Back-to-back houses and their communities in twenty-first century Leeds

Volume 1 of 2

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Abstract

This doctoral thesis builds on the author's MA research into back-to-back terraced houses in the Harehills neighbourhood of Leeds, which successfully argued that the undesignated houses have considerable heritage significance that is not recognised in policy and puts them at risk. This research further considers their heritage significance, taking account of the value of the houses and neighbourhood to their resident communities, and explores how this can be reconciled with twenty-first century living requirements to inform their future. It does this by tracing their architectural history from 1888 to 2021, and their social history in the periods 1888 to 1920 and 2017 to 2021. Critically examining the use and meaning of the houses and neighbourhood for residents past and present brings new understandings of the value of the place, not just in terms of working-class history and heritage, but of the experiences of living in a multicultural and vibrant, yet deprived and arguably financially-neglected inner city neighbourhood. These individual and collective understandings of sense of place inform an exploration of residents' and professionals' aspirations for the neighbourhood's future and of the existing policy frameworks that may facilitate transformative change, highlighting the opportunities and challenges that lie ahead.

The ethnographic approach uses a mixed methodology incorporating architectural, archaeological, historical and social science methods, cross-referencing an exceptional array of sources from archives, the built environment, participants and literature. In doing so, it pieces together the complexities of the neighbourhood's past and present to make an entirely new contribution to knowledge, and crucially, prioritises the voices of marginalised residents. Moreover, the new knowledge can, and is already being used to initiate the changes residents want, and the scope and methodology of the research will undoubtedly be of interest to stakeholders in other historic inner-city working-class terraced areas throughout the country.

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List of Accompanying Material

Folder	Data file
Appendix B	Census 1901 and 1911_birthplaces.xlsx
	Census 2011.xlsx
	Electoral register analysis.xlsx
	NINO registrations to 2020.xlsx
	Socio demographic profiles.xlsx
Appendix C	Record photography for neighbourhood survey, organised in folders by street name
Datasets	
Access	Backtobacks_in_Leeds.accdb
Documentation	Database Documentation.pdf
	Entity Relationship Diagram.pdf
	Queries and Reports.xlsx
House type photos	Record photography for each architectural design, organised in folders by architectural design number
Linked spreadsheets	Council housing.xlsx
	Landlords.xlsx
	Neighbourhood survey.xlsx
	Overcrowded_houses_1901.xlsx
	Overcrowded_houses_1911.xlsx
	Weighted condition.xlsx
Linked tables	Energy_efficiency.accdb
	Exterior_Feature_Condition.accdb
	House_Historic_Approvals.accdb
	Participants.accdb
	Property_Particulars.accdb
	Type_Phosos_12PMO.accdb
	Type_Photos_3.accdb
ArcGIS	Backtobacks_in_Leeds.ppkx Refer to the documentation for instructions.
Layer symbology	34 .lyrx files
Documentation	ArcGIS documentation.pdf
NVivo	Backtobacks_in_Leeds.nvp
Documentation	Cases.xlsx
	NVivo documentation.docx
	Relationships.xlsx
	Social media sources memo.pdf
SPSS	
Documentation	SPSS documentation.pdf
Neighbourhood survey	Neighbourhood survey.sav
	Neighbourhood survey SPSS data export.xlsx
	Neighbourhood survey variable export.xlsx
Public Engagement feedback	Public engagement feedback.sav
	Public engagement data export.xlsx
	Public engagement variable exportt.xlsx
Q1 data	Q1 data file.sav
	Q1 SPSS data export.xlsx
	Q1 SPSS variable export.xlsx
Q2 data	Q2 data file.sav
	Q2 SPSS data export.xlsx
	Q2 SPSS variable export.xlsx
Q3 data	Q3 data file.sav
	Q3 SPSS data export.xlsx
	Q3 SPSS variable export.xlsx

Abbreviations

BBBBC - Building Better Building Beautiful Commission

BoL – Borough of Leeds

CABE - Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment

CIfA – Chartered Institute for Archaeologists

CIHT – Chartered Institution of Highways and Transportation

CoE – Council of Europe

CoL – City of Leeds

DBEIS - Department for Business, Energy & Industrial Strategy

DCMS - Department for Culture, Media and Sport

DDCMS - Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport

DCLG – Department for Communities and Local Government

DfE – Department for Education

DLUHC – Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities

DoE – Department of the Environment

DWP - Department for Work and Pensions

FMP – Find My Past

HCA – Homes and Communities Agency

HE – Historic England

ICOMOS – International Council on Monuments and Sites

LCC – Leeds City Council

LLIS – Leeds Library and Information Service

LSOA – Lower Super Output Area (see Glossary)

MHCLG - Ministry of Housing, Culture and Local Government

MSOA – Middle Super Output Area (see Glossary)

NPPF – National Planning Policy Framework

ODPM - Office of the Deputy Prime Minister

ONS – Office for National Statistics

NAO – National Audit Office

RIBA – Royal Institute of British Architects

RICS – Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors

RTPI – Royal Town Planning Institute

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

VAO - Valuation Office Agency

WSHG - Welsh Streets Home Group

WYAS – West Yorkshire Archive Service

WCED – World Commission on Environment and Development

YEP – Yorkshire Evening Post

YPLI – Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer

Note: Since publication of the cited MHCLG documents, the department has changed its name to Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities (DLUHC).

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I began research on the back-to-back houses in 2014 and the journey has been much longer than I originally anticipated, being punctuated by maternity leave, a cancer diagnosis, a pandemic and a brain haemorrhage. Although my decision to become a researcher was influenced by the flexibility to combine my work with parenting, my girls, Elizabeth and Catherine have still had to accommodate my irregular hours and frequent “just give me a minute so I can finish my work” responses to their requests for my attention. Now aged ten and six, they have grown up knowing that mummy loves back-to-back houses, but I hope they know I love them more. I am so lucky to have had them, and my husband Marc, by my side on this journey. I may not say it often enough, but I do appreciate the support you’ve all given me — I know it’s not been easy, but I’ve made it through now; we’ve made it through together. Thank you!

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, university. All sources are acknowledged as references.

I have authored three peer-reviewed publications which resulted primarily from my MA research. All are cited in this thesis and a paragraph from the most recent is incorporated into Chapter 1.

Harrison, J. (2019). Back-to-back houses in twenty-first century Leeds. *The Historic Environment: Policy & Practice*. 10 (2), 122-151. [Online]. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/17567505.2019.1571773

Harrison, J. (2018). The origin, development and decline of back-to-back houses in Leeds, 1787-1937. *Industrial Archaeology Review*. 39(2), 101-116. [Online]. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/03090728.2017.1398902

Harrison, J. (2016b). Heritage conservation — the forgotten agenda in Victorian terraced communities. In Chitty, G. (Ed.), *Heritage, conservation and communities.* London: Routledge. 192-211.

Other publications, media and an MA dissertation that I have authored, and which are cited in the thesis are:

Harrison, J. (2021). *The lost streets project.* [Online]. Available at: http://bit.ly/loststreetsleeds [Accessed 16 May 2022].

Harrison, J. (2016a). Approaches to the analysis and interpretation of elite terraced houses in the long eighteenth century. *Postgraduate Perspectives on the Past,* 2(1), 37-58. [Online]. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.9520/ppp/2016.214 [Accessed 13 January 2017].

Harrison, J. (2015a). *Heritage at risk: Victorian back-to-back houses in 21st century Leeds.* Unpublished: University of York. MA. [Online]. Available at: https://eu.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/delivery/44YORK_INST:AlmaGeneralView/12353688240001381?lang=en&viewerServiceCode=AlmaViewer [Accessed 14 March 2022].

Harrison, J. (2014). Changing approaches to the analysis and interpretation of medieval urban houses. *The Post Hole,* (42), 15-26. [Online]. Available at http://theposthole.org/read/article/312 [Accessed 5 February 2020].

Appendix G lists further publications, conference presentations and public engagement work resulting from this and the MA research.

Chapter 1 Introduction

Introduction

Back-to-back terraced houses are a popular form of housing in Leeds, built throughout the nineteenth century and into the inter-war period. Originating from the vernacular back-to-back court houses, they developed to overcome national criticisms and comply with legislation concerned with construction quality, sanitary conditions and social reform. The extant back-to-back houses in Leeds were constructed in three urban arrangements along linear streets, and generally comprise a row facing onto a street, with another row adjoining its back, facing onto the street behind. The mid-terraces therefore share three party walls and have just one exterior wall. These architect-designed houses that incorporate the polite features found in contemporaneous urban houses elsewhere, are now the largest remaining collection of this housing type in the UK.

Having been stigmatised by the social and cultural associations with the poor conditions that were prevalent in the worst vernacular examples from over 150 years ago, the house type is once again associated with concerns about their viability. Prolonged lack of investment has resulted in a poor external environment, and for some residents, unfit living conditions. In Harehills, Leeds, where communities are among the most socially deprived in the country, the effects of this are more strongly felt. Jones, Kettle and Unsworth (2004, 94-95) note that

> In such places, largely rejected by first time buyers, the property mix and the preponderance of private renting is leading to endemic instability and lack of community links. This housing is also becoming an additional 'safety net' for extremely vulnerable people, households evicted from previous accommodation and those households whom other providers are reluctant to help (for example, asylum seekers and refugees…)

The *Harehills Neighbourhood Improvement Plan 2014/2015* highlights five key priorities that should be addressed, including the reduction of crime and anti-social behaviour; improving health and wellbeing; improving education attainment and attendance, and the economic viability of Harehills; improving the local environment; and creating a confident and more cohesive community (Hooper n.d.). The housing itself does not feature in the plan, but in the context of the research by Jones, Kettle and Unsworth (2004), indicates a potentially cyclical relationship where issues relating to the housing stock (such as tenure type and condition) might be perpetuating social problems within the community, and these then reinforce the suitability of the housing for accommodating difficult residents.

Interestingly, there are examples elsewhere in Leeds where the back-to-back housing and communities have adapted to provide desirable places to live that are also economically successful. Chapel Allerton for example, has a small number of back-to-back terraces and although local policy does not generally recognise back-to-back terraces as having any particular significance or architectural value, they are included in the Chapel Allerton Conservation Area for just that reason (LCC 2008). It is possible that the context of these houses, which is characterised by a variety of housing types (including villas and middle-class houses) arranged in a mainly informal urban layout, and the prestige they have acquired by being in the conservation area, has contributed to their success. The houses are well-maintained, with original features juxtaposed against modern interior adaptations to create characterful accommodation that maximises their spatial potential. Furthermore, their market value averages almost three times that of similar houses in Harehills (Rightmove 2019). Although some of this uplift may be attributable to improved house condition and spatial adaptations, it appears mainly to result from factors external to the building fabric. While Chapel Allerton provides a good example of gentrification, the cost of its success has likely been borne by poorer residents who have been displaced (Dutton 2005, 226-228).

In Harehills, many of the adaptations and modifications that owners have made to improve the functional and environmental performance of the houses have been detrimental to the character of the area, arguably diminishing their architectural value and putting their heritage significance at risk. Some of the changes to building form, room function and architectural character are particularly dramatic, but interestingly, very little of this occurred before the 1970s. Photographic evidence appears to show little change to the material or character of the area in the preceding decades. Iron railings were still in place on garden walls in 1939, and as would be expected, they had been removed by the time the next set of photographs were taken after the end of World War II. As late as the 1980s, most houses retained what appeared to be the original sash windows, doors, roof slates and dormer windows (where present) (LLIS 2022). However, building control records for the period 1974-1982 show that a significant number of approvals were made for the installation of internal bathrooms and dormer windows to the attics (LCC 2019e). This flurry of activity can almost certainly be attributed to the provision of house renovation grants available under the Housing (Financial Provision) Acts 1958, House Purchase and Housing Act 1959 and the Housing Act 1974 (DoE 1975; The Leeds Journal 1960) (see Chapter 4 for full details). These raised housing standards, and especially sanitary facilities, in line with what the Government considered to be acceptable. The most recent home improvement incentives, part of the Government's *Green Deal* which funded energy-efficiency improvements, had a further negative impact on the historic character and fabric of the neighbourhood (UK Government 2019). It is clear that when the state introduces policy with financial provision, public opinion and action is influenced accordingly. Such interventions now raise questions about how best to reconcile the conflicting requirements of heritage protection with twenty-first century standards and preferences for domestic life.

Here we reach the crux of what this research is about. While heritage is a key theme throughout the thesis, it is not prioritised over the other values, rather there is a question about the *balance* of values that the residents and other stakeholders may hold for the houses. However, there are three reasons why heritage is identified here and these will be discussed in detail in the following section. This will begin with an outline of the motivations for the current and previous research, from which it will be seen that heritage was the catalyst. This will be followed by a summary of how the previous research has demonstrated that the houses have evidential, historic and aesthetic values giving them heritage significance (Harrison 2015a), and finally, it will be shown that heritage is just one of the values that will be identified and negotiated, the remainder originating from the communities themselves.

Context and previous research

A personal journey

My interest in this subject stems initially from having lived in a back-to-back house in the Harehills Triangle, and how, as a newly qualified architect, knowing much about new building design, and relatively little about historical buildings, I was enticed by the peculiarities of its layout, the quality and variation of the architectural features, and the experiential qualities of both the interior spaces and the neighbourhood, which jarred with everything I had known before in housing, yet worked amazingly well. The turnaround from pulling my nose up at the newly discovered back-to-back type, to buying one as a first step on the property ladder, and falling in love with them was remarkably quick, and left me questioning why they were not more celebrated.

Several years later, having moved on, but still retaining affection for the house type, I felt the need to find out more. In part, this was to satisfy my own curiosity, but also to raise the profile of the back-to-backs and protect them, so that they can be more fully enjoyed by the current communities, and can continue to be enjoyed throughout the twenty-first century. This resulted in the development of two research projects, one at MA level, and this PhD.

Initial research

The MA research, *Heritage at risk: Victorian back-to-backs in 21st century Leeds* (Harrison 2015a) successfully provides a foundation from which this research can continue, having scoped the evidence and trialled a number of methodologies, while at the same time, providing a coherent and comprehensive project in its own right.

The research identified a significant knowledge gap in relation to back-to-back terraces. Firstly, although a small number of researchers have written about various aspects of their architectural development, mainly in relation to nineteenth-century legislative reform, there have been no detailed studies of the type, either in terms of plan form variations, architectural detailing, interiors or construction techniques. There are few historical studies of the house type in Victorian and Edwardian times, and almost no published information about the architectural changes that have been made through the course of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, including the survival of historic fabric. Secondly, the house occupants are largely ignored in the literature. Back-to-backs feature in a small number of social history studies (e.g. Burnett 1986; Gauldie 1974), but these do not relate to the back-to-backs in Leeds from 1890 onwards, and therefore, only offer contextual information. Additionally, in-depth studies, and notably, oral histories, focussing on life in specific working-class neighbourhoods, have also failed to address the back-to-back type, so again, provide only contextual information about cultural norms. There appears to be no research about Leeds's back-to-back communities prior to the late twentieth century, and recent studies have focussed on poor housing quality and deprivation statistics, with little qualitative research aimed at understanding life within the houses or the neighbourhood. Thirdly, apart from a basic quantitative survey that was conducted with a limited number of Leeds back-to-back residents in 2008 (Barraclough, Horner and Jones 2008a; 2008b), the communities do not appear to have been consulted about their understanding of their houses and neighbourhoods in terms of heritage. This is not uncommon, as evidenced by regeneration schemes conducted as part of the government's Housing Market Renewal Initiative (Pathfinder) programme (see Harrison 2016b and below), but the academic literature concerning heritage engagement in working-class neighbourhoods is also scant. Finally, many of the technical and legal requirements for housing, neighbourhoods, regeneration and conservation, do not adequately reflect the specific issues and difficulties encountered in back-to-backs, or even other types of non-designated housing. Terraced houses do feature in conservation best-practice publications, but the back-to-back type is not among those considered. Consequently, when studies concerning the future viability of back-to-back housing were carried out in Leeds, and a selection of intervention types were proposed and tested, these were not the result of understanding communities' requirements or participatory design, and they do not appear to acknowledge the traditional building pathology or the heritage significance of the neighbourhoods (Barraclough, Horner and Jones 2008a; 2008b; BRE n.d.). Related to this, the lack of protection afforded by local planning policy means that there is no specific design guidance, and it is only since 2012 that a generic householder design guide has been adopted into policy to improve the quality of modifications to houses across the city (LCC 2012).

The MA dissertation went some way to addressing the knowledge gap, but it was acknowledged from the outset, that the time and academic constraints meant that it could only be a precursor to a much larger study that could be carried out at PhD level. It therefore sought to provide a basic understanding of the building fabric, an assessment of the heritage values and significance, and an evaluation of the adequacy of heritage protection currently in place.

Specifically, the research traced the development of the back-to-back house in Leeds, considering it in the context of back-to-backs in other towns and cities, and importantly, in the context of the legislative changes brought about by the concerns of social and sanitary reformers. There was an unexplainable determination to continue building back-to-backs in Leeds, and as a result of this controversy, the house designs and construction were continually improved until they arguably provided a higher standard of accommodation than many ‘through’ terraced houses. Ironically however, just as they achieved this, the building of new back-to-backs was prohibited.

Focusing on the Harehills Triangle neighbourhood (Figures 1-2) an assessment was made of the evidential, historical and aesthetic values, in line with Historic England’s (2008) *Conservation principles, policies and guidance* to create a statement of significance. This significance lies firstly in the group value of the houses, with the neighbourhood demonstrating their development in the context of social and sanitary reform, and legislative forces, and secondly, in their architectural and aesthetic interest which is evidenced through the high level of variation in decorative designs. This demonstrates not only the way the neighbourhood developed in small phases, but links to the architectural styling of the Victorian, Edwardian and inter-war periods. That there is such a comprehensive collection of documentary evidence corresponding to the extant physical evidence, further increases the significance.

It was concluded that some aspects of the heritage of the back-to-back houses are at risk. The urban uniformity and stylistic integrity are affected by piecemeal modifications such as dormer extensions, the installation of external wall insulation, and the replacement of fabric and fittings that are deemed to have reached the end of their useful life. Furthermore, these changes impact on the evidence of the neighbourhood’s incremental development, and increase the likelihood of fabric decay associated with the application of modifications that are not suited to traditionally constructed buildings.

A brief examination of the local and national heritage protection policies indicated that the risk is largely attributable to a lack of understanding of the housing type and its heritage significance, and a lack of protection being given through local planning policy. Case studies of terraced housing in a conservation area in York, and of the now Grade II listed back-to-backs in Birmingham which are operated as a museum by The National Trust, were instrumental in arguing that protection is necessary, and that there is no room for complacency in the seemingly large numbers of remaining back-to-backs in Leeds — the extant houses give us a unique opportunity to uncover the secrets of the past, and to lose this evidence, and the communities that reside in them, can in no way be compensated for by the retention of a small museum in their honour.

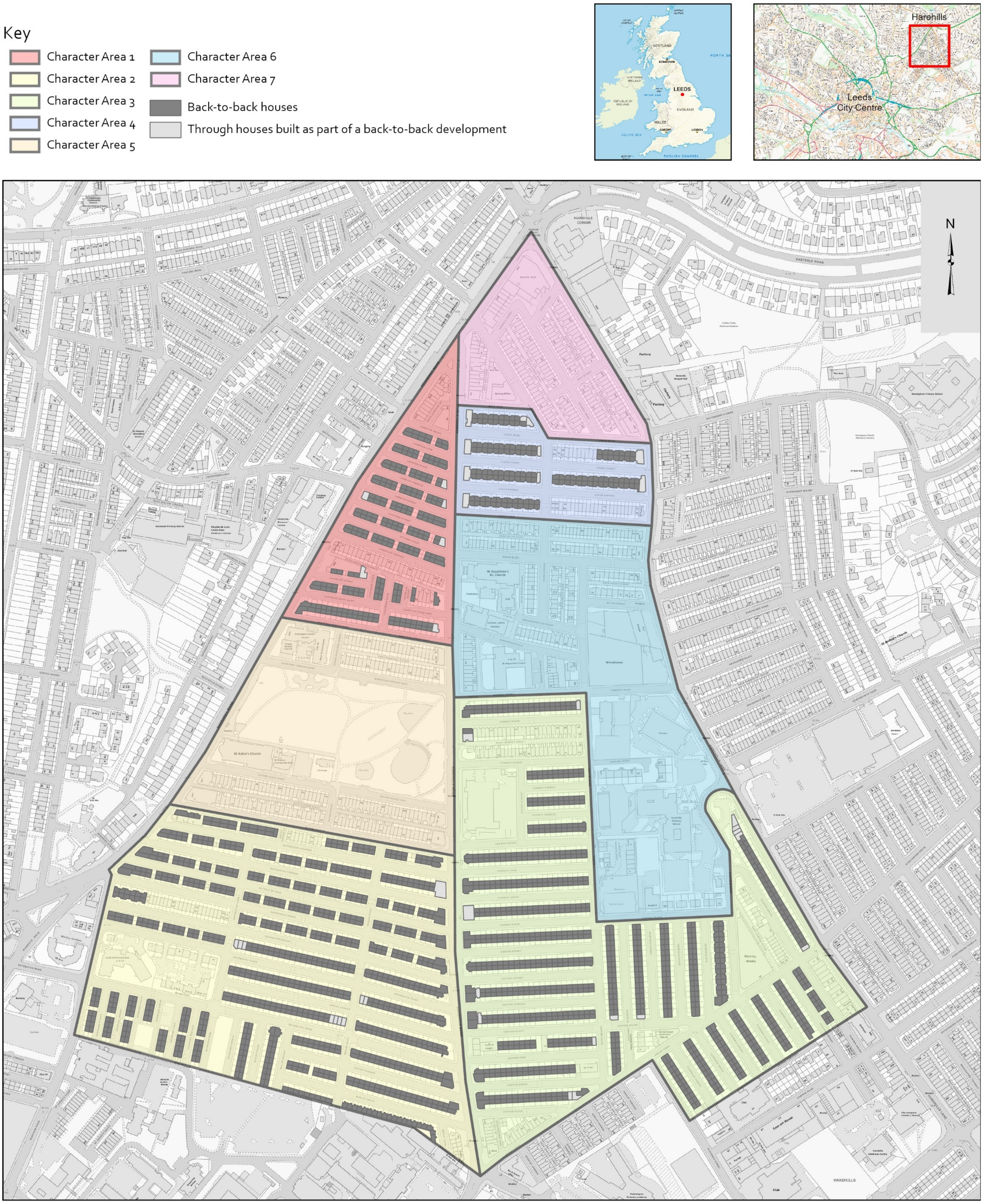
Aside from laying the foundations for further research, the MA dissertation revealed wider implications relevant to the planning process in terms of managing future change and development. Firstly, it provides a single point of reference for the development of back-to-backs in Leeds, set in the context of those elsewhere, and it was apparent from interviews with planning officers that this is an area in which the local Planning and Conservation Departments have only limited knowledge. Secondly, the historic area analysis highlighted the variety of the stock and the quality of the architectural detailing, which was also not fully appreciated by officials, and this has implications for both piecemeal development and that where a block or street is being developed as a group.

The next stage

With inappropriate modifications occurring continuously, helped along by a relaxation in planning policy focused on improving economic sustainability, it was vital that further research was undertaken as soon as possible. Communal value as defined by Historic England (2008, 31-32) was outside the scope of the MA study because of the extensive nature of the research required in order to provide robust and reliable conclusions about its nature, degree and contribution to significance. It was therefore suggested in the conclusion that future research could involve working collaboratively with local communities to understand their housing needs, the values they associate with their houses and neighbourhood, and to negotiate briefing and design strategies that balance their requirements with heritage protection, with a view to implementing a design guide or Neighbourhood Plan which could be adopted into local planning policy.

Here, we return to the question of why heritage appears to be privileged above the other values that communities associate with their housing and neighbourhood. What is being recognised, is that according to the dominant values system used in England, defined by Historic England (2008) in *Conservation principles, policies and guidance,* evidential, historic and aesthetic values have already been identified as contributing to heritage significance (see Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion). While we can assume that many other values exist too, prior to commencement of this research, their nature was unknown.

Harehills Triangle - location and character areas



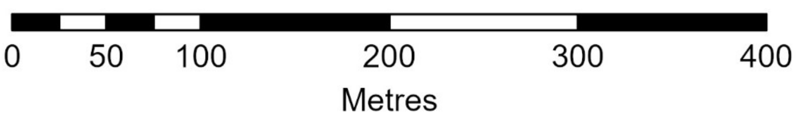


Figure 1 Location of the Harehills Triangle study area, the character areas (devised for this research) and identification of the back-to-back houses (Background maps: Ordnance Survey (GB) 2018a; 2018b; 2018c).

Harehills Triangle land use in 2020

Key

- Commercial
- Industrial
- Medical centre
- Place of worship incl. community uses
- Public outdoor space and parks
- Residential (private houses)
- Residential (sheltered/care home)
- Retail (incl. small commercial)
- School

Figure 2 Harehills Triangle land use in 2020 (Background map: Ordnance Survey (GB) 2018b).

It may appear that a 'top-down' approach is being advocated, and that is not the case. Alternative value systems to that promoted by Historic England will be evaluated in order that the research can be as inclusive as possible. All values that the communities recognise in the place, whether these relate to heritage, functional, economic, architectural or other aspects, will therefore be acknowledged, weighted according to their relative importance to the communities, and assessed in the context of each other and of overall heritage value. This is a negotiation that needs to take place among all stakeholders, including the resident communities and built environment officials, to maximise the chance of a successful outcome (Figure 3). The methodology of this research is therefore designed to facilitate that.

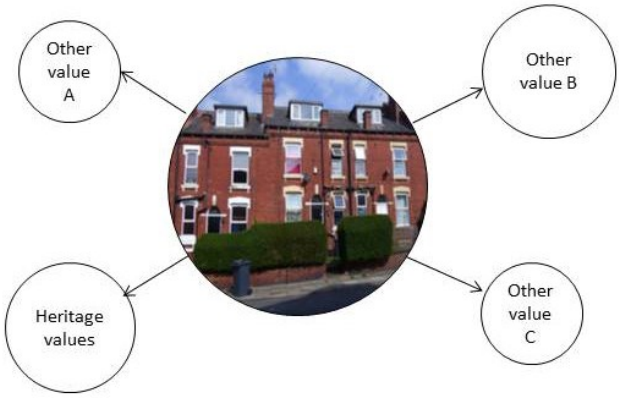


Figure 3 Some evidential, historical and aesthetic heritage values were identified in the MA research using Historic England's value system. This research uncovers more heritage values, and also 'non-heritage' values that the communities associate with the houses and neighbourhood. The importance of each needs to be considered in relation to the others.

Harrison (2019) summarises the government's Pathfinder programme as perhaps the most infamous example of an attempt to engage communities in neighbourhood regeneration. This ran from 2002 to 2011 in nine regions of the Midlands and the North of England, (Harrison 2016b; Wilson 2013, 1-2). Similar to Harehills, neighbourhoods with a high proportion of Victorian terraced housing stock were characterised by a history of economic decline, high levels of deprivation, anti-social behaviour, and properties in poor condition (NAO 2007, 10 cited in Harrison 2019, 124). It was expected that local communities would be engaged and have a genuine opportunity to identify problems and shape solutions, however critics claimed that there were limited opportunities available for real engagement, and that some issues, such as heritage, were side-lined from the start (Leather and Nevin 2013, 870; Mark Hines Architects 2010; NAO 2007, 12; 15; Wilkinson 2006 all cited in Harrison 2019, 124). Consequently, the controversial plans to demolish hundreds of houses, led to several high-profile campaigns where communities brought their case to public inquiry (Cole and Flint 2007, 8 cited in Harrison 2019, 124).

The benefits of engaging communities and enabling their participation in neighbourhood regeneration are now widely acknowledged to the extent that some scholars and practitioners believe it may be impossible to achieve regeneration without communities' input (Campbell 2011, 5; 10; Adamson 2010, 35). In a conservation context, Jones and Yarrow (2013) have shown how the skills and expertise of different groups involved in a project inform the interactions and negotiations between them, to arrive at shared understandings. This idea of multiple meanings and negotiations that culminate in shared understandings is a key theme throughout this research, and will be examined in detail in later chapters.

This research

Aims

Building on the previous research, the overall aim of this research is firstly to investigate the heritage significance of back-to-back houses in Harehills, by analysing and interpreting their architectural character, use, and value to their communities, and then to consider the factors that will inform their future in Leeds, culminating in a strategy for future action that balances heritage conservation and twenty-first century living. This work will promote a 'bottom-up' approach, prioritising the needs and desires of the communities, while negotiating the heritage significance that has already been identified, and the realities of policy and dominant heritage discourses in England. It will be addressed through the following aims:

1. Understand the physical characteristics of the Harehills neighbourhood and back-to-back terraced houses.
2. Trace the demographic, functional and spatial history of the housing stock in Harehills and explore contemporary perspectives on use and need.
3. Investigate how the heritage and other values of back-to-back houses in Harehills are understood by the community and built environment professionals.
4. Consider strategies for regeneration that enhance the heritage and other significances of the housing and neighbourhood, and improve its sustainability.

A successful research project will produce tangible outputs that make a valuable contribution to back-to-back neighbourhoods, encouraging new policy such as a design guide or Neighbourhood Plan, but aspirationally, even a change in the official status of the houses and neighbourhood, through designation as a conservation area. Engagement and capacity building with the communities is vital to the achievement of this, and in addition to meeting the objectives of the research project, it is also intended that the community engagement methodologies will have a use beyond the scope of the project. If the methodologies can also be applied to any type of historic workers' housing where conservation and community-led regeneration is desirable, the importance of the research will be further increased.

Limitations

As previously discussed, the house designs and materials (if not the condition), remained relatively stable for around the first eighty years of their lives, so this research concentrates on understanding the houses and occupants from 1890 to 1920, the period when they were first constructed, and 2017 to 2021, the period during which this research was carried out.

Time constraints have inevitably limited the quantity of qualitative research and community engagement that could be undertaken within the Harehills Triangle neighbourhood, and similarly, a comparison with other back-to-back neighbourhoods in Leeds would have been useful for assessing the uniqueness or otherwise of the findings in the Harehills Triangle. The implications of these limitations will be discussed in the concluding chapter, however it should be noted here that further research could be undertaken in future, should funding become available.

Key terms

Throughout this thesis, *Harehills* should be understood as the Harehills Triangle study area as identified in Figure 1, and not the entire Harehills neighbourhood, ward or other geographical boundary (except where explicitly stated).

The back-to-back houses are distinguished by their plan-form type in accordance with a typology that was developed by the Regional Office of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government in the mid-twentieth century, and later by Leeds City council (Dolman, 2007; Baines 1955, 854) (Table 1). An 'other' category is created for the purposes of this research, which comprises a small number of houses that have alternative plan-forms.

Type	Plan-form features	Urban arrangement and sanitary provision	Example
Type 1	One room per floor	Maximum of eight in a block with shared closet / WC yards between. Can be street-lined, have a buffer garden or a full garden.	
Type 2	Two rooms per floor on at least the ground and first floors		   
Type 3		Continuous row with a WC integral to the house footprint (at least one WC per two houses). All have a garden.	   
Pseudo Type 3	One room per floor		 
Modern	Two rooms per floor on all floors	Continuous row with an internal bathroom (including WC) to each house. All have a garden.	

Table 1 The back-to-back types being built in Leeds in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Source: Barraclough, Horner and Jones 2008b, 19-23; Baines 1955, 854).

The meaning of the terms *community*, *heritage* and *sense of place* are discussed fully in Chapter 2. The *Abbreviations* and *Glossary* sections provide an explanation of specialist terms and acronyms.

Structure

In summary, this chapter introduces the focus of my research, provides background information about the back-to-back terraced houses in Leeds and outlines the reasons for my interest in these. It provides information on previous research in this area, and explains the importance of further research and why it is timely, before outlining the aims of the research. Finally, I have introduced the theoretical framework upon which the research is based, and given an overview of the methodology.

Chapter two examines the concepts of community and heritage, and the context of and debate concerning current approaches to identifying heritage values, before exploring the social constructionist theoretical framework. A summary explains how the key issues raised in the chapter will inform the research design.

Chapter three explores key themes and debates in the methodological approaches, and provides a detailed account of the research methods including data collection and analysis.

Chapter four presents an investigation of the original design and construction of the back-to-back houses, with a focus on typologies and building form, including the influence of architectural character, materials and construction techniques. There is also an appraisal of the housing as it stands today, noting especially, heritage features, modification and property condition.

Chapters five and six move the focus away from a traditional architectural and archaeological approach to building analysis, and introduce the social dimension for the periods 1890-1920 and 2017-2021 respectively. The communities, and use and meaning of the housing for them, are analysed and interpreted in the context of wider social discourse. Comparison with other terraced workers' housing forms enables interpretation of the extent to which living in a back-to-back house impacts on daily life, and whether residents past and present have modified social behavioural norms resulting in a unique way of life.

Chapter seven is concerned with the heritage and other values that communities and professionals identify in the back-to-back housing and the neighbourhood, which contribute to a statement of heritage significance. Consideration is then given to residents' aspirations for the future of back-to-back houses in Harehills, how these can be reconciled with the neighbourhood's heritage significance, and the interrelationship between these findings and local policy amendments.

The concluding chapter, Chapter eight, reviews the findings and their importance, confirms how the research aims and objectives have been met, identifies the potential impact of the research, and suggests further research possibilities and directions for community action.

The appendices are referred to throughout the thesis, beginning with Appendix A which discusses the approach to research ethics. Appendices B, C and D provide information about archive, survey and participant data, appraising and detailing the data collection methods and providing raw data, reports and references to dataset files. Appendix E provides an analysis of data quality, details the methods of analysis and presents an overview of the dataset files. Appendix F provides supplementary data and commentary for Chapters 4 to 7 and Appendix G lists the research outputs and engagement activities.

Chapter 2 Key concepts and theoretical framework

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the examination of two key concepts – community and heritage – that underpin this research, and the theoretical framework within which it is conducted. It begins with analysis of the key issues and debates regarding the meaning of community and heritage. Discussion then turns to the shifts in thinking concerning the approaches to heritage, positioning this research within the field. Subsequent examination of the theoretical framework demonstrates the relevance of the social constructionist approach to this research, and how its shortcomings may be overcome. The chapter closes with a summary for a custom framework design.

Key concepts

Community

This research is concerned in part with communities, but recognises that 'community' is a much-debated concept that has no fixed meaning. It usually refers, however, to a group of people who recognise that they have a common interest or connection with others, who have come together for mutual advantage. This connection may relate to tangible factors such as geography (e.g. a group of people living in the same place) or environment (e.g. particular building types, landscapes or artefacts), or it can relate to intangible qualities such as identity (e.g. culture, religion, age, class, gender), shared historical or current interests, participation in activities with a common purpose, and mutual support (Crooke 2010, 17; Smith and Waterton 2009a, 12; 18; Blake 2009, 51-52; 60-62). The community is therefore defined and bounded by its connections, which to outsiders may appear to establish it as a homogenous group (McClanaghan 2007, 52). Although there is usually a tacit knowledge or understanding within the community, there may also be much diversity and many perceptions of reality. Members can for example, be members of more than one community, and may take on different roles within a community, so that some members become dominant and represent the group, while others engage only infrequently (Crooke 2010, 19; Blake 2009, 51; 54; 62; Gilchrist 2009, 32; Bauman 2001, 10-11; HCA n.d., 6).

The collective strength of a community depends on its intra- and inter-relationships and interactions and this means that membership can be a negative as well as positive experience, as there is potential for inequality, mistrust and misunderstanding (Gilchrist 2009, 3; 6-7; 18; 128; Smith and Waterton 2009a, 13-14). Negative associations are especially prevalent between communities and outsiders, and are a major theme in the literature. Scholars argue that the dominant discourse privileges the white, middle-classes who are considered the norm. Those outside of the norm may have a 'community' label imposed upon their group identity as a convenience for authorities or agencies who are interested in social capital, governance and service delivery, however this can impact negatively upon identity and self-worth (Gilchrist 2009, 3; 18-19; 41; Alleyne 2002, 609 cited in Smith and Waterton 2009a, 39; Howarth 2001 cited in Waterton and Smith 2011, 13; 17). Similarly, communities who self-form because they share an uncomfortable history or where there is some form of dissent, may also find that their relationship with others is characterised by power inequalities (Crooke 2010, 27; Gilchrist 2009, 19; Smith and Waterton 2009a, 12).

Heritage

Like the concept of community, heritage is also a term that is interpreted very widely (Harvey 2001, 319), and its definition and continuous redefinition (Holtorf and Högberg 2015, 515) is one of the key themes to emerge from the literature. For some scholars, there are dichotomous forms, relating for example to tangible and intangible heritage or elite / 'good' and ordinary / dissonant heritage (Smith and Waterton 2012, 162; Harrison 2010, 13; Smith and Waterton 2009b, 295; Smith 2006, 56; 82). Taking the first of these, tangible heritage is that which has materiality, such as a building, landscape or object (Watson 2009, 35; Smith 2006, 31). Intangible heritage by contrast, is concerned with "practices, representation, expressions, knowledge and skills" (UNESCO 2003). Most scholars now agree that there is a relationship between tangible and intangible heritage, with the tangible providing a physicality to the intangible concepts (Harrison 2010, 10; Smith 2004, 2).

The second dichotomy is often framed as a struggle or controversy. Some scholars describe dissonance as a mis-match between heritage, people and time, and believe that it is present in all contexts where individuals or communities engage with heritage because of the different meanings they hold for it (Watson 2010, 7; Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge

2000, 93). The negativity of the dichotomy is often stressed, not just in terms of the contrast between the two poles (such as the difference between the stories of living 'upstairs' or 'downstairs' in a country house, connections of elite families with slavery, or the divide between the living standards of different classes in Victorian cities), but also in the way that only the 'good' heritage is recognised and the dissonant heritage is marginalised or ignored (Smith and Waterton 2012, 8; 2009, 36; 56-57). Related to this are concerns about who owns the heritage and whether a dissonant inheritance is valued by the receiving communities (Crooke 2010, 25; Harrison 2010, 9; Bendix 2009, 263; Harvey 2001, 320; Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000, 29; 34).

Another significant debate concerns the temporality of heritage. The term *heritage* is often used in relation to the past, and significantly, with no connection to the present (Harrison 2013, 63-63; 2010, 13; Watson 2010, 89; Smith 2006, 29). Marmion's research supports the idea of heritage being synonymous with inheritance, noting that "viewing local heritage as part of their inheritance, residents may be encouraged to feel more personally connected and engaged with the heritage of their local area" (Marmion 2012, 237). Many scholars now go further than recognising past and present however, to argue that heritage is about the relationship between past, present *and* future, as explored in the *Heritage Futures* programme (Heritage Futures 2019). Moreover, the relationship is continuously changing as we reassess both our interpretation of the past and the values we have in the present, and use these to determine what we should preserve for the future (Fredheim and Khalaf 2016, 470; Harrison 2015b, 309-310; Holtorf and Högberg 2015, 515; Harrison 2013, 4; 16; 79; Gibson and Pendlebury 2009, 99; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996, 6 cited in Harvey 2001, 324). According to Harvey (2001, 324-325) however, this approach has been questioned by some who deem it a threat to our long-standing 'knowledge' of history. This of course, assumes that history is fixed, and that our knowledge of the past is an absolute truth, rather than an interpretation made in the context of a later moment in time (Harrison 2013, 38). Accepting the latter in line with the social constructionist theoretical perspective of this research (discussed later in the chapter), perhaps the primary concern here relates to management of the heritage. It might be acceptable for interpretations of historical events to change, but there should be certainty that the values placed upon heritage, whichever form they take, do not result in a loss that future generations might mourn. It might be helpful to consider current sustainable thinking regarding human interventions in the world's natural cycles and resources (such as pollution, climate change, damage to ecosystems and the extinction of species) to understand how the ideas might be applied to heritage. Brundtland's well-known definition of sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED 1987), might be a good starting point for thinking about heritage management – *management* that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

Approaches to heritage

Three positions on a continuum

Moving forward from the multivalent nature of the term heritage, there is an equally complex situation in respect of approaches to heritage. Recognising two models of heritage, Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000, 205) explain one in terms of conflictual relationships between stakeholders, and the other comprising more harmonious interactions. Orbaşli (2017, 161) similarly identifies two poles for conservation – a material science and an approach concerned with the intangible and operational aspects of heritage. Other scholars however identify a more nuanced reality, for example a continuum ranging from a materials-based approach which fits with the conflictual model described above, to one which prioritises continuity of the intangible aspects of heritage at the community level (Poulios 2014; Harrison 2010, 39).

The material-based approach originated in the late nineteenth century and was well established in the UK by the 1960s (Harrison 2013, 46; Smith and Waterton 2012 158; Fojut 2009, 14; Smith 2006, 22; 120; Deckha 2004 cited in Smith and Waterton 2012 158). Heritage was considered to be something that was tangible, with innate value in its fabric, deemed to be at risk from modern development, and in need of protection. Consequently, it came into the remit of Government, and engagement with it was characterised by a divide between 'experts' such as architects and archaeologists who were considered to be the only source of knowledge and skills, and 'others' who were thought to have a mere emotional interest (Poulios 2014, 17-18; Harrison 2013, 46-47; Smith and Waterton 2012, 158; 2009a, 27; 29-30; Anon. 2006, 97). This 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' (AHD), as it was characterised by Smith (2006), has been viewed as the dominant heritage discourse in England and indeed Europe (Smith and Waterton 2012, 155).

Some scholars argue that in defining heritage values, experts have been able to influence policy and what should be preserved, take on stewardship of that heritage, and reinforce the value of elite materiality, which enables them to justify their profession and perpetually reap personal rewards in the form of income and status (Smith and Waterton 2012, 158; 2009a, 11; 138; Smith 2006, 51). Meanwhile, communities are at best, viewed as consumers of heritage (for example as visitors who can be educated during visits to heritage sites), and at worst, marginalised or even persecuted for failing to identify with official interpretations (Harrison 2013, 230; Fojut 2009, 14; Pyburn 2009, 168).

