements to the environment, it is important to know about present traffic patterns, and to gather the information necessary to predict future trends. For this purpose, movement in Deeplish was studied and data were obtained from the following sources: one home in four provided information about the family's journeys on the previous day; Deeplish industrial firms reported on movements of their commercial vehicles; pedestrians and vehicles entering the area were counted and pedestrians and drivers were questioned; passengers boarding or alighting from buses in Deeplish were given a questionnaire to post. British Railways reported on the day's movements from the Rochdale station; and the police conducted a 24-hour parking survey in Deeplish.

2.27 Present volumes of vehicular traffic were found to be light, partly due to low car ownership and partly because vehicular movement is limited by the canal and the railway. Delays were few. Nonetheless, local people who had grown up with even less traffic than at present, expressed anxiety about its increase to present volumes, especially where children had to cross roads.

2.28 The roads in Deeplish generally serve the area adequately; they are reasonably wide and can accommodate the present parking demand without causing traffic difficulties (except on main roads). Two junctions need improvement. Bus routes must use the streets with adequate bridges and this limits the service to the west end of Deeplish. Parking off the street is adequate at present. Most of the daytime parking on the streets is near the factories and warehouses, but Bedford Street and Landseer Street have approximately the same number of cars parked day and night, probably because they are furthest away from any lock-up garages.

2.29 Deeplish households do not generate much vehicular traffic; nearly all local trips are on foot. Over 80% of all vehicle trips made wholly within the area are by roundsmen delivering goods in a relatively small number of vans.





When Deeplish residents go farther afield, it is more often by public transport than by private vehicle; the use of the bus is seldom a matter of choice, as less than 10% of all bus trips were made by people who owned cars. Although car ownership is below average in Deeplish (one family in three), its rate of growth is about as rapid as in other places. As an indication for the future, car-owning families in Deeplish make more trips than others.

2.30 It is the housewives, retired people and younger school children who spend most of their time in the Deeplish neighbourhood, making short local journeys to shops, schools, or social calls, mostly on foot. Employed people and older teenagers go outside for many of their activities, often using buses and cars: but even in this group a substantial number of journeys are made by walking.

2.31 People's choice of workplace seems to be related to distance and convenience of travel. For instance, 12% of employed Deeplish people work in their neighbourhood; the other areas where most of the rest of Deeplish people work are the two adjacent zones and the town centre, all of which are convenient by bus, and over a third of work trips are made on foot. Walking trips are, therefore, important for workpeople, for shoppers and for school children. There is some through pedestrian movement

using short cuts between New Barn Lane and Valley Mill or Gale Inn, and also in the Durham Street area. 'Conflict' between pedestrians and vehicles occurs at Milkstone Road, Durham Street and at New Barn Lane.

2.32 A special study was made of traffic in the 15 streets where most of the factories, warehouses and shops are located. These streets also house a third of the area's households. Whereas 44% of journeys into Deeplish, as a whole, were to non-residential destinations, in these 15 streets 60% had commercial destinations. At peak hours, cars and buses bringing employees to work constitute a considerable part of the total traffic volume; during the day the traffic consists mostly of commercial vehicles calling at shops, factories and warehouses.

2.33 Nearly a third of the traffic passes through Deeplish and has no need to be there. As car ownership rises, there may be some congestion at peak hours but it is hardly going to be practicable to exclude all through traffic from Deeplish. Some through traffic would be attracted on to a new Oldham Road, but to exclude the rest would mean reducing freedom of movement into and out of Deeplish since the same routes are used by local traffic as well. Further, compared to the levels prevailing nationally, the volumes of neither vehicular nor pedestrian traffic are

enough to warrant action. Although traffic is satisfactorily channelled by the railway and canal bridges, the roads on which traffic is concentrated are often closely fronted by small houses lacking front gardens, whereas roads used in this way ought to be the ones most free from direct frontage development.

2.34 The land uses which generate the most concentrated traffic are the commercial and industrial uses. The industrial belt in Deeplish is at the north-east end and would be largely affected if a new Oldham Road is constructed. If the opportunity were taken to reduce the industry here, there could be a reduction in traffic bringing people to work in Deeplish and in commercial traffic. This would give relief in a situation otherwise becoming more difficult. Movement out of Deeplish to work elsewhere would however grow and add, for example, to the difficulties to be expected at the bridges. Parking restrictions in the town centre may make it difficult to drive to work there, but car journeys to work elsewhere will continue to be feasible.

2.35 Because pedestrian movement is an important component of traffic in Deeplish, it should be catered for in any improvement programme. Deeplish already has a large number of pedestrian ways, but these are often not linked together, nor do they always lead where people wish to go.

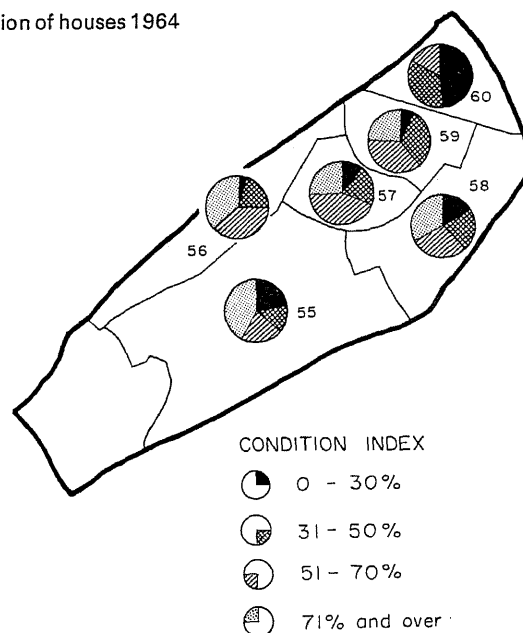
Survey of house condition

2.36 For the survey of the houses an experimental surveying technique was worked out. This, the House Condition Index, was used to acquire and record information about the property and to see whether this surveying technique could be developed for general use.

2.37 A detailed examination was made of one house in every four. The method of recording information employed a points system on a percentage basis, designed to record condition and compare the house with a new house of the same size; the resultant percentage was intended to indicate the standard of structural condition and amenities of the old house when compared with a comparable new one.

2.38 Thus a house rated at 100% would be equal in amenities to a new house of the same size, while a house rated at 50% would be considerably below the standard of a new house. The points method, having been applied to the houses, was further applied to the curtilages and the environment. The survey recorded the adequacy of the curtilage in relation to the dwelling, and the presence or absence of factors in the environment which might affect the desirability of the house.

Condition of houses 1964



2.39 The aim of the Index was to produce a reasonably full and comparative picture of the houses in their setting, which could serve as a source of material for discussions on conservation, improvement or development. The experience of the Deeplish study indicated that the Index needed further work before its general usefulness could be assessed.

2.40 Using the Index method, three-quarters of Deeplish houses scored 41% or better on house condition; when curtilage and environment factors were also weighed, two-thirds of the houses still rated as high as this. One-fifth (one-third when environmental factors were included) had ratings under 30%, which would indicate that improvement and repair would be relatively costly; approximately 7% of Deeplish houses appeared to be very poor.

2.41 Within the arbitrary divisions (Census Enumeration Districts) used, the distribution of low-scoring and high-scoring houses differed. In ED.60, (in the north-east corner) for instance, nearly 50% of the houses had scores of 30% or less, and none were in the highest range. Whereas in ED.56 only 4% of the houses were in the lowest range, 37% were in the highest. These are the extremes. In EDs 56 to 59, more than half the houses fell into the middle range of scores (between 31% and 70%). ED.55 presented a mixed picture: no ED had more houses in the top category but only one had more houses in the lowest class.

2.42 When the environmental points were added, the pattern did not change much. However, in all districts a larger percentage of the houses fell in the lowest category and a smaller percentage in the highest. This method of weighing environmental factors along with structural condition, showed how the whole of Deeplish housing was penalised to a greater or lesser extent by its environment. The following table shows how the results of the Index relate to the results of the renewal priorities worked out on the lines described in the next section :

Table 2 **Renewal priorities compared to average indices**

Enumeration District	Priority	Average house condition, curtilage and environment index
60	1	27
56	3	55
58	3	49
59	3	49
55	4	51
57	4	47

2.43 The broad relationship of Priority 1 areas to Priority 3 and 4 areas in Deeplish is confirmed by the house condition survey. Within the Priority 3 and 4 areas, the lack of detailed correlation confirms that analysis of the Census figures can only provide a broad indication of the size of the problem and relative priorities and must be supplemented by detailed survey, if only on a sample basis.

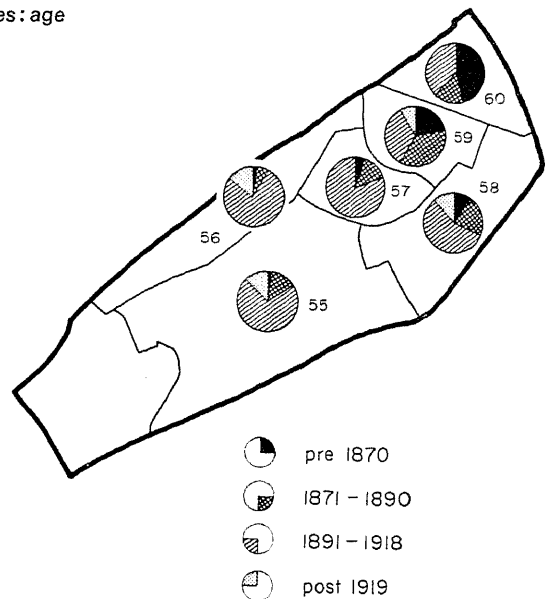
2.44 The findings of this house condition survey suggest that the great majority of Deeplish houses are probably worth modest investment to provide missing amenities and repair them to a standard commensurate with the 20-year life, which – on the assumption set out in para. 2.53 – most of them will have to serve, and that only a very small proportion are likely to deteriorate into statutory slums within that period. That segment of Deeplish houses most likely to get worse because of present condition as well as the attitudes of their owners, is the landlord-owned stock.

Deeplish as part of Rochdale's housing stock

2.45 This section assesses Rochdale's total housing stock, the part Deeplish housing plays in it, and on the basis of the 1961 Census data, suggests the priority in the town's renewal programme which each category of area ought to have and shows the numbers of houses in each area.