This discourse has a number of functions. First, it presents the heritage that Government wants to promote – that which conforms to uncontested and idealist notions of English history that the nation can be proud of (Harrison 2010, 18; Smith 2006, 4). This is problematic because it eliminates the histories and heritage of non-experts, and especially the lower classes or other marginalised groups, and this impacts on personal wellbeing, cohesion, access to resources and rights (Smith and Waterton 2012, 160). For these groups, there is no recognition of the ordinary, dissonant or intangible heritage that they remember or identify with, nor of the expert knowledge that resides within their communities as a consequence of their everyday lives and experiences (Smith and Waterton 2012, 158; Hayden 1997, 231). Furthermore, by acknowledging only limited examples of national heritage, a skewed interpretation of the nation's heritage is presented to those in England and further afield, not only in the present, but potentially also to future generations. Second, promotion in this way positions heritage largely as a commodity (Orbaşli 2000, 137). Since the early 2000s, the monetization of heritage assets has become part of discourse, partly in recognition of the costs associated with its identification and management (Orbaşli 2017,165; Harrison 2010, 15; Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000, 130). In addition, external funding to sustain a resource may be more readily available because project outcomes can be more easily demonstrated (Heritage Fund 2022; The Heritage Alliance n.d.). This effectively reinforces the approach because the exploitation of ordinary or dissonant heritage for tourism for example, can be ethically questionable (Hollowell and Nicholas 2009, 144-145).

At the other end of the scale, a living heritage approach focuses on continuity in the original function of a place, a community's connection with it, their management of it, and response to change, such that the fabric itself is of lesser importance than continuity of the intangible connections to it. The approach, which prioritises community control of the conservation process and places professionals in a secondary role, has developed in research applied to indigenous / non-Western cultures (Poulios 2014, 21-23).

A values-based approach which emerged in the mid-1970s (Jones and Leech 2015, 8), and is now exemplified in Historic England's approach, takes the middle ground and is concerned with the qualities that stakeholders or society place on heritage, in either its tangible or intangible form, the latter being closely tied to place and often in a co-dependent relationship with it (Sather-Wagstaff 2015, 195; Harrison 2013, 228-229; Marmion 2012, 178-179; Smith and Waterton 2009b, 294; 296-297). It is characterised by a move away from the full control by professionals and the state that is seen in the materials-based approach, and instead, community decisions are guided by professionals who manage a participatory process (Orbaşli 2017, 166; Poulios 2014, 18-20; 25-27).

Orbaşli (2017, 166) argues that 'expert' roles are de-valued as decision-making moves away from those who traditionally had the power, however the tendency towards the equalisation of power imbalances in processes aimed at understanding heritage values may not be as prevalent in the resulting management and conservation decisions (Poulios 2010, 173-174). Communities and market-led stakeholders may not have relevant expertise or uphold the same level of care that professionals are duty-bound to deliver so 'expert' roles arguably still have a place. Some scholars however, suggest that since there is inevitable conflict between stakeholder groups, those that are most powerful (i.e. professionals and the state), are able to bias the approach towards the material-based position which privileges white, middle-class ideals of heritage (Smith and Waterton 2012, 156; Poulios 2010, 173-174). Despite these criticisms, the values-based approach is arguably the preferred approach in England (Poulios 2014, 19), although a review of the literature does suggest that the tentative shift towards inclusive practices owes more to academics and motivated communities than to Government direction (Smith and Campbell 2011; Watson and Waterton 2011; Grabow, Hull and Waterton 2007). This instability has implications not only for the acknowledgement of heritage, but its selection and treatment in heritage management processes.

International charters and conventions

Over the course of the last ninety years, the shift in thinking from primarily material-based to values-based approaches, and a breaking down of the 'professional versus community' dichotomy, can be observed in international charters and conventions concerning heritage and conservation (Jones 2017, 21-22; Jones and Leech 2015, 7-14; ICOMOS 2013; UNESCO 2011; CoE 2005a; 2005b; UNESCO 2003; 2002; ICOMOS 1999; 1987; UNESCO 1972; ICOMOS 1964; 1931). These provide the background to English legislation and policy.

The *Athens Charter* of 1931, *Venice Charter* of 1964 and *Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* of 1972, with their focus on the tangible aspects of monuments, buildings and sites, remain key influences on legislation in England, while the later charters have had a more limited impact (Jones and Leech 2015, 15; Watson 2010, 179; UNESCO 1972; ICOMOS 1964; 1931).

The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance (ICOMOS 2013), originally published in 1979, was the first to consider the nature and significance of intangible aspects of cultural heritage and the idea of a values-based approach. It sets out conservation principles and a conservation process, where significance (comprised of both tangible and intangible values), informs policy and management of the tangible cultural heritage. This charter is significant for England because it has informed key guidance produced by Historic England (Jones 2017, 23). It does not however, have a direct relationship with current designation criteria in the UK (Jones 2017, 24).

The *Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro)* demonstrates a further shift towards the values-based approach (CoE 2005). It is primarily concerned with human rights and responsibilities, putting individual and community values at the centre of cultural heritage and its conservation, and introduces the concept of a heritage community, which it defines as people who act publicly to pass on something they value as cultural heritage (CoE 2005). The cultural heritage itself can be any aspect of the environment that results from "the interaction between people and places through time," opening up the definition to all forms of heritage, including intangible and other forms that are of public interest, acknowledging also that values change through time so that heritage is not fixed (CoE 2005, 2). There is an emphasis on encouraging public participation in heritage, although ‘experts’ are given the role of mediating conflict between communities, and therefore arguably, the power (CoE 2005, 3-5). This inclusive approach to heritage certainly resonates with the aims of this research, but the limitations of the research scope, and therefore the tendency for the overall balance of power to rest with the researcher, undoubtedly restrict its implementation in the fullest sense.

Faro has yet to be ratified with the UK Government, and a statement in 2005 by a spokesperson for English Heritage (now Historic England), gives insight to the rationale behind this; it was declared that the UK has no intangible heritage and that it would not be possible to reconcile the requirements of the Convention in the UK context (Smith and Waterton 2009b, 297). Twelve years later, Lord Ashton of Hyde (2017) clarified the government’s position:

> It is necessary to carefully prioritise resources towards those Conventions that will have the most impact on the safeguarding of our heritage... However, the Government fully recognises the contribution that the UK’s oral traditions, social practices and festive events make to the country’s cultural fabric, and continues to encourage communities to celebrate these practices and to continue them for future generations.

The charters and conventions illustrate the diverse approaches to heritage and its management. In the UK, official guidance, and the narrower definition of heritage in the legislation have inevitably led to debate (Jones and Leech 2015, 15).

English legislation and policy

Designation

The legislative heritage protection system includes, in order of their introduction, Scheduled Monuments (from 1882), Listed Buildings (from 1944) and Conservation Areas (from 1967), with progressively lower levels of heritage protection being offered at each designation level (Historic England 2018a; 2018b; Waterton and Smith 2009, 21-22). Government uses both prescriptive and emotive wording, such as tangible, intrinsic value, finite, fragile and irreplaceable, in its description of the archaeological heritage that may be considered for scheduling, echoing the established understandings of heritage and the focus on national interests that are associated with the materials-based approach / AHD (Historic England 2018e; DCMS 2013, 3; 10-11). The listing process arguably favours elements of the AHD associated with expert opinion, and national rather than local objectives (Historic England 2018c). Moreover, the selection criteria clearly refer to the tangible qualities of the building (DCMS 2018, 6-7) such as age, rarity, architectural merit, group value, building type (where representative examples need to be safeguarded), and national interest. Here however, national interest can include buildings that are characteristic of nationally important local or regional traditions.

Conservation Areas have a wider remit than scheduling and listing, although like listing, designation is determined by special architectural and historic interest. This interest can come from an area having a large number of Scheduled Monuments or Listed Buildings, the variety of architectural styles, a dominant building style or construction, its settlement pattern, historic associations, or links to local industry or people. Significantly, Conservation Area designation can result from community input such as those working on Neighbourhood Plans who are able to identify historic associations in support of something that is of special interest to them (Historic England 2019, 7). The local planning authority retains the decision-making power in designation however, and moreover, authorities are cautioned by Government about the risk of devaluing conservation areas through 'over-designation' (MHCLG 2021b, 55).

For buildings that do not meet the criteria for individual designation or fall within a Conservation Area, Government has provided a facility through the *National Planning Policy Framework* (NPPF) and planning system guidance, for local planning authorities to manage locally listed heritage (MHCLG 2021b; 2019d). This often operates through partnership between the authority and communities, giving the opportunity for a wide range of tangible heritage assets to be offered a degree of protection through the planning system (Historic England 2021 2-4). A much greater share of power is given to communities in deciding which heritage is important to them, although in a filtering of ideals from the formal heritage protection system, Historic England suggests that the selection criteria are based on that for Listed Buildings and Conservation Area designation, albeit with flexibility to incorporate locally relevant criteria (Historic England 2021, 11-13; 2019, 15; Harrison 2010, 29). Consideration of age, rarity, aesthetic interest, group value, archaeological interest, archival interest, historical association, designed landscape interest, landmark status, and social and communal value demonstrate the increased inclusivity compared to the formal designations, but the AHD still leaves a legacy. Firstly, while social and communal value are acknowledged as having an intangible element, the advice until 2021 was explicit that intangible cultural heritage was excluded because there was no mechanism for its protection (Historic England 2021; 2016, 1). Accordingly, prior recent research indicated that only 42% of local lists consider social and communal value (Jackson 2016, 159). Secondly, the voluntary nature of local heritage listing, means that it is not available in all local authority areas, and even where it is, the list is not necessarily adopted into the Local Development Plan (Historic England 2018d; Jackson 2016, 155-156). Consequently, protection can be quite limited. Moreover, permitted development rights (and even demolition) remain unaffected by the list unless an Article 4 Direction is issued that stipulates the requirement for planning permission (Historic England 2018d). This effectively gives local authorities the power to dismiss locally valued heritage should they wish.

Guidance

Acknowledging that the heritage protection system is necessarily hierarchical and does not reflect contemporary ideas about heritage, Historic England published a document that attempts to reconcile the difficulties of negotiating legislation and current thinking. Although *Conservation principles, policies and guidance* is not policy guidance, it is arguably a seminal document that has been profoundly influential (Historic England 2008). It promotes consideration of a wide range of values that may contribute to significance and be of relevance in the management of designated assets, and also encourages values and significance to be considered in the management of non-designated assets (Historic England 2008, 27). The guidance defines four categories of value, the first three of which are embedded in the designation system: evidential which is the value a place has because of the potential for past human activity to be revealed through its physical fabric; historical value which derives from the way in which a place can be either illustrative of links between people past and present or associated with a notable person, event or movement; aesthetic which derives from sensory or intellectual stimulation that people gain from the artistic or design merits of a place; and communal which relates to the commemorative, social or spiritual meaning of a place in collective experience or memory (Historic England 2008, 28-32).

Historic England (2008, 27) tends to privilege evidential, historic and aesthetic values over communal value, and the absence of communal value in the listing system further supports the idea that communal value has the lowest priority (Historic England 2017a; English Heritage 2003, 2; 5 cited in Waterton and Smith 2008, 200). A Listed Building for example, may be recognised for its evidential, historical and aesthetic values, but may be associated with negative communal values among its current custodians and community because of a dissonant history or for being functionally and economically challenging. These values do not diminish the heritage significance of the building. Similarly, while community opinion can influence the designation of conservation areas, this is not privileged over the other criteria (Historic England 2016, 3-4). This suggests that a lack of heritage related communal value cannot diminish other types of heritage value, but if communities *do* value the heritage, then it will strengthen its overall significance. This guidance is widely accepted by English heritage professionals (Kent 2011), and while it edges the debate towards acceptance of communal values, it could be argued that this is an example of what Smith (2006, 37) sees as a half-hearted move towards a values-based approach since the focus is on incorporating excluded groups into the existing systems.

In a draft consultation for the revision of the guidance in 2017, Historic England sought to align the terms used for expressing heritage values with those used in the NPPF (MHCLG 2021b; Historic England 2017b, 1). Retaining the essence of evidential, historic and aesthetic values, it dispensed with communal value, instead vaguely incorporating it into historical value (Historic England 2017b, 7-11). This was seen as a backwards step by some (e.g. Clark 2018; Thompson 2018, 6), further embedding the AHD in the guidance. A revised document is still awaited.

Heritage values

Value typologies

Historic England's value typology is not the only typology for identifying values that contribute to a building's significance, and Fredheim and Khalaf (2016, 468-469) identified nineteen alternative typologies proposed by independent scholars and working groups for international conventions and national guidance between 1902 and 2010. By grouping similar terms across the twenty typologies (and acknowledging that there is some subjectivity in doing this), it is initially possible to reduce ninety terms to eleven value categories (Figure 4).

Value category	Values referenced in the typologies
Cultural and Social	associative/ symbolic, communal, cultural, cultural identity, cultural / symbolic, emotional, emotive, ethnic, intangible, local distinctiveness, local style, minority / disadvantaged / descendant, public, religious, sentimental, social, social solidarity and integration, spiritual, symbolic representation
Artistic	aesthetic, architectural, artistic, art, arts, creative
Historical	archaeological, associative, historic, historical
Economic	capital, capital/estate, monetary, monetary and economic gain, commercial, market, economic, production, residential
Educational / Research	archaeological research, awareness, documentary, education, educational, evidence, evidential, information, scientific research, scientific/research/knowledge
Functional	amenity, entertaining/recreational, functional, resource, recreation and tourism, tourism, use, usefulness
Existence	age, authenticity, condition, continuity, existence, newness, rarity, resistance to change, scarcity, stability, traditional, typological, universal
Status	bequest, commemorative, curiosity, enigma / mystery, exemplary, monumental, prestige, wonder
Political	administrative, legitimation of action, option, political / regime
Technical	constructional, structural, technical, technological and scientific
Contextual	contextual, ecological, environmental, townscape, landscape

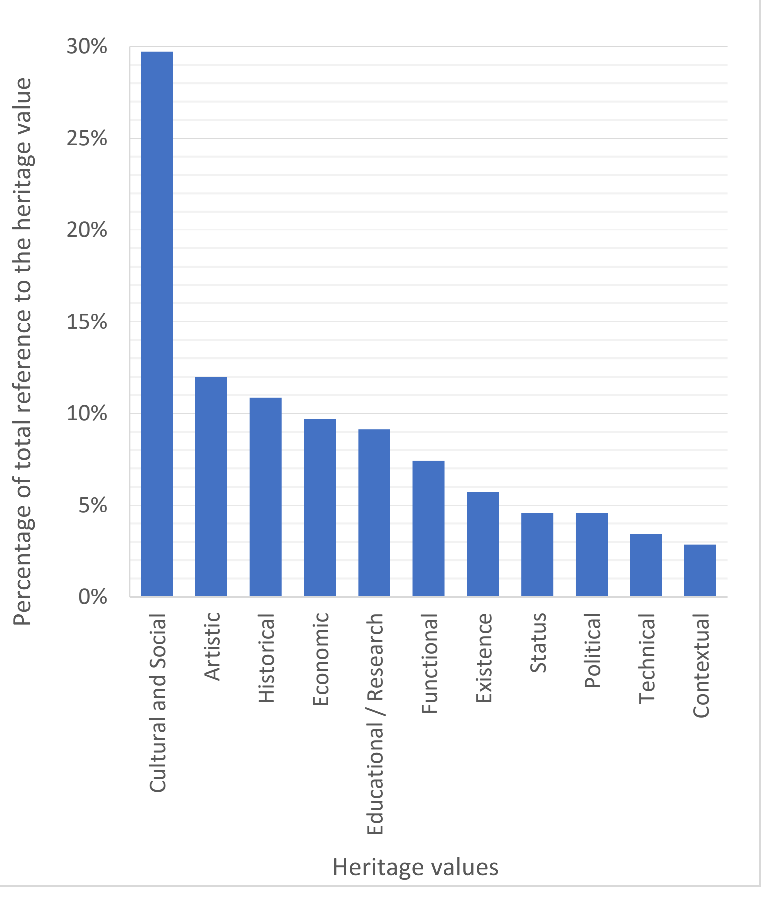


Figure 4 The inclusion of heritage values in value typologies developed between 1902 and 2010 (Source: ICOMOS New Zealand 2010; Lertcharnrit 2010; Gomes Robles 2010; Szmelter 2010; Stubbs 2009; English Heritage 2008; Orbaşli 2008; Appelbaum 2007; Keene 2005; Fielden 2003; Mason 2002; Pye 2001; Throsby 2001; Frey 1997; Carver 1996; Darvill 1995; Ashley-Smith 1990; Lipe 1984; Australia ICOMOS 1979 and Reigl [1902] 1982 all cited in Fredheim and Khalaf 2016, 468-469).

The first thing to note in this rationalisation of heritage values and terminology is that some of the values are not necessarily heritage values but ‘qualifiers’ of significance which should be used only for indicating conservation priorities (Fredheim and Khalaf 2016, 471-472; 475). *Functional*, *economic existence* and *status* values would all appear to provide a good example of this. Terms in the political category seem to be concerned with heritage management rather than heritage values that might inform heritage management, and contextual values could arguably be incorporated into cultural, artistic, historical or technical values, depending on their nature. Accordingly, a rationalised value typology might include just five categories: cultural and social, artistic, historical, educational/research and technical values. Secondly, the cultural and social values category comprises a wide range of terms and values resulting from their dominant representation, and arguably, importance, in the value typologies. In this context, the cultural and social values category relates to the multitude of intangible values that people or communities hold, and does not imply that they do not hold other values as well (i.e. artistic, historical, educational or technical). For ease of differentiation, the full range of values that communities might hold will be referred to as *community value*.

Understanding social values

The concepts of community and heritage come together in much of the recent theoretical literature, and three key themes emerge concerning the origin, development and continuation of cultural / social, or intangible values. Firstly, heritage is created through participation in meaningful events, alongside individual or collective memory (or inheritance of them) which is rooted into the physicality of the site (Sather-Wagstaff 2015, 191; Smith and Waterton 2009a, 47-48; Smith 2006, 83). Secondly, heritage, identity and sense of place are inextricably linked (West 2010, 301; Smith and Waterton 2009b, 293; Hayden 1997, 43). Finally, heritage is socially constructed and co-produced in the present (Harrison 2013, 107; Watson 2010, 7; Smith 2006, 37; Samuel 1994 cited in Smith 2006, 62).

As discussed previously, in the values-based approach to heritage, multiple stakeholders negotiate, to varying degrees, for acceptance of their perspective on the identification and management of heritage. Each individual stakeholder may have multiple identities that are connected with the physicality of a place and its communities, and the relationship between heritage, identity and place will therefore be different, to a greater or lesser extent, for each stakeholder. Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000, 84-85; 189) argue that these multiple layers of identity and place which are incorporated into the different meanings and forms of heritage identified at local levels, are to some degree homogenised at the national level. Cantle (2001, 19) considers this to be essential for community cohesion, and turning now to an exploration of sense of place, the importance of this negotiation becomes apparent.

Sense of place can be described as how we position our individual, community and national identities within the cultural and social characteristics of a place (Smith 2006, 75). Marmion (2012, 178; 189) argues that it is shaped by an individual's engagement with the physical historic environment, and that this engagement is primarily influenced by the intangible associations and meanings held by the individual. In other words, the *sense of place*, or what might be thought of collectively as the cultural and social value of the neighbourhood, is understood through its materiality, in the context of values the communities recognise in it. In this research, examples of this might be affordability of the housing, the array of thriving niche shopping experiences, or links to family history. If we accept that values are tied to a physical place, it becomes clear that where communities are not engaged with their heritage, their ability to understand the place and its special qualities is diminished, and if a place is not understood, its special qualities can neither be protected nor adapted to ensure its future viability.

Historic England's definition of *communal value* (which comprises social and commemorative values) does not sit harmoniously with Marmion's research however. It claims that social value may not even have a direct relationship with the physical fabric of a place, despite commemorative value being understood through information, interpretation and the place itself (Historic England 2008, 31-32). This raises an interesting question about the fluidity of terminology and its meaning, highlighting the difficulties that exist when there is no universally accepted value system.

Moreover, there is fluidity in heritage values themselves. Scholars suggest that there is a process of selection in which we choose which memories are valuable, forgetting those that are not (Sather-Wagstaff 2015, 191; Jackson 2010, 127-130; Harrison 2013, 167). Those that we retain are reconstructed in an ever-changing present, so that as we move through life, our perspective or understanding of past events may change in the context of our present knowledge and experiences, and consequently, our values may also change. Harrison (2013, 166; 168; 197) raises a valid point that resonates with this, concerning the way in which the AHD informs the present heritage protection system and does not sufficiently acknowledge changing values, specifically that when heritage is continually being 'added' to and past heritage decisions are never reviewed, it becomes fixed instead of reflective of present values about the past. Many scholars now see heritage, like memory, as an on-going process or, as characterised by Smith, a form of social practice (Sather-Wagstaff 2015, 191; Mydland and Grahn 2012, 570; Smith 2006, 4). Memory however, is often framed in the context of alternative perspectives or dissonance, and consequently, both the memory and heritage are considered to be of local rather than national importance (Harrison 2010, 38; Smith 2006, 57-58; Harvey 2001, 326; Hayden 1997, 47).

Change can impact on identity and sense of place because of the emotional attachments that communities have to their heritage and so the issue of who 'owns' the heritage management process (i.e. who holds the balance of power or has the most at stake), is also of relevance (Blake 2009, 63; Smith and Waterton 2009a, 51-52; 60; Hayden 1997, 16). Only a minority of communities are able to empower themselves to achieve the recognition they deserve (Hodges and Watson 2000, 238-243) and the action or change they want in respect of the heritage that is important to them. If we start thinking of heritage, as recent scholarship suggests, as a network of connections through which the knowledge of all stakeholders from Government to residents is included, then the barriers between professionals and communities can be broken down, and individuals will start to reconcile their own interests with the needs of the wider community (Harrison 2013, 226; Gilchrist 2009, 174).

Social constructionist approaches

General principles

In light of the multiple meanings and understandings of the terms *community* and *heritage*, and the continuum of approaches to identifying and managing heritage, positivist frameworks were rejected from the outset in this research because they are concerned with the existence of absolute truths, or facts, that the researcher uncovers. Moreover, in the context of housing, this would mean that all people (potentially viewed as a homogenous group), experience a particular type of housing in the same way as each other, and there is no mechanism for acknowledging or identifying the meanings that different people, households or communities hold. While much housing research has adopted the positivist stance, it is now being challenged (Clapham 2002, 59; 62).

Social constructionism is a non-positivist approach in which different perspectives and meanings are held to be creations of people's realities, but importantly, the creation is also a co-production of the researched and the researcher (Braun and Clarke 2013, 30; Hurdley 2006, 718). Furthermore, the construction of a story, or the uncovering of a reality by a researcher, is just one version of an individual's reality – in another time or place, or with different company, the individual's reality could be something different, but equally valid. Mol (1999, 75-79) explains that multiple realities are different versions of reality that can co-exist for any artefact or material element, and purposefully distinguishes these from the *plural* realities associated with the perspectives of different groups. It could be argued therefore that in this research, this gives us the possibility to discover the multiple realities of back-to-back houses (e.g. as part of a neighbourhood, a housing type, or a home) and also the plural realities. For example, residents might value the houses for meeting their individual housing needs, the local authority may consider them to be of no value because they are old-fashioned, outdated and near obsolete in terms of user-requirements and comfort, and a local history group or civic society may consider them to be an icon of local heritage. Groups, however, are not necessarily homogenous and the houses are not necessarily the same artefact with a meaning that is shared by all members (Bijker 1994, 76; Pinch and Bijker 1984, 421). For some residents the house may be a cherished artefact, lavished with all the necessary maintenance and adaptation that will ensure its suitability to the resident's lifestyle, long-term functional viability and fruitful economic investment, but the heritage significance of the house is compromised in the process. For others, the house may offer the most basic level of accommodation, having had few adaptations to the original design, and minimal replacement of or damage to original fabric, and be considered a very short-term stop gap by the residents, offering only somewhere affordable to sleep until a better house can be found. Yet another neighbour may have a property that straddles both of these extremes, retaining the historic character and fabric of the house, while keeping it in a good state of repair.

The weak social constructivist approach *Social Construction of Technology* (SCOT), can offer further insight into these differences in meaning as it claims that there is an impartiality to the success or failure of an artefact (Mitev and Howcroft 2011, 298; Bijker 1995, 191; 275). Rather than an artefact becoming successful because it works, it works because it is successful (Bijker 1995, 275). Therefore, if the house type 'works' for one resident, group or neighbourhood it must 'work' for all. Any difference in its materiality, meaning or the 'lived reality' must relate to the success or failure, presence or absence, of a social factor or human influence that differs between individuals or groups, such as their capacity to innovate, or policy interventions for heritage protection. This might explain why one neighbourhood can be popular and economically buoyant while another with the same type of houses is undesirable and suffering housing market failure.

These ideas are explored in Thompson's (1979) *Rubbish Theory* in which he outlines three value categories, and the three examples of resident reality given above, map respectively to the following: the transient category, in which objects have a finite lifespan and decrease in value over time; the rubbish category, in which objects have no value; and the durable category in which objects have an infinite lifespan and increase in value over time. Thompson (1979, 34-56) goes on to outline the differences between working-class and middle-class residents and demonstrates how the plural realities mean that terraced houses are effectively different artefacts for each group. Citing the example of terraced houses that were scheduled for demolition, he deduces the then Housing Minister Mr Richard Crossman's interpretation of such housing:

> 'An old building which, occupied by members of the middle class, forms part of our glorious heritage, is, if occupied by members of the working class, a rat-infested slum.' So … slums are socially determined and … poor living standards, lack of services and amenities, poor health, dampness, inadequate light, inadequate cooking facilities, overcrowding, high fire risk, while real enough are essentially the by-products of a concealed social process. They are the effects, not the cause. (Thompson 1979, 35)

As revealed in the quote, Thompson's focus is not simply on the artefact; in common with social constructionist research, realities or meanings are viewed in the context of wider society, conflict and power. The examination of how such conflicts originate and how strategies for their resolution are negotiated, is of prime importance in social constructionism (Fopp 2008, 163; Somerville & Bengtsson 2002, 121; Jacob & Manzi 2000, 36-37). The negotiation can be thought of as a stabilisation process in which the *plural* realities (e.g. a house's meaning or design) stabilise into a new mutually agreed and acceptable form across groups (Bijker 1995, 86-87; Mackay and Gillespie 1992, 686).

Any group may develop a particular version of reality because of group dynamics however, and should individuals or experiences within the group change, the shared reality may also change. Since this may be happening concurrently within multiple groups, and during negotiations between groups, there can be no definitive conclusion or closure to the problem, only a possible solution for a point in time.

Shortcomings

There are of course, problems with the social constructionist approach, specifically that it does not satisfactorily explain two issues. Firstly, there is no objective truth, which raises questions about how anything can progress if there are a multitude of competing realities for everything. In the case of housing for example, must there not be acceptance of the existence of the physical fabric as an objectively defined materiality, before the debate can be opened about the plural realities of what that house means to its occupants? How can we conduct a study of housing that does not objectively accept that a house is a house made out of particular materials and standing in a specific location? Moreover, if we accept the physicality of the house as an objective fact, how do we justify giving objective primacy to it, when all other factors are considered subjectively (Fopp 2008, 166; Somerville & Bengtsson 2002, 121)? In recognition of this, Jacobs and Manzi (2000, 37-38) note that the weak version of social constructionism distinguishes between the subjectivity of ideas and concepts, and the objectivity of the material world. Although such ontological dualism is not usually accepted in social research, it has come to be accepted in constructionist housing studies (Fopp 2008, 172; Somerville & Bengtsson 2002, 122). It is necessary however to clarify the limits of objective materiality, for example to distinguish between accepted norms (e.g. inherent / designed properties such as hand-made red brick or painted softwood), and subjective properties (such as condition).

Secondly, agency (the human capacity to act independently and make choices) is privileged over structure (the constraints on human action, which may be material, economic or cultural) (Jacobs & Manzi 2000, 37-38). This means that constructionism often fails to address power in any meaningful way, such that power differentials may not be made explicit, and the ways in which one social group may become dominant over others is not fully explained (Clapham 2002, 62). Giddens may offer some insight here as his structuration theory acknowledges that agency is both constrained by structure, and also generates it (Jacobs & Manzi 2000, 38; Giddens 1984, 309-310).

In the case of relationships between social groups, Giddens' concept of structural sets is useful in understanding power relations. They can be thought of as linear sequences where each structural element enables the next, such that we can consider that there is a relationship between the first and last in the sequence. At each position it is the power relations that inform the nature of the next structural element (Giddens 1984, 302-304). In recognising power differences between groups, SCOT stands apart from most other forms of weak constructionism, acknowledging that a dominant artefact may originate from a group simply because it is more powerful or authoritative (Bijker 1995, 264). The Pathfinder programme at the Welsh Streets in Liverpool provides an example of these ideas. The local authority was more dominant than a residents' group because it had money, power and 'professional knowledge' which was privileged over 'lay, local knowledge' and the desires of the resident communities. Over a period of ten years, this enabled the local authority to secure supporters, enabling it to produce a more compelling case for demolition than the residents' group was initially able to produce for refurbishment given its limited professional input and funding, resulting in planning permission being granted. The residents' group eventually gained national support and the Secretary of State overturned the ruling at an inquiry in 2015 (Harrison 2016b, 198-203). The houses have since been remodelled and refurbished to the satisfaction of the residents' group (Edge 2017).

A group's abilities to organise and negotiate are therefore significant factors in the stabilisation process, and SCOT also recognises the ways in which a group's characteristics affect how innovative its solutions are (Bijker 1995, 278; 284). At one end of the scale a group can be so focused on the artefact that solutions outside of the artefact are not considered, and at the opposite end, a group might be sufficiently distanced from the artefact that a solution is quickly sought outside of it (Bijker 2010, 70). An obvious housing example for each of these might be a residents' group who only explore the need for outdoor social space within the confines of individual property boundaries rather than considering the street setting and the possibilities of shared outdoor space, and a local authority who consider demolition and re-building of houses to be the preferred option for addressing issues of user comfort and decent living standards, without considering the benefits of conservation-led regeneration and adaptive re-use. Referring again to the terraced houses cited by Thompson (1979), the problem was arguably social, but in seeking a solution that was focused closely on the 'artefact,' the most powerful group (the state) was able to achieve dominance with its solution to replace the fabric wholesale.

Despite acknowledgement of the influence of power, there may remain difficulties in any research with identifying those individuals who have not been able to form a group, and those groups who have been unable to mobilise themselves into a position of participation. Furthermore, recognising the economic, political and cultural resources of groups and how these impact on power differentials, and identifying the role of the state or other external influences in directing a group's agenda (e.g. through policy or grants) (MacKenzie and Wajcman 1999, 22; Klein and Kleinman 2002, 31; 36-37; 42-43) may also be problematic.

In the context of relationships between social groups and artefacts, the agency / structure dichotomy raises a different question. In housing, the idea that agency is both constrained by and able to generate structure, might be translated as human behaviour being influenced by built form and society, but also influencing these, perhaps through the development of new house forms, and policy. In the literature, Hillier (2007, 3; 138; 288; 294) argues that buildings operate socially, by being *part of* social organisation, and by *representing* that organisation, but he is sceptical about the idea that buildings can *cause* social effects and affect human behaviour. However, if we consider that where a house is used by those who have had no influence or input into its design, it is reasonable to consider that structure (in this case a house which is comprised of plan-form, construction, materials and services) influences the way in which the residents use it. Whether or not they are able to use their agency to generate a new structure that better meets their needs, depends largely on power differentials.

Framework design

Weak social constructionism provides a good fit with the research questions addressed in this study, and the following framework is used:

1. Ontological dualism is maintained as this aids understanding of the physicality of back-to-back houses (their form, construction and materials) as objective reality. Some aspects of material description are subjective (such as condition), but these are accepted on the basis of culturally accepted norms;
2. With the exception of the materiality of the houses and neighbourhood, there is an acceptance of both multiple and plural realities;
3. Agency is both constrained by structure and able to generate it, and the extent to which these happen is determined by power relationships.
4. Methodological approaches consider power differentials, and economic, political and social contexts.

This research will recognise the dominance of the materials-based approach to heritage in legislation, policy and the designation system, but will adopt a values-based approach to identifying heritage values and significance. It will build on the prior research in which evidential, aesthetic and historical heritage values were preliminarily identified using Historic England's (2008) framework. The same value typology is used in this research as its breadth and inclusivity has been demonstrated and it is advantageous to engage professional stakeholders and report findings using familiar terms.

In common with the issues raised in the literature about the values-based approach, there is a balance to be found between the roles of the researcher and the communities. Researching from a professional perspective as an architect, values identified in the evidential, aesthetic and historic categories in this and previous research will be accepted as a 'professional reality.' Communal value in the intangible sense will be identified by the communities themselves and may reflect their multiple and plural realities. *Community value* includes all heritage values recognised by the communities, and also the non-heritage values, as these too contribute to sense of place and meaning and therefore, indirectly relate to and inform heritage values. Overall, values and significance will comprise the 'reality' of both the researcher and communities.

Chapter 3 Methodology and methods

Introduction

Many scholars acknowledge the benefits of using an interdisciplinary approach to understanding societies, drawing on theoretical frameworks, methodologies and methods from anthropology, archaeology, architecture, art-history, economics, ethnography, geography, history, psychology, sociology, spatial analysis and typology (Grøn 2014; Kühtrieber 2014; Schmid 2014; Symonds and Casella 2006; Deetz 1996; Johnson 1997; Rapoport 1990; Glassie 1975), and a review of the relevant literature demonstrates that there is an overlapping and shared disciplinary interest between them. This research spans multiple time periods and multiple disciplines, and a single methodological approach is unable to provide complete and reliable information with which to make interpretations about past and present, and formulate strategies for future action. Historical archaeology for example, involves adopting a holistic and qualitative approach in which the material record, documentary sources and oral traditions are interpreted together to increase the reliability of archaeological interpretations (Symonds and Casella 2006, 152-153; Mayne 2011, 554-555). Ethnography is similar in its approach but goes further than this, and moreover, can be used for studies of both current and past communities. The approach to this research however, while certainly ethnographic, extrapolates beyond this, as the future is also considered.

Ethnography

Overview

Ethnographic approaches have been reinterpreted from their origin in anthropology for use in numerous disciplines, and have been influenced by many theoretical frameworks (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 1-2). Scholars agree however, that ethnography is concerned with learning and writing about people’s everyday lives by examining, reflecting upon and shaping experiences (Tedlock 2011, 334; O’Reilly 2009, 52; Whitehead 2005, 4; Willis and Trondman 2000, 5). This usually involves direct, sustained contact with the communities being studied, with the researcher entering into the setting, getting to know the communities by participating in the daily routines, and observing life (Bryman 2008, 402-3; Willis and Trondman 2000, 5).

Data comes from participant observation (where the researcher may assume a role of *observer* or *participant observer*), interviewing and oral histories, focus groups and workshops, documentary evidence, visual data and material culture (Plummer 2011a, 140; O'Reilly 2009, 21-22; Bryman 2008, 410; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 147-149; Pink 2007).

Key issues in ethnography

In examining the types of ethnography, Bryman (2008, 404) elaborates on Bell's (1969) work, to determine that there are four types based on whether the research is carried out overtly or covertly, and in a public or closed setting. By contrast, Katz (2004, 286-296) takes a more theoretical approach and his "*worker ethnographies of the 'other side'*" resonates with the theoretical framework and research questions in this study. It focuses on a particular time and place and on local terms, juxtaposing the 'lived' realities of the studied community with the generalisations of them, based on official, authorised, or mainstream perspectives (Katz 2004, 286-287). A further type, ethnoarchaeology, which has developed in archaeology, also has relevance to this research as it connects past and present. The approach is both ethnographic and archaeological, and uses material culture and traditions of modern societies to interpret those of past societies in the same place, or a place which shares the same cultural values. Using the material record to identify patterns in everyday human behaviour is one of the most important research activities for archaeologists, and long-term fieldwork in an appropriate community offers the best opportunity to connect our understanding of the built environment with the meanings people have for it (Kent 1995, 175; Longacre 1987, 362).

Four of the methodological issues emerging in the ethnographic literature are relevant to studies of both past and current communities: problems relating to *scale and representation;* debates on assessing *the material record;* the relationship between *space and human behaviour*; and the use of *analogy*.

Scale and representation

A concern with macro and micro emerges with some importance in the literature. Historical archaeologists are concerned with the necessity to consider scale from the individual to global, such that evidence should include the average, marginal and transitional, because researching at all scales facilitates broader understanding of society and its complexities

(Hall and Silliman 2006, 4; 8; King 2006, 299). This is as true in the study of the present as it is of the past. Murray (2011, 576) argues that patterns identified at larger scales such as that of a city, should be used to interpret patterns at smaller scales. In a study of sanitary provision in a Victorian 'slum' district of York for example, Connelly (2011, 611-613) found that widening the scope of the research gave a better insight into the reasons for landlords installing what appeared to be an outdated system. He showed that its selection was likely to be related to the capacity of the sewer system and not economy, thus breaking down stereotyped perceptions of inferiority. Importantly, Moreland (2001, 39) remarks that we should not make assumptions about those who are marginalised and do not appear in written records. This links to the concern that in some working-class communities, perspectives of outsiders have influenced the collective memory of the wider community, a theme explored in the previous chapter. Rimmer (2011, 626) believes that the micro-histories of marginalised residents should be used to challenge these long-held interpretations.

Deetz (1996) is concerned with understanding the 'ordinary' and how remembering the "small things forgotten" is vital to understanding material culture and an appreciation of the recent past. To this end, Symonds (2010, 72) prefers to contextualise many individual stories rather than create an imaginary average household, and Mayne (2011, 559) and Rimmer (2011, 626) caution against overemphasising particular types of evidence or micro-histories and using them to represent wider practices. It has been suggested that moving back and forth between micro-histories and the global scale will reveal patterns and meanings (Walker, Beaudry and Wall 2011), and an example of this is demonstrated in the theoretical work of Lawrence (1987a; 1987b). He promotes the inclusion of residents' views and domestic routines in research, alongside a temporal perspective, and the relation of what he calls the 'macro'-social history of house design and furnishing, with 'micro'-historical analyses of individual houses and households. He argues that cultural, social, demographic and psychological variables influence both the meaning and the use of space (Lawrence 1987b, 165). Significantly, when housing and human behaviour are studied, they should be interpreted in relation to the level at which they occur: those that are universal to a culture; those that are shared by a particular community; those that occur within a household; and those that relate only to an individual (Lawrence 1987a, 81).

In its historical form, this approach was recently demonstrated in Leeds in the popular TV series *A house through time* (Twenty Twenty Productions 2022). This presented a detailed history of a house and its occupants, and contextualised it in local and national culture and events. Cruikshank and Burton (1990) took a similar but more generalised approach in their study of the Georgian city. In works such as this, evidence of the domestic lives of particular individuals is used to make assumptions about the lives of others for whom specific evidence is not available, based on a shared demographic profile and cultural context (including material culture), in a particular time period (Harrison 2016a, 50). An approach similar to this is used in the historical aspects of this research where life in back-to-back houses is interpreted from a small number of individual stories, demographic information and archival evidence, and contextualised with information that is not specific to the house type and location. There is a need for caution in this approach, and later discussion of Hodder's concerns on analogy in ethnoarchaeology will address this.

In the contemporary form, numerous studies recognise both the tangible and intangible elements of home (Moore 2000; Smith 1994; Després 1991; Sixsmith 1986), exploring meaning and use in housing from a psychological and sociological perspective, and this leads to the third key theme, that space both influences and is shaped by human behaviour (Koch 2005 cited in Vis 2009, 111-112; Werlen 2005 cited in Vis 2009, 108; Arias 1993; Barbey 1993; Bernard, Bonnes and Guiliani 1993; Nasar 1993; Bailey 1990; Rapoport 1990; Samson 1990). However, before considering space in relation to behaviour, it is necessary to consider material evidence.

The material record

Traditional archaeological and architectural approaches to building analysis have tended to concentrate on the physicality of buildings and their setting, and the question of how the two approaches are distinguished from each other is debated in the literature (Giles 2014, 1034-1035; Morriss 2000, 10; 14; 1994, 16-17). Grenville and Morris (1992, 301) believe the answer lies in stratification, claiming also that archaeological methods include analysis of physical elements of buildings and evidence of their building that other disciplines do not consider. Stocker (1992, 302) goes further, arguing that for archaeologists, the evidential record is of primary importance in making and revising interpretations. In common with Locock (1994, 5) he believes that this contrasts with the approach taken by art-historians whereby interpretations are guided by personal understandings of the building and societal influences. For Leech (2006, 33) and others however there is no clear distinction.

A recurrent theme in the literature about buildings archaeology is the problem of method, that is, how archaeological investigations should actually be carried out. Perhaps the most famous discussion on this is what has become known as the 'Ferris debate' in which Ferris (1991; 1989) and other scholars put forward their arguments in defence of whether extensive or selective recording of evidence is the most appropriate method, acknowledging that selection is subjective and influenced by the scholar's research agenda and subject knowledge (Meeson 2001; Bold 1990; Wrathmell 1990; Meeson 1989; Smith 1989). This then, supports the notion that the differences between buildings archaeology and art-history might not be so great. The legacy of this debate is the idea that evidence should be systematically recorded so that future interpretations by others are possible (Giles 2014, 1035).

Additionally, scholars recognise problems relating to the information available in the material record. King (2009, 473-474) for example, notes that there can be limitations in urban locations because of the completeness of the surviving material, and the difficulties associated with understanding the social, economic and political influences. Accordingly, there are few examples of archaeological recording in some urban house types. Taking an architectural approach, Johnson (1997, 175-176) argues that narrative clarifies our understanding of houses, and that this exists on three levels: the 'grand narrative' concerned with cultural values and meaning of the setting; typology concerned with categories and classes; and the somewhat sterile craft-oriented description at the micro-level of the individual house, of the type used in listing descriptions. A full analysis of the literature is given in Chapter 4.

The logical conclusion to draw from the literature examined here, is that there are significant overlaps in the archaeological and architectural approaches, and that the methods of both approaches are needed. In addition, interpretations are strengthened by incorporating other types of evidence and analysis, and this is where the ethnographic methodology is of value.

Space and human behaviour

The relationship between space and human behaviour is perhaps most famously described by Rapoport (2005; 1990) in terms of settings which do not exist in isolation, but are part of a system of settings where there is a cause and effect relationship between the two. Lawrence (1987a, 78) argues that there is not necessarily a link between design / construction and use, and that there is no proof of a deterministic relationship between the two, while Pearson and Richards (1997, 5) have subsequently claimed that most spatial analysts now reject the idea of 'form follows function' or 'function follows form.' In ethnoarchaeology this is similarly articulated by questioning the extent to which material culture reflects the behaviour of communities and their ability to adapt to changing environments, and whether adaptation is the product of function only, or also of societal norms and beliefs (Hodder 1982a, 11). This clearly indicates the validity of the social constructionist approach and how it aids understanding of the world, but it appears to be unresolved even in the recent literature, as Grøn (2014), Kühtrieber (2014) and Schmid (2014) for example, all question social codes that regulate human behaviour, and the subsequent relationship between space and use.

In this research, these concerns about space and human behaviour are relevant to the ways in which past and present communities have adapted their use of the back-to-back houses and whether adaptations have been influenced by norms specific to the back-to-back communities, or the wider societal norms. This brings us to the final issue, analogy.

Analogy

Hodder (1982b, 40) believes that the most important function of ethnoarchaeology is to develop ethnographic analogies related to social and cultural contexts, the purpose of which is to interpret the past using evidence of the present. He distinguishes between formal analogies where multiple similarities are expected between situations or objects because one similarity is known to exist, and relational analogies where different parts of the analogy are culturally linked so that the past unknowns can be interpreted based on our knowledge of the relationship between the parts (Hodder 1982b, 16; 19).

Hodder (1982b, 12; 14) does however, identify a number of inherent challenges associated with the approach. Firstly, finding similarities in some aspects of a culture does not signify similarity in all. Secondly, multiple analogies could provide an 'answer' to the research questions and so we may not be able to reveal a single ‘reality’ but a range of possibilities, although this of course is in perfect alignment with a social constructionist framework. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, the concept precludes us from discovering anything about past societies that do not have anything in common with what we know today. This has less relevance for this research for two reasons however. We know that for the most part, the urban layout and physical form of the houses in Harehills, is the same as it was historically. Furthermore, as subsequent chapters will show, there is sufficient evidence of English working-class domestic life in the decades either side of 1900, for us to be confident about the validity of interpreting the evidence sourced in this research in the context of known material culture, cultural norms and values.

Research design

A mixed-methodology approach

The approach adopted for this research can be described as a *worker ethnography of the “other side” (*Katz 2004, 286-288). It will work across both macro and micro scales of enquiry, evaluate the material record from both architectural and archaeological perspectives, consider the influences between space, human behaviour and meaning, and use analogy to develop interpretations about the past. Additionally, it will encourage participation of the current stakeholders in appraising options to address their current and future needs, with a view to initiating transformative change.

Four research aims were introduced in Chapter 1. The first is concerned with understanding the physical form of the houses and neighbourhood, past and present, including:

- Influences on design and modification, especially in relation to legislative, political and social factors;
- Construction, architectural character and technological facilities in the houses;
- Extant heritage features and condition of the stock;
- Comparison with other types of workers’ housing.

These are assessed through survey, archival records, literature and ethnographic methods. The methods align with the necessity to understand the built form as an objective reality, but allow interpretation of subjective data where this is either the only available data, or it can enhance connectivity between datasets.

The second aim is concerned with the historical and current communities, and their functional and experiential relationships with the houses. The key questions concern:

- Who the working-class residents were / are and how their characteristics might compare to residents in working-class neighbourhoods elsewhere;
- Use and meaning of the back-to-back houses, the nature of the neighbourhood / sense of place, and how these relate to current discourses about housing, households and society, historically and now (e.g. deviations between local customs and accepted societal norms, and how the occupants may have compensated for or embraced this);
- How well the houses meet the needs of the communities;
- How legislative, social or other issues have impacted on the development and use of back-to-back houses.

These aspects are explored through mixed methods including archival records and primary ethnographic data, and provide opportunities for communities past and present to tell the multiple stories of their lives in their own words. They are contextualised at a larger scale, aiding interpretation of both the agency / structure negotiations that take place, and power differentials.

The third and fourth aims relate to housing preferences, heritage and other values associated with the back-to-back houses, and how these might inform strategies for future modification. This involves:

- Identification of contemporary preferences for housing;
- Understanding how the houses and setting are valued by their communities and the built environment professionals, and how this compares to the scope of heritage protection legislation;
- Exploration of how future adaptation / regeneration might reconcile the heritage and other community values with the communities' housing requirements;
- Appraisal of possible policy options for implementing transformative change.

This part of the research uses literature, ethnographic methods and exploratory workshops.

The thesis as a whole has mixed outputs reflecting the methodological approaches; extensive use is made of both participant quotes (included verbatim) and of visual material.

Data collection

The data collection and analysis methods are explained in an order that is approximately chronological to the research process, highlighting where sources contribute to more than one objective, and where multiple data sources can be interpreted together to enhance understanding of particular aspects (see also Appendix A *Ethical considerations)*.

Archive records

There appears to be little existing research relating to the documentary analysis of working-class housing (Holmes 2014; Hoskins 2014; Ponsonby 2007). Conclusions from this limited resource, and observations made in prior research on back-to-back houses in Leeds, indicate however, that official documents such as building plans, censuses and directories are more plentiful than other sources, which are found in small numbers (Harrison 2015a).

The most important archive collection for investigating house design and construction is the historic Building Control Register and drawings. Together, they demonstrate how the area developed, and how design intent (e.g. plan form and architectural character) and construction changed through time. Online archive collections, *Rightmove* (2019), *Zoopla* (2019) and *Public Access* (LCC 2019e) along with surveying (discussed later) support this dataset and verify as-built and extant designs.

The *1891 Census*, *1901 Census* and *1911 Census* provide information about the early residents, their household structure and occupations, giving an indication of demographic status (FMP 2020). The Leeds directories and Electoral Registers provide additional information concerning the head of most households for each year in the period 1888-1913 (Directories Collection; Electoral Registers). The *2011 Census* data (Leeds Observatory 2021c; Wired Software Ltd 2019) is only available in an aggregated form but is nonetheless, useful for contextualising the data sourced from current residents.

Historical photographic evidence is available in the *Leodis* online archive (LLIS 2022) and informal online archives hosted on social media platforms, and excerpts of participants' collections (which include biographies, photographs, property deeds and artefacts) were offered for viewing during face-to-face meetings.

A different type of archive, not usually recognised as such, is the morphology and fabric of the city itself; how buildings, streets, street names, artefacts and social practices are all embedded in the built environment, and considered collectively, are a record of the past that continues into the present (Sheringham 2010, 10-12). This then, is where the next stage of data collection and triangulation takes place, comprising exterior and interior architectural and archaeological building surveys.

Appendix B provides further details about the archive collections.

Surveys

In general, surveys are the most reliable method to determine house design as they not only enable collection of building measurements and plan form, but appropriate photography at wide and detailed scales, an insight into modifications, extant original features, materials and technologies / services, property condition, and the streetscape context.

Two types of survey were conducted. The first type provided an overview of house condition, modification and retention of original fabric at the neighbourhood scale, covering 585 houses in twenty streets, while the second allowed an in-depth exploration of eleven houses (ten in Harehills, and one in Chapel Allerton for comparison).

Appendix C provides information on sample selection, survey proformas, reports, neighbourhood data, selected architectural drawings and analysis.

Questionnaires

Two questionnaires were used in the initial stages of the research involving back-to-back residents. Q1 and Q2, were designed to collect basic quantitative and qualitative data from current and past residents respectively, as well as introduce them to the project, and encourage their participation in other aspects of the research.

Q1 contained quantitative questions relating to demographic data, room functions, and appliance ownership and location, to allow an appreciation of basic trends. The qualitative questions focused on feelings and values, such as likes and dislikes in the home and neighbourhood, and were used to make tentative generalisations about the baseline opinions of the resident communities, support the case for carrying out an in-depth ethnographic study, and inform its design.

Q2 had an emphasis on quantitative data relating to room functions, sanitary facilities, fuel types and appliance ownership, but included qualitative questions similar to those in Q1 to enable comparison. An important consideration in respect of the Q2 data, and something that Plummer (2011b, 401-2) considers to be a potential problem, is that some of the information was second hand because the earliest use of the houses is out of living memory. Data quality was also reliant on the memory of all 'tellers,' and on the interpretation of intermediaries, and was therefore judged in the light of its additional layers of social construction. There was also a possible risk to the integrity of the data in recruiting from interest groups (Fricker 2011, 212) as participants have an established interest in the history of Harehills, and may have already made interpretations, 'filling in the gaps' over time, which they then presented as fact rather than speculation.

At the end of the research project, questionnaire Q3 was made available to a wider range of stakeholders in the neighbourhood. It outlined the findings of the exploratory workshops (see later) and requested feedback along with demographic data. This had the dual purpose of gauging the likely support for community action beyond the PhD research and also indicated the extent to which the bias in the participant demographics had impacted the research findings.

Appendix D provides full details of the questionnaire design, piloting, distribution and returns, and participant metadata, and *Datasets→SPSS* folder contains the data.

Detailed discussions

Detailed discussions can occur in several forms, and three types – oral history interviews, interviews and meetings — are discussed in this section. The oral history interviews were the first qualitative data collection sessions to be carried out after the questionnaires as these concluded the involvement of former residents whereas current residents had the opportunity to be involved throughout the entire research project. Participants were recruited directly from the Q2 questionnaire responses, and the issues about generalisability and reliability are the same as for the questionnaires.

Participants were briefed beforehand and asked to provide an image or object connected to their or their relative's home, in the hope of eliciting narrative about daily life and interactions with space and material culture. The audio-recorded interview was designed to probe deeper than questionnaire Q2, to gain insight into architectural features, technology and services in the houses when they were built, and find out about daily life in the houses in the past, in a way that would be both comparable to the information being obtained from current residents and would increase the validity of the data (Vehovar and Manfreda 2011, 187). It was situated between an unstructured and semi-structured format, and conducted in a conversational, non-hierarchical way in order to create a relaxed environment and a trusting relationship with participants.

The original plan for engaging current residents was to host two types of focus group sessions – household groups where all members of a household could participate, and community groups where multiple households could engage in discussion. The full rationale for this approach is included in Appendix D, however, the restrictions on social gatherings because of the Covid-19 pandemic meant that these could not be carried out as planned. Even with social distancing, the risk could not be justified when alternative methods could produce an acceptable outcome. This section therefore outlines the alternative approach – online and telephone interviews which were conducted with individuals and household groups.

Social distancing also necessitated the cessation of participant recruitment through face-to-face contact (e.g. via local faith-based or interest groups) and so recruitment was primarily limited to those who were already involved in the research, and those who participated in social media sites. By their very nature, these sites tend to have members who are already active in their community and comfortable communicating in written English, and therefore the participants did not represent the true diversity of the local residents. A further disadvantage was that even from the limited pool of potential participants, not all had or wanted to use the online video-calling technology or have a telephone interview. While these limitations were disappointing, taking a pragmatic approach was the only real option.

The remote format for data collection brought both advantages and disadvantages. Focusing on residents who had already participated in questionnaires and house surveys meant that data could be triangulated and understood in greater depth. It was also less time-consuming for participants because home-based interviews do not require travel and also allow flexibility around other commitments. However, the format did eliminate the opportunity for ethnographic observation during interview. The audio-recorded interviews followed the same semi-structured approach as the earlier oral history interviews, and probed participants to elicit an understanding of their lived experiences.

Discussion with professional stakeholders took two forms. Audio-recorded online interviews with the Senior Conservation Officer (Newell 2021) and Neighbourhood Planning Manager (MacKay 2021) at Leeds City Council, and Director of Leeds Civic Trust (Hamilton 2021) followed a semi-structured approach and focused on aspects of the built environment such as history and characteristics of the neighbourhood, heritage significance and policy. Further data was collected through observation of an online public meeting between residents, the local Councillors, and Leeds City Council's Head of Environmental Action (Arif et al. 2021).

See Appendix A *Information sheets and consent forms*, Appendix D *Interviews* for further details, and *Datasets→NVivo folder for the data*.

Exploratory workshops

As the research progressed, the ethnographic methodology expanded to include workshops in which residents were guided to explore values and housing preferences, aspirations for future regeneration and policy engagement to bring transformative change. The activities involved ten participants, nine in the first workshop and seven in the second. Within the more limited confines of recorded online video-call meetings rather than face-to-face sessions which had originally been planned, activities made use of collaborative tools (Padlet and Jamboard) with discussion. Pre-prepared visual presentations which were influenced by the relevant literature and the data already collected from participants in previous phases of the research were used to elicit responses.

The first workshop encouraged the participants to work together, reflecting on their lived experience to identify their values (heritage and otherwise), and housing preferences, thinking at multiple scales — neighbourhood, house and room. In the first task, they responded to images of house exteriors, interiors and gardens by 'upvoting' and ‘downvoting’, posting comments and discussing their likes and dislikes. Most, but not all were back-to-back houses, but those that were not, shared relevant characteristics such as their age, size or layout. Participants were briefed to include both tangible and intangible aspects, and negotiated a priority ranking both within and across the themes they identified. In the second task, they were shown photographic montages of the twenty streets that were studied in Chapter 4 to elucidate which physical aspects of the neighbourhood they value most and which are detractors, what should be preserved in the event of change (e.g. adaptation and development), and which values might be strengthened. The final discussion encouraged participants to consider whether, having identified values, detractors and preferences, it would impact any future decision-making concerning modification of their own homes.

The second workshop focused on intervention and policy. Case studies of regeneration in seven Victorian terraced neighbourhoods were shown to the participants: a feasibility study of back-to-back houses in Leeds; Methley Drive Home Zone, Leeds; Nelson, Lancashire; Granby 4 Streets, Liverpool; Homebaked, Liverpool; Welsh Streets, Liverpool; and Chimney Pot Park, Salford. One participant also discussed another scheme she was aware of in Beeston, Leeds. Participants were asked to critique the schemes, which, in conservation terms, varied from a primary focus on conservation of the houses with improvements to streets and landscaping, to the radical reinterpretation of terraced houses and open spaces with minimal retention of original fabric. Specifically, they were asked what they liked and disliked about each scheme, whether it is an approach they would like to see in Harehills, and why.

A subsequent introductory presentation about relevant planning and heritage protection policies gave participants an understanding of the availability, mechanisms and interconnectedness of policies. The final discussion encouraged residents to consider the values, preferences and aspirations they’d explored across the two workshops in the context of the policies, and to consider what action they would like to explore further.

The two sessions were recorded to ensure accurate capture of the discussions and the processes the group went through in developing their ideas and negotiating a group response.

Appendix D *Exploratory Workshops* provides further details, metadata, transcripts and collaborative outputs.

Data analysis

Archive data

For all but the building control drawings and qualitative online archive collections, archive data was analysed quantitatively using a spreadsheet and / or database, and visualised in conjunction with a geographical information system (GIS) where relevant. This gave insights into, for example, historical business types in shop-houses and which family members were employed there, the prevalence of dormer window installation at the time of internalising sanitary facilities, and the relationship between house type and energy efficiency ratings.

Qualitative archive data was analysed thematically in NVivo computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). Coding was carried out using an approach positioned between the inductive and deductive, i.e. codes were generated based on the themes emerging from the data, but only those themes relevant to the research questions were coded. It is important that this research gives voice to the back-to-back communities and therefore the analytical coding contains actual data strings (i.e. participants' oral or written words) where possible.

Surveys

The data collected from architectural and archaeological surveys and building control drawings was analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively. The quantitative analysis of the built form was concerned with aspects such as plan form, facilities, house condition and the survival rate of architectural elements and was conducted with the use of a spreadsheet, database and GIS. The qualitative aspects were concerned with understanding the artistic and technical aspects of the house design, construction, services and fittings, and were compared to contemporaneous building regulations and other types of worker's housing. This part of the analysis followed a conventional art-historical process, with elements of archaeological analysis.

Questionnaires

Q1 and Q2 questionnaire data about the use of space and house contents was analysed quantitatively with SPSS software using basic statistical concepts such as frequency, contingency and central tendency (e.g. mean average) so that tentative generalisations could be made about customs, practices and daily routines. The qualitative data from the questionnaires about thoughts and feelings on the back-to-back houses was analysed thematically with NVivo software, using the same approach as described for the qualitative archival data. The thematic codes were then analysed numerically in a spreadsheet and visualised in charts for greater understanding. Although the Q2 dataset was a good size (sixty-nine participants), the number of participants and valid responses to questions within five time periods that had been established to aid understanding of the long-range data spanning over 100 years, was small. Caution was therefore exercised when making interpretations and generalisations, and comparison was made with other datasets in order to triangulate and better understand the reliability of the data. Q3 questionnaire data was analysed primarily using quantitative methods, but participant comments were analysed qualitatively.

Interviews

Interview data was transcribed fully prior to its analysis, to include all content, but not utterances, pauses or other information not relevant to the research questions. Non-text data was interpreted to create a textual description prior to analysis. This co-production of evidence between the researcher and participant positions the analysis between the inductive and deductive approaches (Plummer 2011a, 140-141; 155-156; Reissman 2008, 50).

Thematic analysis was used to analyse the oral history and resident interview data because this tied into the data collected from questionnaires and social media, creating a multi-source dataset. Moreover, it aided understanding of the 'macro' scale, enabling tentative generalisations about use and meaning for different household types and communities, but also gave insight into the 'micro' scale, weaving a story through the thematic findings to ground them in a coherent 'reality.' The coded data was explored quantitatively to identify key themes, both alone, and in combination with the data from all current or former residents as relevant. The interview data collected from professional stakeholders was also analysed thematically so that comparison could be made with the residents' data.

Exploratory workshops

Analysis of the themes arising in the exploratory workshops were initially identified, negotiated and agreed by the participants; activities involving the use of collaborative tools were designed for participants to produce visual and textual data that could be used directly for interpretation. These outputs were supplemented with a thematic analysis of participants' recorded and transcribed conversations, using the convention described for interviews. This second stage of analysis was carried out by the researcher and subsequently presented as a summary for participants to add their comments or make amendments. The coded data was further analysed numerically in a spreadsheet and visualised in charts for greater understanding.

Appendix D *Exploratory Workshops* provides further details.

Summary and approach to this research

This thesis uses an innovative combination of architectural, historical, archaeological and social science methods, drawing data from the physical environment and participants to enable analysis and interpretation that is multi-layered and robust. There is broad coverage as well as depth, to address the different scales of understanding within the research questions, and to enrich the overall findings.

The methodological approach and methods relate to the theoretical framework in four ways. Firstly, ontological dualism relating to objectivity and subjectivity is observed. Secondly, stakeholder groups and their plural and multiple realities emerge during the data collection and analysis stages. Thirdly, the two-way relationship between agency and structure explains interactions between stakeholders, and between stakeholders and the built environment, taking account of power differentials. Finally, it is acknowledged that stakeholder realities are in constant flux, and that some of the research findings will therefore relate only to a point in time.

Chapter 4 The houses

Introduction

This chapter charts a typological and architectural analysis of the Harehills back-to-back houses for the period of their initial construction (1888-1926) and as they are in the twenty-first century (2017-2021). A literature review positions this analysis in relevant legislative, political, social, geographical and architectural contexts which aids understanding of factors affecting their original design, construction methods and materials, and subsequent modification.

The research questions are explored through mixed methods to produce a comprehensive dataset comprising literature, archival research, building and neighbourhood surveys, and oral history interviews. Moreover, the *triangulation* of these diverse sources increases the robustness of the data through cross-referencing and verification of the findings, and so for example, smaller, more detailed datasets are interpreted alongside larger, less complete datasets, and literature or archival records are used to clarify the context of survey observations or information recalled from the childhood years of oral history participants.

Late Victorian and Edwardian housing

As discussed previously, the literature about the character and construction of the later back-to-back houses in Leeds is limited, hence the need for this research. However, sources for Victorian and Edwardian building regulations are important for understanding how house construction developed in accordance with local and national requirements. Furthermore, the literature on other types of workers' housing enables comparison of the back-to-back house with two-up two-down through terraced types to gauge whether the back-to-backs led the way in their construction and design or were struggling to keep pace with emerging technologies and improving standards.

Architectural studies

The social, political, economic and legislative context

This contextual review begins by considering the classic genres of architectural literature, as identified by Johnson (1997). Firstly, the 'grand narrative' contextual accounts of Guillery (2004), Leech (1999) and Chalklin (1974) exemplify how local and national influences such as geography, economics and legislation can be understood to explain the development of house types in the eighteenth-century. Their nineteenth-century counterparts include Daunton (1990) and Rodger (1989). Daunton (1990, 81; 87; 138; 158-159; 178), who includes the case of the Leeds back-to-backs in his analysis of working-class housing, demonstrates not only the impact of the by-law system on urban layouts and house form, but also how resistance to change was in part shaped by economic issues such as land and construction costs, rental markets, the ratio of wages to rent, and taxation on rental income. Rodger (1989, 29-34; 51; 62-63), similarly reports on building legislation, by-laws, taxes and wages, making greater links between urban and house form, living conditions and health.

Detailed work concerning back-to-back houses in Leeds is mainly attributable to Beresford (1988; 1980; 1971) who considers the entire history of their construction from 1787 to 1937, in the social, political, economic and legislative context, though little of his research relates to the period from 1890 onwards. My previous research however, provides an account of the legislative, social and economic influences on the development of back-to-back house-building in Leeds to provide a unique insight into the houses in Harehills at the time of their construction (Harrison 2019; 2018b). This demonstrates how the urban layouts, plan-form and sanitary facilities developed during the twenty-five-year construction period, in line with legislative and social reform.

The small number of journal articles and unpublished reports which document the major modification of back-to-back houses (and their selective 'slum clearance') are framed in the context of national and local Government policy and funding for essential modification works (LCC 1981; 1978; Shelter and Oram 1978; Rawling and Normington 1971; Wilkinson and Sigsworth 1963; The Leeds Journal 1960; Baines 1955).

Recent research on the extant back-to-back houses generally focuses on deprivation indicators (including poor quality housing), housing markets and 'problematic' communities, with a move away from the analysis of policy and legislation for development of the built environment (Jones 2015; Barraclough, Horner and Jones 2008a; 2008b; LCC 2007a; 2007b). Key findings include the need for both modernisation of the housing stock and for a greater mix of affordable house types for existing and new communities. Accordingly, the reports suggest ways in which these housing needs might be met. One report however (LCC 2019a), is concerned with privately tenanted properties (in Harehills, but not exclusively back-to-back), and its relationship with poor housing quality, low housing demand, and high levels of migration, anti-social behaviour, crime and deprivation in the neighbourhood. It concludes that the Selective Licensing of rental properties (see Glossary) may alleviate the problems, and in doing so, initiates a change to the built form and communities that is policy driven. A full discussion of the literature about the communities in Harehills is provided in Chapter 6.

Typology

The second genre – typology – possibly accounts for the largest body of research out of the three approaches (Smith 1990 cited in Longcroft 2002, 24), and includes numerous studies of medieval and post-medieval housing which categorise plan-forms to better understand the basic cultural 'rules' and norms for spatial arrangement (Harrison 2014; Longcroft 2002; Clark 2000; Schofield 1987; Kelsall 1974, 80-81; Faulkner 1966; Pantin 1962). Several typologies have been developed for elite terraced houses (Harrison 2016a) and notable examples are found in the work of Kelsall (1974, 80-81), Cruickshank and Burton (1990, 51-60) and Elsam (Muthesius 1982, 82-83). Most recently, Burton and Guillery (2006) amalgamated and developed prior studies to propose six London plan variants used across all social scales between 1660 and 1840. Moving into the Victorian period, Brown and Steadman (1986) use a typological approach for their analysis of the 1870-80 byelaw terraced house, and Hanson and Hillier (1998, 121) allude to a typology of two-up two down terraced houses, but it appears that there are no exhaustive studies of the house type.

In the case of back-to-back houses, the literature fares little better. Typologies are noted for those in the Midlands (Chapman 1971; Chapman and Bartlett 1971), Lancashire (Timmins 2013), Liverpool (Burnett 1986, 71) and Yorkshire (Caffyn 1986; Muthesius 1982). In Leeds, the typologies for urban arrangement appear to have originated in 1893 in accordance with the Leeds Improvement Act 1893, and three house plan-forms were first labelled as typologies in the mid-twentieth century (Leeds Regional Office for the Ministry of Housing and Local Government n.d. cited in Baines 1955, 854; The Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of Leeds 1909). Dolman's (2007) work identified further typologies, including the Pseudo Type 3 (a hybrid form) and two 'modern' typologies, although my analysis of back-to-back housing in Harehills highlighted shortcomings in the Leeds typology despite it categorising the houses not only by plan-form, but by urban arrangement and amenities (Harrison 2018b). Furthermore, the extent of plan form types remained undocumented until my MA research was published (Harrison 2019). This current research examines architectural detail, construction and materials, which links to the third genre, the descriptive approach. This focuses on the physicality of buildings alongside basic facts such as build date, designer, use and significant occupants.

Materiality

Late twentieth-century publications such as those by Muthesius (1982) and Caffyn (1986) use the descriptive approach within a broader methodology that is akin to the 'grand narrative.' More recent literature however, appears to favour using the approach in isolation (Parissien 2008; Hall 2005; Yorke 2005). Yorke's work on Victorian and Edwardian housing for example, provides both an architectural appraisal of houses, and commentary and visual information about room use and architectural elements, services, and fixtures and fittings, such that the books can be used for basic identification purposes (Yorke 2006; 2005). A further shift in the focus of literature is seen in conservation and maintenance guides aimed at lay custodians (Rock 2015; Hunt and Suhr 2008).

The only known research of this type for back-to-back houses in Leeds is my own, and the gazetteer showcasing the variety of exterior decorative architectural elements adorning the houses in Harehills could be considered a visual approach to description of the type reviewed in the literature here (Harrison 2019; 2015a). This research uncovers new information about construction, materials and architectural features, and additionally, assesses the condition of the extant elements and the levels of survival, replacement and modification. This then, is a move towards an archaeological approach.

Archaeological analysis

Published literature concerning the archaeological analysis of workers' housing is scarce. Medieval housing is represented by the Chester Rows (Brown 1999) and houses in Kent (Pearson 2003). Two long-ranging studies examine housing in the south-west of England; one focuses on town houses in Bristol from the eleventh- to nineteenth-centuries (Leech 2014) and the other includes seventeenth- to eighteenth-century workers' housing as part of a broader study of the textile industry (Palmer and Neaverson 2005). Eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century examples are provided in Lilley's (2017; 2015) consideration of cotton-workers housing in the Derwent Valley, Belford's (2011) analysis of houses and workplaces in Sheffield, and Jenkins' (2013) shop-houses in York. The National Trust (n.d.) exhibition celebrates the archaeological investigations of the nineteenth-century back-to-back court houses in Birmingham but this information remains unpublished.

While archaeological analysis of early Victorian houses and neighbourhoods has occurred in York (Connelly 2011; Rimmer 2011; Richardson 1961), the industrial towns (Nevell 2017; 2014; Campion 2001) and in rural communities (Casella 2012), significantly, these buildings and neighbourhoods are no longer extant (i.e. they are buried archaeology rather than standing buildings). These studies draw on well-established archaeological methods including fieldwork and documentary evidence, although Casella (2012) does additionally include oral history narratives to deepen understanding of the social experience.

Later Victorian terraced houses appear to be largely absent in archaeological studies (Matthews 1999, 159). According to West Yorkshire Archaeological Advisory Service (Downes 2017) for example, it appears that there is no documentation about the 1876 back-to-backs in Bradford which were demolished and then rebuilt at Bradford Industrial Museum. Two examples of historical archaeological research in this later period are noteworthy however, and confirm the relevance of the archaeological approach to housing of all periods. Service (2013) focuses on extant by-law terraces in York, combining typological analysis with documentary evidence of social class, while Dwyer (2014) incorporates oral history narratives about home life and social experience in her study of social housing from 1870 to the present.

Unlike the architectural studies discussed previously where there remain three dominant approaches with only limited cross-over, the recent archaeological research evidences a broader scope that is also concerned with understanding the social aspects of the built environment.

The back-to-backs in Harehills, 1888-1926

The neighbourhood

As discussed in Chapter 1, the MA research detailed the origin, development and decline of back-to-back house-building in Leeds, in the context of national trends and concerns

(Harrison 2015a). Most back-to-back houses, in Leeds and the other back-to-back towns in the Midlands and North of England, were built in a courtyard arrangement rather than on streets until at least 1840, and so despite sharing a name and basic form, the earlier house type had a distinctly different context to the extant houses in Leeds (Caffyn 1986, 94-95; Gaskell 1983, 32; Muthesius 1982, 122-123). It was primarily the problematic social and sanitary conditions associated with the early form that made them unpopular with social and sanitary reformers and the authorities (*Leeds Mercury* 1862 cited in Beresford 1971, 95-96), and there had accordingly, been formal opposition to them on a national scale from 1840 (Harper 1985; Gaskell 1983). Despite this, they remained popular with speculators, building society club members and the working people of Leeds (Caffyn 1986; Yeadell 1986 and Beresford 1971 all cited in Harrison 2015a, 26). Consequently, while back-to-back house building was prohibited in other towns and cities by 1876 (Harrison 2015a 32-37), the numerous Acts and Bills attempting to stop their spread and improve the lives of the working classes, had little effect in Leeds; implementation was derogated to local authorities who interpreted them according to local preference (Caffyn 1986, 94-95; Gaskell 1983).

Back-to-backs were being built in three urban layouts in Leeds by 1890, all with a maximum street length of 120 yards (Figure 5). The first arrangement comprised street-lined Type 2 houses built in blocks of eight, with closet yards between each block and a minimum street width of forty-two feet. The second arrangement featured Type 2 houses, but each house had its own exclusive outdoor space, and the minimum street width was thirty-six feet. The third, and most common arrangement, was the Type 3 house built in a continuous row, with an outdoor space of at least fifteen feet, and a minimum street width of thirty-six feet (Housing, Town Planning etc Bill 1909. Statement of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of Leeds, 2-3 cited Harrison 2019).

The historic area assessment carried out previously, showed that the Harehills Triangle, was undeveloped until 1888 (Ordnance Survey 1851; *Building Control Collection 1888-1926*) and so construction there started over a decade after back-to-backs had been prohibited in other towns. By 1893, Harehills Road had been constructed to bisect the area, and 520 back-to-back houses had been built to the west (Ordnance Survey 1893). Just

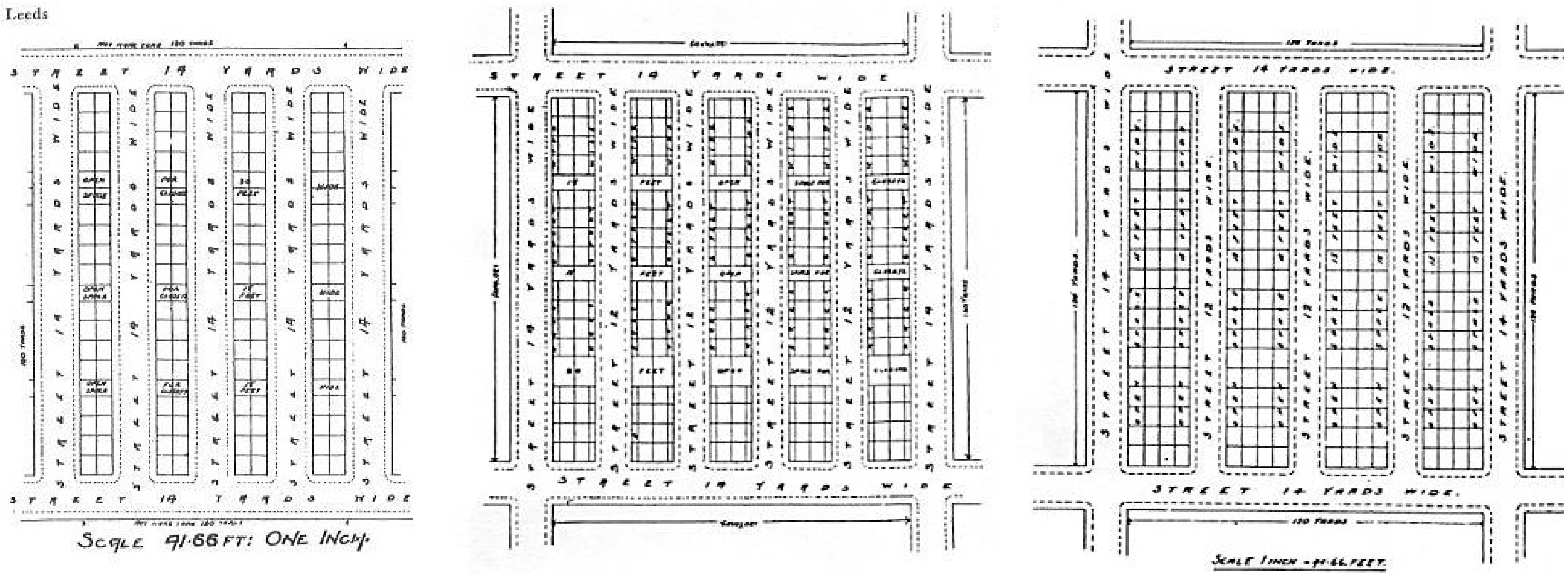


Figure 5 The three types of urban layout for back-to-back housing. Street-lined houses in blocks of eight (left); Garden fronted houses in blocks of eight (middle); Garden fronted houses in continuous rows with integral, externally accessed toilets (right) (Housing, Town planning etc Bill 1909. Statement of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of Leeds, 6-8).

fifteen years later, back-to-back houses occupied most of the land in the area, with the final fields being developed by around 1912 for a more even mix of back-to-back and through terraces (Ordnance Survey 1934; 1908). This was undoubtedly a response to the Housing and Town Planning etc Act (1909) which prohibited the construction of new back-to-backs that had not already been given permission to be developed.

The formality of the grid-iron arrangement is a particularly strong characteristic of the Harehills Triangle, and this is relatively typical of Victorian development in Leeds and beyond. All three of the urban arrangements for back-to-back houses are present in the neighbourhood and the earlier research suggests that there is a pattern between build date and urban arrangement such that street width and house typology can be linked to the development of local by-laws (Harrison 2019) (Refer to Table 1 for an overview of the house types and see *Plan form* for a fuller discussion). Significantly, since Harehills was developed later than most other back-to-back neighbourhoods in Leeds, the benefits brought by the by-laws meant that most of its back-to-backs were spared so-called slum clearance in the twentieth century (see later).

The study area was divided into Character Areas for the MA research as this facilitated understanding of the development of the neighbourhood. The approach continues in this research, focusing on Character Areas 1 – 4, where all of the 2157 extant back-to-backs in the Harehills Triangle are located (Figure 1). Building control applications from 1886 to 1926 show that multiple developers were involved in the establishment of the neighbourhood. The most prolific developers were the Lax family members who developed in all four back-to-back character areas, Prest, Stevenson, Murgatroyd and Atkinson who developed individually and collaboratively in Character Areas 1, 2 and 3, and Fred Arnott and Thomas Hart, each developing in Character Areas 2 and 3. The pattern for architects working in the area is similar, with seven individuals / groups designing around 1000 of the 1500 back-to-backs featuring in the archive collection. Several of the architects and developers lived close to or even within the neighbourhood in their own developments, indicating that the houses were suitable for professionals and successful businessmen as well as people in more traditional working-class occupations, and that they provided a stepping-stone for those with aspirations of upwards social mobility (Directories Collection).

Analysis suggests that the design of Type 2 houses in Character Area 1 may have been overseen by a co-ordinating body because the same design is found, regardless of architect and developer. Elsewhere, there is a closer correlation between developer and architectural design such that a change in design signals a different developer.

It was common for architects and developers to work together on multiple projects, demonstrating a long-term working relationship, however in some cases, architects developed houses, and builders produced their own designs. It is noteworthy that by the time Character Area 4 was being planned, the back-to-back type had become so well established, it was more common for developers to produce their own drawings and designs rather than engage architects (see *Datasets→Access* folder for full details, and Appendix F Figures 239-242 for spatial visualisations).

House design and typologies

Plot and position

The absence, presence and size of front gardens in Harehills is atypical compared to other small houses of the same age (Figure 6). The figures suggest that there was an element of 'compensation' in the neighbourhood and that the increased prevalence and larger proportion of medium-sized front gardens (up to 4.9m in length), exists in lieu of a back plot.

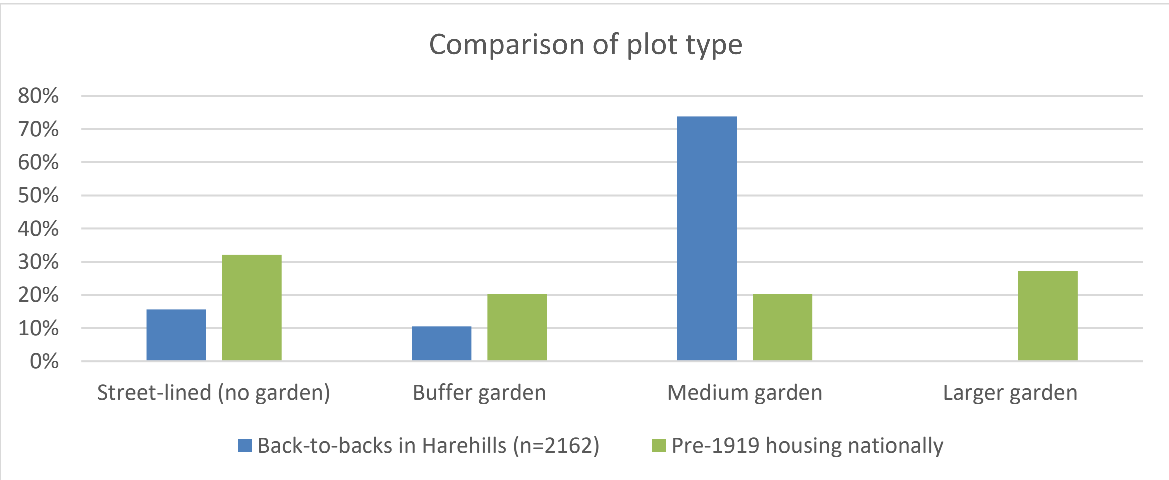


Figure 6 The prevalence and size of front plots to pre-1919 housing (National data: MHCLG 2018b, 34].

Small buffer gardens give a degree of privacy to some Type 2 houses and allow a bay window design to be accommodated, but so small are the spaces that they have no other functional use. Further down the hierarchy, the only available outdoor space for the street-lined properties is within the shared yards between each block of eight houses. Some of those between the earliest Type 2 houses contained earth closets (one per two houses) and ash pits, but by 1893, all developments were provided with water closets and dry ash pits instead, placing them at the forefront of the move to connect the working-classes to the sewerage system. By 1899, provision of water closets was mandatory (Abbey House Museum n.d.), cementing the reputation of Leeds's newest housing as a sanitary neighbourhood.

Appendix F *Finish floor levels* provides a discussion of the exterior ground level and interior ground floor level, and how the relationship between the two was used to improve the living environment.

Plan form

Previous research demonstrated that Type 1 and 2 properties were generally built before the Type 3 and Pseudo Type 3 properties, and these had a less sophisticated design with less standardisation of the facilities provided. Modern houses built c.1912, albeit very few in number, provided the best facilities and maximised use of the footprint at all four levels, while *Other* houses, built throughout the development period, do not conform to any typology (Appendix F Figures 243-253 show construction date, plan form and facilities).

The established typologies relate only to the most common, standard-size houses, and do not distinguish between these and the larger houses and shop-houses which generally had a different floor plan (e.g. with a central stair), more rooms and 'specialist' spaces (e.g. a shop). Furthermore, the typology does not allow for the variations to be understood within each size or use sub-type. Across the neighbourhood, there are at least 217 variations in the design of the houses which influence their use to some degree (Appendix F *House design and typologies* provides a discussion about split floor levels, examples of room use configurations for various plan-form types, and numerical analysis of the variations. Also see Figure 77).

Among the standard-size houses (Figure 7), most basements had two rooms; a coal cellar and either a wash cellar, or a room with no specified purpose. In addition, some had a third room which might contain the bath, and Type 3 houses had an outdoor WC. The provision of a full basement is more common in the later houses, possibly due to the growing preference for a wash cellar but since this is not exclusively the case, it is possible that geography (e.g. ground conditions) or economic factors (e.g. cheaper build cost) influenced this design decision.

At ground floor, the larger of the two rooms was designed as a kitchen, living-kitchen or living room. In most houses constructed before 1907, it was accessed directly from outside, but thereafter, a lobby was included to provide a separation for both physical comfort and privacy. An interesting exception to this is found in the Modern houses where the entrance door is in the side of the bay window and covered by an open porch, which maximises the window area for light and ventilation, while still providing a degree of privacy from the street. The small ground-floor room functioned as a scullery, often doubling as a bathroom, and was a through-route between the larger room and basement.