2.46 The age of houses diagram shows that nearly two-thirds of Deeplish houses were built in the three decades around the turn of the century, and only 6% of them have been built since the First World War. Rochdale's total housing supply is more evenly distributed in each age

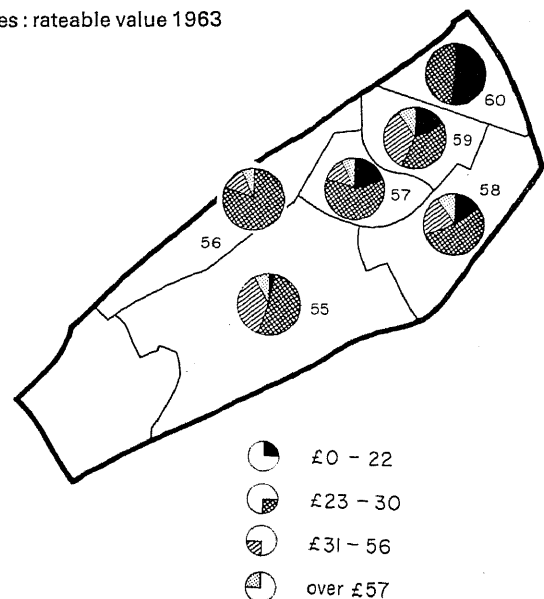
Houses : age



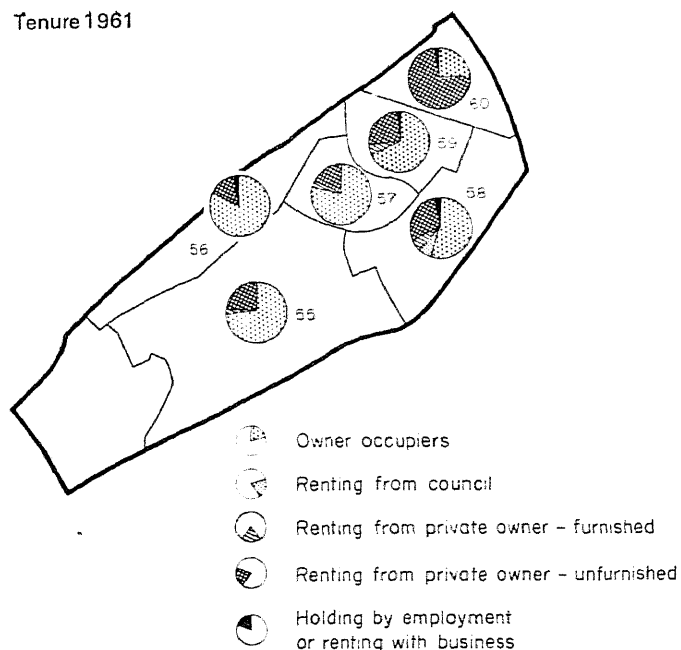
group, but there is a larger proportion of pre-byelaw houses in Rochdale than in Deeplish. If age is taken as an indication of house condition, one would expect that only a small portion of Deeplish houses would be as bad as the worst in Rochdale, and that most of Deeplish houses would be quite similar to Rochdale's middle-aged housing.

2.47 The diagram shows that most Deeplish houses have a low rateable value, and no Enumeration Districts in Deeplish are in the same class as the best in Rochdale. Nor is the distribution of different values as varied as in Rochdale as a whole. These facts suggest a fairly homogeneous area of quite modest houses.

Houses : rateable value 1963



Tenure 1961



2.48 The pattern of tenure of housing occupation in Rochdale is similar to the national average and fairly typical of industrial towns in the north-west as well as of much of the north and midlands. Deeplish, however, differs from the broad Rochdale pattern in having 63% owner-occupiers in 1961 (compared to 41% in Rochdale) and only 1% local authority tenants (compared with 25% in Rochdale). This divergence from the overall norm in Deeplish was found to be typical of districts in Rochdale in similar physical condition, and the evidence suggests that owner-occupation has been on the increase in such districts.

2.49 There are proportionately fewer overcrowded households in Deeplish (1%) than Rochdale (1.8%), using the Census figure of more than 1.5 persons per room. On the

contrary, 95% in Deeplish (compared to 91% in Rochdale) live at a density of one person per room or less. This is a reflection of a high percentage of one and two-person households in Deeplish (55%) as compared with 52% in Rochdale. There is no matching supply of small dwellings for these small households as only 3% of Deeplish dwellings and 17% of Rochdale's consist of units of 3 rooms or less; 91% of Deeplish and 77% of Rochdale stock, in fact, is in the 4-5 room category.

2.50 Rochdale had, in 1961, a high proportion of population over 60 years old (18.7%) which was well above the 13.5% in the country and rather higher than the 17.2% in the north-west. In Deeplish the proportion was even higher (20.3%). This age factor, combined with the small size of household mentioned above, has resulted in 29% of the one and two-person households in Deeplish being of pensionable age (compared with 27% in Rochdale).

2.51 The above figures provide a broad picture of the relation of Deeplish to Rochdale. Data from the 1961 Census about the absence of household amenities (baths and hot water) was then used to construct a tentative list of renewal priorities for Rochdale. Parts of the town were ranked from 'worst' to 'best' areas of housing and put into somewhat arbitrary categories of renewal need (see Map 9). It should be noted that this method ignores important factors such as structural condition of houses, environmental defects, redevelopment needs for other purposes and redevelopment potential; the Census data do not even cover all the 'five amenities' of the standard grant (bath or shower, wash-hand basin, hot water supply at three points, w.c. in or contiguous to the house and ventilated food cupboard). Previous studies had indicated, however, that areas containing a high proportion of houses which lacked fixed bath and hot water installation amenities were likely to fall short of other modern standards.

Table 3 Tentative renewal priorities based on lack of census amenities 1961

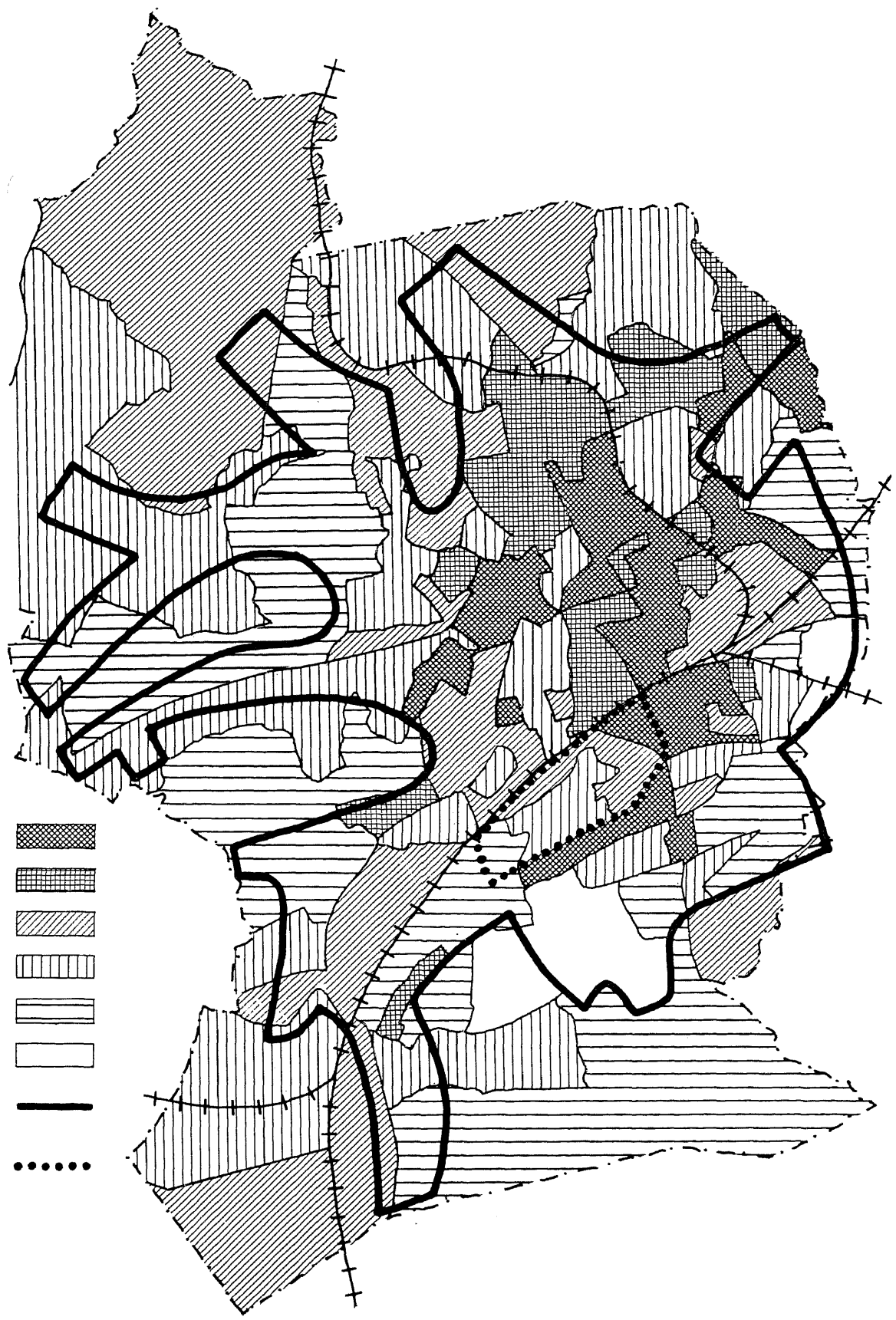
	Criteria		Number of dwellings in Enumeration Districts		
	Enumeration Districts with dwellings occupied by households all lacking		Rochdale	%*	Deeplish
	Fixed Bath	Hot water			
1	60% & over	50% & over	5,476	19	256
2	50 - 60%	40 - 50%	3,591	12	—
3	40 - 50%	30 - 40%	4,806	16	775
4	30 - 40%	20 - 30%	3,789	12	576
5 } Neutral	20 - 30%	10 - 20%	3,648	12	—
6 }	0.1 - 20%	0.1 - 10%	7,449	24	—
7 Good	nil	nil	1,618	5	—


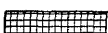
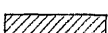
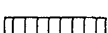
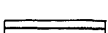
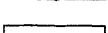
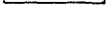

*% of all occupied dwellings in Rochdale.

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- Category 1 
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- 3 
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- Neutral 6 
- Good 7 
- Boundary of built-up area 
- Deeplish boundary 

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2.52 A comparison of Priority 1 areas with Rochdale's present 5-year slum clearance programme of 2,000 units shows that the former include most of the latter. It is not surprising since it is not so difficult to find the areas of really bad housing. The estimate made for the North West Study was that Rochdale would need to clear 10,000 houses up to 1981, whereas there are 14,000 dwellings in priority categories 1-3 of table 3. The totals in each broad category in the table seem to make sense in terms of the age of the Rochdale housing stock, but, except for the very oldest housing, age alone cannot provide a very fine classification or a basis for action. Nor could this tentative set of priorities be used as a basis for action without testing its validity on the ground. It helps to put Deeplish into perspective, however, if one makes a few simple assumptions about the allocation of building resources according to these priorities.

2.53 On the assumption that Rochdale clear 500 dwellings per year, and that all the houses in the worst areas in the priority classification are cleared first, it will require 19 years to clear Priority 1 and 2 areas, including presently designated slum areas. Only the north-east corner of Deeplish might be expected to be cleared during this time; the remainder, on this basis, will have to stand for at least 20 years.

2.54 If the same rate of clearance prevailed after the first 20 years, another 17 years would be required to complete replacement of Priority 3 and 4 areas. Depending, therefore, on their condition relative to similar areas elsewhere in Rochdale, parts of Deeplish might have to serve for as long as 35 years. Obviously it is difficult to be precise about the replacement rate after the first 20 years, as this will depend on building and financial resources at that time. It is clear, however, that to ensure the inclusion of Deeplish in the first 20 years' clearance, it would be necessary to double the rate of clearance to more than 900 dwellings per year. But the assumed rate of clearance is even higher than the planned rate and much higher than the rate achieved during the last decade.

2.55 If houses in the third and fourth priority class are to remain for more than 20 years, at least 4,000 in Rochdale will need improvement. An improvement rate of 200 per year would accomplish this in 20 years. If the improvement rate is much lower than the rate of replacement, many of the houses in the third and fourth categories will not be reached by improvement proposals until some fifteen or twenty years have elapsed, i.e., until redevelopment is nearer than the fifteen years' distance which is regarded as the minimum for which a house is worth improving. But to improve these 4,000 houses over, say, the next five years, would mean an improvement rate of 800 a year. In

Rochdale as a whole there were about 400 improvement grants a year from 1960 to 1964.

2.56 Such a clearance programme will at the start affect privately renting tenants most, as the areas of worst housing tend to be much the same as those with the greatest share of private renting. As redevelopment gets under way, therefore, there will be a progressive reduction in the proportion of the total stock of houses available for private letting. However, as redevelopment approaches the band of housing which Deeplish represents, it will increasingly affect owner-occupied houses.