The stairs to the basement and first floors, located in the rear corner of the footprint, are accessed via doors, making them private places that visitors would be unlikely to see. At first floor, the small landing allowed access to two bedrooms and stairs to the attic, which in most houses, was a single space. It is interesting to observe that a second attic room is more common in the earliest and last houses to be built, and the same is true of dormer windows, however it is only in Character Area 4 that there is a relationship between the two (see later). There are three main levels of privacy and access to the attic floor: a door at the bottom of the attic stairs on the first-floor landing; a door at the top of the attic stairs or to the bedroom(s); and a staircase that is open to both the first-floor landing and the attic room, relying simply on the level change to provide privacy. This latter design in particular, suggests a lower status for the attic room, but there is no clear pattern in the data to suggest a relationship with construction date. Since the other changes relating to privacy are so evident, it is surprising that this is not also the case for attic bedrooms.

The large versions of the houses usually had three basement rooms, a living room and kitchen of reasonably equal proportions to the ground floor, and two bedrooms on each of the upper floors. There was more variation in the room function of shop-houses compared to houses although the shop was always at ground floor. Sometimes the second ground floor room functioned as a kitchen, in which case there might be no living room, or one might be provided at first floor. Alternatively, the living room might be located at ground floor, and the kitchen in the basement. Consequently, some houses have three bedrooms and others have four. It was common for the larger houses and shop-houses to be built with a bathroom, although the provision of sanitaryware itself could vary; some houses simply had a bath, while others had a bath and either a WC or basin, and others had all three items.

Figure 7 Typical layout and room use of Type 2 and Type 3 back-to-back houses in the late Victorian and Edwardian period.

In terms of the combination of facilities for washing (bathing and laundry), it is clear that there was more uniformity among the Type 3 houses than the Type 2s (Appendix F Figure 262). Most set-pots were installed in the wash cellar or scullery, and although a relationship between location and construction date is evident, it does not appear to have been such a distinct transition or evolving preference as the developments in plot type and sanitary facilities. In general however, scullery set-pots are associated with the older properties, and their later installation in the large basement room gave the room a more defined function as a wash cellar for laundry. This may explain the tentative relationship between construction date and full basement provision. By 1900, many of the Type 3 houses had only a semi-subterranean basement which had both a window and exterior door, improving the internal environment, and allowing a more convenient transition to the garden on wash-day (see Chapter 5). The location of the set-pot away from the scullery also improved the scullery by freeing up a significant portion of its floor area.

The scullery was the most common place for the plumbed-in bath to be located in houses without a bathroom, but the provision is again quite mixed (Appendix F *Fixtures and fittings* provides a discussion on the provision of bathrooms). The houses without baths for example, tended to be those built at an earlier date, but not exclusively so, and plumbed-in baths (including those in a dedicated bathroom) can be found in all areas of the neighbourhood. It makes sense in terms of services for the bath to be located near to other installations requiring a water supply and drainage, but some locations are at odds with modern perspectives on privacy; a bath in a highly-trafficked ground-floor room or in a basement bay window, would not be a natural choice. While most of the larger houses and shop-houses had a bathroom, they could also be found in a minority of standard size houses. This suggests that provision may have been tailored to the market, such that there were more basic, less expensive housing options for those who needed it, alongside houses with the latest facilities and technology for those who wanted and could afford it. Similar conclusions have been made about the large size and refinement of some early nineteenth-century back-to-back houses in Lancashire, indicating that it might have been commonplace for back-to-back houses to cater to different levels of affordability (Newman and Newman 2008, 194-195). This is explored for Harehills in Chapter 5.

Materials and construction

Structural and exterior elements

Walls

In common with most Victorian housing, the back-to-back houses in Harehills have a load-bearing solid masonry construction with lime mortar joints. The English Garden Wall bond was common during the Victorian period, and one of the acceptable bonds noted in the Leeds By-laws (CoL 1902, 15), although the bond used throughout Harehills appears to be a variation on this bond (Figure 8). It is possible that the specification of bonds in the by-laws was more a formalisation of existing local practice than a driver of change or improvement.

The side walls of Type 2 end houses that are not facing onto a main road are constructed separately to the front face of the house, with bonding occurring in intermittent ‘blocks’ of brick courses rather than every course. Although there is no obvious difference in quality, the gauge is sometimes slightly different to the face, and is probably an indicator that, in common with much construction practice at the time (Yorke 2006, 34), the best bricks were reserved for the front, and cheaper (perhaps in this case, bricks with a larger size tolerance) were used elsewhere.

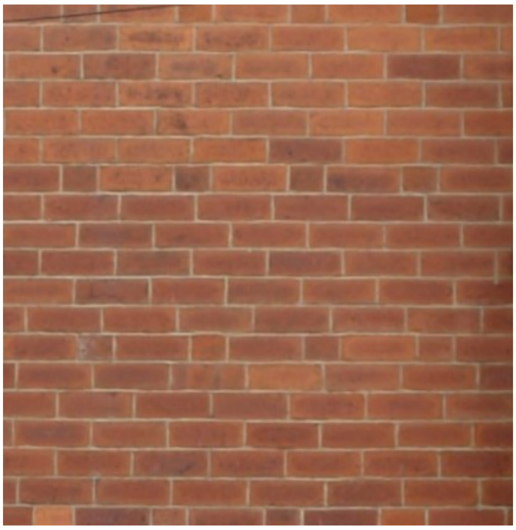


Figure 8 The brick bond is the same across the entire neighbourhood, regardless of construction date, and comprises five rows of stretchers and one row of alternate headers and stretchers. Lime mortar joints are narrow, at approximately 3/16” to 3/8” (4.5-10mm) thick.

Most houses are designed with a decorative brick frieze at high level, between the first-floor window lintels and gutter corbels (see *Datasets*→*Access* folder for all designs). This was a common feature of late Victorian houses (Yorke 2013, 34; 2006, 35; 2005, 58) however earlier research identified it as one of the key architectural characteristics of the back-to-backs, adding a level of variety to a well-regulated form of mass-housing that is not seen to this degree outside of Leeds (Harrison 2019).

Further aesthetic interest is found in air bricks. By 1874, the Leeds By-laws were explicit about the requirements for ventilation in all habitable rooms without a fireplace (CoL 1902, 50; BoL 1879, 19-20; 1874, 5) and there is abundant evidence of the ten-inch square air bricks. A number of decorative designs are found throughout the neighbourhood, notably to the pre-1905 houses. The change to a more utilitarian design thereafter may signify attitudes to the status of the rooms being ventilated, particularly by 1912 when the air bricks were ventilating bathrooms (functional spaces) rather than bedrooms (habitable spaces).

<u>Roofs</u>

Most back-to-backs have a room-in-the-roof construction and a single roof pitch of about 31°, although a variation is found in a row of blind back houses in Bexley Grove which have cross gables. In a minority of back-to-backs, and notably the few that do not have attics, the roof slope commences immediately above the first-floor ceiling, however, in most designs, the wall rises approximately one to two feet (300-600mm) above the first-floor ceiling level, which has the advantage of raising the headroom in the attic (Figure 9). This would have been important functionally in maximising useable floor space, but may also be linked to earlier regulation; from 1870 to 1878, the Leeds By-laws had required a minimum height of four feet in the attic, and an average of six feet (BoL 1879, 3; 1874, 36; 1870, 10), and so it is possible that having become an established form, the housebuilders continued the practice.

The roof construction comprises timber rafters that span from the face of the property to the rear party wall, supported by a timber purlin (Figure 10). Interpretation of the purlin sizes, spans and positions, indicates that in some cases, the dwarf wall to the attic room is likely to be load-bearing, providing an intermediate support to the rafters. It also appears that timber sizes were much smaller than required by the Model By-laws and Leeds By-laws, although there is no evidence of them being overloaded (Appendix F Table 12).

All houses had a Welsh slate roof, laid with three inches of visible surface area to each slate. This dimension was stipulated in the Leeds By-laws from 1902, but since almost all houses were constructed in this way, it suggests that the by-laws were once again formalising what was already common practice.

A further distinctive feature of the back-to-back roofs is that there are no eaves. One advantage of constructing the houses in this way is that it eliminates the exposure of rafters or the need for a fascia board (both of which would require maintenance), although it does increase the risk of water ingress to the wall at its junction with the roof (Figure 11).

In common with Victorian and Edwardian styling, houses at the end of a row are sometimes finished with bargeboards and a gable post to the gable end (Yorke 2013, 36). This is more prevalent on the houses adjoining the main roads, and much less common on the ends of Type 2 properties abutting the WC yards, indicating the relative importance of each location (Figure 12).

<u>Chimneys</u>

Chimneys were regulated more tightly from the 1878 by-laws, their walls requiring a thickness of at least 4½ inches up to three feet above their junction with the roof and a separate flue for each fireplace. From 1902, an increased area of fire resisting construction was required to the back of chimneys (CoL 1902, 29; BoL 1879, 10) but this would have been achieved prior to this in most cases anyway as the thicknesses (relating to brick dimensions) and locations specified (external and party walls) were part of the typical construction.

Figure 9 In the houses without attic rooms, the roof pitch commences at first-floor ceiling level (top) whereas in those with attic rooms, extension of the wall above the first-floor ceiling level before the roof pitch commences, gives additional headroom in the attic (middle). A minority of houses have cross gables (bottom).

Figure 10 Purlins are positioned at variable heights throughout the neighbourhood: immediately below the flat ceiling (left); at high level, mid-way along the sloping ceiling (centre); and at the height of the dwarf wall and concealed within (right).

Figure 11 Brick gutter corbels (left); and stone corbels (right) support square timber gutters.

Figure 12 Gable post with decorative bargeboards featuring a scalloped edge and perforations (left); and mortar-bedded verge (right).

Floors

Most basement floors are constructed of concrete, and evidence from oral history interviews suggests that this was an original finish. These floors did not feature in the by-laws until 1902 when they were required to be formed of "a hard, durable and impervious material, evenly and closely laid" on cement concrete or other suitable material. This suggests an expectation of stone flags, but it is possible that just the concrete was used. Since the 1902 by-laws also specify that the whole building site be asphalted or covered with cement concrete at least six inches thick for the prevention of dampness (CoL 1902, 12; 46), it appears that concrete was considered to be suitably impervious at that time.

Upper floors are supported by timber beams with dimensions appearing to correspond to their span and the by-law requirements from 1890 (Appendix F Table 13). These are topped with ⅞ inch thick floorboards and underdrawn by a lath and plaster ceiling. It is noteworthy that the Leeds By-laws 1902 were more onerous than the Model By-Laws 1899 in respect of floorboard thickness (Ley 2000, Appendix 10; CoL 1902, 47), and moreover, survey evidence suggests all houses complied with the 1902 standard irrespective of build date. This indicates that the houses were not built to the cheapest or minimum standards.

In some houses, the portion of scullery floor above the outside toilet is constructed of flagstone rather than timber. The compartmentation of houses, specifically shops and storage areas under other parts of the house, was implemented for fire safety from 1902 (CoL 1902, 47-48) and so it is possible that flag floors were constructed to prevent the spread of fire from one scullery to the adjacent scullery via the shared toilet below.

Lintels and sills

All houses have either stone and / or brick lintels, with stone windowsills and doorsteps (Figure 13) (*Datasets→Access→House type photos* folder provides images of all the designs). Stone lintels were common in the mid-Victorian period (c.1850-1870) while fine cut brick lintels were more common by the 1890-1901 period (Yorke 2005, 44; 62), however there appears to be no correlation between construction date and material choice in Harehills. This may indicate a time lag between features popular in mid-Victorian middle-class house construction, and those for late-Victorian workers, but it is more likely to be explained by a local preference for stone. Either way, the inclusion of such decorative designs suggests that the housing was designed to appeal to people who had an element of choice about where to live.

Figure 13 Stone and brick combinations used in arched lintels (window, top left; door, top right); curved stone lintel supported off corbels (middle left); stone lintel with reveal quoins (middle right); plain sill (bottom left) and sill supported off corbels with decorative brick between (bottom right).

Windows and doors

The majority of houses had vertical sliding sash windows (Figure 14). The minimum area of glazing had been included in the by-laws from as early as 1866, initially set at nine square feet for dwelling and sleeping rooms (excluding the attic), and then 10% of the floor area from 1902 (CoL 1902, 50; BoL 1867, 11). The windows to the rooms at ground and first floor had always met or exceeded this later requirement, and so once again, the by-laws did not drive change to the back-to-back design.

Figure 14 Sliding sash windows with glazing bars (top left); Sliding sash windows with horns (top middle); Square bay window with paired sashes and stone mullion (top right); Semi-hexagonal bay with three sashes (bottom left); Splayed bay with casement window (bottom middle); Bay with pitched roof extended over the porch. Casement window to bay, and small top sashes with curved transom and glazing bars (bottom right).

Prior to 1902, the Leeds By-laws stipulated only that attic rooms had a window, the minimum height of the top of the window, and that the top half should be openable (CoL 1902, 50; BoL 1870, 10-11). Most houses were originally constructed with a small skylight window, none of which would have achieved the 1902 requirement for a window to be 10% of the floorspace area. As discussed previously, a minority of houses were constructed with a dormer window: the earlier houses in Character Area 1 were built on narrow streets and the dormers would have allowed more light into attics than small skylights; the later houses in Character Area 4 had interior bathrooms and the dormers increased the usability of the attic room so it could provide two bedrooms and social decency could be maintained (Figure 15).

Figure 15 In Character Area 1, gable dormers had decorative bargeboards, a gable post and glazed cheeks (top left) while in Character Area 4 houses, bargeboards were plainer and cheeks had a slate finish (top right). A notable exception to the centrally positione

Exterior entrance doors (to the ground floor, and basement where applicable) were a four-panel design generally with heavy mouldings. Despite most ground floor entrance doors opening into the living-kitchen which had a large sash window to give light into the space, all houses were constructed with fanlights above the door suggesting their presence was stylistic rather than functional. Doors to external WCs had a more basic, batten-plank construction, albeit often incorporating a decorative element to the top, such as points, and occasionally a perforated design cut into the planks. While the design allowed ventilation into the WC space, some houses, notably the later houses but not exclusively so, included a fanlight with either a centre-pivoting window, or glazed louvres. These methods of ventilation were probably a response to the by-laws (BoL 1879, 24).

A minority of houses have a timber porch and fewer still have a canopy. During the Edwardian period, these were seen as a feature of higher quality housing (Yorke 2013, 32-33), so their presence in Harehills indicates the aspirational nature of the neighbourhood (Figure 16).

Figure 16 Timber porches and canopies.

Interiors

Walls, partitions and ceilings

The basement and ground-floor dividing walls are load-bearing brickwork while the first and second floor partitions are of timber stud and lath construction (Appendix F Table 14). Given the apparent long spans of attic floor joists in some houses, and the under-sizing of roof purlins, it is likely, as discussed previously, that some stud partitions are loadbearing.

Lime plaster was the standard finish for interior walls and ceilings. A plaster ceiling rose and cornice to the living room of each house signalled this as the most important space for residents, and a space which would be seen by visitors. Although many of the profiles used in these features are common to the neighbourhood and the Victorian / Edwardian period no two houses in the detailed survey sample have exactly the same rose or cornice profiles (Figures 17-18) (Appendix C Figures 171-179 provide dimensioned drawings of plaster profiles). Plasterers probably had their own custom-made profiles for running the cornice in-situ, but roses are likely to have been a mass-produced item for which many designs were available (Yorke 2013, 44), and they would probably have purchased them as and when required.

Figure 17 Examples of ceiling roses.

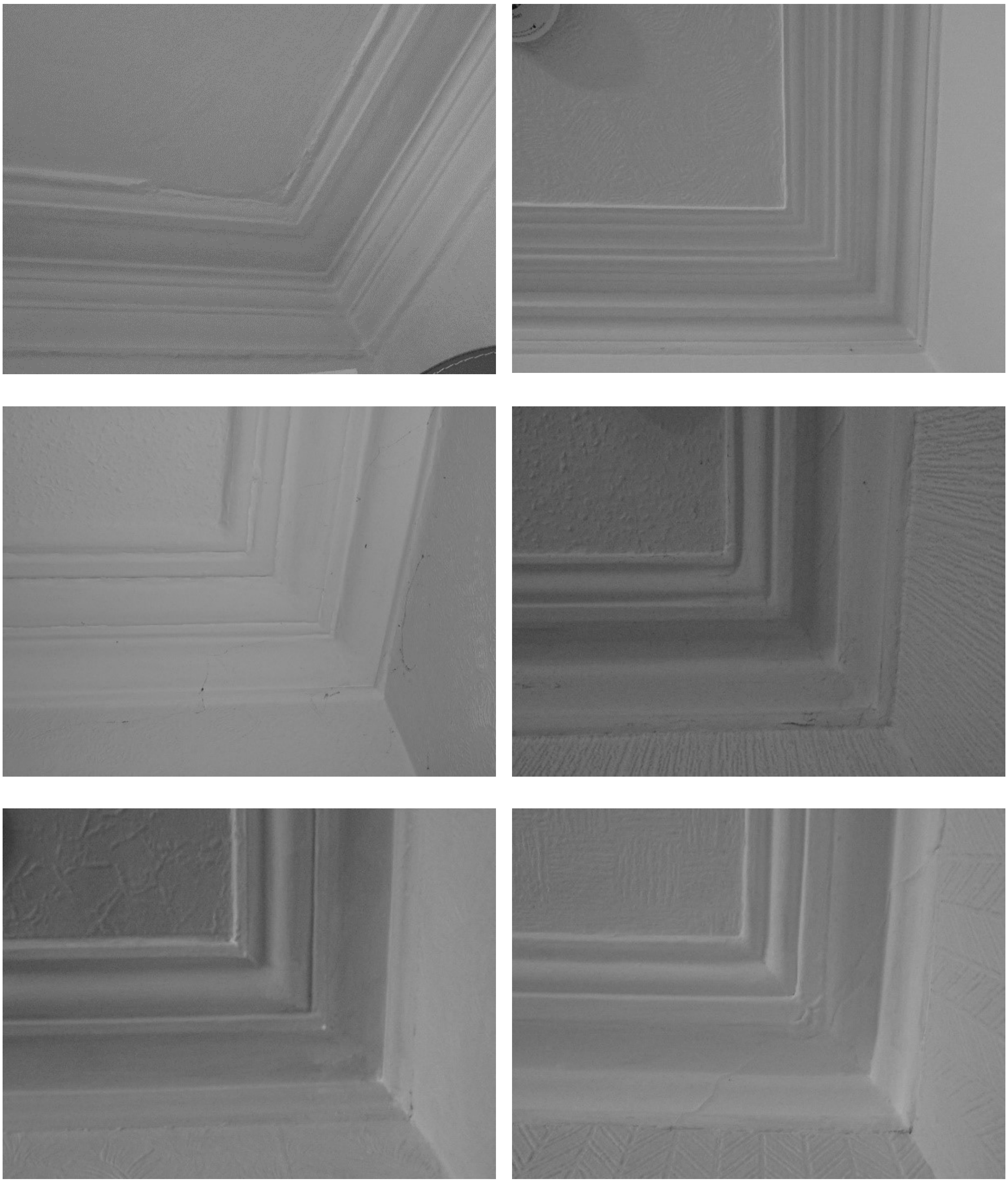


Figure 18 Examples of cornice designs.

Doors and ironmongery

Four-panel doors were the most common design in the Victorian and Edwardian period (Yorke 2013, 41) and in Harehills, most extant original interior doors to the ground, first and second floors are of this design (Figure 19). They had flat panels with planted mouldings to either one or both sides, and appear to have been finished in a dark faux-woodgrain effect which was common at the time (Arber 2003, 5). This gave the pine the appearance of a more expensive timber such as mahogany.

Figure 19 Four-panel doors complete with planted mouldings and original ironmongery.

The doors have two steel hinges, and are fitted with surface mounted locking handles (Figure 20). It is interesting to observe that the doors at the bottom of staircases are lockable. Even discounting the obvious fire hazard of someone being locked on an upper floor, it raises questions – was this so that children could be locked out of the way of adults in the evening, or simply a matter of circumstance and economy (e.g. had the builder purchased only locking handles)?

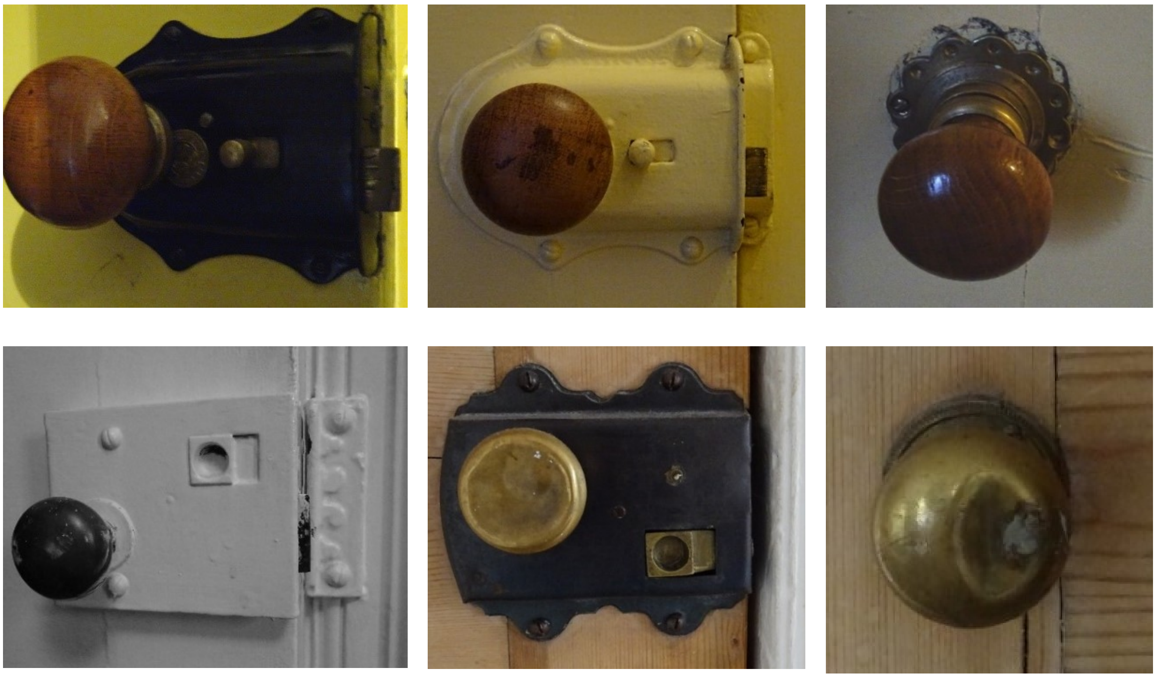


Figure 20 Surface mounted rim sash locks and handles have a metal case with a painted finish, a brass metal locking mechanism and a rose (to the other side). Handles are either brass or polished wood.

Doors to coal cellars are of the batten-plank type, demonstrating their functionality and low status (Figure 21).

Figure 21 A typical batten-plank coal cellar door and a lifting latch.

Joinery

All houses were built with skirting boards and architraves to the ground- and first-floor rooms, and in some cases, a hierarchy of design is evident. A small number of houses have wall panelling and / or a dado rail to the living room wall adjoining the scullery, and adjacent to the front door. Inclusion of this hard-wearing material at the entrance was likely to have been for functional reasons (i.e. robust decor in a high-traffic area), but the decorative aspect indicates that this may also have had a role in presenting a well-maintained and clean house to the outer world, hinting at the aspirational intentions of the occupiers emulating the panelling found in the hallways of housing for the middle-classes, and the emerging Arts and Crafts movement (Yorke 2005, 87).

Staircase dimensions suggest partial parity with the requirements of the Model By-laws and Leeds By-laws requirements (Knight 1905 cited in Harper 1985, 98-99; CoL 1902, 48-49), but overall, the compact design results in steep pitches of 48-51° which can be difficult to traverse. Furthermore, there is no extant evidence of handrails other than in the houses with a short section of balustrade. Two possibilities exist here: either handrails were never installed or they were installed but have since been removed. It is possible that builders interpreted the word *handrail* as a balustrade, and since most stairs were fully enclosed by walls, there would have been no need for a balustrade. Alternatively, the compact design of the stair might have influenced the decision either to forego their installation, or remove them at a later date in order to facilitate the movement of furniture. Evidence of aesthetic intent is demonstrated in some houses by curved-top strings, suggesting that any deviation in design from the by-law requirements was not a simple matter of economy.

All interior joinery to the ground, first and second floors, appears to have been finished in the same faux-woodgrain effect as the interior doors. Yorke (2013, 44) suggests this may have been because it conceals damage (Appendix C Figures 171-179 provide dimensioned drawings of joinery profiles).

Ranges and fireplaces

Most houses were originally constructed with a range in the living room, and at least one other fireplace on an upper floor (Figures 22-23). Ranges provided heating, a cooking facility and hot water, although the sophistication of the hot-water system seems to have varied, indicating that the period was one in which there was a relatively rapid improvement in the home technology available, the willingness of builders to incorporate it, and the desire of residents to accommodate it. Accordingly, fire safety improvements were incorporated into the oft-revised by-laws. The depth of chimneys had been regulated for many years before the back-to-backs in Harehills were built, but the 1879 and 1902 by-laws included special provisions for chimneys that housed an oven (CoL 1902, 30; BoL 1879, 9). These changes did not alter chimney depth in practice however; all but one of those in the survey sample fall within a range of just 32mm.

Figure 22 An extant range in a basement room, complete with ovens, pan stands, grates and mantel (Korotkevic 2022).

Figure 23 Small cast iron bedroom fireplaces are highly decorative, in a late Victorian style, with a small register grate and an integrated hood and mantel. The floorboards simply abut the small stone hearth.

The requirements for hearths were included in the by-laws from 1866 and remained the same until 1902 when the depth was increased in line with the Model By-laws (Knight 1905 cited in Harper 1985, 97), and a new requirement forbidding the use of timber within fifteen inches below the top of the hearth was introduced (CoL 1902, 31; 48; BoL 1879, 9; 1874; 1870, 1867, 12). There is no evidence in the post-1902 houses to suggest that the supporting structure for the hearth was constructed of a material other than timber but it is possible that render was used for fireproofing as evidenced in the only house with the original ground-floor range hearth; stone flags are supported from rendered timber framing. The construction indicates that the by-laws may have been implemented with flexibility.

Basements did not have a fireplace, but in houses with a set-pot in the wash cellar, one of the two supports to the chimney above contained a flue into which the set-pot could discharge. Building control drawings show that in most cases, these flues connected with the range flue (Harris 1907; Lax 1907; Thackray 1898a; 1898b). The by-laws had been clear since 1872 that a separate flue was required for each fireplace (BoL 1879, 10), so it is an unexpected discovery that the set-pots located in sculleries which were generally of an earlier date, did have a separate chimney stack, while those located in wash cellars did not.

Fixtures and fittings

Arber (2005, 19) suggests that built-in cupboards were popular between 1890 and 1910 because they limited dust traps and increased the efficiency of small spaces, and a number of houses in Harehills have them in one or more of the living room, scullery and bedroom (Figure 24). Their presence demonstrates an awareness of their advantages on the part of architects, developers and residents, and a desire for working-class homes that cater to the latest ideals of house design.

Most houses were built with two sinks; one in the scullery and another in the cellar, plus a selection of timber or stone shelves, again demonstrating the willingness of developers to provide amenities that occupants needed and desired.

Figure 24 Full height built-in cupboard to the rear living-kitchen alcove, finished in a faux wood grain glaze (top left); the matching bedroom storage in the room above, with a reduced height and decorative cornice to the top (top right); full height living-kitchen cupboard to a rear alcove, now painted white but with decorative fingerplates still visible (bottom left); detail of a built-in wardrobe to the front alcove, showing the design of the planted mouldings, architrave and cornice (bottom right).

Based on historic drawings, it appears that 75-80% of houses had a plumbed-in bath, some of which were enclosed in timber panelling with a wooden lid; in some houses, the lid was hinged and fastened against the wall using a hook, while in others it was loose and necessitated removal in order to use the bath. Yorke (2013, 46) reports that the panelling and lid was a typical design for plumbed-in baths at the time, although Arber (2005, 57) believes that this was an early design seen in the houses of the more affluent, and that by 1900 it had fallen out of favour amid concerns for cleanliness. This may be an example of a time lag in the adoption of some trends in working-class housing, but it might also have been advantageous to retain the lid in the back-to-back sculleries as it allowed the bath to function as a work surface when not in use (see Chapter 5). In either case, the inclusion of a plumbed-in bath indicates a clear intention that the working households in Leeds should have the most advanced sanitary facilities possible, contrasting with other towns and cities where bathing was mostly carried out in a tin bath that would be brought into the house on bath night (Yorke 2013, 45).

Yorke (2006, 25) provides an example of a scullery bath with a hinged lid at Rowntree's 1902 development at New Earswick near York. Seen as the working-class ideal, it is interesting that these houses were built with earth closets (one per house) (Makino 1979, 1; 28). Water closets were installed in houses constructed from 1903 (Makino 1979, 29-30) but this was fifteen years after shared water closets had first been installed in Harehills, so it further highlights the early uptake of advanced sanitary facilities in the back-to-back houses.

Decor and furnishings

Gauldie (1974, 98) reports that the mass production of cheap furniture opened up the opportunity for the working-classes to emulate the homes of the higher classes, but that in reality, workers' housing was quite bare, with little in the way of soft furnishings. Graham (2008) similarly reported that the Victorian lower-classes had fewer items of furniture than the middle-classes, usually hardwoods and wicker (often bought second hand), and they had oil cloths or linoleum floor coverings rather than carpet.

In contrast to the construction and interior elements of back-to-back houses which are primarily evidenced through survey and archival records, oral evidence from former residents is an important source for interior decor and furnishings (Appendix D *Interview Transcripts*). Most of the oral history participants recall their homes during their childhood in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s but some of the evidence they provide gives insight into the decor and furnishings of the early twentieth century, of the ways in which residents adapted their homes in response to seasonal changes, and the hierarchy of furnishings across the different rooms. While most former residents recalled widespread use of linoleum flooring, the quantity and quality of furniture they described, and the evidence provided by their personal archives, indicates much more variability than cited in the literature.

Descriptions of furniture suggest that living-kitchens would have been quite full. All houses had soft seating, some with individual chairs such as an easy chair or rocking chair as well, and might also include a table and up to four chairs, various shelving or sideboard units, a coffee table, piano or radio / gramophone.

> I do remember her settee, it was horsehair… and it used to prickle… it was woven… really glossy, black... It was more like a sort of a divan kind of shape... And I can remember the grandmother clock ticking with a pendulum. Because… this settee was underneath that and Grandad used to say 'Don't jump on that, it will interrupt the pendulum.' So it was old-fashioned was their house. (Parker 2019)

> It would be very traditional. I remember going up as a child and sitting on a horsehair sofa and it hurt my legs… [T]his lovely big bookcase and very stately, nice quality furniture. (F032 2019)

> [A] drop leaf table in the bay window but I don't remember using that a lot. There was a small, round table in the centre of the room. We tended to eat from that. It was octagonal, it was rather nice. Settee and two chairs, easy chairs. One chair which was very well worn. I think we were always encouraged to sit in the well-worn chair and save the other two for best, you know. But above all there was a piano, and I think at that time a lot of families had a piano. (F032 2019)

> [O]n the back wall in between the kitchen door and the door to take you upstairs we had the table there, and dining room chair. One at either side and the rest were buffets… I think the settee would have been brought to the middle in winter and the table put to the back. And in summer it was vice versa… There was never enough chairs for everybody to sit… and it was always me sat on the floor. (Childs 2019a)

Long (1993) found that gas lighting was unpopular, but electric lighting was only affordable by a minority before 1900. In Harehills, the houses were constructed with gas lights, and in most cases, these were replaced with electric by the 1930s, with very few remaining by 1946. Resident from 1912, the Fraser family (or perhaps their landlord), were one such anomaly, and made no attempt to modernise, retaining gas lights (and their Victorian / Edwardian furnishings) for the duration of their residency.

> [T]hey lived in a house that hadn't moved at all with the times. They still had gas lights… in the middle of the room as well as on the walls… It was very dark and gloomy in there and they had dark chenille cloth… with the fringing on, on the table and the ornaments were very Victorian… [I]t was not a welcoming house… it was full of antiques and heavy, heavy, Victorian, dark furniture and I always found it a bit forbidding because my house was light and airy... (Norris 2019)

Some families had matching bedroom suites comprising bed, wardrobes and dressing table, but bedroom furniture, especially for children, could be in short supply, suggesting a hierarchy related to the public / private dichotomy, to the importance of the spaces, and to the status of the room occupants.

The evidence is only able to give a flavour of house interiors, but it raises some interesting questions about how homes were used and the economic status of the residents. This will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Exterior space

Regardless of their size, gardens were provided with a boundary wall, iron railings and a gate. Most also had wide entrance steps to the ground floor, with at least one iron balustrade. Such features demonstrate an attempt to delineate public from private space, and emulate the features of higher-class housing. The path from the gate to the entrance door bisects the garden, which by the 1930s, if not earlier, was often planted with flowers, herbs or lawn. Where houses have basement access from the garden (i.e. to the wash cellar or WC), retaining walls create a small 'area' the width of the access steps, their design reinforcing their functionality and status.

Summary

The back-to-back houses in Harehills were designed and built by multiple architects and developers, and although the urban arrangement and plan form corresponds closely to the typology, there are wide variations in the presence and combination of facilities and spaces. These differences are to some extent, a reflection of the development and refinement of the houses as technology and construction advanced, by-laws became more detailed and prescriptive, and there was a greater concern for houses that allowed occupants to conform to national social norms. It is important to acknowledge however, that there are no absolute associations between construction date and facilities, which suggests that developers were providing options that were attractive to a wide working-class demographic.

The houses were constructed broadly in compliance with the Leeds By-laws, which were themselves based on, but not always identical to, the Model By-laws. In some instances, it appears that the Leeds By-laws were simply formalising acceptable current construction practices, and not necessarily driving improvements in construction standards. There is no evidence to suggest that the houses were built to poor constructional standards. Indeed, their robust extant structural condition suggests just the opposite, and the architectural and aesthetic interest of the houses makes clear that the houses were designed for people who wanted, and increasingly, could afford, homes that embodied Victorian and Edwardian design ideals, both functionally and aesthetically. While the back-to-back form was shunned elsewhere in England, the popularity of the 'scullery house' was maintained in Leeds, and the inclusion of flushing toilets, plumbed-in baths and even piped hot water in some cases, appears to have occurred at an earlier date than in workers' housing elsewhere.

The back-to-backs in Harehills, key periods of modernisation

Drivers of change

It is important to understand the key periods of modernisation that occurred between construction of the houses and their extant status as this allows us to understand why and when they changed, and the relevance of these changes today. Oral history evidence and archival records show that there were two principal drivers – technological change, and Government intervention, and these will now be examined.

Technological advance

Heating and cooking facilities

Houses were constructed with a range for cooking and heating (and often a back boiler for water heating), in addition to a set-pot, as discussed earlier. Oral history evidence suggests that these technologies, and notably set-pots, were nearing obsolescence when the houses were built, with few being fully utilised beyond the 1930s. During the 1940s, ranges were still used for heating, but the cooking function had mostly transferred to gas rings or cookers in the scullery, leaving the range oven to cater for non-food uses:

> One earlier memory is my brother's boots being dried in the range oven… And they were forgotten and they came out terrible! (F032 2019)

> In winter my mum used to line the shelves in the oven with newspaper and put our pyjamas in. (Norris 2019)

By the 1950s, most households were replacing their ranges with coal fires, and then later with gas or electric fires.

> We got this tiled fireplace and that was really nice because at the end of it, it had like two raised bits that we used to put a cushion on and sit really up to the fire. Well after a while she got an electric fire... I don't think she wanted it marking with soot. (Morris 2019)

> About 1965 we got a gas fire so we didn't use the coal cellar. (Cutts 2019)

With the loss of the range back boiler, and the diminished, if not terminated use of the set-pots, immersion heaters began to be installed to provide piped hot water. Despite the modernisation of cooking, heating and hot water supplies to provide a kitchen that was arguably more akin to middle-class ideals and the post-war Festival of Britain (Langhamer 2005, 353-354), it appears that there was no such attempt to modernise sanitary facilities by privatising them for use by a single household, or locating them within the house itself. For this, Government intervention was required.

National and local government intervention

Sanitary facilities and dormer windows

The Housing (Financial Provision) Act, House Purchase and Housing Act 1959, and Housing Act 1974 provided grants for improving houses which had at least a fifteen-year lifespan (Appendix F Table 15). These were primarily concerned with installing indoor bathrooms but dormer windows were typically included in the works to houses with skylighted attics (Housing Act 1974; The Leeds Journal 1960, 376). Dormers were valued by residents as they compensated for the bedroom space which had been given over to bathroom usage, either by enlarging a single attic bedroom, or allowing the creation of two smaller bedrooms in place of one.

The local authority took a particularly pro-active approach in encouraging the uptake of grants for improvement, and where owners were unwilling to do so, they offered to buy houses and make the improvements, moving the owners into council houses. In some cases, they used compulsory purchase powers to achieve this (Rawling and Normington 1971, 22; The Leeds Journal 1960, 377).

> [W]e didn’t have a bathroom and this council thing came out and they came round offering to put bathrooms in and, but they wanted to do it how they wanted it and there was a tiny little dormer window towards the back and one big bedroom in the attic so I said ‘well I’d like two bedrooms and a big dormer window’ so they said ‘well you have to go half with the cost.’ Now that house cost us £700 and our share would have been £700 so… they said ‘well you can choose where you’d like to go and we’ll give you a council house’. (Morris 2019)

> The Council said children who slept in the attic had to have a dormer window put in, the small bedroom had to be made into a bathroom. I think this was about 1969 shortly after I had moved into Darfield Avenue. It was then that I had a shower put into the bathroom as well as a bath (if I didn't have it done, the Council would compulsory purchase the house). (Thompson 2017)

Two other major development factors influenced the improvement of back-to-back houses until the mid-1980s; so-called slum clearance and an urban expressway. Slum clearance programmes had been ongoing in Leeds from the 1950s, and a 1971 report highlighted two opposing viewpoints on the clearance of properties that had benefited from improvement grants: on the one hand, it was considered unfair to owners who had invested financially and personally in the future of the houses, and a waste of both financial and physical resources more generally; on the other, it was argued that the improvement works had been a “holding operation” while more urgent slum clearance was undertaken, and that the fifteen-year lifespan would have been exceeded by the time demolition was to occur (Rawling and Normington 1971, 46). The houses were consequently re-surveyed in 1971; houses in Character Areas 1 and 2 were considered to have a life of fifteen to twenty years, and those in Character Areas 3 and 4 were expected to have more than twenty years (Rawling and Normington 1971, 48). Concurrent to this however, the Conway series of streets in Character Area 3 had been selected for demolition, and were only identified for improvement following abandonment of the urban expressway project in 1974 (LCC 1981; 1978). Since the expressway would have necessitated the demolition of hundreds of houses (Shelter and Oram 1978, 17), to at least Character Areas 2 and 3, it seems likely that the late improvement of back-to-back houses in Harehills is attributable to owner resistance to invest in houses whose future was uncertain. Furthermore, concern about the urban expressway project's resurgence continued for several years (Shelter and Oram 1978, 17). By 1981, demolition was scheduled in Character Area 2 for the creation of a park in place of the Banstead series of streets, new housing to Bayswater Street, and open space or parking to the Edgwares, indicating that some residents had lived with uncertainty for a decade. The remainder of the Character Area was declared as Housing Action Areas, with money allocated for housing improvements and the conversion of toilet yards to drying areas and bin stores (LCC 2006b, 76; LCC 1981). One former resident recalls:

> Then in 1981, that's when they came and turned the small bedroom into a bathroom. And put a dormer window on… [T]here was going to be either a North Leeds or North-East Leeds [urban motorway] and that would have brought Bexley Grove… or part of it, down. And all the houses… were going to be, as we called it, converted. (Childs 2019a)

It is clear from building control records that most 'improvement' work relating to bathroom and dormer window installations was carried out between 1974 and 1982 (Figure 25), indicating that Government intervention was the key driver. Of the 162 building control applications for dormer windows however, only three also had planning permission in the 1974-1982 period, suggesting that the requirement for planning permission was either relaxed, or not enforced. The resulting ad-hoc approach to the massing and materiality of dormers was perhaps deemed acceptable in a neighbourhood that had only a short lifespan. One former resident remarked of her home:

> I did think that I lived in a slum… Because it was always on the news… I laugh now when I think they said, in '62… there was a fifteen-year life on them. (Bell 2019)

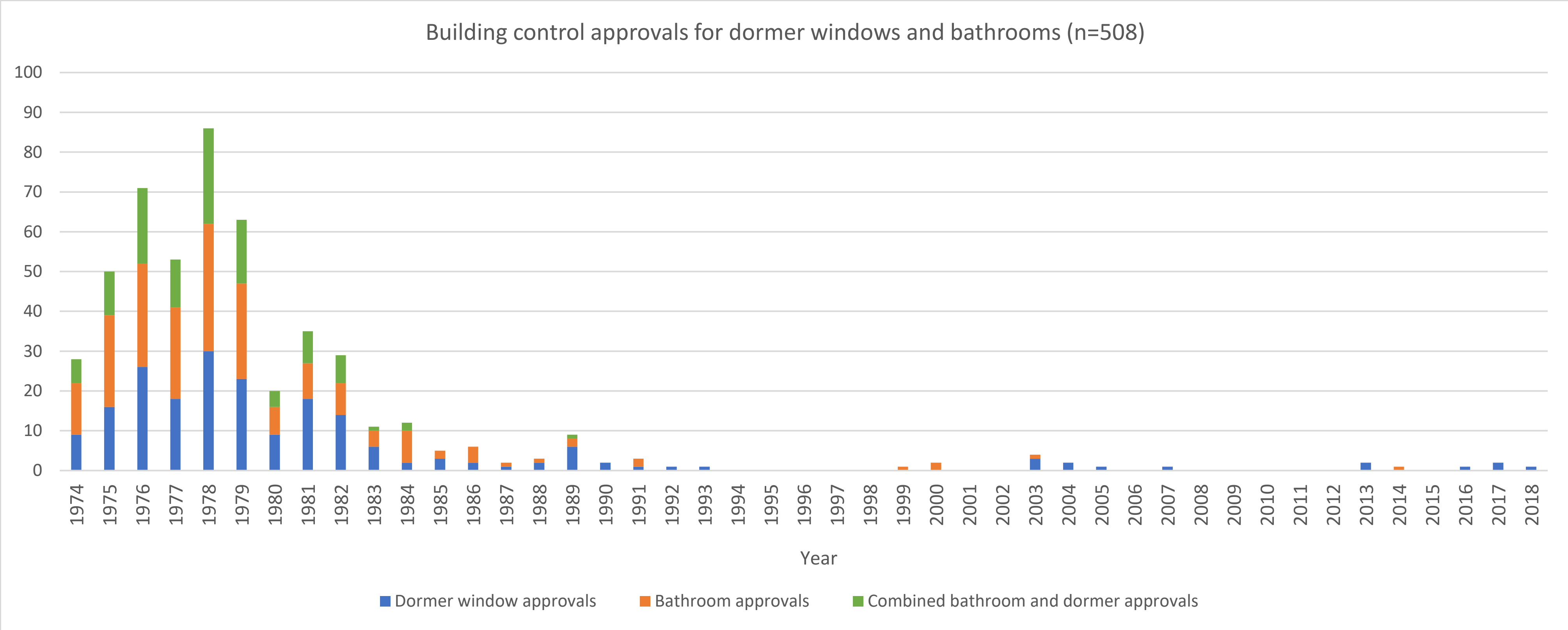


Figure 25 Building control approvals for dormer windows and / or the creation of a new bathroom to houses and shop-houses in twenty-two streets from 1974-2018 (Data source: LCC 2019e).

With the benefit of hindsight, it is easy to argue that the local authority's approach was damaging to the historic character of the area (Figure 26). It was only shortly after this large-scale intervention, that another wave of modernisation began. Improvements to thermal performance and energy efficiency have occurred continuously since the 1990s, albeit at a slower pace.

Figure 26 The massing and construction material of dormer windows has eroded the uniformity of the streetscape which was a significant element of the neighbourhood's original design and character (Harrison 2019).

Thermal performance and energy efficiency

The retention of original sash windows was very high in Harehills until the 1980s (Figure 27). The relatively rapid loss was driven by the double-glazing industry which emerged in the 1970s in response to changing building regulations for new buildings (Davies 2016). By the 1990s, uPVC was the material of choice, and the industry steadily grew as windows in existing buildings were replaced (Matthews 2016; Utley and Shorrock 2008, 13; 15). The 2002 update to the building regulations made it mandatory for replacement windows to comply with the performance requirements (Planning Portal n.d.), and while uPVC has never been specified, many domestic customers are only aware of the advantages of uPVC, and not the alternative options. Furthermore, the dominance of the uPVC market has enabled uPVC products to be priced more favourably than timber (Brinkley and Orme 2021; Davies 2016). Consequently, most original windows have been replaced. One current resident explained her decision to replace rather than renovate her windows in terms of the poor performance of the housing market, indicating that economic factors are prioritised even when historic fabric and character are valued.

> I love the character of old buildings and having looked around many back-to-backs in the area that had been gutted and ruined with all features and character obliterated

I fell in love with mine… It… had original stained glass sash windows although subsequently I had to get them replaced with double glazed uPVC as the devaluation in the area meant that spending money on renovating original sash windows would have been a waste. (Harris 2017)

Figure 27 Most houses still had their original windows until at least 1980: Darfield Crescent (left, Nothers 1966); [redacted] (right, Bunting c.1975).

The most recent wave of modernisation has also been attributable to Government intervention. Mandatory energy efficiency assessments were phased in from 2007 in connection with the sale, purchase or rental of a house (MHCLG 2021c). Houses are given an energy performance certificate confirming their rating from A (most efficient) to G (least efficient), accompanied by an energy report which can recommend performance improvements such as double glazing or wall insulation (UK Government 2019). In many cases, improvement is not mandatory, but since 2018, landlords have been required to upgrade the performance of their houses to at least an E rating if the property is currently F or G rated, up to a maximum expenditure of £3500 (DBEIS 2020). In addition, from 2013 the Green Deal scheme has encouraged the installation of energy efficient interventions recommended in energy reports (Which 2022). Finance packages allow residents to pay for interventions through a charge on their utility bills and since the charge stays with the house rather than the resident, it increases the appeal of intervention by limiting an individual's investment to the time that they benefit from that investment (UK Government 2019). Additionally, the Energy Company Obligation scheme funds improvements for households in receipt of certain benefits or in areas with high levels of multiple deprivation (Hay, Heath and Pearson 2013, 34). In Harehills, external wall insulation has been applied to a minority of properties (Figure 28) and while there is no data to confirm the funding arrangements of this, it is certainly possible, given the data on deprivation, that at least some of these houses will have benefited from the available funding and finance packages.

Figure 28 The NPPF specifies that the level of harm or loss should be considered where a non-designated asset is affected either directly or indirectly by an intervention (MHCLG 2021b, 57-58). Applying this to Harehills suggests that the installation of external wall insulation which not only obscures historic fabric and changes the character of the individual property, but also impacts on the uniformity of the streetscape, may not be appropriate. A brick and stone appearance to the insulation provides a technically and aesthetically inferior replication of the original design (left), while a homogenous finish radically alters the appearance (right).

Summary

The changes that residents implemented because of technological advance were less significant interventions to the historic fabric and character of the neighbourhood than those initiated by Government. While change to remove the original cooking and heating facilities has been extensive for example, it is realistic to accept that without such adaptation, the houses would have become obsolete which would have put them at risk of demolition. It is important however, that extant examples are recorded so that knowledge of the past is retained. Fortunately, as technology has advanced further and central heating is now commonplace, extant original ranges and decorative fireplaces are increasingly valued for their historical and decorative qualities alone, which may limit further alteration.

Government recognised that improvements to sanitary facilities were necessary and the same pragmatic approach applies here as for the cooking and heating facilities. Its intervention has had a more significant adverse effect on historic character and fabric however because the changes have impacted the appearance of the neighbourhood and not just the interior of individual houses that have been ‘improved.’ So-called slum clearance programmes undoubtedly influenced the lax approach to enforcing the usual standards in relation to the design of dormer windows, and subsequently, heritage significance has continued to be overlooked by legislation driving improvements in thermal performance and energy efficiency, especially in neighbourhoods that have more pressing concerns. Furthermore, it appears that national Government priorities are centred on theoretical performance and that the impact on the pathology of older buildings is not considered at either national or local levels (see Griffiths and Heath 2018; Stone, McGarvie and Preston 2016; Historic England, 2015a; 2015b; and May and Rye 2012 for detailed analyses of the limitations of energy assessments and the unintended consequences of retrofit works to improve thermal efficiency). At this point it is appropriate to consider Harehills' extant fabric retention levels, modifications and energy efficiency in detail.

The back-to-backs in Harehills, 2017-2021

The neighbourhood

The wider Harehills area now has the largest number of back-to-back houses in Leeds (21.5% of the city's total, compared to 14.6% in Beeston, 10.7% in Burley and fewer than 3% in most other areas) (Barraclough 2008, 22). It is therefore denser than many of the other Victorian neighbourhoods; some always had a mix of house types, but others have been re-developed following the clearance of selected back-to-back streets (City of Leeds 1934).

There was little change to the urban layout of the Harehills Triangle until 1982, when four streets containing 204 back-to-back and twenty-three through houses were demolished to make way for the neighbourhood's only green space, Banstead Park. A further 142 back-to-back houses were subsequently demolished to provide small pockets of open space in the Edgwares series of streets and a sheltered housing complex in the Bayswaters area (Harrison 2019, 127). As discussed above, most change has been piecemeal, and this section examines the varied nature of the extant fabric, focusing on the attrition of original fabric, modification, property condition and energy efficiency.

Analysis of element retention and modification is made using the neighbourhood survey of 585 houses, the archive data for 131 house sales and rentals listed from 2008 to 2019, and eleven detailed surveys. The use of multiple datasets provides a more complete evidence base than a single dataset, but also highlights minor discrepancies (Figure 29). Most of these are explained by sample size, data quality and resident awareness of architectural elements (Appendix E *Data triangulation and discrepancies*).

The neighbourhood survey data shows little variation in the retention of exterior elements in Character Areas 1, 2 and 3, but Character Area 4 has a greater proportion of houses retaining original features. Interior feature retention is similarly stable across the neighbourhood at around 60% of houses, although this may also be higher in Character Area 4 (Figure 30). It is tempting to conclude that these houses have retained both exterior and interior features to a greater degree, but the questionnaire and archive datasets for Character Area 4 are small and may explain the discrepancy on interiors. Furthermore, the detailed surveys suggest there is no direct correlation between the retention of exterior and interior features or elements (Figure 31).

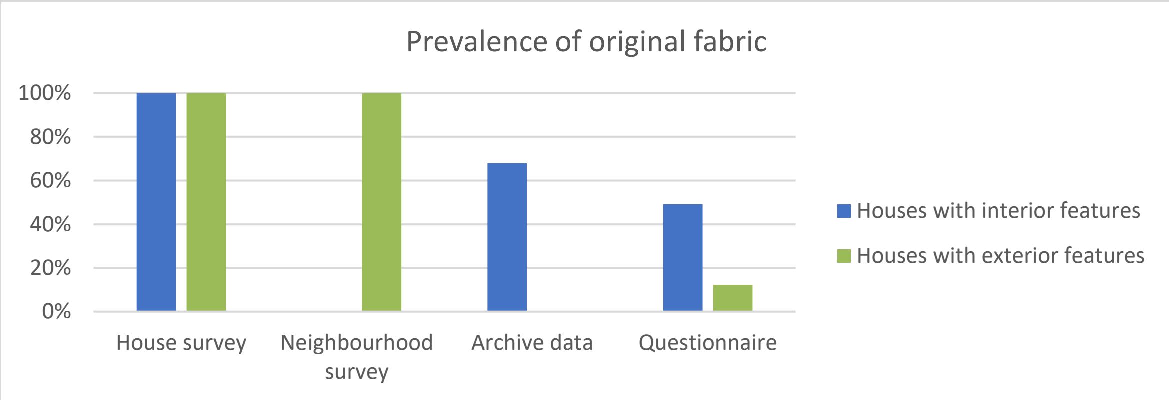


Figure 29 Exterior and interior feature levels as observed across the datasets.

Figure 30 Presence of exterior (top) and interior features (bottom) across the four character areas is relatively consistent.

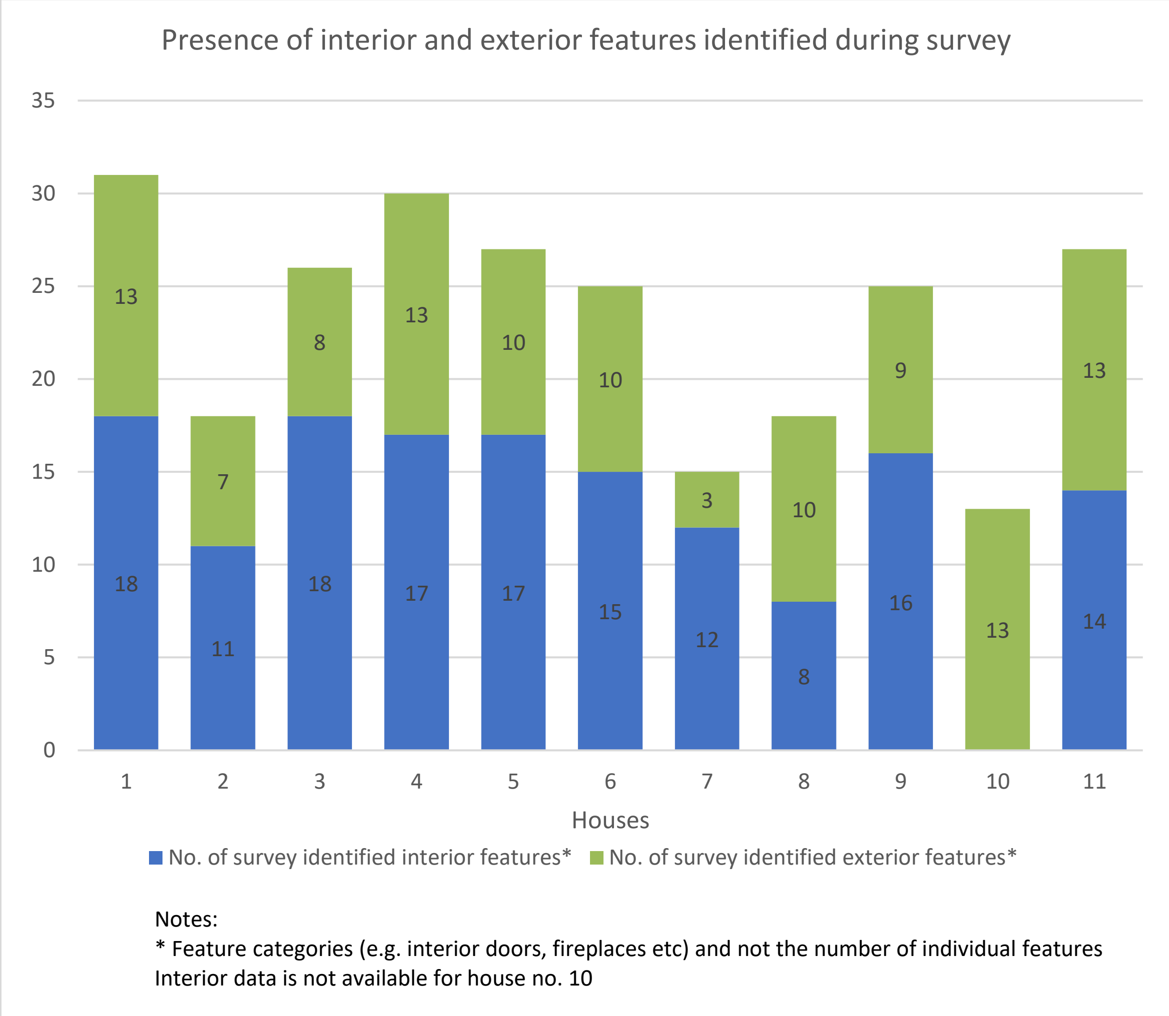


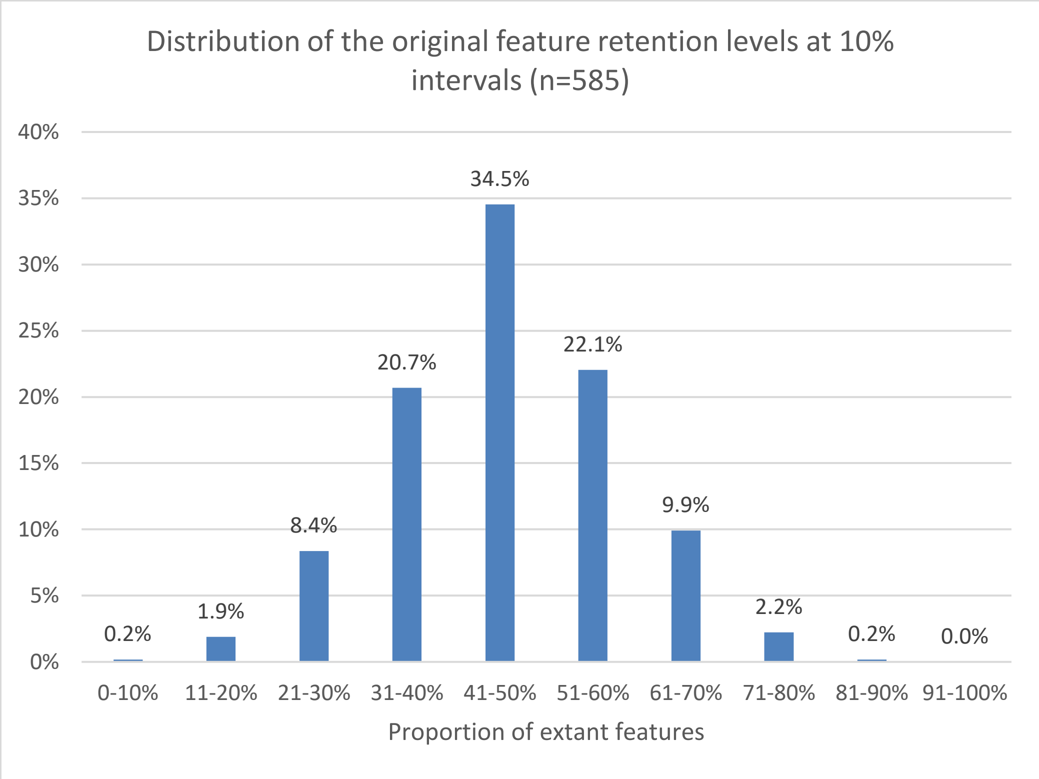
Figure 31 There appears to be no correlation between the number of exterior and interior features / elements.

The next section considers retention and modification of historic fabric on an element-by-element basis, followed by three other categories of modification: extensions; interior layout changes; and change of use (Town and Country Planning Use Classes). Finally, condition and energy efficiency are explored.

Retention and modification of historic fabric

Exterior

The percentage of original features retained among the 585 surveyed houses varies from 6-86% (Figure 32), and retention of individual original features similarly varies from 1% for skylight windows, to 100% for stone gate posts (Figure 33). This great variation indicates the complexity of the neighbourhood which will now be examined in detail by looking at individual elements.



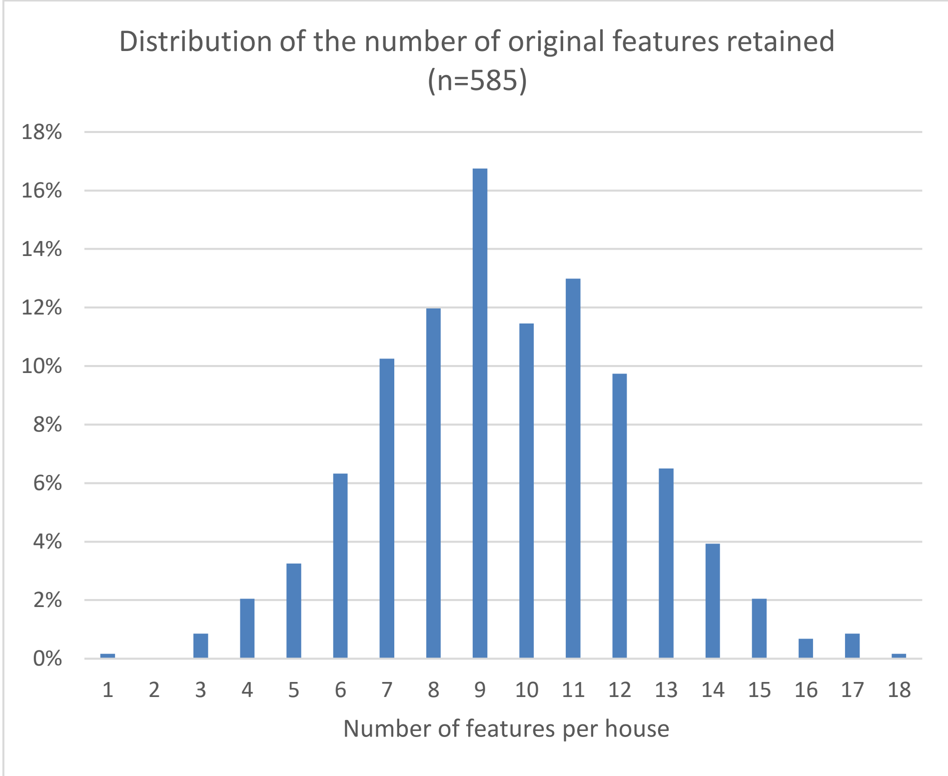


Figure 32 Exterior feature retention levels (left) and the number of features per house (right) follow a normal distribution indicating that the survey dataset is representative of the neighbourhood.

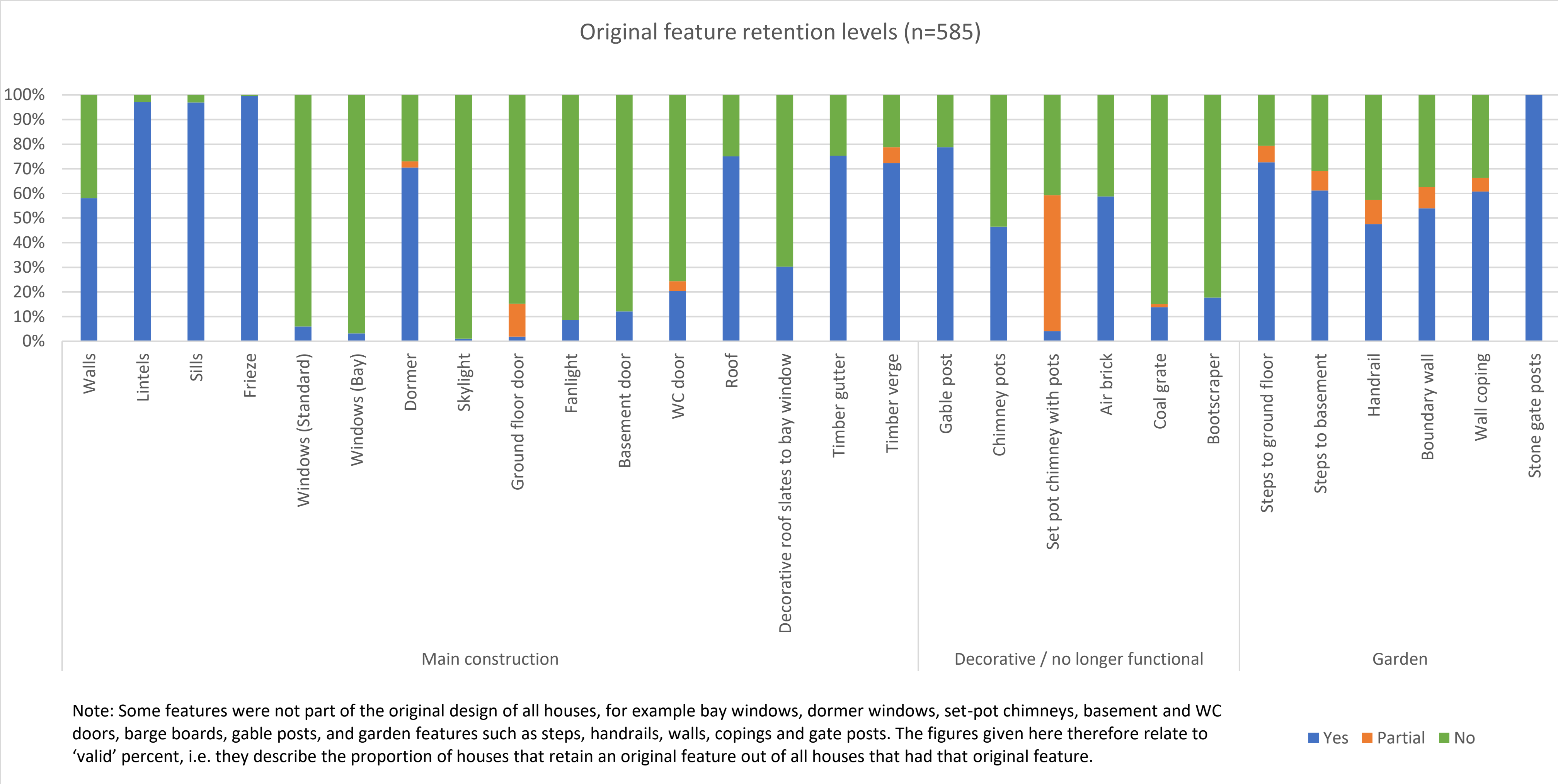


Figure 33 The retention levels of individual elements is particularly varied.

Walls

58% of walls remain as original, with the balance having had a surface treatment applied (Appendix F Figure 275). With five variations to the original wall finish (affecting colour, texture and the level of the finished face), the uniformity and character of the historic fabric has been diminished, and the pathology of the houses has been compromised. The decorative frieze is most commonly severely damaged by the installation of services and to a lesser extent by surface treatment.

Roofs

Roof elements have a relatively high rate of retention of original fabric or like-for-like replacement. 75% are covered in slate, most of which are original, and the remainder have been replaced with either plain or interlocking concrete tiles. Similarly, 75% of gutters are timber as the original design, with only 25% replaced by PVC. 70-75% of dormer windows, barge boards and gable posts have also been retained. Personal experience allows a tentative explanation of the fabric replacement choices. Local roofing contractors appear to have a good awareness of the traditional roof construction and the availability of replacements (e.g. timber gutters), and while the cost of timber and PVC gutter replacement is quite similar, the cost of using new slate can be considerably more than a concrete alternative. Concrete tiles however, are detrimental to the historic character of the area, and their increased weight could have consequences for the roof structure.

Chimneys

The houses originally had at least two chimney pots to the main chimney stack. While almost all stacks remain, 74% now have either one or no original pots. One third of houses were constructed with a set-pot chimney, and these stacks and pots have a much lower retention level (Appendix F Figures 276-277). Originally located in the scullery, these non-functioning obstructions into what is now a very small kitchen, are an obvious choice for modification and removal. The true scale of removal may be concealed however as anecdotal evidence indicates that some stacks have been removed internally while the external part remains.

Lintels and sills

Lintels and sills are well retained. Most have been painted which was not the original design intent, however this has been discounted as a modification because some of the examples where there is an absence of a well-maintained paint treatment are showing signs of advanced erosion suggesting that paint is advantageous to their longevity. External insulation, used in a minority of cases, covers original lintels and sills which are only partially replicated in the surface of the insulation render. While this gives the general appearance of the original, it is more sterile, lacking both detail and patina.

Windows and doors

Just under 7% of houses have one or more extant original windows (Appendix F Figure 278). Doors also fare poorly; WC doors have a retention rate of 20% compared to basement doors at 12% and ground-floor main entrance doors at 1%. This is likely to be because elements are replaced in line with fashion and perceived security requirements which may have greater relevance to entrance doors than semi-subterranean doors, especially when the latter lead to an empty room or small outdoor store. Where elements have been replaced, it is mainly with modern alternatives such as uPVC windows; timber, uPVC or composite doors; and composite skylights of a larger size than the original.

357 houses (61%) have one or more modifications to their windows other than replacement of window fabric (Appendix F Figures 279-281). The most common change is to brick up windows (most of which are at basement level), and the primary reasons for doing so appear to be security and the facilitation of a functional need such as the installation of a boiler on an exterior wall. The raising of sills appears to be for functional reasons, namely allowing a more flexible approach to bathroom and kitchen planning where the window does not inhibit installation of a fitting. The removal of mullions is possibly related to perceptions of increased light from a single larger window, but some changes such as removal of lintels and sills and / or the installation of a new window shape can perhaps only be explained by a preference to modernise in what might be perceived as a more contemporary style. These ad-hoc modifications are among the most impactful changes in terms of their effect on the historic character of the neighbourhood (Figure 34).

Figure 34 Raised windowsills (top); bricked up window and door (bottom left); boarded window (bottom right). All impact negatively on the streetscape because they disrupt the rhythm of the fenestration.

Interior

As discussed above, interior modifications are less visible from the exterior setting of the neighbourhood, making them more difficult to quantify. Survey evidence suggests that features (such as doors, joinery, decorative plaster, built-in cupboards and fireplaces) are most likely to be found in the ground- and first-floor rooms, but there is no direct relationship between the presence of a feature in a room and the number of feature types in it. The prevalence of extant features appears to be related to the prevalence of features on construction rather than a variable attrition rate. For example, living rooms had the largest variety of features on construction, and this remains true of the extant stock. Attic rooms by contrast have fewer extant features because they had fewer on construction. One exception to this generalisation however, is room heating — as previously discussed, living-kitchen ranges were largely replaced from the 1950s for functional reasons, whereas the seldom-used bedroom fireplaces can still be found in a significant proportion of houses.

Doors and joinery are the most numerous features to be found, but most original feature types are extant to some degree (Figure 35). The figures demonstrate the high rates of

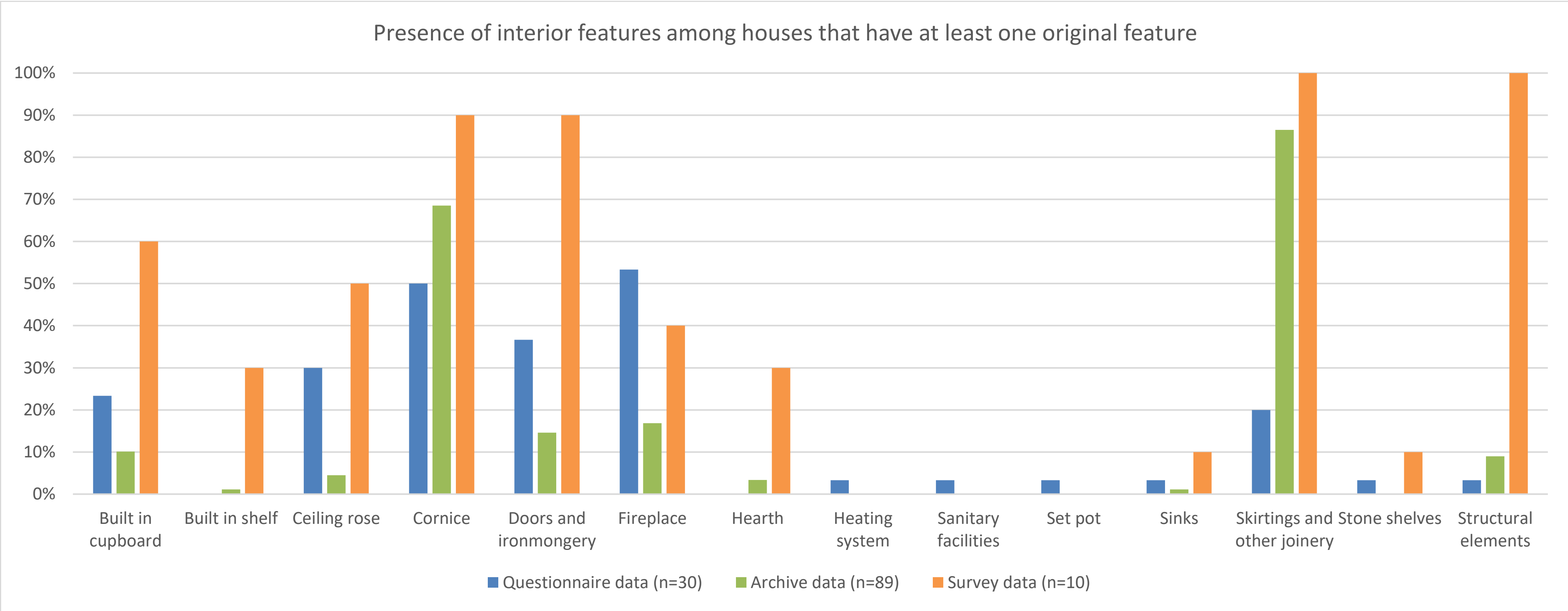


Figure 35 A wide range of features are still extant across the neighbourhood, but while some are in abundance, others are clearly at risk of loss. See Appendix E *Data triangulation and discrepancies* and Appendix F Figures 292-294 for additional data.

change affecting some interior features. While there is no realistic way in which this can be managed through policy, it highlights the value of recording the characteristics of these features and elements, and of raising awareness among the communities which may reduce further attrition.

Interior modifications to the fabric of the house are straight-forward to understand. For example, living room fireplaces have mostly been replaced with a modern alternative while bedroom fireplaces and ceiling roses tend not to be replaced and the wall or ceiling are instead 'made good.' Doors are either replaced with modern alternatives or the originals are 'flushed' with hardboard. Where skirting boards have been replaced or added, these are mostly in a traditional style close to the original design. Only a minority of houses have made additions to the house that conceal plasterwork, for example by installing false ceilings or wall panelling, and these tend to be in functional spaces such as the kitchen, staircase and bathroom rather than the larger rooms. This may be indicative of damage to the original plasterwork because of the installation and removal of fixtures and fittings.

Exterior space

The loss of features in the garden areas has occurred at slightly more uniform rates than for the exterior and interior building features, with most elements having a retention level between 48% and 72% plus partial retention up to 8%. What is more striking is the variation in the number of changes to each element type, from handrails which are either removed or replaced with a modern alternative, to boundary walls and basement steps which have been subjected to a vast array of modifications. The changes to boundary walls have had the largest visual impact, affecting the uniformity of the street, but introduce a degree of personalisation to the frontages in distinctive ways (Figure 36). This might be interpreted as a resistance to accept the original uniformity, for example to assert difference compared to the majority (e.g. as an owner rather than a tenant) or to change the characteristics of the transition from public to private space (e.g. to increase or reduce the level of privatisation or access) (see Dolan 1999 for a discussion of these issues).

Figure 36 The modification of boundary walls has radically altered the uniformity of the streetscape in ways that seemingly reflect individual preferences and eclecticism; a rebuilt wall and tall fence (top left); rebuilt wall, rendered wall and railings in lieu of the wall (top right); ad-hoc mixture of replacement rendered walls and palisade fencing (bottom left); fencing (ageing, makeshift and full height) on and behind the original walls (bottom right).

Other modifications

Extensions

Across the neighbourhood survey dataset, just over two thirds of houses have been extended through the addition or replacement of a dormer window, a porch / canopy, a side extension, or a front and side extension (to shop-houses) (Figure 37). 62% of houses have a dormer extension, making them the most common type, while 40% of the twenty shop-houses have extended the retail area. Of the shops that have not extended, 92% are streetlined to either one of both sides (Figure 38) suggesting that businesses will expand their premises when there is scope to do so, and that street-lined urban layouts minimise change to original plan-form and historic character.

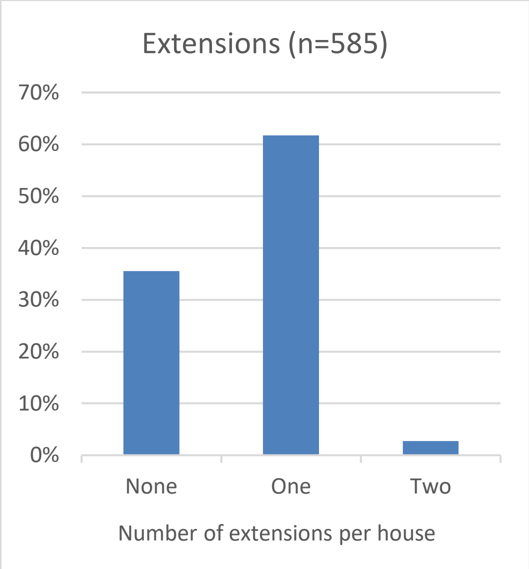


Figure 37 The prevalence of extensions in the neighbourhood survey sample.

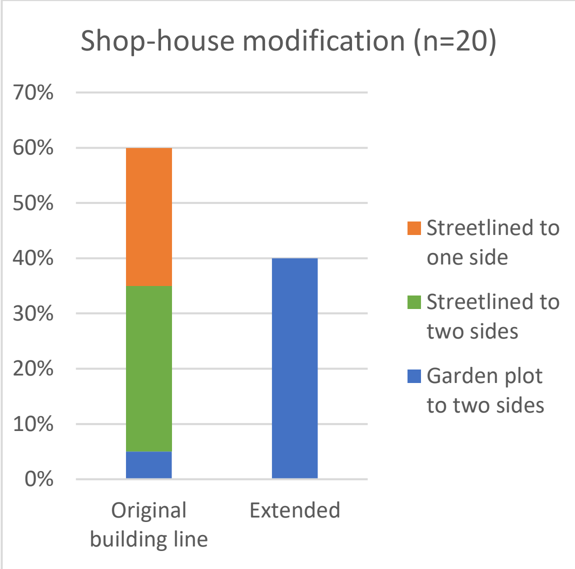
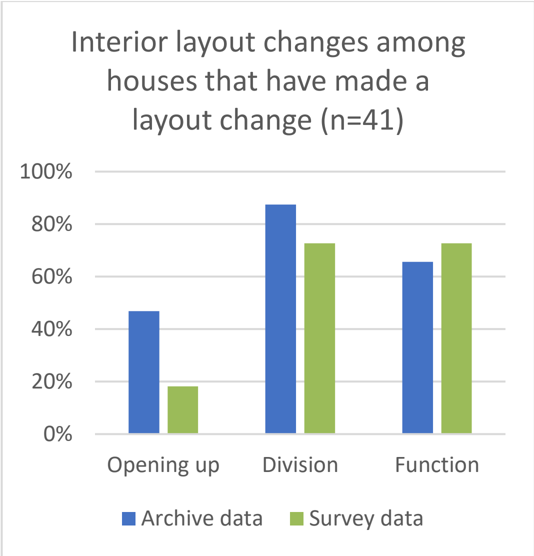


Figure 38 Most shop-houses with a garden plot to two sides have extended their retail area.

Interior layout changes

The figures relating to interior layout changes show a striking contrast between datasets; 25% of houses in the archive dataset have had one or more layout changes, compared to 90% for those that were surveyed in detail (Rightmove 2019; Zoopla 2019). This can be explained by the limitations of the archive data. However, despite the seemingly greater rate of interior layout change in the surveyed houses, among houses with a layout change, the proportion with each type of change, and the number of changes per house is similar in both datasets (Figure 39).

The most common layout change is to divide the attic bedroom into two rooms (usually in conjunction with a dormer window extension), followed by changing the function of the basement rooms and opening up of the living room into the kitchen. Inclusion of the basement into the general living space of the house increases its area by one third (circa 23m^2) and along with increased floorspace and / or head height at attic level, indicates that interior layout changes are closely tied to increasing useable floor area or the number of bedrooms (Figure 40).



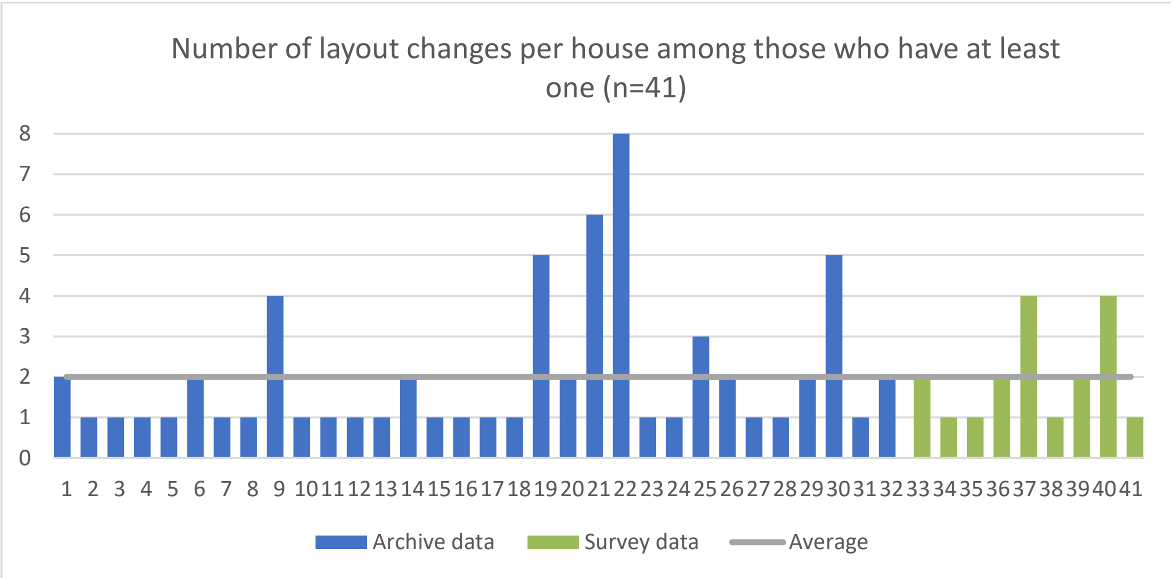


Figure 39 Despite the high rate of interior layout changes (top), most houses have only one or two changes (bottom) (Data source: Rightmove 2019; Zoopla 2019)

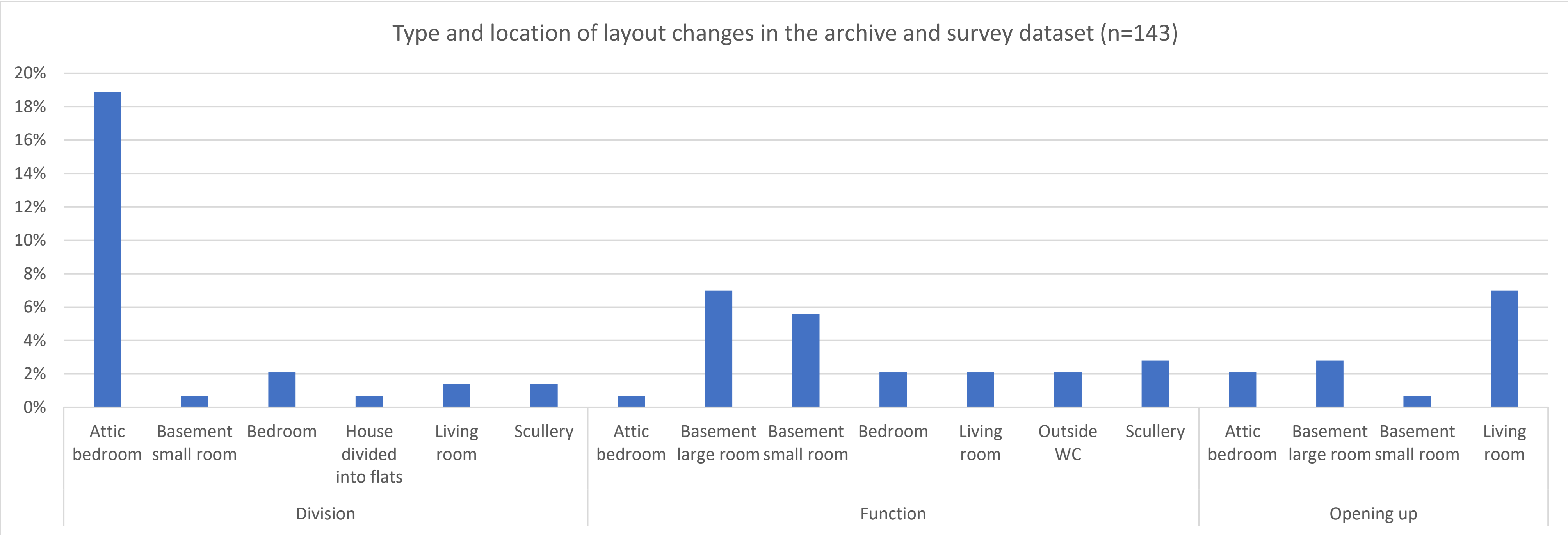


Figure 40 Most layout changes occur in the attic, basement and living room (Data source: Rightmove 2019; Zoopla 2019).