Chapter 3 The social survey

The purpose and background

3.1 The purpose of the social survey was to find out more about the people of Deeplish than is contained in the Census; to find out, for example, their incomes, length of residence, and intentions about moving. Secondly, the survey was designed to discover the attitudes of the residents to the present condition of their homes and their neighbourhood, and their attitudes to improvement and rehabilitation. In particular, it sought to find out if the landlords and owners of homes without the five standard amenities were likely to take advantage of the grants available to assist with the cost of installation. It also asked for the ideas of the residents themselves for improving the neighbourhood.

3.2 Apart from the contribution of the social survey to the case study of Deeplish, it was the first systematic inquiry undertaken into attitudes about house improvements since the improvement grant scheme was started in 1949. In 1959 the 'standard grant' scheme was introduced which obliged local authorities to pay a grant for equipping a house with the standard amenities it lacked, i.e., bath or shower, wash-hand basin, hot water supply, W.C. in or contiguous to the house and ventilated food cupboard. The maximum amount payable as grant was £155, the Government finding three-quarters of this amount and the local authority the rest. The permitted rent increase for houses subject to rent control was, since 1961, 12½% of the landlord's approved capital expenditure. The relaxation of the grant conditions in 1964 was not applicable at the time of the survey.

3.3 The first development of any size in Deeplish was the block of some eighty houses built by the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers in the 1860's. The Pioneers, who are the country's oldest co-operative society, were by this time able to build houses for their own members. Like the Improved Industrial Dwellings Co. and the Peabody Trust in London during the same decade, the Pioneers' housing aims were philanthropic, in so far as they had some notions of certain minimum housing standards and of rents, which, although capable of yielding profit, were not at the full market level. Subsequent building completed before the First World War was still almost exclusively landlord-owned but in smaller holdings.

3.4 Most of Deeplish was built before the First World War. After that time, the only further building was by the council and by builders for owner-occupation. Since then both nationally, and locally within Deeplish, the proportion of houses for letting has dropped; in Deeplish from at least 90% before 1914 to 37% at the time of the 1961 census, and was found to be only 28% of the sample survey in 1964. The difficulty of maintaining the old houses and getting

profitable rents has persuaded landlords to sell their houses when they could. The houses and the district in Deeplish have evidently been sufficiently attractive for people to be willing to buy their homes, although the houses fall far short of contemporary standards.

The sample for the survey of occupiers

3.5 A systematic sample, comprising one in every four of those occupied houses used solely as dwellings, was drawn from the Council's rating lists. This gave 392 houses; two were multi-occupied, and so the total sample included 403 households. The response rate was 89%. The field work for the survey was done in the summer of 1964.

Social characteristics of the population

3.6 The residents of Deeplish were found to be a fair cross-section of class and age groups, though comparatively few male workers were ranked as higher administrative, managerial or professional workers. Just as the dwellings were old, the population was also rather older than average, and 85% of the people of pensionable age were living in one or two person households, a larger proportion than in Lancashire or Rochdale in 1961.

3.7 The weekly incomes of the Deeplish households in 1964 were compared with average national figures. In the United Kingdom a fifth of the households had weekly incomes under £10 a week; in the Deeplish sample the proportion was about a third. These lower incomes were a reflection to some extent of low wage levels but also of the large proportion of old people living independently in Deeplish.

Table 4 Household income and age of housewife

	Age of housewife or sole male householder				
	Up to 24 yrs. %	25-34 yrs. %	35-44 yrs. %	45-59 yrs. %	60 yrs. or more %
Up to £10	7	8	7	11	66
£10 to £20	75	57	40	43	26
£20 to £30	11	28	38	28	6
£30 to £40	7	7	13	9	2
£40 or more	—	—	2	9	—
Total %	100	100	100	100	100
Number	28	60	60	75	112

3.8 In Deeplish the proportion of owner-occupiers, at 72% of the sample, was well above the 1961 Census figures for Lancashire (44%), Rochdale (41%) and for England and Wales (42%). There were few council tenants in Deeplish, but the proportion of the rest who were owner-occupiers was still much higher than the national proportion excluding council tenants. A fifth of the owner-occupier housewives but nearly one-third of the tenant

housewives were 65 or more years old. The tenants tended to have lower incomes than the owner-occupiers, and included a bigger proportion of households with one person (usually elderly) and large families with five or more persons. Married couples living on their own made up almost a third of the owner-occupiers but only 18% of the tenants. While heads of households in skilled manual work were found in the same proportion in both tenure groups, the proportion of lower administrative, managerial and professional, and of clerical workers was higher among owner-occupiers, the proportion of semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers being correspondingly lower. This occupational difference also accounted for the higher incomes of heads of households among owner-occupiers, although the difference between household incomes was rather less, as the large tenant households tended to include several wage earners.

3.9 The stability of residence of Deeplish households was rather greater than that of households elsewhere. Rather fewer (14%) had been in residence for under one year and rather more (69%) for over five years than households in Rochdale, Lancashire or England and Wales in 1961. About a quarter of the owner-occupiers but over two-fifths of the tenants had lived in their houses for 20 years or more. Yet there were more tenants than owner-occupiers who had moved in during the previous year, possibly owing to the higher vacancy rate from mortality among the tenants.

3.10 The main social characteristic of this old-established district was that it housed a comparatively large number of small, elderly households, and thus household income and size were below average. A larger than average proportion of owner-occupiers were younger and better-off than the tenants, and had not been in residence in their houses as long.

The cost of housing: tenants

3.11 Rents (including rates) in Deeplish tended to be very low with 65% under 20/- per week. The comparable figure from the 1963 London Tenants Inquiry was only 5%. Even when one allows for the high levels of London rents, the difference is marked.

3.12 This report uses the phrase 'low rents' for *net* (i.e. without rates) rents under 20s. a week, and 'high rents, for those above 20s., all except one being under 60/- per week. The proportion of low to high rents was about four to one. In spite of the generally low level, only 52% of the tenants interviewed said their rent was controlled, and there was little difference between the proportions of controlled (90%) and uncontrolled (88%) paying low rents. Tenants in furnished accommodation (14% of all tenants) were in the great majority of cases paying high rents. In general, the older the housewife, the lower the

rent; in the 25–34 years old age group, 50% were paying low rents compared with 93% of the over-65-year-old age group. Landlords did not seem to put up the rent of their long-resident tenants as much as the control of rents allowed. The lower income households paid low rents more frequently than other households.

3.13 Where landlords were responsible for all repairs and decorations, rents tended to be slightly higher than average, but there was no difference at all in rents between tenancies where the landlord was responsible for *all* repairs and outside decorations and those where his responsibility was limited to *outside* repairs and outside decorations. Rents were rather lower for lettings without an inside W.C. or bath but at the same time 19% of those private tenants without an inside W.C., and 18% of those without a bath were paying high rents. Rents were rather higher for those houses which scored highest on the House Condition Index, and they were also higher for semi-detached and end-of-terrace houses than for intermediate terrace houses. There was a tendency for rents to rise with house sizes; 30% of tenants with five or more rooms were paying high rents compared with 6% of those with four rooms.

The cost of housing: owner-occupiers

3.14 The majority of the owner-occupiers (66%) had taken out a mortgage to buy their houses, and rather more than half were still paying. A further 27% of owner-occupiers had purchased for cash while the rest had either been given or had inherited their houses. Compared with other regions, the level of house prices is low in the north-west and in Deeplish over half the owner-occupiers who had purchased since 1960 had paid less than £750 for their houses, although even in Deeplish prices have recently risen considerably. Many of the owner-occupiers appeared to be spending considerably more money than the tenants on their housing. As well as greater expenditure on repairs and maintenance, those who were still buying their houses were committed to weekly mortgage repayments well above the level of the tenants' net rents.

Table 5 **Cost of housing: tenants and owner-occupiers compared**

Net weekly rent of tenants	%	Weekly mortgage repayments of owner-occupiers	%
Under 10/-	59	Under 9/-	7
10/- to 19/11	21	9/- to 22/11	30
20/- or more	20	23/- or more	63
Total %	100	Total %	100
Number	99	Number	89

However, there were 152 owner-occupiers in the sample whose houses were fully paid for.

General attitudes to house and neighbourhood

3.15 The people living in Deeplish said they were content, on the whole, both with their houses and with their neighbourhood. Nearly three-fifths said that they were 'very well satisfied' with their houses, and the same proportion were 'very well satisfied' with the neighbourhood. Only about one in ten of the housewives were 'rather dissatisfied' either with their houses or with the neighbourhood. Satisfaction with the house and the neighbourhood were closely linked.

Table 6 **Satisfaction with house and neighbourhood**

Satisfaction with house	Satisfaction with neighbourhood			Total	
	very well satisfied %	find it alright %	rather dissatisfied %	%	No.
very well satisfied	44	11	3	58	198
find it alright	10	17	3	30	101
rather dissatisfied	2	6	4	12	42
Total %	56	34	10	100	
Number	190	116	35		341

The table also shows that only 4% of the sample (15 housewives) were 'rather dissatisfied' with both house and neighbourhood.

3.16 Although the two youngest age groups of housewives occupied rather worse houses on the whole than the two oldest groups, age also influenced expressions of satisfaction. Almost half the over-60 age group living in the lowest quality houses were very well satisfied, compared with a third or less of each of the other age groups. At the same time only 6% of this group of elderly residents expressed themselves as rather dissatisfied with their houses. The feeling of familiarity and security was most common among the elderly, long-established residents, and this identification with the house and neighbourhood (and perhaps the longer conditioning to Deeplish standards) inhibited criticism:

'When you have been so long in a district (sixty-eight years), you don't know what to say. I just like it in general and I want to stay'.

'It's like home to me. I've been here so long (fifty-three years) – I know all the people'.

As one woman of seventy-seven remarked:

'We *have* to like it. We're too old to have likes and dislikes'.

The younger women, growing up in greater affluence, would be more likely to have higher aspirations. The opinions of younger women were under-represented in the sample, because the survey was confined to the opinions of the housewives and they were much older than a cross-section of all adult women.

3.17 The influence of age and length of residence on attitudes to the neighbourhood also resulted in greater satisfaction than average being shown by the lowest income groups, the retirement pensioners. They were also the people with the most space per person in their houses. But those in the highest income groups were also satisfied with their houses more than the average. They had spent more on their homes, made them more comfortable and generally improved their condition. The most dissatisfied type of household was the family with children, with an average income and with less space per person in the house than the rest of the residents. The larger families tended to be concentrated in the houses in poorer condition; for instance, of families with six or more members, a third were living in houses rated in the lowest category of the Condition and Curtilage Index compared with 13% of two-person families.

3.18 There was also a strong link between dissatisfaction and intention to move, although they did not entirely correspond. Among those who were rather dissatisfied with their houses, 29% were trying to move but only 6% of those who were very well satisfied were trying to move, and the proportions in relation to satisfaction with the neighbourhood were similar. About four-fifths of those who were trying to move wanted to improve their living conditions, for instance, to get a house with a bathroom or to move into a 'better area'. The others were trying to move because they wanted a larger, or, less often, a smaller house, or because they were going to get married. 11% of the households were trying to move as a whole, and a further small proportion of households contained someone who was trying to move.

3.19 Deeplish showed a rather larger proportion of households trying to move in each tenure group than the national average. For instance, in a survey of 1960 carried out nationally* 6% of the owner-occupiers outside Greater London were trying to move, while in Deeplish nearly 9% were trying to move. Thus, although there was no attempt at a mass exodus from the district, an intention to move was more common than on average elsewhere. As is usual the younger households were trying to move more than the elderly, and large overcrowded households were trying to move more than small households with ample space. Nearly half the households wanting to move required more bedrooms than they had in their homes in Deeplish. Most of the owner-occupiers trying to move wanted to buy a house; most of the tenants wanted to rent and frequently said they were prepared to pay 20s to 30s more in rent and

*SOCIAL SURVEY The Housing Situation in 1960; an inquiry covering England and Wales carried out for the Ministry of Housing and Local Government by P. G. Gray and R. Russell, May 1962 (S.S. 319). 129 pp.; Social Survey, 1962, 21s.

rates. Hardly anyone trying to move wanted a flat rather than a house or bungalow, and three-quarters were trying to rehouse themselves in private enterprise rather than in council accommodation.

3.20 Thus, the general attitudes expressed to living conditions, and the fair stability of the residents, showed a reasonably contented population.

The Houses : appreciation and criticism

3.21 When asked specifically 'what do you like about this house?', the housewives again showed attachment to the familiar home and identification of it with family life. The specific feature of the houses which was most appreciated in Deeplish, was their size. Although the houses were generally small, so were the households and most of the residents enjoyed ample space standards*. Nearly half had at least one spare bedroom above the standard assuming that all adults over 21, except married couples, had their own bedrooms. Over half the households had at least one and a half habitable rooms per person and over three-quarters were occupying more space than recommended as the minimum per person for new houses in 'Homes for today and tomorrow'[§]. But as the houses mostly had only two bedrooms, a living room and a kitchen, their compactness was the other feature most appreciated. Over half the households consisted of one or two people and for such households a small house was a positive advantage; it was convenient, cosy and easy to keep clean.

3.22 Apart from size, there was very little else that the housewives could find to praise about their houses, and their other appreciative comments were mostly concerned with the comparative superiority of their own houses over others, for instance, that they had bathrooms, bay windows a garden or no mice. The main criticism of the houses was their lack of bathrooms, but this was spontaneously mentioned by only a third of the housewives without bathrooms. The other criticisms were lack of an inside W.C., the age of the houses, their structural condition, their smallness, the inconvenient kitchens, and the shortage

**Bedroom Standard*: For the purposes of the survey, the following standards of space in bedrooms were assumed:

- (a) Each married couple should have one bedroom.
- (b) A bedroom was assumed for any other person aged 21 or over.
- (c) Persons aged 10 to 20 years inclusive of the same sex were paired off and a bedroom was assumed for each pair.
- (d) Any persons, aged 10 to 20 years, left over after this pairing, was paired with a child under 10 of the same sex. If no pairing of the latter kind was possible, a separate bedroom was assumed for each such person.
- (e) Any remaining children under 10 years were paired and a bedroom was assumed for each pair. An additional room was assumed for any other child.

§ MINISTRY OF HOUSING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT. *Homes for today and tomorrow*. Report of a sub-committee of the Central Housing Advisory Committee. [Parker Morris Report] vii and 92 pp; HMSO, 1961. 4s.

of yard and garden space. Owner-occupiers were more critical than tenants of the size of the kitchens and the yards, conditions which they could not easily change.

3.23 A tenth of the housewives *liked* nothing about their houses; a third of them *disliked* nothing. The elderly were not always passively content and some expressed the hardships they suffered through the condition of the homes:

'I've no lavatory. The mills made the landlord take them out because the water caused trouble and I can't get about because of my palpitations'.

'The front window is very bad. I used to sleep in the front bedroom till one bad winter I woke up with icicles in my hair'.

The worst houses were generally strongly criticised:

'It's not fit to live in and the outlook is terrible. It is condemned property and will fall down one of these days'.

Some young people were violently resentful of their housing conditions, like the housewife in her twenties, living in Colby Street, who said about her house:

'I hate it, it's damp and all the woodwork is rotten. There is no hot water and no bathroom'.

The breaking point, when attachment to the house was overcome by its bad condition was illustrated by a housewife who said:

'The dampness is dreadful. The plaster is getting into lumps and it won't take new plaster. The woodwork is rotten. There is no light outside at the back and it is very dirty and unkempt. I really like the house, as it is and was a comfortable house, but it is too old'.

Altogether about two-thirds of the housewives criticised some features of their homes, though only 13% were 'rather dissatisfied' with them.

3.24 The relation of the condition of the house to the degree of satisfaction expressed is shown in the next table.

Table 7 **House condition related to satisfaction with house and neighbourhood**

Rating of the house by the House Condition Index	Satisfaction with house				All %	No.
	Very well satisfied	Find it alright	Rather dissatisfied			
Up to 30%	28	33	39	100	67	
31% to 60%	58	34	8	100	179	
61% or more	77	19	4	100	99	
Satisfaction with neighbourhood						
Up to 30%	41	40	19	100	63	
31% to 60%	55	36	9	100	182	
61% or more	67	26	7	100	101	

3.25 The condition of the houses appeared to be only one of the physical factors affecting satisfaction. For instance, space in the home clearly had an important influence on people's feelings of satisfaction. The survey recorded bedroom standard, persons per room and square feet per person for each household. Satisfaction with the house was more frequent among households living at lower densities of occupation, however measured.

Table 8 **Satisfaction with house and space standard**

Space standard	Satisfaction with house			Total	
	Very well satisfied %	Find it alright %	Rather dissatisfied %	%	No.
Number of bedrooms less than standard	41	22	37	100	46
Number of bedrooms equal to standard	49	35	16	100	132
Number of bedrooms more than standard	68	28	4	100	171
Under 200 sq. ft per person	36	24	40	100	58
Over 200 sq. ft per person	62	30	8	100	287

3.26 Tenure was also closely related to satisfaction, as more than twice the proportion of owner-occupiers than tenants found nothing wrong with their houses. The owner-occupiers' own efforts contributed to their satisfaction with their houses. For example, one owner-occupier in twenty years' residence had installed an inside W.C., new bathroom, wash basin, hot water system, ventilated food cupboard, sink unit, new fireplace and extra electric plugs and points. The housewife liked her house because: 'We've done everything to make it comfortable and it's our home'.

Another housewife said of her home:

'It's been completely modernised and is far better than the houses they are building today'.

Whatever the state of their houses, owner-occupiers were more satisfied than tenants in similar housing conditions. Ownership gives a feeling of security, and a choice of standards to people who have sufficient income to spare for improving their homes. If they value high standards of housing they can, at a time that they decide themselves, improve their own houses, knowing that they themselves will get the benefits. Those without the means to achieve good housing standards at least know that they will not be forced to spend more on housing against their wishes.

3.27 Other causes of satisfaction with the housing in Deeply can be inferred from the absence of complaints

about sharing or high costs. Only 3% of the households did not enjoy completely self-contained dwellings of their own, and the level of housing costs was exceptionally low.

3.28 Thus, while the houses were sometimes in a poor state structurally and more than half lacked the standard amenities, housing conditions were good in other respects. The households in Deeplish occupied their own homes without sharing, they generally enjoyed ample space standards, a high proportion were owner-occupiers and housing was cheap. Housing conditions of this kind were generally more important to the residents than the physical condition of the houses.

Repairs and maintenance

3.29 During the previous year the owner-occupiers had been very active in repairing and maintaining their houses, five-sixths had done something to their homes and a third had spent more than £50 on repairs and maintenance. Over half had done some decorating inside the house and a third had undertaken more than two items of repairs or maintenance.

3.30 The rented property had much less repairs and maintenance during the previous year. Over a third had done nothing, only about one in ten had had more than two items of work completed, and only one-sixth had been decorated inside. But the rented property had more repair to the joinery, glazing and plumbing than the owner-occupied property perhaps because it was in worse condition. During the previous year, the average amount spent on repairs and improvements by owner-occupiers was about £15 compared with about £5 spent by tenants. The landlord survey shows £6 to £7 as a tentative figure for the landlord's average annual repair cost.

3.31 There was a similar difference in the amount of structural alterations and improvements made to the houses of owner-occupiers and tenants during their occupancy. Over four-fifths of the owner-occupiers had made some structural alterations and improvements to their homes. Over half had had a new fireplace installed, nearly half had put in more electric power points, a third had installed a new sink unit, and about a quarter had put in either a W.C., a water heating system, more electric light points or new plumbing of some kind. Over a fifth had installed a bathroom. Over half had made more than two of these structural alterations or improvements. Nearly half the owner-occupiers were planning further decorations, repairs or structural alterations compared with only 15% of the tenants. Less than three-fifths of the tenants had had structural alterations or improvements to their houses and these were mostly new fireplaces, new sink units and electrical fittings which they had installed

themselves. Very few had had any of the five amenities installed.

3.32 However, more tenants than owner-occupiers would have liked to see more repairs and improvements to their houses than had been planned, which shows some of the frustration of the tenants. A sixth of the tenants would have liked more than two items, compared with only 4% of the owner-occupiers, who presumably had already mostly carried out the improvements they desired. The improvement most desired by tenants was a bathroom: rather more than a third of the tenants without bathrooms expressed the wish to have one.

3.33 Apart from tenure, there appeared to be other factors affecting the amount spent on repairs. Households with younger housewives tended to spend more than their elders. Of the 20 to 24-year old age group, 26% had spent over £50 on repairs during the past year compared with 11% of the over-65 age group. As one would expect, households with higher incomes spent more on repairs than those in lower-income groups.

Attitudes to improvements

3.34 Residents without one or more of the five standard amenities, were asked whether they would like them and be prepared to pay the cost, estimated at £155, or about 8s a week, for all five amenities allowing for grant but not for the cost of any ancillary work. A quarter wanted a ventilated food cupboard, two-fifths a hot water installation and an inside W.C. Rather more wanted a wash-hand basin, and half wanted a bath. Of those households without any of the standard amenities, 38% said they would like all five. The demand for amenities was slightly greater among tenants than among owner-occupiers, showing that rather more owner-occupiers than tenants had been able to satisfy their demands. There was a marked difference in attitudes towards paying for the amenities between the tenants and owner-occupiers who wished to instal them. The tenants were more frequently willing to pay for the amenities straight away through increases in their rent. But owner-occupiers, faced with the need for capital expenditure, more frequently said they would like the amenities but could not pay for them at present.

3.35 Apart from the ventilated food cupboard, which many people simply did not want, the most usual reason given for not wanting the amenities was that the house was too old and not worth improving:

'No, it is not worth it. The house is finished - it is too old. The floors, walls and woodwork are too far gone to do anything with'.

The people living in the houses in the best condition wanted ventilated food cupboards much less than the rest, perhaps because they possessed refrigerators.

3.36 Sometimes the age of the residents rather than of the house was the reason given for not wanting improvements:

'No, my time is short, those who come after can do it'. Amongst housewives whose houses were lacking amenities, four-fifths of those over 60 years of age said they did not want them. Younger housewives, however, were very much more enthusiastic; only about a third of those under 35 expressed no desire for the amenities. Just as the cost of amenities appeared to influence respondents' attitudes, so did their household income. Predictably, the higher income households more frequently already possessed all five amenities (72% of those with household incomes over £30 per week). Most of the respondents who did not want the amenities belonged to the lower-income groups which consisted predominantly of the elderly (80% of those with a household income under £15 per week did not want the amenities).

3.37 A few owner-occupiers took the attitude that they would rather finance improvements themselves, either owing to the restrictions, or because:

'I'd rather pay for what I get'.

Some also said that they would rather pay for a new house than pay extra on their old houses for improvements:

'We think that if we can afford half the cost of a new bathroom, we can put it down for a new house'.

Renting often inhibited improvement:

'A lot to be done to the house which we can't do because it is not our own house'.

'We can't ask as we only got the place provided we do it up ourselves'.

Few tenants had asked their landlords whether they would make any grant-aided improvements:

'No, I have not asked (the landlord for improvements).

It took two years to get a small window done'.

But, in one instance, the landlord was willing to improve his property though his tenants, as a whole, were not willing to pay extra rent:

'I should like a bathroom and we did ask the landlord but the other tenants wouldn't pay extra on the rent, as he thought of putting them in all the houses'.