Change of use

Eight of the original twenty-eight shop-houses in the neighbourhood survey dataset have been converted to domestic use only, and all have involved bricking up a combination of shopfront windows and entrance doors, and the creation of new window or door openings. These changes call into question the suitability of permitted development rights in neighbourhoods such as this, where there is a high likelihood of design being driven by economic concerns, to the exclusion of a broader range of considerations (Figure 41).

Figure 41 Little regard has been paid to the character or architectural language of the shop-houses converted to domestic use, with some being so poorly designed that they blight the streetscape.

Condition and energy efficiency

Context

Condition affects the feel, or *sense of place*, of the neighbourhood, and the health and safety of residents, while energy efficiency impacts on their health, social and economic well-being, as well as the broader reach of environmental sustainability. Each year, the Government carries out a national survey of housing, reporting on issues such as stock profile and condition, energy efficiency and floorspace (MHCLG 2019a; 2018a; 2018b). In addition, Leeds housing is documented from a stock modelling process to produce estimates on condition and energy efficiency (BRE 2017).

Decent homes

Nationally, 36% of pre-1919 houses were considered to be non-decent in 2017: 26% contained one or more Category 1 hazards relating to health and safety (such as the presence of damp or a fall hazard, which are judged to present a serious risk to occupants within a year); 11% were in a state of disrepair / required modernisation (11%); and 12% had poor levels of thermal comfort (MHCLG 2019c, 12-15; ODPM 2006, 15; see also DCLG 2006). 15% of houses in Leeds have one or more Category 1 hazards; 25% of the private rented stock and 14% of the owner-occupied stock (BRE 2017, 28). In Harehills however, at least 33% of the houses have one or more Category 1 hazards (BRE 2017, 32). Moreover, within the urban area of Leeds, the largest concentrations of Category 1 hazards are in the wards containing back-to-back neighbourhoods, and Harehills is the only ward to be among those with both the highest overall concentration of hazards and the highest concentration of fall hazards (BRE 2017, 31). The design of the houses is likely to be a relevant factor; the exterior and interior stairs are steep and often without handrails, and bedroom doors often open directly onto a stair, all of which constitute a Category 1 fall hazard (MHCLG 2019c, 19). The figures also suggest a higher concentration of houses in Harehills are in poor condition, and the recent establishment of a Selective Licencing scheme in Harehills evidences this need for the condition of private rented houses to be improved (LCC 2019a, 3-5; Wildman 2019, 1-2).

Poor levels of thermal comfort are not highly concentrated in Harehills (BRE 2017, 55) which suggests that this is not a specific problem for the back-to-back form. Energy efficiency data (SAP ratings) suggest that while energy performance of back-to-back houses is lower than the overall housing stock in Leeds (and England), it is still quite similar (Figure 42) (MHCLG 2019f; Rightmove 2019; Zoopla 2019). This may not be an accurate reflection of the performance of the houses however, as evidence published by Historic Scotland (Heath et al. 2010, 27) and Historic England (2015a, 10-11) demonstrates that the SAP procedure is not suitable for traditionally constructed buildings.

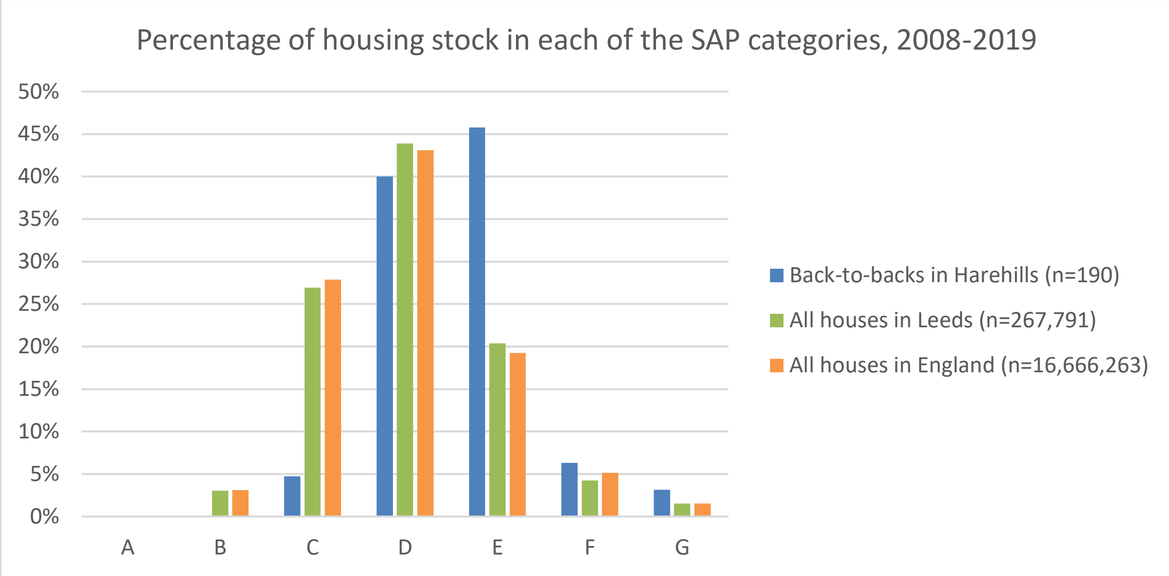


Figure 42 SAP assessments carried out from 2008 to 2019 (Data source: MHCLG 2019f; Rightmove 2019; Zoopla 2019).

Examination of 44 EPC reports reveals that the ratings awarded are not consistent across the dataset in respect of the performance of construction and energy-efficiency features, highlighting the need for caution in interpreting these figures (Appendix E *Data triangulation and discrepancies*). Recommendations for typical E rated houses appear to have changed between the earlier and latest versions of the assessment. Earlier reports tended to recommend an upgrade of services to increase performance (often still within the same rating band), while more recent reports have taken a fabric first approach, stating for example that the installation of loft and 'room-in-the-roof' insulation would increase performance to a D rating (Garry 2015; Okonofua 2015a; 2015b; Marshall 2011; Read 2011; Clegg 2008).

The SAP ratings from EPCs contrast with the research conducted by Re'new (Barraclough, Horner and Jones 2008b, 47-48; 161) who produced examples of the 'base' SAP rating for a range of back-to-back house types, and listed the likely SAP rating after one or more improvements. The figures representing a Type 2 or 3 back-to-back with a 1970s dormer and a heated basement are the closest fit to the houses in Harehills. The minimum rating is listed as F35, increasing to E40 where double glazing is installed and C70 where the house has an A-rated central heating and hot water system. The figures were calculated in accordance with SAP methodology and so it is not clear why there is such a difference in these hypothetical figures compared to the EPC reports, other than the possibility that research has been undertaken in a more thorough and consistent manner than that in which commercial reports are produced.

Interpreting the data to understand the back-to-back houses in Harehills is clearly complex, and this is equally so for other aspects of house condition. The *English Housing Survey* report states for example, that nationally, damp was present in 8% of pre-1919 homes, 7% of privately rented homes, 6% of terraced houses, 5% of homes without wall insulation, 3% of homes with at least 80% double glazing and 2% of owner-occupied homes (MHCLG 2019c, 22-23). There is also a relationship between energy efficiency and damp; nationally, damp is present in 2% of C rated homes, 4% % of D rated homes, 5% of E rated homes and 11% of F-G rated homes (MHCLG 2019c, 21-22). Extrapolating from this suggests that somewhere between 3% and 8% of back-to-back houses in Harehills may have damp issues and that it has a relatively low-level impact on their collective condition.

Condition of building fabric in Harehills

The neighbourhood survey conducted for this research did not replicate that undertaken at national and local Government levels concerning condition. Instead, construction elements and features were graded on their relative condition (good, average and poor), and each property in the neighbourhood sample was given an overall condition rating taking into account the probable functional capability and aesthetic quality of elements, weighted by their importance to the whole (Appendix C *Assumptions, clarifications and method* provides a full description of the method).

There is little variation in house condition between character areas, although Character Area 3 appears to have poorer quality housing. The overall condition of houses contrasts however with the condition of individual elements. The analysis indicates a higher proportion of individual features are in good condition but that these make little contribution to overall condition compared to features or elements that are more ‘essential’ (Figure 43).

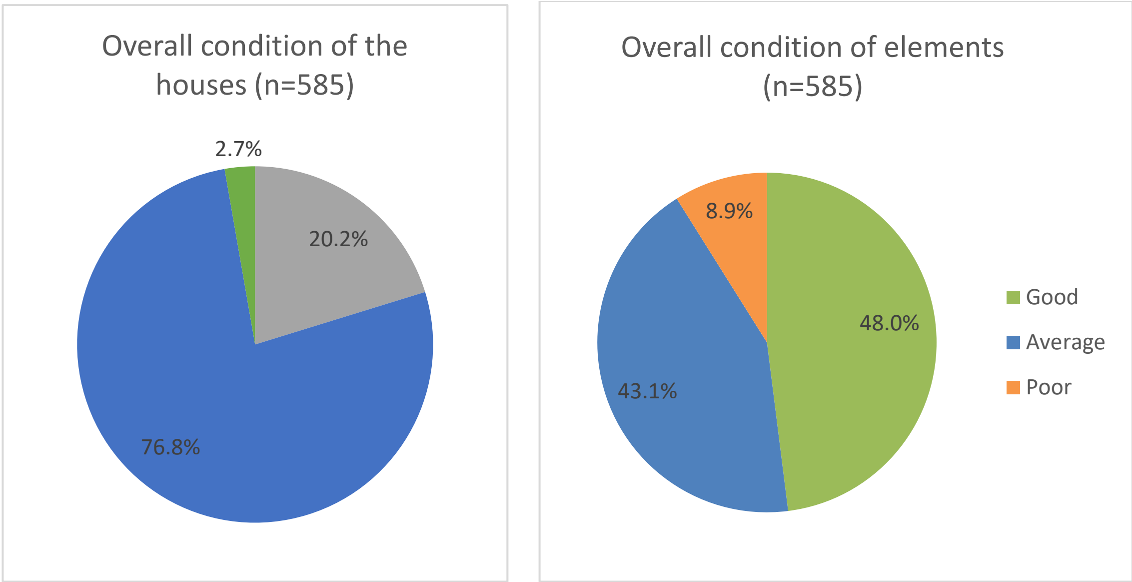


Figure 43 Condition of houses and their individual elements in the neighbourhood survey sample.

The figures conceal the variance between elements however as analysis of each element independently, shows that the condition of a given element is more likely to be average than good or poor (Figure 44). This is particularly noticeable for windows (standard and bay), dormer windows (which includes the entire dormer construction) and basement doors at 63%, 68% and 72% respectively. Roofs and gutters are more likely to be in good condition than average or poor condition, at 52% and 65% of the sample respectively, as are extensions (not including dormer windows) at 55%. Given the modernity of extensions, it is noteworthy that only 55% are in good condition. There also appears to be a relationship between the installation, alteration or replacement of elements, and condition. For example, windows and dormers windows are predominantly post-1970, but relatively few are in good condition. Similarly, one third of shopfront windows are in poor condition. These figures suggest the use of inferior quality materials and poor construction practices in the recent past.

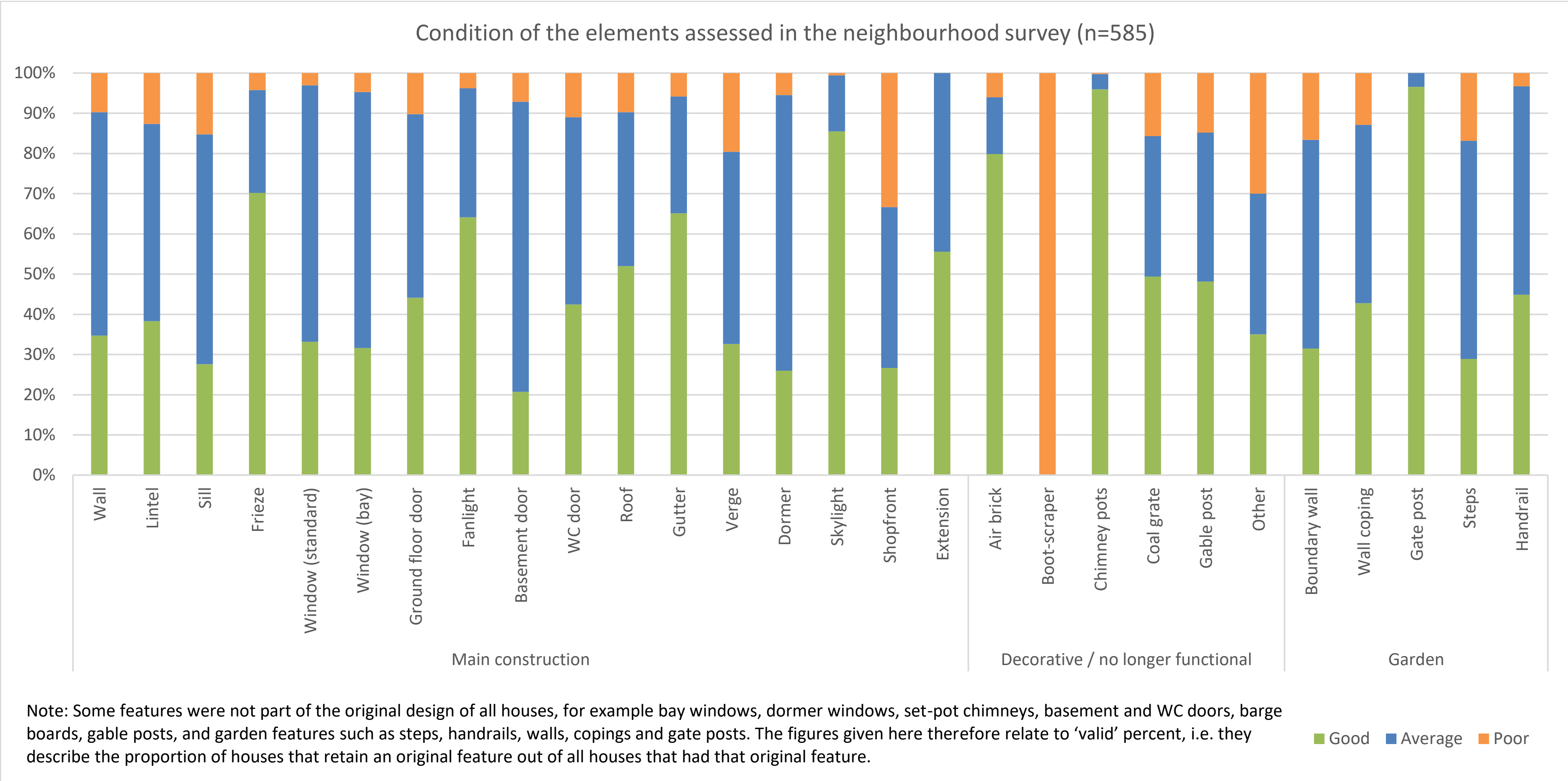


Figure 44 The condition of elements is variable but other than boot-scrapers, relatively few are in poor condition.

Summary

Overall, a considerable amount of the original fabric of the back-to-back houses is still extant, both externally and internally. There is significant variation in the retention level of individual elements however; some have been significantly modified, some are in a very poor condition, and some are now rare survivals. Changes such as the loss of basement windows and the application of surface treatments to brickwork have disrupted the historic uniformity of the streetscape but significantly, are also detrimental to healthy building pathology.

The number of extensions to houses and shop-houses, and the lack of uniformity in their massing and construction materials has negatively impacted the streetscape. Dormer window extensions are the most common form of extension, and are associated with division of the attic room, which is also the most common interior layout change. With the exception of shop-houses, many other layout changes, and especially changes to room function, have had minimal impact on historic fabric and are not detectable from the exterior. The change of use from a shop-house to a house or flats however, has always involved changes to the external appearance, notably loss of the shopfronts, and some of these adaptations have an exceptionally poor design that blights the surrounding houses. Collectively, shop-house extensions have altered the urban grain along Harehills Road, and the back-to-back form is less easily identified.

There is considerable scope for improvement in the condition of the back-to-backs in Harehills. Externally, these relate to constructional issues such as renewal of broken steps and garden walls, maintenance issues such as roof repairs and timber preservation, and aesthetic issues such as potentially detrimental surface treatments to brickwork. Energy performance has not been reliably assessed under the EPC rating system, but a tentative conclusion might be that upgraded heating facilities and insulation to the loft spaces would bring the houses at least in line with the average for Leeds.

Overall, there does not appear to be a relationship between character area and either condition or the survival of historic fabric, although Character Area 3 houses are in slightly poorer condition as a whole, and Character Area 4 has a slightly higher level of historic fabric retention. Similarly, there appears to be no significant difference between either condition or the survival of historic fabric in Type 2 and Type 3 houses. A greater proportion of Type 3 houses achieve the higher SAP ratings (D and above), and conversely, more Type 2 houses achieve the lower SAP ratings, but this apparent difference in energy efficiency is explained by the greater proportion of end back-to-back houses in the Type 2 house form.

Conclusion

Historical development

The plan form and architectural design of the back-to-back houses in Harehills was refined over a thirty-eight-year period to produce a sophisticated and overall uniformly designed neighbourhood. The uniformity however, conceals great variation to interior plans and facilities. Firstly, this means that the houses could accommodate the functional and economic needs of a wide working-class demographic, and secondly, the variations impacted on the use of houses, especially in relation to privacy and domestic chores.

The houses were well-built, complied with the necessary regulations, and achieved higher standards at an earlier date than is found in working-class houses elsewhere in England. Despite this, and the technology-driven upgrades to heating and cooking facilities in the mid-twentieth century, upgrades to sanitary provision, namely by internalisation and privatisation of bathrooms incorporating a WC, did not occur until relatively late. The Government-led initiatives to upgrade were necessary in part because uncertainty over the future of the houses had made investment unattractive. The associated dormer window installations had a particularly significant impact on the historic character of the area, and this has since been compounded by numerous piecemeal changes, many of which have been driven by Government in the quest to improve thermal performance and energy efficiency. Much of the original external and internal fabric is however, still extant in Harehills, although some elements and features remain in only small numbers or in poor condition.

Having understood the nature and level of this retention and modification of historic features and house condition, the final section re-examines the character areas to provide a descriptive narrative of the differences and distinctiveness that can be discerned between them, and how these contribute to their current sense of place (refer to Table 1 for information on house types and urban layouts). The samples chosen for discussion here are representative of the houses found within their character area, which have low, medium and high levels of original fabric retention (Appendix C *Assumptions, clarifications and method* details the phasing method and assumptions).

Characterisation and phasing

Character Area 1 (c.1888-1894)

Although the street widths are generous at 42' (12.8m), the steep gradient to the Lambtons, Lowther and Zetland streets along with the absence of gardens, gives the narrow space between houses a slightly oppressive feel. Furthermore, while the condition of the houses is broadly similar to the other character areas, inappropriate use of some of the bin yards between blocks impacts negatively on their overall appearance. Type 2 houses in the Lascelles series of streets feel much more comfortable in that respect, possibly because of their relatively flat topography and shorter street lengths, but also because some of them benefit from the softness brought by street trees in Lascelles Road and View. The two Type 3 terraced blocks in the area also benefit from these trees and planted gardens, and possibly owing to separation of the streets into East and West (preventing vehicular through traffic), have a certain calmness.

The street-lined properties (Figures 45-47) vary widely in the retention of original features, but notably, replacement of windows is common across the three retention categories. Most of the original dormer windows remain (albeit with a replacement window fitting), while most dormer extensions appear to have been installed in the 1970s, at the same time that bathrooms were installed internally.

Character Area 2 (c.1888-1896)

Character Area 2 has the greatest variation in plan-form type, street width and architectural design in the study area. Most of the streets span between Roundhay Road to the West and Harehills Road to the East. They are the longest in the neighbourhood, with a steep gradient, and are divided by two cross streets, in line with the Leeds By-law requirement (BoL 1870, 5-6). The urban arrangement gives a less unified sense of place, with the street-lined Type 2 streets contrasting with the garden-fronted Type 3 streets. The variation does however add to the area's interest, with Bayswater Row for example, containing a mix of street-lined, buffer, and garden-fronted Types 2s, and Bayswater Mount containing buffer and garden-fronted Type 2s, along with Type 3s and through terraces. A minority of bin yards have been opened in recent years to create either an additional transition space between streets, or a planted area to soften the otherwise hard environment.

Examples of garden-fronted Type 2 and Type 3 properties (Figures 48-52) show the complexity of the phasing, with painted brickwork having a disproportionate effect on the diagrams (by making it appear that little of the original fabric remains). The same observations can be made for replacement windows and dormer extensions as in Character Area 1. Although the garden walls in these examples are original, the lack of uniformity arising from the variety of fences, railings and concrete panels is evident.

Character Area 3 (c.1894-1907)

There is much greater uniformity in the feel of individual streets in Character Area 3, primarily because of the predominance of Type 3 houses, however, the streets are aligned along three axes. This means that in the Darfield and Florence series of streets, the steep gradients which are so characteristic of Harehills, are not so keenly felt. Despite the much more comfortable urban density, the condition of the houses in Character Area 3 is generally poorer than in the rest of the neighbourhood, and there is no obvious explanation for this.

The examples selected for phasing analysis (Figures 53-57) are interesting because three of the houses have potentially been modified in only one period since construction, either prior to 1990, or from 1990 onwards. The shop-house appears not to have been modified before 1990, which fits with expectations: most modifications prior to 1990 were concerned with the installation of an interior bathroom and a dormer window to the attic bedroom to increase useable floor space, and since the shop-house was constructed with an interior bathroom, there was no need for major modification. The Ashton Grove house, also not modified during this period, can be similarly explained because it was built with a dormer window, and although it did not have a bathroom, the WC was accessible internally. The house in Darfield Place which retains more original features that any other in the study area, is unusual because it has the same characteristics as the majority of houses in the area (i.e. it was not built with a dormer window or bathroom), but it appears to have been modified only prior to 1990, when these facilities / elements were added.

Character Area 4 (c.1907-1926)

The last of the areas to be constructed, Character Area 4, demonstrates a further progression in terms of the urban layout, sanitary facilities and the architectural quality. The streets feel wide and this diminishes the dominance of the gradient as experienced in the adjacent Character Area 1. More varied architectural detailing has something of a resurgence here, after construction of the more muted and understated designs of Character Area 3. The small size of the character area and the dominance of a small number of developers however, means that there is more limited opportunity to understand how this might relate to Edwardian housebuilding elsewhere.

The three examples selected for phasing analysis (Figures 58-60) highlight how deceptive first glances can be in understanding the survival of original features as there appears to be little difference between the houses. In this character area, the proportion of houses with original walls is higher than elsewhere in the study area, and likewise, the presence of original dormer windows (although again, with replacement window fittings). All three houses appear to have had modifications prior to 1990 to accommodate an interior bathroom. Only the house with the highest overall retention level has original windows and doors.

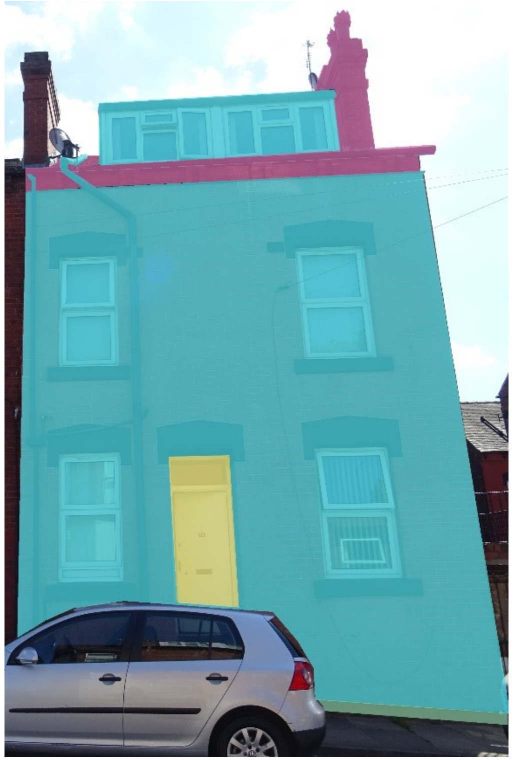


Figure 45 Lambton Place — Low retention of original fabric.

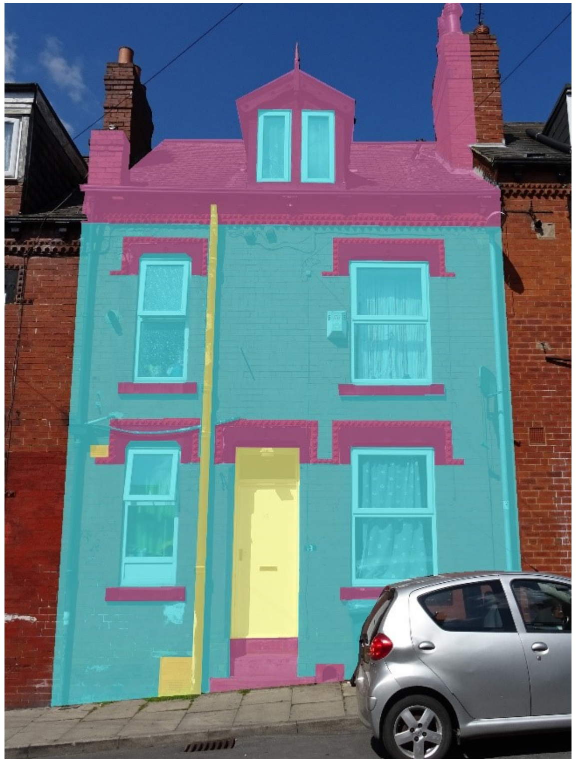


Figure 46 Lambton Street — Medium retention of original fabric.

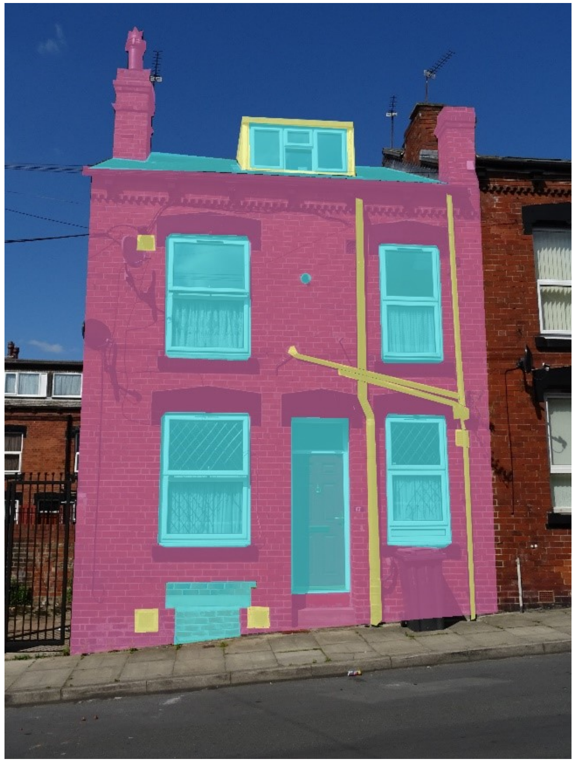


Figure 47 Lambton Place — High retention of original fabric.

Key to figures 44-59:

Original fabric

Modifications made c.1960-1989

Modifications made c.1990-2019

Figure 48 Bexley Place — Low retention of original fabric.

Figure 49 Bayswater Road — Medium retention of original fabric.

Figure 50 Edgware Avenue — Medium retention of original fabric.

Figure 51 Bayswater Mount — Medium retention of original fabric.

Figure 52 Bexley Grove — High retention of original fabric.

Figure 53 Darfield Crescent — Low retention of original fabric.

Figure 54 Darfield Place — Medium retention of original fabric.

Figure 55 Conway Mount — Medium retention of original fabric.

Figure 56 Ashton Grove — High retention of original fabric.

Figure 57 Darfield Place — High retention of original fabric.

Figure 58 Luxor Road — Low retention of original fabric.

Figure 59 Luxor View — Medium retention of original fabric.

Figure 60 Luxor Road — High retention of original fabric.

Comparison with other workers' housing

Previous research demonstrated that the back-to-back houses in Leeds were built to a more sophisticated design than back-to-backs elsewhere in England, and this chapter has shown that construction standards were at least equivalent to those of workers' houses in other towns and cities. Despite their differences, there is still much that we can compare. The rooms in most small, terraced houses were put to a fairly standard range of uses, but the number and size of rooms allocated to particular uses varied. A typical two-up two-down for example, had a living room and kitchen, and possibly a scullery, at ground floor, and two bedrooms at first floor. While the ground floor space is larger than that in a back-to-back, use of the attic space in almost all back-to-backs meant that a third bedroom was always provided. In addition, not all through terraces houses were built with a basement, so while the back-to-back had the benefit of internal access to a wash kitchen / storage area and a coal cellar, these facilities might be provided in small outhouses for through terraces (Figure 61). The relevance of the similarities and differences in plan form and room function will be explored in Chapters 5 and 6 concerning residents and their use of the houses.

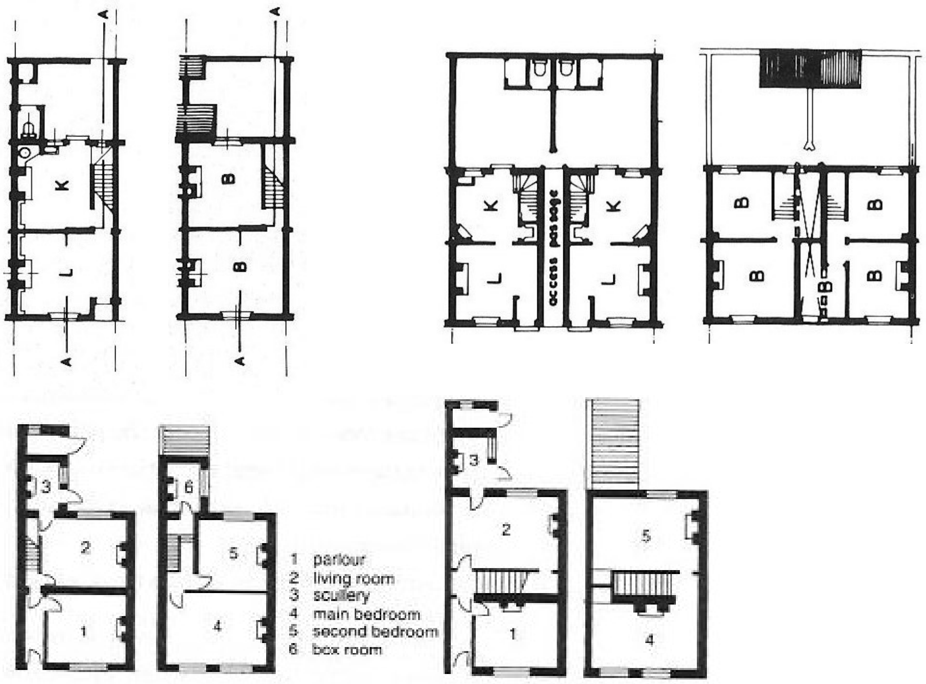


Figure 61 Typical small, terraced house plans. The most basic plan has two rooms per floor (top left) while a central passage between each pair of houses means that one in each pair can have a third bedroom (top right) (Muthesius 1982, 128, Fig.94 Manchester, Preston). Some houses have a rear extension; a two-storey extension allows a third bedroom at first floor (bottom left), while a single storey rear extension means only two bedrooms can be provided at first floor (bottom right) (Hanson and Hillier 1998, 111, Fig.4.1a).

It has been demonstrated that sanitary facilities in the back-to-back houses in Harehills were undoubtedly at the forefront of sanitary reform, but paradoxically, the move to update these to provide an indoor bathroom with a toilet, basin and bath, came far later in the twentieth century than in most other places. As described previously, much of this modification occurred as part of improvement programmes. Like Harehills, many inner-city terraced neighbourhoods throughout England, have been subject to national programmes tasked with improving the quality or desirability of its houses.

The Welsh Streets in Liverpool is a good example explored in previous research where a combination of demolition and refurbishment occurred in the early twenty-first century (Harrison 2016b). The houses demonstrated, prior to commencement of the Pathfinder programme, similar patterns of change to those in Harehills, such as individualisation through the painting of brickwork and the replacement of windows and roof slates with modern alternatives (WSHG 2011a; 2011b). While much of the exterior fabric to the front elevations has been retained and restored during the refurbishment works, rear elevations and interior layouts have been updated with varying degrees of deviation from the original to create contemporary interiors, resulting in the loss of all interior features such as cornices, doors and joinery (Figure 62) (Placefirst Ltd n.d.). In Manchester, the Pathfinder programme took an even more radical approach, with the terraced street at Chimney Pot Park retaining only the façade, and all other fabric being new build (Mulder 2012, 34). Here, the individualisation of houses prior to the work is seen again, notably by surface treatment of the exterior (Figure 63). Terraced houses in the inner-city Bishophill area of York however, are an example where organised intervention has not occurred. Located in a conservation area and labelled as 'Buildings of Merit' they provide an interesting contrast to Harehills in terms of their simpler architectural adornment, their relatively unaltered fabric, their better condition and their desirability on the housing market (Figure 64) (Harrison 2019, 142).

Dormer extensions are notable by their absence in the three examples given here, suggesting that their presence in Harehills has a close relationship with the existence of original attic rooms as well as a formulaic approach to improvement. Overall however, the types of modification and the condition of houses in Harehills, appears to be reasonably typical of terraced houses generally.

The Pathfinder examples and others will inform discussion in Chapter 7 about heritage values, the future of the houses and policy.

Figure 62 Before and after photographs of houses refurbished in the Welsh Streets area of Liverpool (Loudon, n.d.b; Placefirst Ltd n.d.).

Figure 63 Before and after photographs of houses at Chimney Pot Park in Manchester (Urban Splash 2020). Evidence from Liverpool suggests that the extremely poor condition of the houses prior to regeneration may be the result of blight caused by the uncertainty of a programme that tended to favour demolition over refurbishment. The street in Liverpool (above) went through an intermediate phase similar to this.

Figure 64 Although many of the houses in the Bishophill area of York retain much of their original fabric (left), there are still examples of attempts to individualise properties, such as changes to the fenestration (right).

Unique insight

The multi-method approach has given a much clearer understanding of the design and construction of the back-to-back houses in Harehills than a single method could have done. Each was able to provide something unique. Oral history evidence provided information about services such as ranges, set-pots and sanitary facilities, decor and furnishings, and interior modernisation, for which there is little or no evidence in the survey or archival datasets. Similarly, construction could only be reliably obtained from detailed surveys; the variation in the location of original baths, and size of skylight windows could only be obtained from building control drawings; the reason for certain design features could not have been understood without reading the local by-laws; the retention of original external fabric, level of modification or house condition could not have been meaningfully understood without the neighbourhood survey; and the construction date of observed modifications such as dormer windows could not have been known without the Public Access archive. The ability to cross-reference evidence has enhanced the robustness of the findings: comparison of the small survey dataset with the sales / rental archive data enabled tentative generalisations to be made; archive documents about housing grants contextualised oral history participants' detailed accounts of modernisation programmes; and energy performance certificates have given a more nuanced understanding of the houses than is available in the literature, and highlighted inconsistencies in their assessment.

The approach has produced robust, verifiable interpretations of the houses, past and present. The findings provide the foundation for the subsequent chapters, contribute to an updated statement of heritage significance, enable identification of elements most at risk, and contribute positively to decision-making about the future of the houses, such as how heritage protection might best be achieved.

Chapter 5 Life in the houses, 1888-1920

Introduction

This chapter begins with a literature review relating to working-class households in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, observing that two key themes emerge; gender studies, and house interiors. Despite the abundance of literature relating to past working-class communities, literature relating to back-to-back houses in Leeds is very limited.

The chapter progresses to an analysis of the occupants of the back-to-back houses in Harehills, using literature and secondary data to determine familial patterns, migration, religion, employment and living costs. Subsequent analysis of archival, questionnaire and oral history data allows interpretation of residents' lived experience in the neighbourhood and their houses. Bringing together evidence of both tangible and intangible influences offers a unique insight into residents' use of space, routines, relationships and feelings, and their sense of place in Harehills.

Historical context — key themes and debates

Gender studies

One of the key research themes of working-class life between the period 1850 and 1940 is the role of women in the home and community. These studies include detailed consideration of the houses as physical structures, activities within the home, family relationships, and external factors such as employment and economics, health and social values.

Women's struggles are a key concern, and the important role of women within the home and neighbourhood is juxtaposed against the difficulties of co-ordinating working life with family life, housekeeping and 'keeping up appearances.' The neighbourhood for example, is both a means of material and social support, even giving women status in issues such as 'policing', but conversely, adding pressure such that the outward presentation of houses often took precedence over interiors (Howarth 2000; Chinn 1988; Roberts 1985; Meacham 1977). This prioritisation of demonstrating respectability through external, public appearances, was also reinforced through the design of houses, with Roberts (1991) suggesting that internally, the meanness of the accommodation demonstrated the subordination of women to men.

The inequalities between male and female members of the household, and the subservience of women are notable for many scholars, yet there appears to be agreement that women prided themselves on work that was in their domain, especially if it could be exclusively theirs (Bourke 1994a; 1994b; Chinn 1988; Ayers & Lambertz 1986; Jamieson 1986). They resisted male interference in domestic tasks despite the physically heavy workload, and notwithstanding the possible subtext that domestic education classes were intended to reinforce the gender role and domestic ideal, they were very popular (McIvor 2001; Bourke 1994a 181, 183-185; 1994b, 68, 93). This reluctance to assert their authority in a way that directly rivalled the authority of men, is seen again in the subject of paid work.

Home-based earnings were often not feasible in working-class houses because of their size or equipment, yet contrary to the situation in upper working-class and middle-class households where seeking *outside* work for independence was desirable, for lower working-class women, paid work was undertaken only when necessary (Howarth 2000; Chinn 1988; Meacham 1977). Some women of course, *were* employed outside the home, and Howarth (2000) found that in these cases, husbands were involved with childcare and housework. The role of husbands and children within the home had received little positive attention prior to her study, but has since emerged with prominence.

Scholars agree that the father's role was one of provision and while Doolittle (2011) argues that his time in and out of the home was helpful to managing time and space within it, Strange (2015) demonstrates that loving relationships were common between fathers and their children, and that an element of nurturing crossed into the mother's realm. The relationship between fatherhood and furniture, and especially the father's chair, in late Victorian and Edwardian working-class homes, appears significant, and scholars also acknowledge that the living room was simultaneously considered to be the heart of the home and a masculine domain (Strange 2015; Bailey 2014; Strange 2013; 2012; Doolittle 2011).

It appears from this brief review of the literature that there is little progression in the historiography, and a high degree of consensus on the findings. Women were viewed as subservient to men, but the indispensable role that women created for themselves in the domestic sphere and community, redressed the household power imbalances to some extent, making the role of household management the working-class preference, over and above any independence that could be achieved by paid work outside the home (Chinn 1988).

House interiors

In her analysis of mid-Victorian slum interiors, Cuming (2013) argues that for Victorian middle-class observers of so-called slum districts, the presence, quality and condition of houses and their furnishings were an indicator of economic status. They concentrated on the negative qualities of households, such as disease, filth, overcrowding and poverty, distorting the reality of home life, and emphasising the gap between this and the domestic ideal (Cuming 2013). This approach is also seen in some of the early contemporary texts on Victorian house conditions and interiors (Service 1982; Gauldie 1974), although these negative ideas soon lost favour. Even in Meacham's (1977) early work, for example, a more balanced view of working-class houses and their occupants begins to emerge. He links the facilities of the house to its limitations of use and the impact this had on the family economy, highlighting the disproportionate expenditure of poorer families on essentials such as food and fuel, but acknowledging that while some homes were of a very humble quality, there was indeed a scale, with some artisans living in comfort, possibly even luxury (Meacham 1977).

Despite the differing attitudes to home, work and family life, each of the social classes strived to achieve the domestic ideal, although the integration of room uses and household members in working-class housing contrasted sharply with the separation found in middle-class housing (Howarth 2000; Kleinberg 1999). This next historiographical shift, in which the theme of the domestic ideal can be seen throughout, is demonstrated through a body of work concerned with architectural and interior developments and trends. It provides detail about urban layouts, house plans, architectural decoration, construction, and technology within the home, including regional variations to the 'standard' forms, which are related to the legislative, economic and social contexts (Ravetz 1995; Roberts 1991; Daunton 1990; Caffyn 1986; Daunton 1983; Muthesius 1982). The use of covenants provided by landowners, for example, prohibited certain trades and prescribed a particular constructional specification for by-law houses, effectively determining the character of an area, and consequently, the type of people who could occupy the houses (Ravetz 1995, 63; Roberts 1991, 25; Muthesius 1982, 32). In addition, the spaces within the houses took on more specialised functions in emulation of the higher-class houses, and so there became a greater distinction between the front parlour (the 'best' room) and the rest of the house for example, and the consumption of material culture gained importance (Ravetz 1995, 62-63; Roberts 1991, 27; Daunton 1990, 16-17; 1983, 282; 284).