3.38 Among the owner-occupiers, the younger households had more frequently heard of the grants, but had made use of them less often than their elders. Only 16% of households with housewives in the 20 to 24-age group had received a grant compared with 43% of those 60 to 64 years old. A few middle-aged couples had undertaken improvements without grant aid, when they would have qualified for it. Some people, who were anxious to improve their homes, had the impression that they would not qualify for an improvement grant unless they lacked all

five amenities, or because they wanted to put a bath in a bedroom.

3.39 To sum up, there was no general desire to pay for the five standard amenities with grant aid. Many considered their homes not worth improving; the elderly were used to doing without the amenities and did not consider they would get value for their expenditure in their remaining years.

The neighbourhood: appreciation and criticism

3.40 The residents were asked what they liked and disliked about the neighbourhood, and the responses were not only conditioned by the physical environment but also by the social setting. One old resident, for instance said 'I love living round here' though she lived in a street where other residents were indignant about their physical surroundings. Most of the people interviewed were very well satisfied with the neighbourhood and only 10% were rather dissatisfied. Almost a third of the housewives interviewed could find nothing to complain about, while only a tenth could find nothing to praise. The most highly commended feature (mentioned by 34% of the respondents) was its proximity to the town centre, and consequent convenience for shops, work, schools, pubs and other sources of entertainment. Over a quarter of the housewives mentioned the nice neighbours. Many of those who praised the neighbourhood enthusiastically had its social as well as its physical characteristics in mind:

'It has always been one of the best—respectable and nice people'.

'It's the best in town'.

'It's class—really nice here—not a rough lot'.

Other characteristics of the neighbourhood, which were most liked, were its quietness (mentioned by 20%), its clean, residential nature (13%), the bus service (12%) and the general provision of trees and open space (13%).

3.41 The specific questions asked about features of the neighbourhood showed that the great majority of housewives found shopping convenient and most people were satisfied with the bus service. Only 12% of those interviewed complained about a lack of privacy, mainly because they were overlooked by neighbours and passers-by. Noise appeared to be a bigger problem, since 31% of households suffered some disturbance which was closely connected with traffic and with adjacent houses, factories, garages and railway lines. Only about 9% of the housewives however, spontaneously complained about noise when asked what they disliked about the neighbourhood.

3.42 The most general criticism of the neighbourhood concerned open space, either because it was lacking or because of the character of the existing open space. Among

illustration 6 'It's like a little village. I like the people, it's friendly.'

illustration 7 One of the corner shops

illustration 8 Houses and industry are sometimes closely mingled. There are also parking problems



the other features disliked in the neighbourhood, 14% of respondents mentioned the broken and dirty surfaces of pavements and unmade-up roads. Some people also criticised the dirtiness of the district generally, but the most pungent criticisms of their neighbourhood came from people living near the railway and mills in the north-east corner of the site. Here several elderly residents considered that the area had deteriorated and their comments illustrate the conflict between residential and industrial users:

'It's very noisy, too much traffic. I do not care for it now. Forty years ago it was very nice'.

'The cars are parked on the street and it's very difficult to get by. If there was a fire, the fire engine could not get anywhere near it'.

Some people thought that slum clearance made conditions worse:

'It seemed better before the houses round here were pulled down. They are just open spaces with dirty old dumps in them, old cars and things. There should be something done to turn them into play spaces for children'.

In the north-east corner there were also complaints about the layout and density of building:

'It's not open enough. We seem to be enclosed in with no breathing space'.

The mothers of young children were particularly affected in this respect:

'For children there's nowhere to play. Factory lorries run from the factory all day; it's a death-trap'.

Although, as the Section on the traffic survey in Chapter 2 shows, traffic volumes are relatively light, elsewhere in the area there were also objections to the noise, vibration and danger from traffic, particularly along the main through route—Milkstone Road:

'It's got noisy with more traffic passing. The road is very bad . . .'

Another problem concerning cars was the use of the narrow back passages between the rows of yards, for parking:

'The cars are in the way in the back lane and we find it difficult to get into our houses'.

Altogether 3% of those interviewed complained about parked cars and 11% about traffic.

3.43 In an attempt to assess the importance of various aspects of the environment, people's feelings about their neighbourhoods were related to some of the environmental factors recorded by the house condition and environment survey. The results, although fairly predictable, do indicate to some extent those factors which most influence residents' satisfaction with their neighbourhood. As one would expect people who overlooked open

space frequently mentioned the open space and the availability of a children's play area among the features they liked about the neighbourhood. At the same time they were more prone than the rest of the sample to complain about the distance to a shopping area. For those residents (7%) who were adjacent to or opposite noisy or obnoxious industry, the level of neighbourhood satisfaction was well below that for the rest of the sample, as only a third were very well satisfied. The incidence of heavy traffic along their road (applying to 9% of the sample) appeared to have no influence upon residents' likes, dislikes or their general satisfaction. In fact, about one-tenth of residents without heavy traffic along their roads raised objections to traffic; rather less than one-tenth with heavy traffic objected. Only 4% of households were within 100 feet of a railway line, and this group, when asked what they liked about the neighbourhood, concentrated on 'friendly neighbours' and convenience for shops, schools, pubs, etc. Only 4 of the 20 households in the group actually complained about the railway. The majority were concerned with the lack of cleanliness and untidiness of the neighbourhood, and only 36% were very well satisfied. About three-quarters of the households in the sample lived within 200 yards of a bus stop, and only 2% of this group thought the distance too great. Of those living more than 200 yards away, 16% objected to the distance. The table below represents an attempt to show up the influence of the various environmental factors. It compares the proportion of very well satisfied people in the groups to which each environmental factor was applicable, with the rest of the sample.

Table 9 **Environmental conditions and satisfaction with neighbourhood**

Environmental Factor	Percentage of those to whom environmental factor applies who were 'very well satisfied' with the neighbourhood		Percentage of the remainder of the sample who were 'very well satisfied'	
	%	No.	%	No.
Overlooks open space	67	34	52	160
Open space within 440 yards	58	38	43	156
Noisy or obnoxious industry adjacent or opposite	33	8	56	186
Heavy traffic along the road	58	18	54	176
Railway within 100 feet	36	5	55	189
Bus stop within 200 yards	57	144	50	50

These environmental factors therefore probably have only rather a slight influence, if any, on the degrees of satisfaction expressed. Where the difference in satisfaction is

large, for example, as between those who do and those who do not live by noisy or obnoxious industry, the house and the other environmental conditions were rather worse than average also.

3.44 The conditions in their neighbourhood resulted in some resentment amongst those who had spent money on their houses. The discrepancy between cosy, well-maintained homes and the poor environment is illustrated by the remarks of a householder in Tennyson Street :

'The house itself is all right, we have spent £800 on it (moved in 2 to 4 years ago) but think it has been money thrown away as it's too noisy, too much traffic in this street. Children have nowhere to play and should be allowed to play in the school yard'

3.45 Several local deficiencies were mentioned by the residents concerned. On the north side of one street none of the houses had a back entrance, and in another people objected to the high wall round the school playground. The water pressure was reported low in one place; other complaints were smoke from chimneys below, a new garage and filling station, and the fact that an existing open space would be lost.

3.46 The general satisfaction with the neighbourhood was accompanied not only by the grumbling that would be expected about an old district but by bitter complaints from people living in the worst environmental conditions. Physically, the neighbourhood was identified by most people by what they could see from their own houses, and thus the range of comment about the physical environment was as varied as the district itself.

Children's play

3.47 When any mothers are asked about outdoor play facilities for children, they usually express dissatisfaction and in Deeplish also two-thirds of the mothers were dissatisfied. When asked for suggestions they expressed the easily articulated demand for a children's fitted playground, although Stoneyfield recreation ground possessed some popular play equipment. The mothers' main worry was the danger to children from traffic. A count of the children's play activities for one day showed that about a quarter of the children played in the streets, about a fifth (mainly the younger) played in their own or their friends' gardens or yards, about a fifth went further afield to the canal area or recreation ground and the rest were not out at play that day. Deeplish school children in primary schools were asked to write essays about their play activities which expressed some frustration.

'I play around the back it is boring because I have been there for 11 years. There is nothing new' (Boy aged 11).

'At Stoneyfield the swings and roundabout are very old so we call Stoney-Field the wreck' (Boy aged 11). (A new 'horse' was installed about this time).

But although the mothers were not keen on the dirt and danger in the canal area, some children were attracted by Jacky Brook and its environs.

'Some parts of the Brook are very deep, there are many places to cross it. There are lots of bushes, trees and plants, also there are lots of pens (hen-pens). When it rains very hard the Brook flows over. Lots of rubbish is thrown into the brook. Some is burnt beside the brook. Sometimes I go down the waterfall where the water goes into a tunnel. I like watching the water going down the waterfall' (Boy aged 11).

Suggestions for improvement of the neighbourhood

3.49 The most frequent suggestions concerned open spaces (26%), play spaces for children (18%) and the improvement of roads and pavements (22%).

Open spaces

3.49 In some densely built streets suggestions were made for some planting :

'There is no greenery. I would like to see some trees'.
'A little more green about, some grass verges or trees perhaps'.
'Would be very nice to see more open spaces and a bit of green'.

More open spaces for children were frequently suggested. Even an old lady of seventy-two years who said :

'I am too old to bother much now', added a suggestion for:

'Playing fields for the younger children – there are an awful lot of them – thirty-three in our street'.

Open spaces suitable for old people were also suggested :
'I would like to see some place for people to go and sit in the summer. There's nowhere for elderly people to pass a pleasant hour in the open air'.

Many complained of the unsightly open spaces and made suggestions that they should be improved :

'The spare land on Milkstone Road is an eyesore ; it should be attended to'.

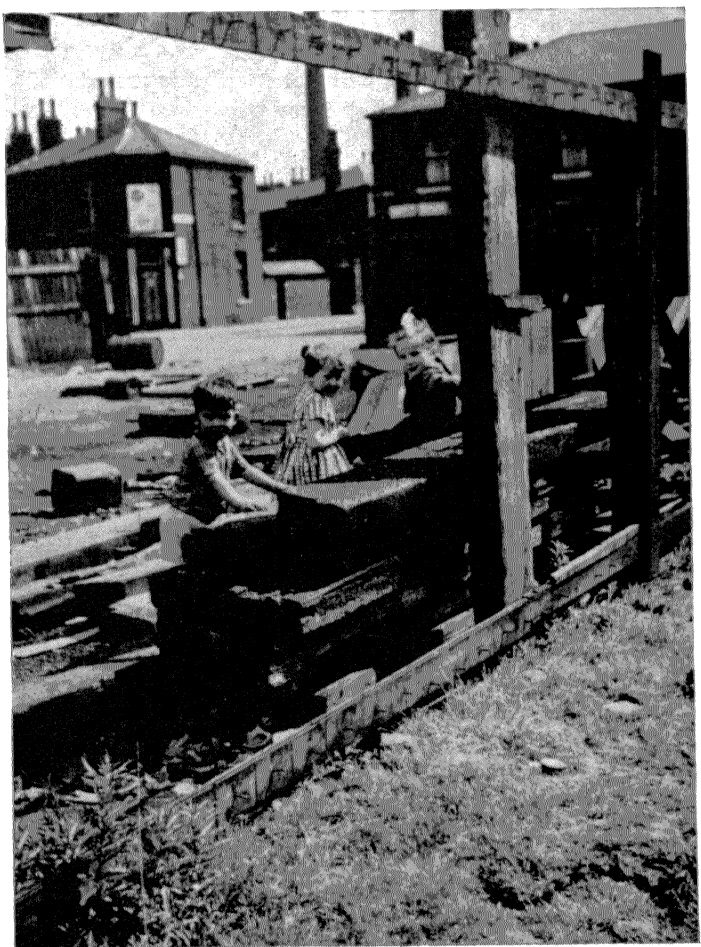
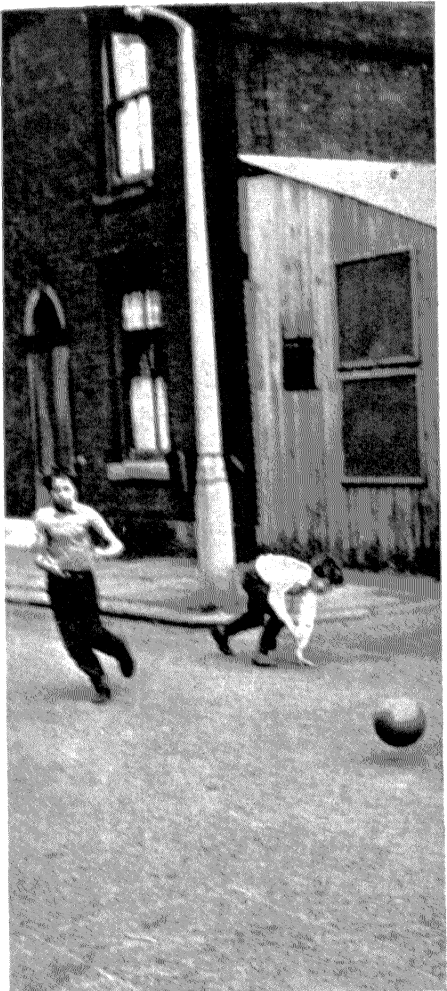
Other suggestions were made for improving the appearance or amenities of particular open spaces. People living in houses facing across the common to the sheds by the railway wanted :

'Some trees planted to block the sheds off'.

Many people considered that the valley could be much improved :

'We would like trees and a beauty spot such as a small park with a garden down on the common, which at the moment is a disgrace'.

illustration 9 Despite the open land there is a lack of playgrounds . . . but some children find the derelict land enjoyable



Also :

'Cover the brook ; it smells in summer'.

Many residents, who lived near Derby School, thought that :

'Derby Street playing field should not be locked up. The children here have nowhere to play ; only in the streets. It's a shame to have a green stretch locked up and out of reach'.

The headmaster of the school, however, feared that free access to the playing field would result in the destruction of the grass. In fact, children were able to get into the school playing field and were observed playing there in the evenings.

3.50 A few were keen to have more gardens and a resident in Osborne Street, beside the recreation ground, suggested that :

'If they took the field further back and put the road there, then put gardens on the fronts of these houses, they would look a lot better. The field should be made into a park'.

Often people who wanted a garden 'on the front' for themselves also wanted to 'see more gardens'.

Improving the appearance of the houses

3.51 Apart from suggestions for a general tidying-up (7%), some residents considered that the appearance of the houses could be improved (4%) : 'could give them a face lift and brighten things up a bit'.

3.52 Particular complaints were made about the houses that had already been condemned. A resident in the area by the works suggested :

'Cleaning it (the neighbourhood) up. Get rid of dirty houses half-pulled down, tramps are sleeping in them and it is dangerous for children who play in them. Houses have been condemned a long time, but there are still people living in them'.

Some suggested improvements to the backs of the houses :

'Something could be done about the backs. They're very depressing, need cleaning and making lighter'.

'The backs could definitely be improved. If each house had an inside coal place and toilet, then the outside coal places and toilets could be knocked down and each house given a small garden. There could also be space for a small stretch of green for children's play and for garages'.

Redevelopment

3.53 But some thought that deterioration had 'gone too far' and that the only thing to do was to 'pull the lot down—only it can't be done'. About a tenth of the sample more specifically wanted some particular buildings and houses pulled down. Suggestions were made for removing filling stations or knocking down factories or other plant. Some

would have liked Deeplish to look more like a modern housing estate :

'Give places larger windows—no yards, or outside toilets, houses further apart and bigger and better houses'.

Others were concerned especially about housing for the old people :

'When houses are pulled down where old people are living, bungalows should be built in the same spot for them so that they don't lose all their friends by moving away'.

'If bungalows were provided for old people, they could sell their two-bedroom houses and reap benefit for themselves'.

One woman was apprehensive about the type of re-development :

'Don't spoil the neighbourhood with skyscrapers'.

Neighbourhood amenities (mentioned by 6% of respondents)

3.54 People asked for more telephone kiosks most of all, for bus shelters, pillar boxes, better street lighting, and for the police to be nearer. Two people instanced the need for public conveniences, and replacement of the men's old W.C. by the railway bridge at Milkstone Road was suggested.

Suggestions concerning traffic and garaging

3.55 A number of suggestions (from 6% of the sample) were made for stopping or limiting traffic :

'Above anything the traffic should be stopped. They shouldn't park on Durham Street. An area needed for children to play in safety'.

Someone else in the same area wanted a partial limitation of traffic :

'We want this making into a one-way street. Someone took the stump from one end. Children should be able to play in the street'.

While some had wanted unsightly garages removed from the common, others needed garages and made suggestions for siting them unobtrusively :

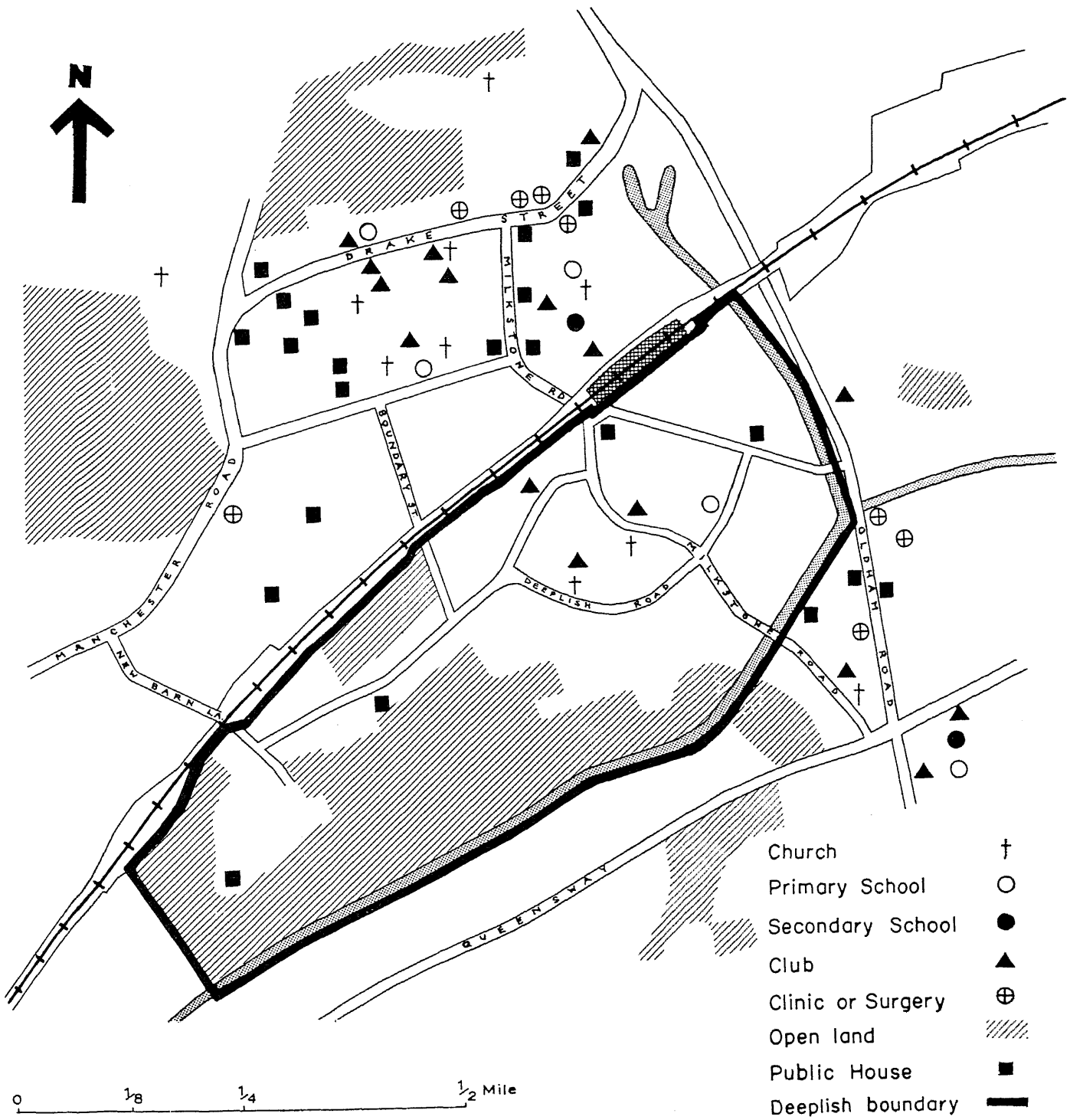
'Flatten out backs (of houses) and build a wall and place the garages there. Then the garages now on the road front could be moved to make space for houses'.

Another resident in the same road wanted to see some improvement in the New Barn Lane railway bridge :

'... it is a death trap. It needs mirrors for the safety of drivers and pedestrians'.

Suggestions for social facilities

3.56 The few who felt the need for better social facilities in Deeplish, were thinking of the neighbourhood as a whole rather than just of their own street. The social and sports



facilities suggested for the neighbourhood were a social centre, a live theatre, a library, a beat club, a coffee bar, a bowling green, tennis courts, swimming baths and a children's nursery. A woman with daughters aged 14 and 6 years, who had moved in within the last few years said :

'We find it very dead. There is no social life for the girls or for us'.

A young married woman said she was 'coffee-bar mad' and would like to see a coffee bar on Durham Street, and another young woman said she wanted :

'A good civic centre. Something for young children aged 3-13 years, for teenagers and for old people. Hall for drama groups, film shows, etc. A cycle proficiency scheme for children in each area'.

A middle-aged woman said she would like :

'Whist drives, etc., for my age group, and a library'.

In fact, there was a whist drive every week in St. Luke's Church Hall, and there was also a bowling green by the hall which was so well hidden behind a wall that some people were not aware of its existence, and no one could casually enjoy watching the game. The Church hall had also housed the 'Curtain Theatre', a theatre group which was now using other premises. Most other organised social activities in the neighbourhood were in this Church hall ; for instance, a small drama club, a large old people's club and a youth club for young people from twelve years of age, which had 220 members, about 80 to 100 attending the club each Friday evening when it met. The youth club, as the other clubs, was open to people who did not attend the church, (C. of E.). The club ran football and netball teams, whose home ground was Stoneyfield recreational ground, near the railway line, but the leader said that they badly needed a first class playing field with changing facilities. Thus some of the social activities which were suggested were in fact provided in the Church hall, which may not have been known to those who made the suggestions or else they were not of the kind that they had in mind. Although the social activities in the Church hall were usually open to everyone, they may have been thought to be restricted to worshippers.

3.57 The social life of Deeplish people, and the community services they used were not of course confined to Deeplish itself. Many of the places to which Deeplish people went for social activities and community services were in the town centre or in the adjacent neighbourhoods. The map 10 indicates the distribution of churches, doctors' surgeries etc. in and near Deeplish, which shows that Deeplish is by no means a self-contained neighbourhood for these local services. Equally, however, although people had to go out of Deeplish for many contacts and services, they did not need as a rule to go very far ; most of

their destinations were within walking distance. Chapter 2 reports that walking is still an important means of getting about for Deeplish people.

The landlords

The sample

3.58 The initial random sample for the Deeplish social survey of residents was drawn from the rating records. For the landlord survey it was decided to interview the landlords of the rented houses in the occupier survey. Two ways of obtaining the landlord's name and address were considered. The first was to ask the tenants for names and addresses, which was rejected because a pilot survey showed that too many names would be those of agents ; the second was to use the rating list separating owner-occupied from landlord-owned property, with the addresses of the landlords. This method did not prove very satisfactory either, as landlords' addresses were not always recorded and the distinction between tenanted and owner-occupied property was not always clear.