Although this scholarship is quite wide-ranging in subject matter, a common thread relating to the domestic ideal — interior furniture, furnishings, technology and plumbing — continues as a main research theme into the twenty-first century. It appears that regardless of house size, the aim was to create a comfortable environment, and in the 1890s and 1900s, this comprised thick curtains, wallpaper, carpets, ornate furniture and ornaments (Graham 2008, 75-77). By 1912 however, there was a move towards the rejection of clutter and a preference for plainer items (Gore and Gore 1991 167-169; Service 1982, 10). While earlier research had concluded that the changing fashion in middle-class home interiors did not apply to the lower-class homes, researchers now began to recognise that it was seen to some extent in the lower end of the market, the differences relating to quality and quantity as opposed to style (Edwards 1991, 236; Service 1982, 10-11). This therefore gives accounts of middle-class interiors more relevance to this study as they contextualise the availability, desirability and commonality of material culture.

The next historiographical theme to emerge relates to hygiene. Here, scholars also observe the transition in middle-class houses, this time, from elaborate bathroom fittings to simpler white fittings, tiles and linoleum floors, which brought reassurance in the fight against the spread of germs and disease (Smith 2007, 288-289; Long 1993, 98). Kelley (2010, 37-38; 53; 115-117) takes the examination of cleanliness and dirt among the Victorian and Edwardian working-classes a stage further, highlighting that cleanliness was used to delineate class boundaries, and that it was linked to moral values and a growing consumer culture. She goes on to suggest that women's efforts to achieve the ideals were indicative of their feelings of love for their families rather than gender oppression, which corresponds with the findings on family relationships discussed previously (Kelley 2010, 119).

Most recently, scholarship has returned to furthering our understanding of life in slum housing (e.g. Betts 2014; Cuming 2013), and although it does not directly relate to the housing quality we might expect to find in the early twentieth century back-to-back houses in Leeds, it is worth reviewing for the insights into household life. Betts (2014) for example, concentrates on familial relationships in three working-class slum districts in London, Middlesbrough and York. Drawing on many of the themes found in earlier research, he argues that working-class houses are adapted continuously in line with changing families, patterns of home / work use, and finances, and that there is no evidence of a 'trickle' of ideals from the middle-classes, in part because the divisions of space common in middle-class households could not be accommodated in the poorest households. Superficially, this finding resonates with the back-to-back plan form.

Back-to-backs in Leeds

Few published accounts exist of life in back-to-back houses in Leeds. Wood (1994; 1993; 1991) provides the most notable account because his three-volume memoirs are framed explicitly around the back-to-back houses in two neighbourhoods — his childhood home in Holbeck from 1903, and adult life in Wortley from 1928. He recalls the routines of everyday life within the houses and the neighbourhood, and highlights a strong sense of community. Through his stories, he reveals details about the house interiors, from cooking facilities to the introduction of gas and electric lighting, the use of rooms when houses were converted to shop-use, and the hard work that women endured to maintain cleanliness and respectability, the latter emerging as a strong theme throughout the series. Correlation with the historiographical themes is pertinent given that Wood was not an academic. Unpublished biographies written by elderly relatives of research participants as a means of passing on their life story provide further insight into the lives of back-to-back residents (Howe c.2009; Danby 1978). Having not been written for the benefit of architectural or social research, they are invaluable to our understanding of how the houses and the neighbourhood shaped their lives.

The early occupants in Harehills

The scarcity of accounts of life in the back-to-back houses is part of a more general gap concerning the working-class residents of Leeds, so much of the information given in this section is sourced from primary data. A few texts are notable however, for the information they provide on the employment of working-class women, the cultural causes of decline in family size, and the role of the church in working-class lives in Leeds (Atkinson 2010; Midgley 2010; English Heritage 2007; Hannam 1984; Inglis 1963).

Origin and migration

According to Atkinson (2010, 48-49), the population of Leeds was made up from native communities, migrants from rural Yorkshire and further afield in England, and immigrants from Ireland and Eastern Europe, the latter being Jewish. While this is *broadly* true of English residents in the back-to-back houses in Harehills in the early years of the twentieth century, it does not describe the native and migrant populations in a meaningful way. The 1901 and 1911 Census is used here for the twenty streets studied in Chapter 4, plus all shop-houses (FMP 2020).

Using the birthplace of residents as a measure of the native and migrant populations, half of the adults resident in 1901 were native to Leeds, 29% migrated from the wider Yorkshire area, and 18% migrated from other areas of England. Only 2% of residents migrated from other areas of the UK, and notably only 0.64% of all adults were born in Ireland. This latter figure contrasts with research in Leeds more generally and with popular belief, but evidence from an oral history participant suggests that second and subsequent generation Irish descendants considered themselves to be Irish, which may account for the apparent anomaly.

> [M]y grandma, used to tell us she was Irish from County Mayo, but I did look into her life, and she was born in St Helens! (Childs 2019a)

Only 0.4% of adult residents migrated from outside the UK and there is no evidence to suggest that they were Eastern European Jews.

While the birthplace of children follows the same broad pattern, almost 80% were born in Leeds, suggesting that migration to Leeds occurred in the late nineteenth century, and that the younger adult residents in Harehills migrated before having children (Figure 65). Among those migrating from England but outside of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire and Lincolnshire were the most common origins, although residents came from 32 counties from across the country, suggesting that Leeds had great appeal (Figure 66). It appears that those from the textile counties of Lancashire, Cheshire and Derbyshire were more

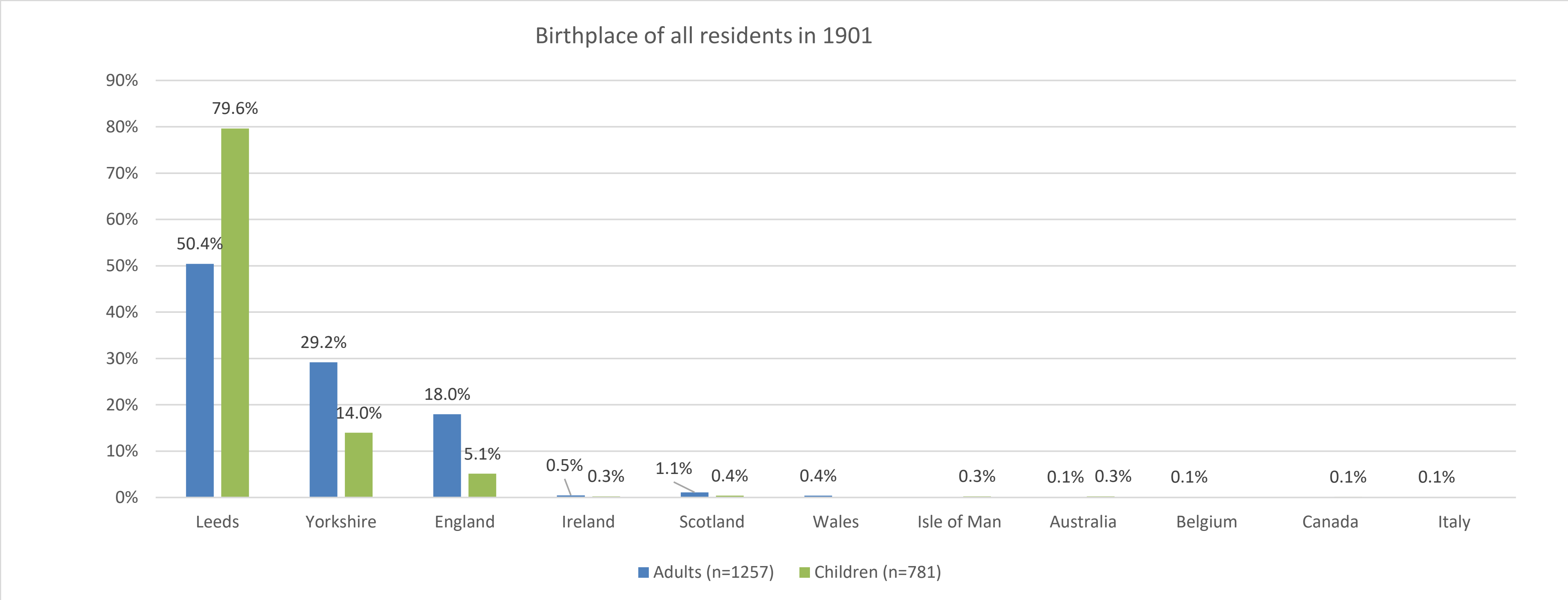


Figure 65 The birthplace of residents in 506 back-to-back houses in Harehills in 1901 (Source: FMP 2020).

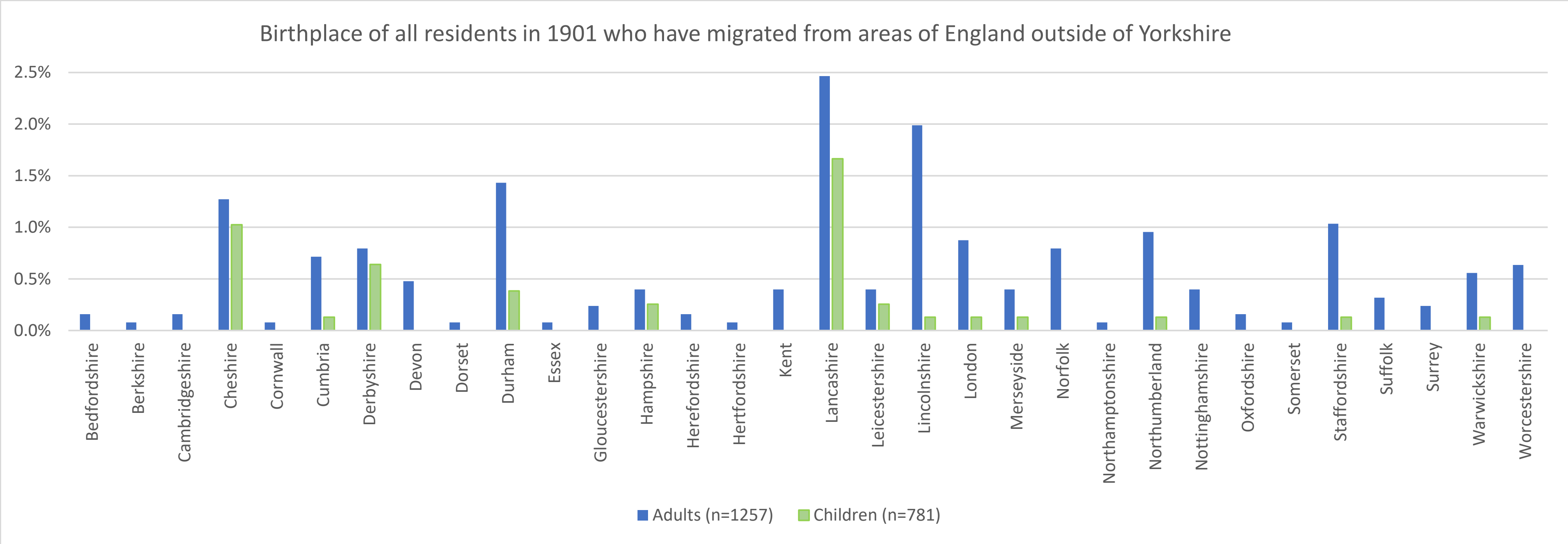


Figure 66 The birthplace of residents born in England, outside of Yorkshire, in 1901 (Source: FMP 2020).

likely to migrate with children than those from other counties. It might be a matter of geography that it was easier for families with children to migrate from nearby counties, or it might be reflective of the tendency for children (including those in adulthood) to be engaged in the same work as a parent, and therefore the economic benefits of moving to Leeds to work in the textile trades were multiplied.

The pattern of migration was broadly similar in 1911 except that migration from outside Yorkshire was more limited and more children migrated with their parents. These differences however, may result from the smaller dataset.

Turning now to what might be considered 'micro migration' (movement of residents within Leeds), it becomes clear that the back-to-back houses in Harehills were not the first home of native residents, or of migrants when they first moved to Leeds. This part of the analysis uses data from the Electoral Registers (1888-1913) for the entire Harehills Triangle area to understand the geography and frequency of house moves within Leeds (Appendix E *Estimates and assumptions* discusses the limitations and assumptions made when using this dataset).

The data suggests that for every three houses listed as occupied for the first time by an electorate, a fourth might also be occupied by someone ineligible to vote (e.g. a young male or a female). Acknowledging that the dataset is skewed in this way, we can still determine that almost all new residents (among the electorate) had previously lived in Leeds and previously had the right to vote.

Analysis of the Character Areas shows changing patterns of 'micro migration.' When the houses were first constructed in Character Areas 1 and 2, at least half of the new residents had moved from neighbouring districts, and most of the remainder had moved from other areas of Leeds (Appendix F *Micro-migration* provides spatial and architectural information). As these areas became more established, the proportion of residents moving from other areas of the city fell, and there was an increase in residents moving within the Harehills Triangle and even within the same street. Similarly, in Character Area 3, 56% of new residents initially came from neighbouring districts, and there was a fairly even number coming from Harehills or elsewhere in Leeds. As the area became more established, nearly half of house-movers did so within Harehills, and the rest were divided between neighbouring districts and elsewhere in Leeds. The increase in local house moves suggests that it became more common to move locally once more houses were available, and possible reasons include changes in economic means and the availability of improved facilities. Significantly however, it demonstrates that the neighbourhood was a place where residents wanted to remain, and it could offer sufficient choice in accommodation to allow them to do that when their needs changed. By 1909 the newly-built houses in Character Area 4 were overwhelmingly occupied by local people (78% from Harehills, and 22% from neighbouring districts), indicating that existing Harehills residents were keen to occupy the newer, more sophisticated houses with individual WC provision and entrance porches as soon as they became available. Over the next four years, the proportion of people from Harehills, neighbouring districts and wider Leeds became more evenly distributed, presumably as the rest of Leeds learned of their existence.

Overall, once the Character Areas were established, 16-21% of the households with an electorate, moved house in a year. With 35-40% of these moving within the Harehills Triangle, it follows that 10-13% of residents in the neighbourhood were new each year. The turnover, both in terms of the percentage of movers and the percentage moving within the neighbourhood is very similar to that for the most deprived neighbourhoods a century later (Bailey and Livingston 2007). It is therefore significant to question the extent to which there are similarities or differences between the residents' lives (other than the universal changes in lifestyle) and residents' level of investment in the neighbourhood, given the evidence which will be presented in Chapter 6.

Religion

According to Inglis (1963, 1), church attendance was traditionally low among the urban working-classes. Among those who did attend, Methodism was the dominant denomination at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Leeds (English Heritage 2007, 7), probably because of its origins in appealing to the working-classes. By the middle of the century however, churchgoers were divided into three approximately equal denominations — Anglican, Methodist and other (English Heritage 2007, 7). In 1890, the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon movement which was popular with the Methodist churches, was brought to Leeds in an attempt to attract new worshippers, and a large number of inner city mission rooms were also established to bring religion to the working classes (English Heritage 2007, 8; Inglis 1963, 81). By the early twentieth century 41% of churches in Leeds were Methodist, though this represented an overprovision (English Heritage 2007, 7; 70). In Harehills, there were three churches representing the Catholic, Church of England and Congregational denominations, and two Methodist churches, each church having a Sunday School (Ordnance Survey 1908). Further churches and mission rooms representing these and other denominations, were also present in the wider Harehills area (Ordnance Survey 1908). The variety and denomination of churches suggests that the religious beliefs of residents in Harehills was typical of Leeds as a whole. Acknowledging that oral history evidence from residents who lived in Harehills between 1930 and 1960 is of a later date, it can still be used in analogy to interpret that religious education was a key aspect of childhood even if adults were not regular attenders, and that there was flexibility such that Anglicans and Methodists might attend either or even both churches depending on geographical convenience or the services and pastoral support they offered to the community.

> I was christened Church of England but went to the Methodist church… At the bottom of the street because it was nearest… (Bell 2019a)

> They went to the Catholic church, and I think a lot of the events happened around the church. (Armitage 2019)

> She was quite religious, my mum. At the Harehills Lane Baptist Church… She… was always very proud of it, and about the fact they had a gymnasium and all sorts of facilities so… she spent as much time as she could doing church stuff. (MacDonald 2019)

> We had to go to Sunday school. But that was more for appearances I think… I went to St Wilfrid’s church for Sunday school initially and then transferred to St Cyprian’s… But my mum and dad never went to church apart from family weddings and funerals. (Norris 2019)

Families and children

In the 1870s there was a notable decline in fertility rates, and it appears that this was more pronounced in Leeds than the national average (Atkinson 2010, 42). However, the presence of Irish and Jewish migrants who had a younger population age and a cultural tendency to have slightly larger families than their English counterparts, brought about a slowing of the fertility decline from the 1890s (Atkinson 2010, 49; 162). Atkinson (2010, 55) found that families with a working mother had fewer children, and that the working status of the mother was a bigger determinant in family size than the father's occupation. As discussed previously, there is no clear evidence that Irish or Jewish immigrants were living in Harehills in 1901, so the interpretation of family size would be expected to reflect smaller family sizes than the national average. It is not possible to determine family size definitively from the census because this does not record the number of children born to a woman or whether child-bearing years have been completed, but the data does confirm that for the 373 families where children (including those in adulthood) were living with at least one parent, 58% had either one or two children resident, and 93% had up to five children. The large number of families with only one or two children is likely to be in part related to the relatively small house size. It is clear from the records that there were many young families which were unlikely to be complete at the time of the census, indicating that the neighbourhood was a popular choice for a first family home. Conversely however, 40% of households had adult 'children' living with at least one parent, suggesting that the houses were also appealing to established families moving from other areas of Leeds.

While the composition of family units provides evidence of family size, this does not translate directly to household size. Census data for Harehills in 1901 shows that occupancy ranged from one to twelve residents per house. The occupancy for shop-houses was slightly higher than for houses, but regardless of this, occupancy was between three and six people in most cases. A similar pattern is seen in 1911, albeit with slightly lower occupancy levels.

In 1901 and 1911, over half of the households comprised a single-family unit (with or without boarders or servants). 21% of single-family units however, had only one parent and the most likely explanation for this is death (as opposed to separation). The extended households had resident relatives ranging from the head's sibling or parent (including in-laws), to another family unit with at least one parent and child (Figures 67-68).

In 1901, 5% of houses had a boarder. While most had just one, a small number had as many as four. It appears to have been more common to have a boarder in a house rather than a shop-house, although where shop-houses accommodated boarders, the number of boarders per house was greater. Boarders were apparently less common in 1911 (Appendix F Figure 307).

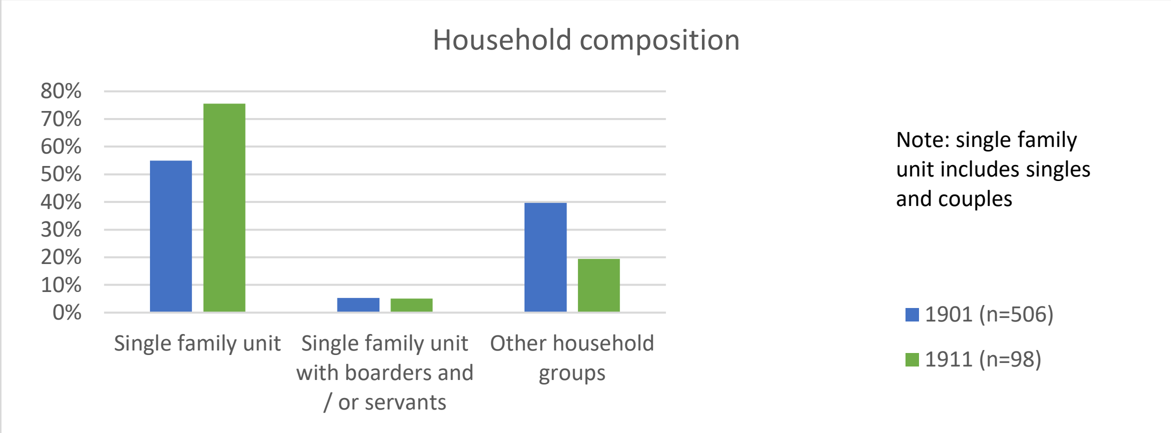
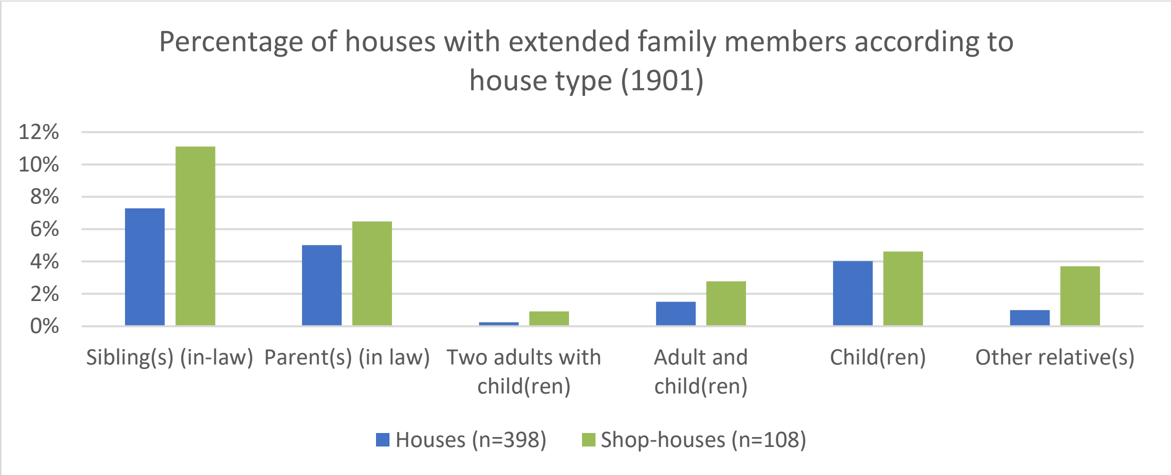


Figure 67 Household composition in 1901 and 1911 (Source: FMP 2020) (See also Appendix F Figures 303-305).



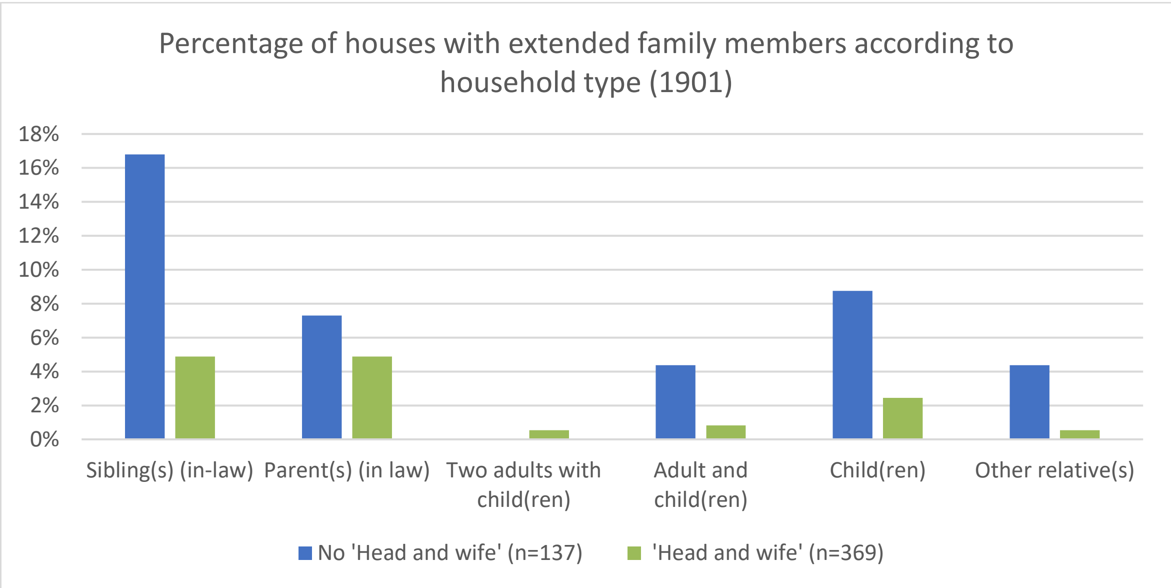


Figure 68 Position of relatives in extended households (relative to the head). Additional family members were found in greater numbers in shop-houses, and where there was not a married couple heading the household (Source: FMP 2020) (See also Appendix F Figure 306).

Few houses had live-in servants in 1901, but there is a distinct contrast between houses and shop-houses (Figure 69). The higher proportion of servants in shop-houses is probably related to the employment status of the residents (more women were engaged in paid work, leaving less time for housework but the income to pay a housekeeper — see later), the larger size of the house and household which would generate more housework, and the greater need for cleaning generated by public access to the shop.

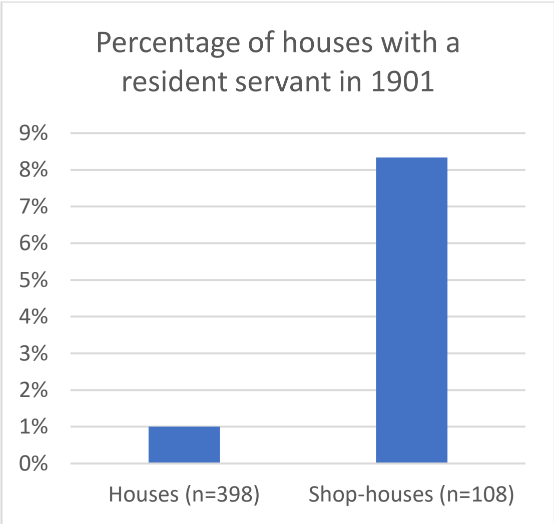


Figure 69 Prevalence of live-in servants in 1901 (Source: FMP 2020).

From 1890 school attendance was compulsory, and in 1891 when school fees were abolished, there was a notable increase in attendance (Atkinson 2010, 116). Children were required to attend school for six years from 1893, and this increased to seven years from 1899 (Atkinson 2010, 117). The actual leaving age which was usually between twelve and fourteen, depended on when an educational certificate was achieved (Atkinson 2010, 117). A very small minority of working-class children won scholarships to continue their education in secondary schools from 1902, however by 1918 the school leaving age was nationalised at fourteen years (Atkinson 2010, 117). In Harehills, the Gipton board school which had opened in 1897, was located centrally, teaching girls and boys from aged four to fourteen (YEP 2014; LLIS n.d. b).

The census does not record whether children attended school but it is assumed they did until at least the age of twelve, and in most cases, probably up to fourteen. In 1901, 18% of households had one or more workers aged thirteen to seventeen indicating that most children remained in education until the age of fourteen, but there exists the possibility that they were not in education or employment, either because it was not available, or they were required at home.

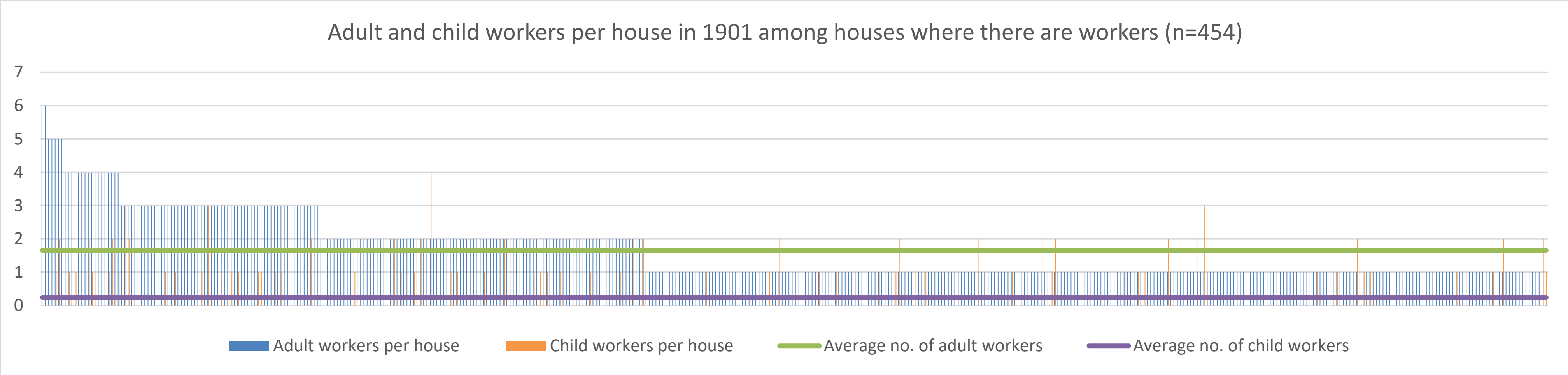
Employment and income

The workforce

In 1901, 53% of Harehills households had a single worker. However, there was a great deal of variation, and some households had as many as six or seven workers in total (Figure 70). 71% of workers were male and 29% were female, which correlates closely with Hannam's findings for Leeds as a whole (Hannam 1984, 49-50).

A detailed analysis of Harehills reveals that 45% of workers were the male head of their household, and while they were probably considered to be the primary breadwinners, the working hours in some trades may have been subject to seasonal variations and economic fluctuations (Hannam 1984, 144-145; 372-373). Hannam (1984 73-74; 384) found that while most single women worked full time, married women in Leeds seldom did, instead taking on childminding, lodgers and washing. In Harehills, where the small number of working wives and female heads contrasts with the roughly equal numbers of working sons and daughters (in both childhood and adulthood), it appears that most women did indeed stop working upon marriage (Figure 71). The correlation between workers in Leeds and those just in Harehills, indicates that it is likely that some married women would have had part-time occupations that were not recorded in the census.

As with occupancy figures, there were differences between houses and shop-houses. A greater proportion of wives and female heads living in shop-houses were employed compared to those in houses, probably indicating that home-based retail work was the preferred choice for women (but see later discussion about this). There is no obvious explanation however for there being fewer working male heads of households in shops. The overall patterns for the number of workers in a house and their position in the household is similar for 1911.



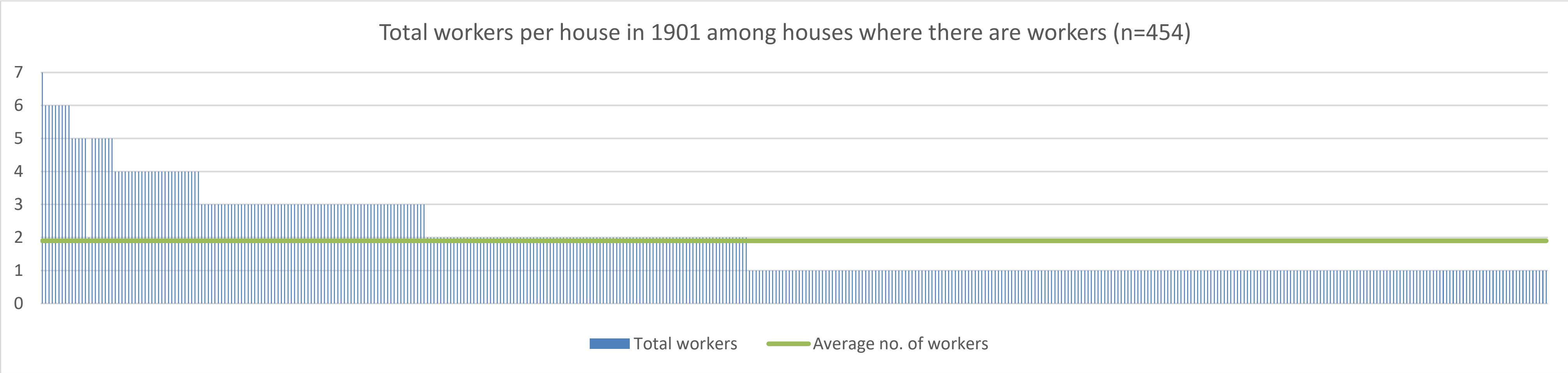


Figure 70 Most houses had one or two workers. The average number of working adults was higher in shop-houses, but the average number of working children was higher in houses. This might be explained by the higher number of residents in shop-houses as the data does not suggest significant numbers of family members were involved in the running of the shops (Source: FMP 2020).

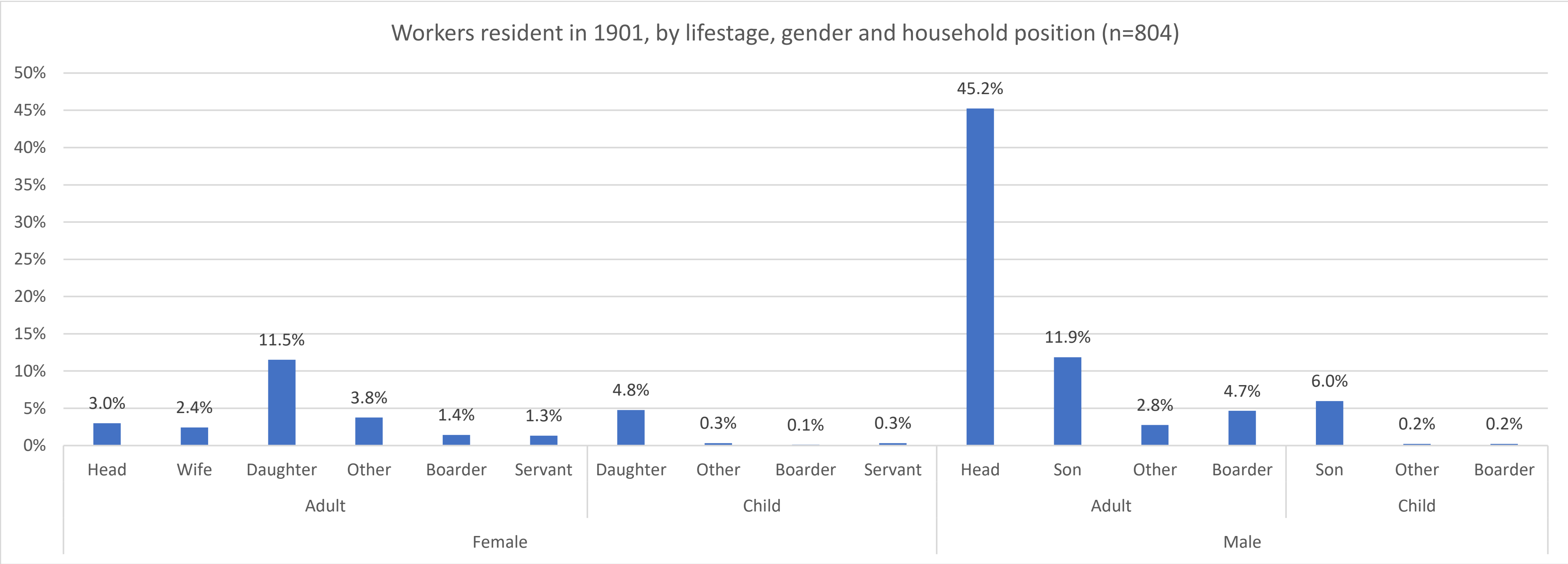


Figure 71 Female heads of household and wives accounted for just 5.4% of the workforce, compared to 45.2% of male heads. There is however, little difference in the number of working sons and daughters (Source: FMP 2020).

Occupation

A wide range of occupations were available to both male and female workers in Leeds. The clothing industry was more important in Leeds than in other towns and cities in England (Hannam 1984, 20; 56) and so it is not surprising to see that it was the largest employment sector for Harehills residents in 1901. Retail and the building trade also provided significant employment opportunities, and together these three sectors employed around 43% of the Harehills workforce (Figure 72). Within these categories, the tailoring of clothes, food and drink provisions and joinery were the most common jobs respectively, followed by boot / shoe making and printing.

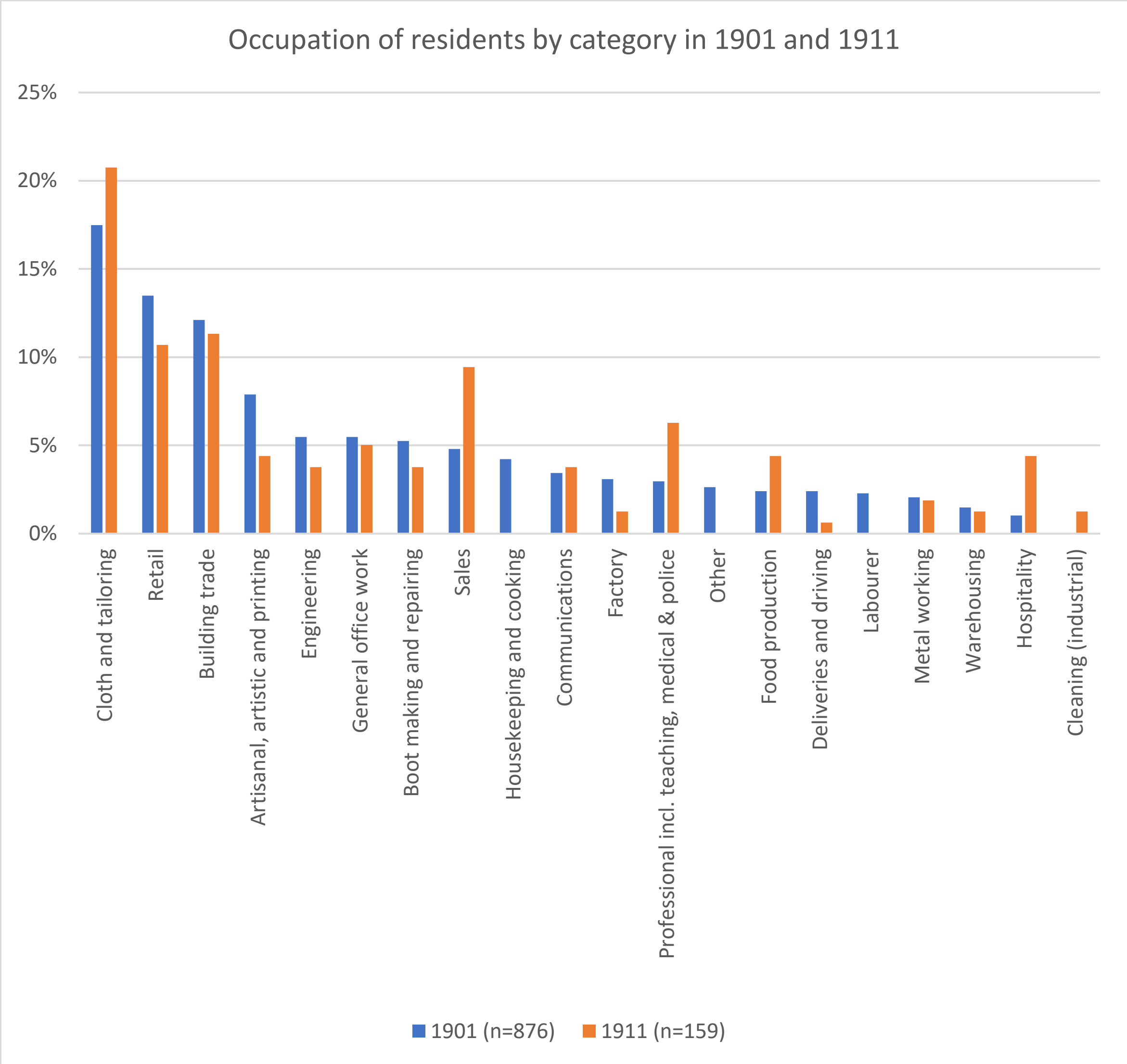


Figure 72 Occupation of Harehills residents in 1901 and 1911 (Source: FMP 2020).

Some occupations were only undertaken by men e.g. artistic work, gardening, labouring and metalworking, while others were only undertaken by women e.g. housekeeping and domestic service (Figure 73). A few residents had jobs that were unusual, skilled or niche such as the silk dealer and feather dresser, orchestral musicians, sculptor, scientific instrument maker and terracotta draughtsman. Moreover, there is evidence that residents were working at the forefront of technological innovation in photography, mechanic motor car repair and electrical wiring. There are further unexpected finds in the data relating to gender including a female plastering apprentice and a gas burner driller, which appear to go against the stereotype of women not being involved in the building trade or engineering. Hannam's (1984, 55) findings for Leeds as a whole in 1911 indicate that this was not an anomaly specific to Harehills, and although such women account for only a small proportion of the workforce, it is still significant that the opportunities were available to them.