3.59 In the occupier survey, 97 of the houses where interviews were successfully held were rented, and among the 39 'no contacts' and 'refusals' in this first survey, a further 11 names and addresses of landlords were found. Thus, out of 392 houses, 108 or 27% were landlord-owned. This is low compared with the Deeplish total figure for rented property drawn from the 1963 rating records, where 33% of the houses were recorded as landlord-owned. The difference of 6% is boosted by the time interval between the rating list recorded in 1963 and the survey held in the summer of 1964. During this period of approximately 18 months, the nationally observed trend to owner-occupation would have contributed partially by perhaps 2% to the reduction from 33% to 27%.

3.60 The 108 sample dwellings which were landlord-owned contained 6 which were council property. These were excluded as non-private landlords, leaving 102 privately rented dwellings. The names and addresses of the landlords of 17 of these were not traceable from the rating records leaving 85 dwellings with adequate names and addresses. As the houses were drawn from such a small geographical area, sample houses were sometimes owned by the same landlord. The 85 houses had between them 48 landlords ; 33 each owned a single property in the sample ; 12 owned two ; one owned 3 ; another 5 ; and the largest, the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers, owned 20 sample houses. The table shows how response was distributed among these categories.

Table 10 Survey response of landlords with different numbers of sample properties

Landlords owning	Interviewed successfully	Moved, refused and not contacted	Outside Rochdale (not interviewed)	Total
a single sample house	29	2	2	33
two sample houses	9	2	1	12
three sample houses	0	0	1	1
five sample houses	1	0	0	1
twenty sample houses	1	0	0	1
All landlords	40	4	4	48

3.61 Of the 48 possible interviews, 40 were successful giving a response rate of 83% or, alternatively, as the initial number of privately owned tenanted houses in the sample was 102, the 40 successful interviews covered the ownership of 72, giving a response rate of 71%

Landlords, agents and management

3.62 Of the 40 successful interviews, 26 were obtained directly with the landlord or with a member of the family or close friend acting for a very old landlord (3 cases). The 11 remaining interviews were conducted with agents. Early in the interview the agents and landlords were asked about the division of property management, in particular who was responsible for collecting and fixing rent, selecting tenants, deciding major and minor repairs, and, so far as it occurred, deciding a notice to quit. From their responses it was clear that eviction notices were a rare occurrence in Deeplish; fairly bizarre conduct was tolerated, from the recluse to the man who 'since his mother died had gone to pieces' and had paid rent only spasmodically. The responsibility was divided as shown below.

Table 11 Distribution of management responsibilities (1)

	Landlord	Agent
collect rent	23	17
fix rent	29	11
select tenant	28	12
decide minor repairs	27	13
decide notice to quit	29	11

This table was simplified into three categories:

Table 12 Distribution of management responsibilities (2)

Landlord doing total management :	23
Landlord doing everything except rent-collecting, minor repairs, selecting tenants :	6
Agent doing total management :	11
All landlords and agents	40

As all the 29 landlords interviewed, including the 6 who used agents for relatively minor aspects of management such as rent-collecting, retained the crucial managerial functions of fixing rents and deciding major repairs, it was clear that these landlords and not their agents represented the best respondents. The same was true for the 11 agents with total managerial control who were interviewed; although landlords' names and addresses were collected at the interview, these agents represented the best respondents.

Social characteristics of the landlords

3.63 Apart from the two corporate landlords, the Pioneers and a group of multiple owners, the other 38 landlords presented a similar age structure to those of Cullingworth's Lancaster Study*, but a rather different sex composition. Both studies agreed that the landlords were never under 30; rarely under 40 – a mere 2% in Lancaster and 3% in Deeplish; and that the great majority, 65% in Lancaster and 63% in Deeplish, were over 60. (See table below).

Table 13 Deeplish and Lancaster landlords by age

	Deeplish Landlords %	Lancaster Landlords %	London extra-mural landlords, 1964+ %
Under 30 years	0	0	0
30 - 39	3	2	6
40 - 49	16	11	20
50 - 59	18	22	21
60 plus	63	65	53
	100%(38)	100%(699)	100%(309)

Against this common feature, that both Deeplish and Lancaster landlords tend to be elderly, the dominance of female landlords in Lancaster (65%) was replaced in

*CULLINGWORTH (J. B.) *Housing in Transition: a case study in the city of Lancaster, 1958-1962.* (Heinemann Books on Sociology). X and 261 pp.; Heinemann, 1963. 42s.

†Ministry of Housing and Local Government: (Chairman Sir Milner Holland). *Report of the Committee on Housing in Greater London* Cmd. 2605. VIII and 450 pp. HMSO. 1965. 22s. 6d.

Deeplish by male landlords (63%). However, among the oldest, in their late seventies and eighties, female landlords were again the majority.

Incomes

3.64 Thirty of the landlords were willing to give information about their incomes.

Table 14 **Distribution of income (comparison of landlords and tenants)**

	Landlords	Tenants (Chief earner)
Under £5 a week	4	21
Over £5 and under £10	4	24
Over £10 and under £15	7	33
Over £15 and under £20	5	17
Over £20	10	5
Not known and refusals	8	2
Corporate landlords	2	—
TOTAL	40	102

Half the Deeplish landlords who answered this question received less than £15 a week as their total income from all sources. Of these, 4 received less than £5 3s being elderly widows on pensions and National Assistance, the other an elderly married man.

Occupational classification

3.65 According to the Registrar-General's 1960 classification of occupations, the Deeplish landlords were mainly skilled manual workers (11 in Class III manual). Manual workers and non-manual workers were about equal in numbers. Ten of the 38 individual landlords gave an unclassifiable description of themselves such as 'retired' or 'housewife'; observation, however, suggested that these ten did not constitute a radically different occupational type.

Table 15 **Occupational type of Deeplish landlords**

Class	Landlords	Deeplish Job examples	
	I	4	Company director, professional
Non-manual	II	6	Teacher, shopkeeper
Manual	II	1	Signalman
Non-manual	III	3	Commercial traveller, house-keeper
Manual	III	11	Joiner, foreman
Manual	IV	2	Labourer
Miscellaneous		10	Housewife, retired, residing in old people's home

Patterns of ownership

3.66 Just over half (21) of the Deeplish landlords inherited their houses. Of the 16 who bought theirs, 12 for cash and 4 on mortgages, several mentioned that the house had been bought from another member of the

family, usually at the landlord's death. Consequently, even within the 'bought' houses there is an element of inheritance. Of the remaining three landlords, one was unable to say how he acquired the house and 2 had built the houses. Thirty-one of the landlords had either personally owned the houses for over 20 years or the houses had been in the same family or company, 13 landlords or their families having held the houses since before 1918. Four landlords acquired their houses between the end of the war and the Rent Act in 1957, and only 3 acquired their houses during the last 7 years. Two of these acquired the house through purchase. One was a solicitor who had bought the house to relieve an elderly client. The other had bought a small cul-de-sac of houses in 1960; he kept the management and repairs costs down by seeing to the former himself and getting the latter done by builder's men working privately in the evenings. His expectations as a landlord were modest; he seemed fairly satisfied and was one of the few who intended to re-let. The third landlord recently acquiring property was a housekeeper who had inherited the houses from her former employer. Thus, only 2 out of the 40 landlords interviewed had become landlords of their own volition during the last 7 years. All the rest had either bought the houses long before or were inheritors. In Deeplish, as in Lancaster, the small landlord buying for investment is a dying institution.

Size of ownership

3.67 Landlords were analysed into 3 groups: landlords with small holdings owning 1 to 5 houses in Deeplish; landlords with medium holdings owning 6 to 9 houses; and landlords with large holdings owning 10 or more houses. Inevitably these cut-off points are arbitrary and reflect more the small scale of the area surveyed and the fragmentation of holdings in Deeplish, than a necessary difference in behaviour. As Table 16 indicates, the majority (21) of the landlords have small holdings, a further 14 have medium holdings and 5 have large holdings. Despite the numerical superiority of the small landlords as a group, they own only 17% of the rented houses; the 5 large landlords own 48%. These large landlords tend to be concentrated towards the north-east corner of the site.

3.68 The distribution of privately-rented property, revealed by the analysis of the 1961 census data, followed the pattern suggested by the location of the large landlords. That is, nearly three-quarters of all domestic dwellings in the most north-easterly enumeration district were privately rented, a proportion which declined rapidly across Deeplish to the southern and western end, where well under a quarter were privately rented. It was frequently suggested by both agents and landlords in the north-east

Table 16 **Ownership of privately-rented houses in Deeplish**

Number of houses owned by each landlord	Number of landlords	Total number of houses owned by sample landlords
		283(100%)
1	9	9
2	3	6
3	3	9
4	5	20
5	1	5
<hr/>		
All landlords with small holdings	21	49(17.0%)
6	5	30
7	6	42
8	0	0
9	3	27
<hr/>		
All landlords with medium holdings	14	99(35.0%)
10—14	3	32
15—19	1	19
20—100	1	84
<hr/>		
All landlords with large holdings	5	135(48.0%)

corner that the houses here were worn out: 'they've had their day'. This local consciousness of the inadequacy of this area by present-day housing standards was shown by the belief of the Pioneers' housing manager, the largest landlord in the area, that there was some sort of undefined slum clearance policy on the whole of the area, which would have to be partly cleared for the new road planned there. He argued that although this was unofficial, it was sufficient to act as a deterrent to a potential house buyer. Several sources confirmed that it was not possible to raise a mortgage on a house in the north-east corner, either from private sources or from the council. One landlord also suggested that it was not easy to get a grant for improvements on such a house.

Attitudes of the landlords

3.69 In order to assess the landlords' attitudes towards their property and their role as landlords, they were asked what they would do, should the house become vacant tomorrow. Twenty-five said they would sell, some saying this with considerable warmth; 13 said that they would relet, but 3 added the rider that this was only because no one would buy—even with vacant possession. These three were landlords in the north-east. Only one, a woman recently widowed, did not know what she would do, but thought she 'might live there myself as it's nicer than mine'. Probing this intention further, landlords were asked if in

the past they had tried to sell and, if so, to whom. Significantly, half the landlords had tried to sell: 10 to sitting tenants, 10 to newcomers. One man, very anxious to sell, explained that he had approached the sitting tenants and had also answered a newspaper advertisement. No landlord had tried to sell a house to the council. This was further discussed with the large landlords, but it was rejected even as a possibility, because the council's price for a house was felt to be unrealistically below the market price.

Amenities and ownership

3.70 The government social survey drew attention, in the report 'The Housing Situation in 1960', to the contrasting levels of amenities between the different forms of tenure. Privately rented property had lower standards of amenities than owner-occupied property. The census data for the Deeplish area for 1961 confirm this; the four basic amenities (fixed bath, internal W.C., hot tap and cold tap) were distributed across the site correlating with the type of tenure. In the north-east corner, in rented housing, amenities were at their lowest level. The occupier survey in 1964 confirmed these trends, and the table below compares the local situation in Deeplish with the national amenity level in 1960.

Table 17 **Possession of the five standard amenities by type of tenure for Deeplish and England and Wales**

	Owner-occupier		Local authority		Privately owned	
	Deeplish Occu-pier Survey %	Eng-land and Wales %	Deeplish Occu-pier Survey %	Eng-land and Wales %	Deeplish Occu-pier Survey %	Eng-land and Wales %
Fixed bath	67	82	100	95	13	44
W.C. internal	55	86	100	94	14	59
Hot tap	71	86	100	91	20	53
Hand basin	65	79	100	80	13	36
Ventilated food cupboard	43	72	100	93	9	48

Landlords' attitudes to improvements

3.71 The landlords were asked if, in their opinion, their houses needed any improvements. Twenty-five said that the houses did need improvements, thirteen said that they did not, but some of these said that this was because 'the houses were too old to need any improvements'. Only 5 of the 25 landlords, who recognised the need for improvements, actually proposed carrying them out. One of these 5 had already started on the improvements, one hoped to begin before the end of the year, the remaining

3 did not know when they could start. The inference drawn is that only 2 landlords out of the sample of 40 both recognised the need for improvements, and were likely to do anything about it. If this low potential for improvement is related to the great necessity for improvements in this sector of housing, where on average only 14% have the five standard amenities, the outlook for improvements by landlords is not hopeful.

Improvement grants

3.72 Since the introduction of 'standard' improvement grants in 1959, by which grants for the 5 standard amenities became statutory and no longer discretionary, only 6 of the 40 Deeplish landlords had made any improvements of any kind, and of these only one took advantage of the standard grants. As if to stress the point that landlords are not making any improvements using the grants, one who lived in Deeplish at first assumed that the discussion was about his own house, and went into great detail of all the jobs in hand and planned and how they had got a grant from the council; only later in the discussion did the interviewer realise the misunderstanding and, on requestioning, the high level of improvement activity was seen to plunge down to the accustomed low level.

3.73 Landlords were asked if they knew about improvement grants; only 4 did not, and 3 of these were very elderly, 2 being widows with low incomes. Of the 36 who knew about the existence of the grants, only 2 were unaware that controlled rents could be raised a permitted amount in relation to the value of the improvements. Thus, for the great majority of landlords it was possible to rule out ignorance as the reason for not taking up the scheme – both ignorance of the scheme itself and ignorance of the method of recouping capital.

3.74 Once it had been established at the interview that landlords did not take up grants, they were asked for their opinions why most landlords did not in fact take up the grants. Six could not think of any reasons; the reasons that were suggested fell into three main categories. These were:

- (i) Landlord-centred. 16 were concerned with the difficulties of raising money; 10 with being so old that they did not care very much nowadays, saying, for example, 'I will probably be underground before I see my money back' and 7 were concerned with the inadequacy of the financial return. The age and poverty of the landlords and the low level of rents account for these attitudes.
- (ii) Tenant-centred. Tenants were said to be too old to want change, too poor and therefore unable to pay more rent. In one or two cases, the landlord was conscious that the National Assistance Board would

meet the extra rent but was unwilling to force people to have to turn to the N.A.B., around which clung unpleasant associations. Tenants were also described as unwilling: 'they *won't* pay more'; 'one of mine goes round each week to his daughter's for a bath and doesn't want any improvements'. It was clear to the interviewer that some of these 'tenant-centred' reasons were a projection of the landlord's own unwillingness to part with money, but by no means all. Most reflected a real understanding on the part of the landlord of the modest means and expectations of his older tenants.

- (iii) House-centred. Eight thought that the houses were 'worn out'; the houses belonging to the landlords who gave this as a reason were to the east of the Milkstone Road. They said that in this type of house there was no room for a bathroom, not even a bulkhead bathroom.

Table 18 **Reasons in general why landlords did not take up improvement grants**

Landlord-centred reasons	Can't raise money	16	
	Old age	10	
	Rent too low	5	
	Bad investment return	2	33
Tenant-centred reasons	Tenants do not want	11	11
House-centred reasons	House worn out	8	
	No room for bathroom	3	11
	No reasons suggested	6	6
All responses			61*

*Landlords gave more than one response.

3.75 The question about improvement grants was raised a second time to explore the reasons why landlords did not themselves personally utilise them. This time the respondents were encouraged to make one main choice and to give the reason which had mattered most to them. Only 3 were unable to give just one response and gave 2. Landlord-centred reasons featured largely, 22 out of the 37 responses stressed their own age (10), their inability to raise money (10), and their feeling that they had had enough of being landlords and were only interested in selling as soon as possible (2). Six gave the tenants as a reason, saying that they did not want the change, and 7 argued that the houses were 'worn out' and not worth it. Two landlords brought in reasons, which on the basis of other surveys were anticipated, but did not appear in the general response. These concerned the landlords' fears of bureaucracy: one

saying that the forms and procedure were too complicated; another, that once the council was involved they would probably insist on more work being done on the house.

Table 19 **Personal reasons given by landlords for not taking up the standard grant**

Landlord-centred reasons	Can't raise money	10	22
	I am too old	10	
	Selling, doesn't pay	2	
Tenant-centred reasons	Tenants don't want	6	6
House-centred reasons	House worn out	7	7
Local authority-centred reasons	Keep wanting more work	1	2
	Bureaucracy	1	

3.76 The landlord receives up to £155 of the expenses of installing the standard amenities (more in certain circumstances) and pays his share in a lump sum. The planning department of the Rochdale council considered that the landlords' shortage of capital and/or unwillingness to part with capital was an impediment hindering the landlords from taking up the improvement grant. The council suggested that lending the full cost to the landlord with repayment in instalments from the extra rent, would encourage landlords to take up the grant and make improvements. This suggestion was raised with those landlords who had touched on financial reasons for not taking up the grant. Of the 30 who in some way or another gave financial reasons, 23 thought that more landlords would apply. The other 7 thought that the proposal would meet with little response.

3.77 This finding has to be considered against the reasons that the landlords gave why they personally did not take up the grant. Here only 10 of the 37 reasons given were concerned with the landlords' inability to raise capital. Age of the landlord, of his tenants and of the house must therefore be re-stressed. Again, the optimistic aspirations of landlords expressed when loans were suggested, have to be reconciled with their very weak previous record in utilising grants. Their behaviour is not solely economic and rational, and the offer of easy finance fails to take into account the other social factors which hitherto have handicapped any significant raising of standards in rented property. A typical Deepdish landlord sees his house as a burden, and even if the sting is taken out of the financial problem, he is still left with responsibility for the maintenance and administration of the house. He is old, and has elderly tenants who, like himself, are not enthusiastic for change. Loans to landlords thus may not meet the full challenge of this complex situation.

Repairs

3.78 The responsibility for repairs between landlord and tenants is set out below:

Table 20 **Responsibility for repairs: landlord and tenant**

	Internal decorations	Internal structural repairs	Internal non-structural repairs	External repairs	External decorations
Landlord	2	32	32	38	37
Tenant	36	3	3	1	1
Shared	1	4	4	0	1
No information	1	1	1	1	1
	40	40	40	40	40

The responsibility for repairs was divided in theory on conventional lines, broadly that it was the landlord's responsibility to do outside repairs and decoration and internal repairs, but that it was the tenant's responsibility to see to the internal decoration. One agent commented, 'that's something new, you know, when I began in the business the landlord did everything, or at least provided the materials'. As the interviews progressed, it became clear that this was only the formal division of responsibilities. Underneath lay a whole substructure of 'understandings' which recognised the care that the good tenant might take of the house and in return it was understood that the rent was to be kept low. For example, a landlord, having explained the formal division of responsibility, then added that if any tenant put panels on the doors, or put in a new fireplace or painted the outside, he would allow about a shilling a week less on the rent. Another complained of being harried by his tenants, who felt that the landlord should do everything; if a nail in a garden gate was needed, the tenant let it stay neglected until he had to buy a new gate.

3.79 The large number of small and medium landlords who had done no repairs during the previous twelve months, also indicates this shifting of responsibilities. As almost all the houses were fairly old, they constantly needed at least minor repairs, which the tenants often did, as the occupier survey shows. Almost all the landlords relied on the tenants telling them when repairs were needed as the tenant 'only lived next door' or 'just down the road' or 'they tell me (or the rent collector) on a Friday', 'they come round fast enough when something's the matter'. Only three mentioned anything in the way of a regular inspection, and even this was a formal name for what appeared to be an occasional glance round. A few more, such as the Pioneers, had a regular joinery, tidying, and painting schedule of the exteriors. Even so, 11 of the landlords thought that the house they owned needed major repairs, 27 said that they were not needed, and 2

were uncertain. Of the 11 who recognised that repairs were needed, 9 hoped to get them done, most of these adding the significant rider 'as I can afford it'.

Cost of repairs

3.80 The data on repair costs were extremely scrappy. Some landlords produced meticulously kept accounts and were very precise; others simply guessed and had an idea of an average house or an average year. It was felt in the interview that there was a mildly inflationary tendency, to answer in terms of the repair bill for the whole block of houses rather than only the one under discussion, to include last year's big bill because this year had been a cheap year and so forth. Consequently this table is presented simply because there is no better data, though the case histories tend to confirm the pattern.

3.81 In the table below, levels of costs were grouped to match the repair costs groups used in the occupier survey, which is slightly misleading as the modal cost was between £2 and £3 in the under-£10 category. Exactly half the landlords were in this category. This and the following table do not show a cross-section of all privately rented property, as was obtained in the occupiers' survey, because all the information in this section is based on the landlords' experience. The landlords, who owned more than one house in Deeplish, normally averaged their costs over all their houses and thus the tables relate either to the only or to the 'average' house owned by landlords in the sample rather than to the actual houses in the sample.

Table 21 **Distribution of repair costs during the previous year according to size of holdings.**

	Landlords with small holdings (1-5)	Landlords with medium holdings (6-10)	Landlords with large holdings (10 plus)
Nothing	5	2	0
Up to £10	7	10	3
£10-£19	3	2	0
£20-£29	1	1	0
£30-£39	1	0	0

(5 miscellaneous. Not known, etc.)

Thirty-one of the landlords were able to give some account of repair costs. Only 8 spent more than £10 in the last year, no large landlord being among them. Six, who were small landlords in the main, actually spent nothing; and the 'medium' category had more in common with the small landlords than with the large. All of the large landlords spent some money on repairs. An average repair cost must be a tentative figure, but £6 to £7 a year suggests itself on the strength of the admittedly poor data available. But the feature which should be emphasised rather than

the exact amount, is that the level is so low, particularly bearing in mind the need of any old house for maintenance.

Repairs done in the last twelve months

3.82 The landlords gave an account of the repair work which they had had done in the last twelve months. The descriptions which they gave of the work were more slight than table 22 perhaps suggests. One of the landlords who had not done any, said 'my son-in-law pointed them (2 houses) in his spare time four years ago. Now nothing has been done to them in the last twelve months. They have to do these little things for themselves'. Another described his total list of repairs as 'a new brick in the chimney, mending the back gate, and a new base to the ash bin'. Another said: '. . . so apart from the new window and the burst in the winter there's nothing'. Another: 'the waste pipe in the kitchen was repaired last winter, that's all'. Or they recalled an earlier and more expensive year: 'we had quite a heavy year the year before, one or two bursts, and the hall floor renewed'.

Table 22 **Repairs done in the previous year**

	All landlords	Small (18)	Medium (16)	Large (4)
None	7	5	2	0
Roofs	13	3	7	3
Painting exteriors	8	6	0	2
Plumbing (bursts)	14	5	8	1
Repointing	7	4	2	1
Joinery	12	6	5	1
Drains	2	0	2	0
General maintenance	6	2	1	3
Electricity	0	0	0	0
Carpentry	0	0	0	0

Case studies

3.83 *A small landlord.* This very old lady of 88 only owned a single house and was too old to be interviewed and instead her daughter and son-in-law, who managed the house for her, were seen. Neither of them knew exactly how long the house had been in the family but it was 'before 1918'. The house represented the old lady's sole income, apart from the money her daughter and son-in-law gave her. Since the rent was only 9/- a week, this income was £13 a year after rates had been paid. Because of this, repairs were done only when absolutely essential; the house was low in amenities and 'needed a lot doing to it'. The daughter thought she might do some improvements with a grant if she were landlord. But as they had already tried and been unable to sell to the sitting tenant, this statement expressed more a hope than a policy, particularly as they expressed a strong interest in selling as soon as possible.