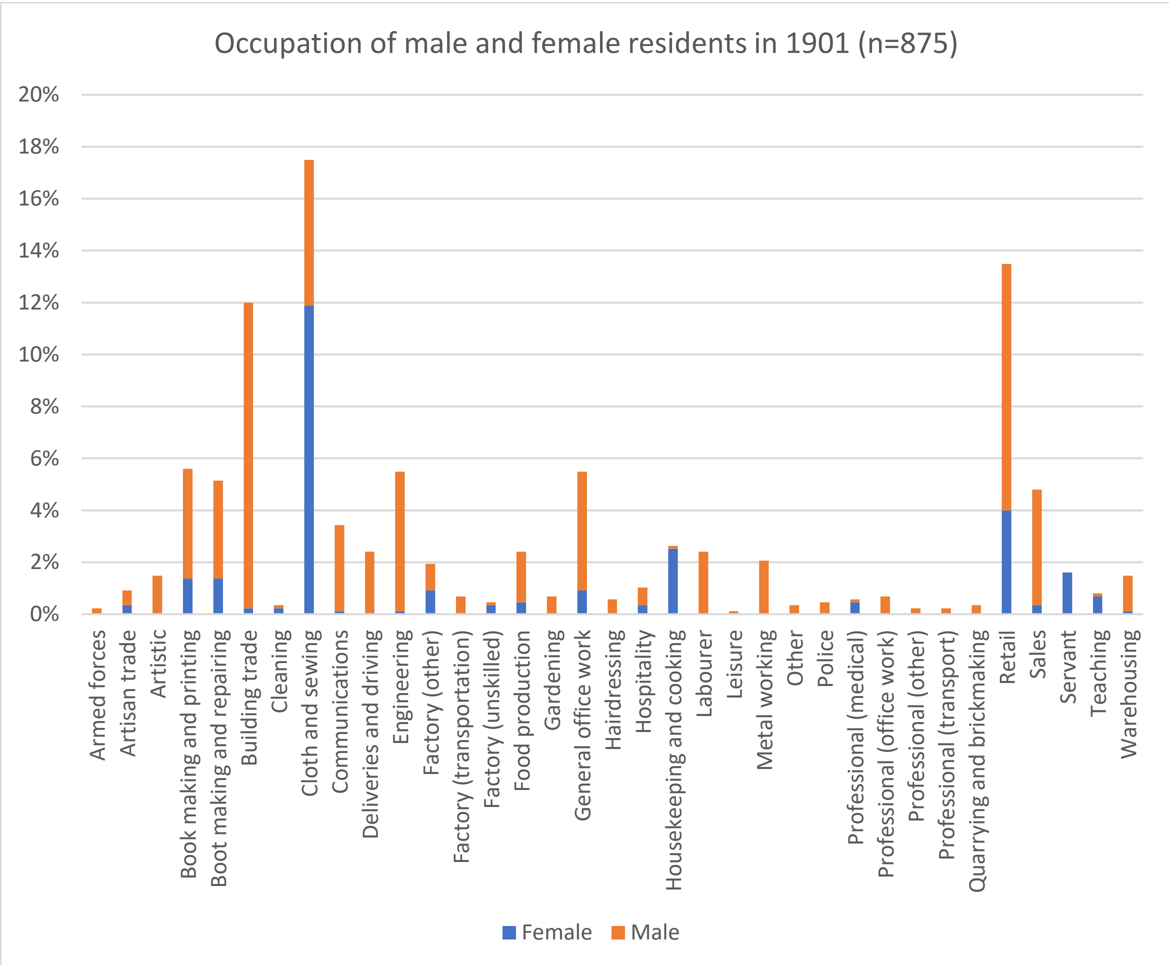


Figure 73 Occupation of male and female residents shows that with the exception of the clothing industry, most jobs were undertaken by men (Source: FMP 2020).

The prevalence of children's occupations followed a similar pattern to that seen in the overall workforce, except that communications were the second most common occupation on account of the number of 'errand boys,' which pushed retail and the building trade down a place (Appendix F Figure 310).

Hannam (1984, 20-21; 23; 55-56; 119) found that around two thirds of employees in the wool and worsted textiles, and ready-made tailoring factories in Leeds were female, though there were few opportunities for women to work in supervisory roles. This is confirmed in Harehills by the 1901 census, suggesting that the residents were typical of the Leeds workforce as a whole. Twenty years on, the wider Harehills area became home to the Montague Burton clothing factory because of its skilled local workforce, and it grew to become the largest clothing factory in the world, employing 10,000 people (Anon. n.d.) (Appendix F *Work and workers* for further information).

The working women of Leeds not employed in the textile and tailoring factories were found in diverse sectors ranging from domestic service to commerce (clerical work), retail, and the medical and teaching professions (Hannam 1984, 61; 671). While the proportion of female workers as a percentage of the total workforce in several sectors corresponds closely to the figures for Harehills in 1901, for example, commerce and retail, there were far fewer women engaged in domestic service in Harehills, and more in other industries such as printing and book-binding (Hannam 1984, 61; 671). In Harehills, an equal proportion of the male and female workforce (5%) was employed in this sector, albeit women tended to do the lighter book-binding work.

Around 20% of men were employed in the engineering industry in Leeds at this time (Hannam 1984, 54). In Harehills however, only 7% of the workforce was engaged in engineering, with greater numbers being found in other sectors; 16% of men were involved in the building trades and 13% in retail. This may have been a consequence of two factors. Firstly, the extensive construction work that was happening in the neighbourhood may have attracted skilled tradesmen to live near their place of work or even in the houses they had built. Secondly, the entrepreneurial spirit of the new residents provided the ideal opportunity for them to capitalise on the growing community's need for provisions.

A good example of this ambition comes from census and directory data for the butcher's shop at 72 Harehills Road, run by the aptly named Alfred Hogg from 1897 to 1904 (Figure 74). In 1903 he was also listed as a refrigerator maker working with two colleagues, and it seems plausible that they were incentivised by the need to keep the shop produce fresh. There was no listing in subsequent years – perhaps Leeds was not ready for refrigeration at that early date, or maybe the refrigerator business had outgrown the back-to-back and moved elsewhere in the city. The meat sales seemed to be going well in Harehills however, as Alfred had an additional shop at 56 Bayswater Road from 1901 to 1905.

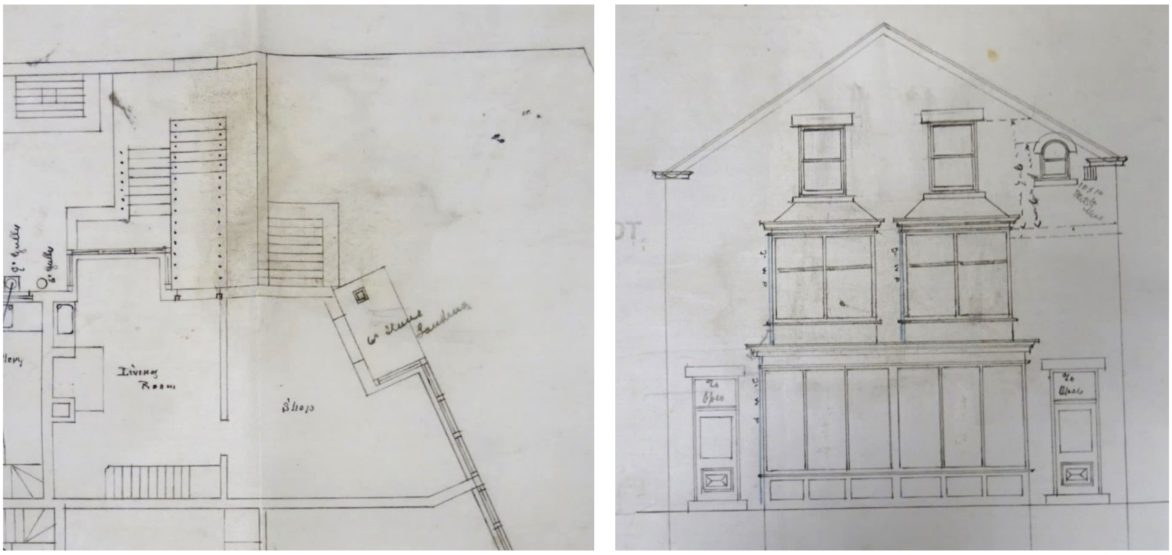


Figure 74 The original drawings for Alfred Hogg's shop show the premises from which the entrepreneur ran his businesses (Berry 1894).

In the 1870s, work in the boot-and-shoe-making industry was completed in small workshops or in the home, but by the 1900s most of this work was carried out in factories (Hannam 1984, 101-102). In Harehills, it was primarily undertaken by men, and a steady increase in the number of boot- / shoe-makers, repairers and dealers trading from shop-houses, rising from one in 1892 to a peak of ten in 1904 demonstrates the prominence of the trade and its network among residents in Harehills.

Employment status

Around 86% of working men and women worked for an employer in 1901, 14% were self-employed, and 2.8% employed other workers. These figures conceal a big variation between residents living in houses and those in shop-houses however (Figure 75). 7.2% of workers living in houses were self-employed or employers compared with 41.6% in shop-houses. In total, 29.2% of self-employed residents were female, and significantly, all employers were male. This might be an indicator of limits on the status of women in society, reflecting inequality in the assignment of household labour and childcare, making it more difficult for women to expand their businesses.

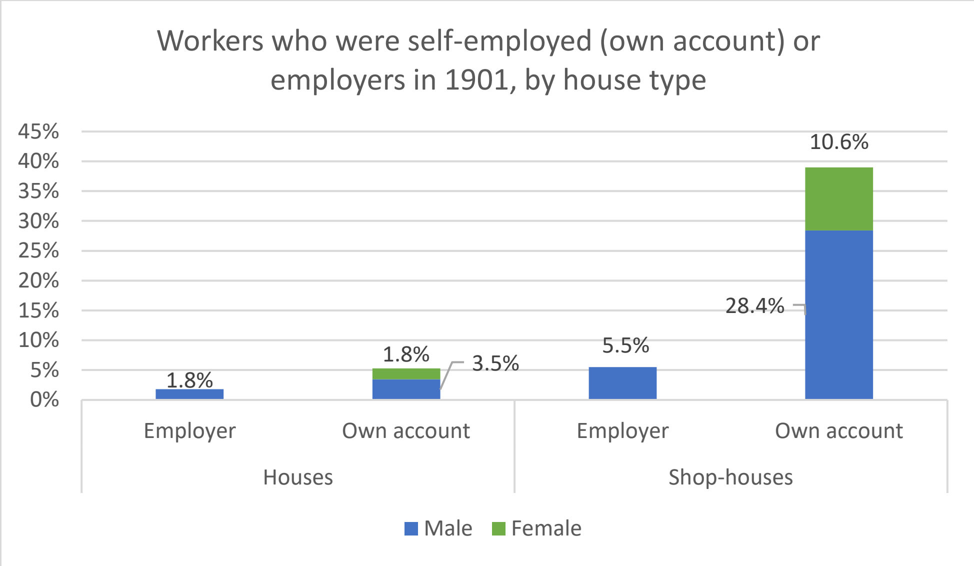


Figure 75 Self-employed males and females in 1901 (Source: FMP 2020).

As would be expected, the highest proportion of home-workers was found in shop-houses (Appendix F Figure 311). Among this group, more men worked at home than women in 1901, and an apparent reversal in the trend in 1911 is probably caused by the small dataset. 44% of male home-workers living in shop-houses were self-employed in 1901, compared to 23% in houses. By contrast however, 20% of female home-workers in shop-houses were self-employed compared to 42% in houses. This might be explained by the tendency for men to be the primary shopkeeper, assisted by a wife or other female relative, while in houses, women's work such as tailoring (the most common job type for women) could be more easily accommodated than men's work (e.g. building, engineering, communications and printing). The figures for 1911 suggest that both men and women in houses were more likely to be employed than self-employed home-workers compared to 1901, but while the proportion of employed workers had grown in houses, it had declined in shop-houses. In addition, the number of self-employed workers living in houses had declined, as had self-employed females in shops, while the number of self-employed males in shop-houses had increased.

In some cases, it is clear to see that there was a family business operating from a shop-house. Mr John Neall and his wife Margaret ran a greengrocery shop together at 79 Bayswater Place from 1898-1903, while the draper Dennis Armitage worked with his dressmaker daughter Annie at 19a Lascelles Road East between 1897 and 1904. Further examples are provided in Appendix F Table 16.

Household income and living costs

There is limited information about wages and household income in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however datasets produced by Wood (1909) and Bowley (1937) concerning income and the cost of living between 1850 and 1935, have been developed and interpreted by Gazeley (1989) and Hannam (1984) for the period of concern in this research.

For men working full time in Leeds, figures for the wool and worsted, ready-made tailoring, ready-made boot and shoe, and engineering trades, show that the weekly wage in 1906 was around 30 shillings, with the male adult wage being higher than both the regional and national average (Hannam 1984, 690). Women working full time in the ready-made tailoring industry tended to be paid a little more than the national average for their work, while for those in the wool and worsted and engineering industries, the wages were less than paid to their regional counterparts, with a more mixed picture nationally, depending on the actual job role (Hannam 1984, 685; 688).

Very few residents were listed as unemployed and seeking work in the census returns for Harehills. However, around 2% of houses in 1901 and 1911 comprised either a retired person or someone living off their own means and no other workers in the house, suggesting that the houses were affordable to some people without an earned income. In 1901, the largest group of retired residents or those living off their own means are the male heads of households (Figure 76). It is interesting to note that women were more likely to be recorded as living off their own means, while men were more likely to be retired. This difference may be a consequence of men retiring from paid employment, whereas many women did not have paid employed, and could not therefore retire from it.

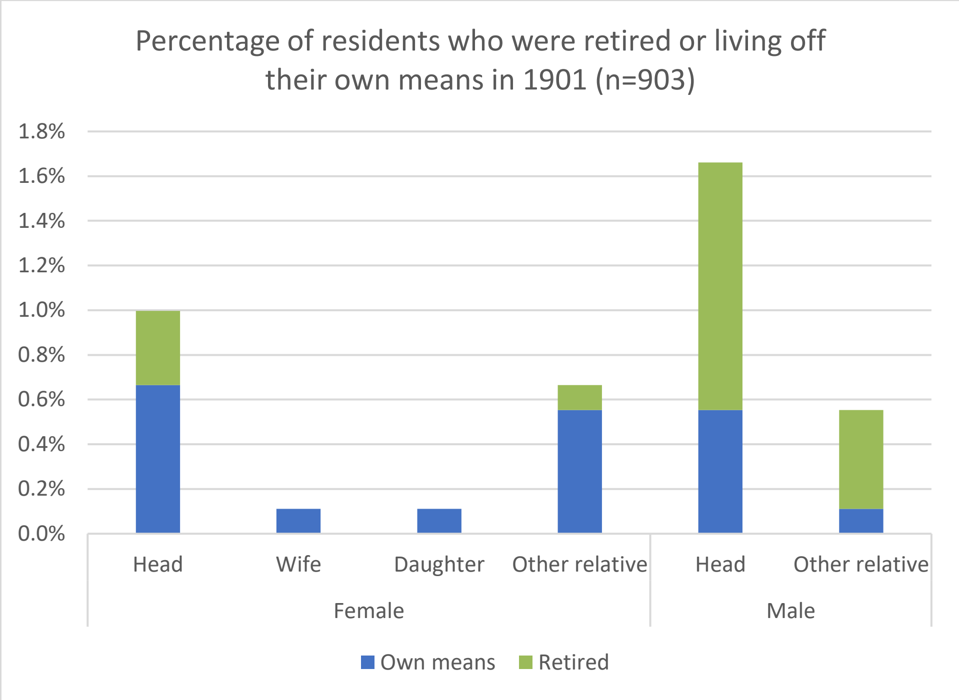


Figure 76 Few residents were recorded as retired or living off their own means in the 1901 Census (Source: FMP 2020).

Building society records show that it was common for some working-classes residents in Leeds and Yorkshire to own four adjoining back-to-back houses, living in one, and renting out the other three (Burnett 1986, 173; Beresford 1971, 115). Homeownership would not have been available to the poorest working-classes, but they were certainly able to rent back-to-backs (Yeadell 1986, 91). As discussed previously, 16-21% of residents moved house each year, which suggests that most houses in Harehills were rented rather than owned by their occupants. Evidence from oral history participants supports this, but presents contrasting information about the duration of residence, showing a trend for much longer-term rentals.

In Harehills, where the neighbourhood was described in 1896 as the healthiest district in Leeds, a block of eight scullery houses with a gross income of £114 and 8 shillings (around 5 shillings and 6 pence per house per week) was advertised for sale for £1300 in 1890 (YPLI 1890, 2). This was probably the first sale since their construction, presumably enabling onwards rental by a single landlord; the electoral registers and oral history evidence reveal that landlords often had several properties in the neighbourhood, such as a block or a whole street (FMP 2020; Bunting 2019a, Childs 2019a; F032 2019). Similarly, in 1896 several pairs of three bedroomed back-to-backs with bay windows were advertised elsewhere in the neighbourhood for a rental of five shillings (YEP 1896, 2). It appears that houses in

Harehills were a little more expensive than similar house types in other areas of Leeds, and more than the average four-room house in Leeds (Atkinson 2010, 91; Beresford 1971, 115). However, even in Harehills, where rents could be over 20% of household income, the back-to-back houses were still an affordable option for those on a low income (Table 2).

Consensus among economic historians is that a household with an income under twenty-one shillings per week would have been poor, while for those with an income over thirty shillings, it was possible to support a family, and consume more nutritious food (Bastomsky 1990, 40; Hannam 1984, 382). Expenditure for the urban working-classes between 1886 and 1914 was, on average, divided almost equally between food (49-56%) and non-food (which included rent at approximately 10-18%, fuel and light 6-7%, clothing and household items 16%, and miscellaneous costs / margin 4-11%) (Allen 1994, 110; Bowley 1937, 38; Gazeley 1989, 219). It therefore follows that the average sized family of five with an income of thirty shillings per week would expect to spend six shillings on clothing, household items and miscellaneous items such as insurance or leisure. Divided evenly for the purpose of analysis, this would be one shilling two pence per person. In the Harehills example, all households had more than this amount available – some, considerably more – but the figures should be treated with caution. Firstly, they are derived from multiple assumptions and estimates of income and expenditure. Secondly, the clothing and building trades in particular, were subject to seasonal variations in workload and therefore remuneration, so there may have been weeks or months when income fell below that required for a good standard of living (Hannam 1984, 372-3). Thirdly, the census records a moment in time, so if households changed (e.g. more children were born or the main wage earner died) the income might not be sufficient.

Oral history evidence suggests that some families did struggle, but they used the resources they did have, to get them through the difficult times.

> My mum was very poor because my father had died and at one stage she had three children… [She] couldn't afford the bills so during… school holidays, she encouraged me to stay in bed in the mornings to keep warm and then I got up at lunchtime and she'd light the fire. She couldn't afford to light the fire all day… (F032 2019)

Address	No. of residents	No. of workers	Estimated weekly income	Rent as % of income	Household income after rent and fuel	Cost of food	Household income available for clothing, insurance, leisure etc.	Income available for clothing, insurance, leisure etc, per person
45 Bayswater Row	2 adults	1 adult	£1 5s 6d	22%	16s 8d	11s 4d	5s 4d	2s 8d
8 Bexley Place	2 adults	1 adult	£1 5s 6d	22%	16s 8d	11s 4d	5s 4d	2s 8d
8 Darfield Crescent	2 adults	1 adult	£1 5s 6d	22%	16s 8d	11s 4d	5s 4d	2s 8d
5 Lambton Street	2 adults, 1 child	1 adult	£1 19s 2d	14%	£1 11s 4d	15s 1d	16s 3d	5s 5d
7 Bayswater Mount	3 adults	2 adults	£3 9s	8%	£3 1s 2d	17s	£2 4s 2d	14s 9d
105 Bayswater Mount	3 adults, 2 children	2 adults	£3 5s 11d	8%	£2 8s 1d	£1 4s 6d	£1 13s 7d	6s 9d
21 Florence Avenue	3 adults, 2 children	2 adults, 1 child	£4 4s 6d	7%	£3 16s 8d	£1 4s 6d	£2 12s 2d	10s 5d
27 Ashton Street	4 adults	3 adults	£3 6s	8%	£2 8s 2d	£1 2s 6d	£1 15s 8d	8s 11d
28 Darfield Crescent	5 adults, 2 children	4 adults, 1 child	£3 16s	7%	£3 8s 2d	£1 15s 10d	£1 12s 4d	4s 7d
3 Ashton Street	6 adults, 3 children	5 adults, 2 children	£5 5s 6d	5%	£4 17s 8d	£1 19s 6d	£2 18s 2d	6s 6d

Table 2 Income and expenditure of nine households in Harehills in 1901, showing the number of workers per house and their estimated income based on wage figures from 1905-1906. Appendix E Table 8 details the assumptions that have been made in producing these figures (Sources: FMP 2020; Gazeley 1989, 215-217; Hannam 1984, 256; 369; 379; 681-682; Burnett 1969, 266; Bowley 1937, 51; Co-operative Press Agency 1922 167; 170-171).

> [W]e had… a beautiful sideboard, it was all engraved and it was like a dark oak. And one day, this is so sad, we were so hard up, my dad had to chop it up for firewood! Because we couldn't afford any coal. (Cutts 2019)

> Furniture-wise well, being the poor relations, we had the castoffs from the family. My mother's sister who was a bit more affluent, used to give us things. (Childs 2019a)

> The small wage which Nellie earned was a great help to our Mother, but in spite of this it was a hard struggle for her to provide us with enough food and clothing. This made it necessary for me to take what-ever linen or article our Mother could put together to the pawnbrokers shop each Monday morning… Each Friday evening I or my mother would repay the borrowed money and obtain our goods once more. (Danby 1978)

Summary

The information presented so far has demonstrated that the early Harehills community comprised a wide demographic. Residents from all over the country lived in the back-to-backs. Their households varied from a single person, to small family units, and large households comprising extended family members, boarders or servants. Residents worked in the core Leeds trades (textiles and engineering) as well as occupations ranging from labouring to teaching, and those that were at the forefront of emerging technologies. Some households would have been poor, with just enough to live off most weeks, while others, particularly those with several working adults in skilled jobs, would have had a generous surplus. This mixed demography is representative of the Leeds working-classes as a whole, and echoes to a large degree, the working-classes of England.

As a means of understanding the context and framework of life in Harehills, this research has provided robust interpretations from multiple datasets. However, this has only given a limited insight into the lived experience of everyday life. A deeper understanding is provided from analysis of the use and meaning of the houses at both the neighbourhood scale, and within individual houses.

The lived experience

Sense of place

Chapter 2 explores how *sense of place* is interpreted relative to individual, community and national identities within the cultural and social characteristics of a place (Smith 2006, 75). This is shaped by an individual's engagement with the physical environment, which in turn, is influenced by the intangible associations and meanings held by the individual (Marmion 2012, 178; 189). At the community scale therefore, *sense of place* can be understood as the collective cultural and social value of a place, which is experienced through its materiality, in the context of the intangible values the communities recognise in it (Marmion 2012, 178; 189). These cultural and social values are closely allied to what Historic England (2008, 31-32) broadly terms 'communal value'.

These understandings of *communal value* and *sense of place* are applied in the rest of this chapter to discover what it was about Harehills and its back-to-back houses that contributed to the *sense of place*; the tangible and intangible qualities, associations and meanings that made the neighbourhood uniquely recognizable for its individual residents, and how these were collectively understood and valued in the context of their individual lives, the community, and the wider Leeds and national contexts.

To do this, literature and oral history evidence are applied in analogy, alongside archival evidence, to understand residents' use of their homes, their feelings and relationships with the home and household members, and relationships with the wider community. As examined in Chapter 3, Hodder (1982b, 16; 19) identifies formal analogies as those where multiple similarities are expected between situations or objects because one similarity is known to exist. Thus, known similarities can be used here to interpret the lives of those for whom we have little direct evidence. Here, the urban layout and physical form of the houses is relatively similar across Harehills, the questionnaire and oral history datasets suggest multiple similarities between the lives of research participants and those identified in the 1901 and 1911 census records (in terms of family size, room use and technology in the house etc), and there is sufficient evidence of English working-class domestic life in the decades either side of 1900 to provide confidence about material culture, cultural norms and values. Together, these provide a robust framework for interpreting the lives of the early residents and their *sense of place* in the neighbourhood. To deepen our understanding of the lived experience, daily routines will be explored through the lives of the families resident in houses discussed by three oral history participants (Table 3 and Figure 77).

Address	House type	Residents (at date of first residence)	Dates of residence	Notes
30 Bexley Grove	Type 3	Frank Crossland (26) and wife Lilian (24), with son George (2)	1910-1988	The adults in this family were the grandparents of Patricia Childs, an oral history interview participant who grew up in the house herself.
52A Harehills Road / 87 Bayswater Row	Type 3 shop-house	Ernest Armitage (39) and wife Mary (29), with children James (8), Mary (6), Francis (4) and Ernest (2)	1912 - 1955	Francis was the father of Mary Armitage, an oral history interview participant. She regularly visited her grandmother during her childhood in the 1940s and 50s.
21 Darfield Road	Type 3	James Fraser (47) and wife Mary (46), with daughters Catherine (22) and Elizabeth (21)	1912 - 1956	The adults in this family were the neighbours of Jean Norris, an oral history participant. She visited for handwriting lessons in the 1940s.

Table 3 The selected case study houses and families (Source: FMP 2020; Armitage 2019; Childs 2019a; Norris 2019).

Figure 77 Floor plans of the three case study houses highlight the variety of sizes, room layouts and room functions, all of which impacted on the way the occupants used and experienced their homes (Sources: Armitage 2019; Plans redrawn from originals by Carby Hall and Dalby 1906; Crompton 1895; Lax 1893a).

The neighbourhood

As discussed previously, Harehills was described as being a healthy neighbourhood, and Wood (1994, 47) notes that it was considered to be “posh”. This is certainly a key theme in the oral history evidence, indicating that its reputation as a good neighbourhood persisted for several decades.

> [T]hey always said that when they moved to Harehills they felt that they’d really come up in the world because they’d moved into a scullery house. (Harris 2019a)

While the built environment may have been superior in terms of its sanitary and drainage provision, and its then proximity to countryside, the reality of living in a densely populated area close to industry, could be rather different.

> The district… was alive with the sights and sounds of small factories… the clatter of horses hooves and rattle of carts moving up and down the streets delivering and collecting goods from the factories was heard throughout the day. Occasionally black smoke issued from the factory chimneys, causing a soot-laden atmosphere. (Danby 1978)

Not only that, the experience of home varied depending on the orientation of the house.

> [W]e got the sun, all the time. And the houses facing… they were like 10° colder… my mother was always ‘I wouldn’t want to live on the other side of the street.’ Or sometimes… we used to have all our curtains drawn to keep the sun out and then you could go over the road into somebody’s house and they might have a low fire on. (Childs 2019a)

Living in Harehills did however, bring many advantages, not least the convenience of trams and the many shops (Figures 78 and 79).

> Everything you needed was catered for by the shops on Ashley Road, Harehills Lane, Harehills Road and Roundhay Road and… nearly all the shops were owned by individuals who amazingly knew all their customers by name. (Norris 2019)

A small study of businesses operating between 1897 and 1906 shows that turnover was varied, with some proprietors operating only fleetingly, while others were present for several years (Directories Collection). Most shops specialised in a limited range of products, for example food shops sold either general grocery, green grocery, confectionery, meat or fish. It was only when they grew larger, perhaps taking over an adjacent property, that they might sell both general grocery and meat for example. This long-term investment in the area and the apparent willingness for newcomers to begin trading suggests that the community was economically sustainable, if not buoyant. This is further supported by the known presence of organisations familiar today such as the Co-operative Society, the Town Sub-Post and Money Order Office, and the London City and Midland Bank (Appendix F *Shops* provides additional information about shop-house proprietors and businesses).

Figure 78 Frederick Marriott's boot store c.1906 at 107 Harehills Road / 2 Conway Place (left) and Enos Gott's grocery store at 19-21 Conway Mount c.1909 (right) (Anon. 1909; 1906).

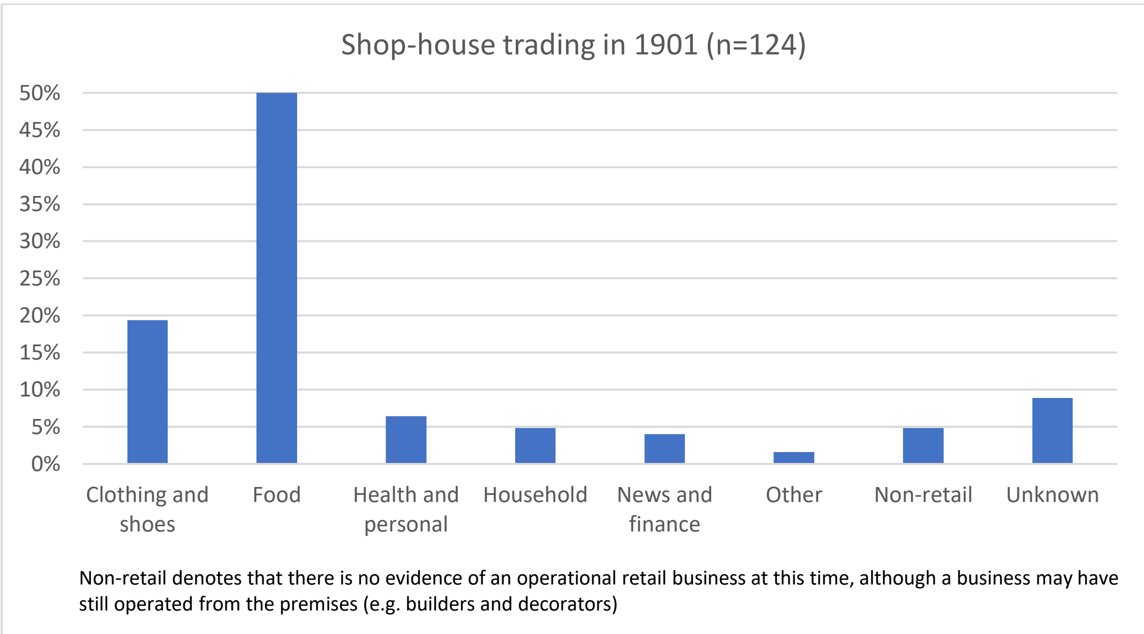


Figure 79 A wide range of goods and services were available in Harehills from food and clothing, to hairdressing, healthcare and banking (Source: Directories Collection).

The former residents of Harehills remember a tight-knit community, not least because families often lived nearby (Bell 2019a; Norris 2019; Parker 2019; Roberts 2019). There is a sense that while neighbours treated each other as equals, they recognised that some families needed support, and were willing to assist.

> She loved it, all the neighbours were nice and… you never felt envious of anybody else's house. (Morris 2019)

> You'd see people up and down the street borrowing dining room chairs and that if you had a visitor. (Childs 2019a)

In the case of Mr and Mrs Fraser, there was evidently trust between neighbours, genuine affection, and a desire to nurture a mutually beneficial relationship.

> I used to go round for handwriting lessons and… he got me to enter handwriting competitions and if I didn't win he was bitterly disappointed… They were very precise, older people… [I]t was very sad. Having encouraged me all the way with my schoolwork… Mr Fraser died a couple of days before I… passed my eleven plus so he never knew. Mrs Fraser was absolutely distraught. She said 'Oh… he would have been so happy Jean.' (Norris 2019)

It is not surprising, given these relationships, that many former residents recall their time in Harehills with great fondness. For some, the feeling is so strong, they are drawn back to the area, never able to fully leave the place behind them – the intangible aspects of their lives are absolutely embedded in the physicality of the neighbourhood.

> I had a nice life… I still love Harehills. It feels cosy when I go. I know it's not the same but it still feels like home. (Bell 2019a)

> I loved it… To me where I lived was a happy place…. I've been back to Darfield Road so many times just to sit there and look at it… when I was younger the street seemed wider, the garden seemed bigger. (Norris 2019)

> [M]any older folk that I've known over the years… have got to that point where they can't physically do the stairs… And so really reluctantly, people have ended up moving away… and there's one gentleman who regularly comes back to the

> launderette. He doesn't do any washing, he just comes… Because then he meets up with people; it's his excuse to come into Harehills… (Harris 2019a)

This sense of community however, portrays only the positive aspects of life. Although one former resident commented that her home meant everything to her and was a place of comfort and security, she was acutely aware by the middle of the twentieth century, of how humble it might have appeared to outsiders.

> [W]hen I went to high school at eleven… I used to be invited to other places for tea and I'd think *oh look at these houses… and the gardens*… so I then realised what a big difference there was… (F032 2019)

> But the worst thing was having schoolfriends home… And having to show them where to go to the loo was very embarrassing, even more embarrassing when I went to university. (F032 2019)

Some residents, perhaps as a consequence of the stigma of the back-to-back house form and the long-standing concerns for health on the part of Government and reformers, had an uneasy relationship with their home, to the extent that it prompted their move from the area.

> [M]y grandmother was worried about health as her parents had both died young with respiratory problems and her first child had died in 1920 in Harehills. I think this, and the extension of the tramlines to Austhorpe in the early twenties propelled the family to leave Harehills. (Elliff 2017**)**

> There was an epidemic. And mum had the idea that with there being no through draught, that's how we'd all got scarlet fever. So we then moved… (Parker 2019)

It was not just the influence of outsiders that caused unease in the minds of residents however. Behind closed doors, relationships could be strained and day-to-day life for some married couples could be dominated by power struggles originating from gender-based assumptions.

Household and financial management

The household and financial management practices of the Harehills residents appear to have mirrored those found in the wider working-class population. Women proudly took on the role, in part to assert their value and status, but for some, this role was necessary. Husbands addicted to alcohol and gambling caused not only financial hardship, but difficult family relationships.

> She left everything in boxes when she went into hospital to have me, to pay all the bills and it went on the drink and no bills had been paid… So… she had to be in charge of it... There wasn't much to go round… I remember a lot of quite violent scenes... (F032 2019)

> [M]oney was always in short supply because my dad had a gambling addiction. So sometimes on a Friday night when he got his wages he'd just blow the whole lot, on a losing horse and my mother had to borrow off family members to cope through the week.… So my mother… took over and my dad had to hand over when he did have money... (Norris 2019)

In houses with multiple workers, the oral history evidence suggests there was a fair contribution to living costs, with some men taking 'pocket money' for their weekly extras (such as cigarettes), and others providing 'house-keeping' money and retaining the rest for themselves – of course, the reality may have been that there was not much difference between the two alternatives (Childs 2019a; Morris 2019; Parker 2019). Possibly in defiance of the latter however, and some husbands' unwillingness to contribute to the heavier household chores (see later), women guarded their financial independence and the household decision-making.

> I don't think my dad ever found out what my mum earned. She wouldn't tell him. (Roberts 2019)

> We did everything, me and my mum. My father was not even consulted about new curtains or new carpet. (Norris 2019)

So if women were taking control of the household and financial management, what did this mean for their working day, and that of the other residents in the home? The probable routines of the case study families will now be explored.

Daily routines

Breakfast time

Betts (2014, 112-113) suggested that the kitchen was a significant space for Victorian working-class families as it was the place for cooking, eating, and for parents and children to spend time together. Meal-times could be irregular in working-class houses however, dictated by shift patterns for the working members, and therefore the whole family was not necessarily present for each meal (Davin 1996, 168). The oral history evidence for Harehills indicates that in some houses, the working man woke first, and had set off for work before the rest of the family rose. In the Crossland, Armitage and Fraser households however, the wives did not have paid work outside of the home so they might have served their husbands at the start of the day as they prepared for their own daily tasks within the home. Some prioritised their husband's need for nutrition, and perhaps status, even if that left little opportunity for the rest of the family to eat a nutritious meal before work and school.

> So my mother was up and he always went out with a cooked breakfast… [H]e used to leave the house at quarter to seven, seven o'clock. So then she'd shout me and I'd come down… I didn't have cooked breakfast but I'd have my breakfast… (Childs 2019a)

The working day – home-workers

Sign-writer Frank Crossland, and bookbinder James Fraser and his working daughters probably started their commute to work by 7.30am, whereas self-employed home-worker Ernest Armitage, might have enjoyed a more leisurely start to his day. While working from home undoubtedly brought the advantage of convenience for Ernest, it also meant a fluid boundary between work and homelife that may have made it difficult to separate the two, especially given the multifunctional nature of the kitchen and its near continuous use adjacent to the shop (see later) (Figure 80).

Figure 80 Ernest Armitage sits in an easy chair, reading a book in the basement kitchen. Also visible in the photograph is a table with gramophone, a cupboard and a velvet curtain next to the opening leading to the boot-repairing shop (Armitage c.1925-30c).

> There was a cellar kitchen where they did the cooking… over a fire, boiling it… there was a biggish table, one of those that you scrubbed… And… chairs that had a back like that [arched]… they were heavy… old fashioned table and chairs. And… an easy chair… I can remember it being quite shabby… not loads of furniture. And I think there was like a velvet curtain that divided the shop from the house… because they talk about going into the shop and 'Oh it's in the shop.' (Armitage 2019)

Furthermore, working from home did not necessarily bring the benefit of home comforts.

> [I]t was cold. Because… it was stone floor in the shop… my dad always… stood on a wooden board because he said the flags struck up and gave you… rheumatic pains. (Armitage 2019) (Figure 81)

It goes without saying that women's work in the home was hard and uncomfortable too.

Figure 81 Ernest Armitage's boot repair shop on Harehills Road c.1925-30 (left) and his son Frank repairing boots (right) (Armitage c.1925-30a; c.1925-30b).

The working day – housewives

As discussed previously, women took pride in their domestic work, and this along with the 'hard-working housewives' theme are dominant in the oral history narratives for Harehills.

> I suppose in most streets they took a real pride in it… (Morris 2019)

> [W]e tramped all our dirt straight into the living room and yet she somehow kept it spotlessly clean. The furniture always gleamed with wax polish and everything was in place to such an extent that one of my brothers said 'This is a house not a home. Everything has to be clean and tidy all the time.' That would be my mother's background. (F032 2019)

Some women worked rigidly to a routine, carrying out the same chores on the same days each week, observing the accepted norm of Mondays for laundry where possible (Cutts 2019; Norris 2019). For Lillian Crossland and Mary Armitage, the back-breaking task of laundry was done while looking after their small children. In common with the earlier back-to-backs it appears there was no water supply in Lilian's basement so the process was split between two floors of the house.

> I can remember it all being done in the sink with a scrubbing board… And this mangle in the cellar so it was taken down in the cellar and had to get all the water taken out of it and be carted back up again. (Childs 2019a)

Mary Fraser, living in a later back-to-back had the advantage of a wash cellar, while Mary Armitage used her basement kitchen. For these women, the butler's sink and access to the garden, made their routine a little easier.

> [M]y pride and joy was, you could get to the cellar from the outside. There were steps to go down and a door and a window and I thought that was absolutely brilliant. (Morris 2019)

Nevertheless, the first stage of the laundry process had to be completed in time to get the washing out to dry the same day. Even while it was drying however, the residents of the street-lined back-to-backs needed to keep a close eye on it.

> And some of the streets that didn't have gardens, they had special pulleys and they'd pull the washing higher, say if a van was coming to deliver or the dustbin men were coming. (Bell 2019a)

> The whole street was just one sea of sheets… [W]e were lucky that… we could all put our washing in the garden. (Cutts 2019)

This very visible display of laundry probably acted as an incentive to conform to social expectations, not only in terms of the quality of the clothing and linen, but also the ability of the housewives to perform their duties to a high standard. This arguably resulted in a community that was closer and held more influence over its individuals than in working-class neighbourhoods comprising only through terraces with private rear yards.

The house did not escape the turmoil of washday once the clothes were clean however, and the multifunctionality of the living-kitchen is evident from its use in the laundry process as well as the dining, relaxing and leisure functions it served which will be discussed later.

> [T]here was clothes lines in the cellar for when it was raining… But she used to dry the clothes round that fire and I can remember as a child, getting… between the clothes horse and the fire, and feeling like I was in a little den… [A]bove it there was

> a brass rail that you could put things on to air when they'd been ironed… (Norris 2019)

The range was essential to heating the flat irons, and dining tables doubled up as ironing boards, which demonstrates an interesting juxtaposition of uses given that in some households they were considered to be of too high a status for everyday dining (see later) (Bunting 2019a; Childs 2019a; Parker 2019).

Children were sometimes expected to assist their mothers with the housework, though the hazards of carrying out this work while negotiating the peculiarities of the house were a struggle for some.

> Flo asked me to bring the chamber-pot down to empty. Well it was pretty full and… Ted always smoked in bed, so he used that as an ash-tray. The bedroom steps in those houses were a bit hazardous…I must have put my foot down on one of the narrow bits… and I came flying down the steps. Now it didn't matter that I might have hurt myself, and that I had wee all over me, all that mattered was the mess it had made on the stairs, so she laid into me good and proper. (Howe c.2009)

The notion of women's work went far beyond the general household tasks such as laundry, tidying, cleaning floors and dusting however. Women had a range of larger and outdoor jobs that were incorporated into their weekly work, and as the women in the case study households did not have paid employment, it is likely that such jobs were their sole responsibility rather than their husbands'. Oral history participants for example, recounted stories of women sitting on window-sills with their backs to the street, and the sash windows trapping their legs so they did not fall out while cleaning the glass; amazingly, window cleaning seemed to only occasionally result in an accident (F032 2019; Morris 2019; Norris 2019; Roberts 2019). While some families were able to employ decorators, in others, this too was a job for the women, often without the assistance of their husbands (Childs 2019a; Morris 2019).

> [S]he kept that house regularly decorated… [S]he would go to work all day and come home and decorate… (Parker 2019)

> [T]he cellar… was whitewashed with lime wash once a year, and that was part of my job helping my mum. You'd think my dad and my brother might have done that wouldn't you, but no. I used to help my mum with that. (Norris 2019)

Although possible to view this from a perspective of women asserting their control and their indispensable status, some may have felt obligated to carry out this work. It remains uncertain whether they felt singularly responsible for providing the labour to create a comfortable home for their families or whether they were driven by the social expectations to maintain standards that were 'enforced' by community peer pressure. This peer pressure might have been experienced at a more intense level in back-to-back communities; the whole house faced the primary street where it was subject to public scrutiny, whereas in a through terrace, the rear elevation and yard hosting everyday activities and servicing, were at least partially hidden from view.

Lunchtime and the evening meal

Many workers came home at lunchtime if they were able to return easily by foot or tram, but the nature of this meal depended on the circumstances of the household (Anon. 1901). For example, in the Crossland, Armitage and Fraser households, it is possible the wives cooked a hot meal midday so that the evening meal could be light, and quick to both prepare and clean away.

> My school dinner had been the main meal or I'd had something substantial at lunchtime hopefully. And so it was a very light tea, maybe a sandwich and a bun or something. (F032 2019)

A light tea would have been a distinct advantage in a back-to-back house as the scullery was a multifunctional room combining most of the functionality of modern-day kitchens and bathrooms. The implications of this will be discussed later. Not all workers could return home however, not all wives were home-based and able to cook midday, and not all children ate at school, but with family often living close by, alternative solutions were possible.

> Rather than have school dinners I would go to my Auntie Louis's and have dinner there… so I don't think we had a dinner at night-time… (Bunting 2019a)

In households where all the adults worked, the evening meal was usually the main meal of the day. Despite differing shifts and the needs of hungry children, some wives managed to maintain a family mealtime.

> [W]hen I came in there'd be something for me… because the dinner wasn't cooked until my dad came in from work… so I had a dinner at dinner time at school and this snack… and then, a dinner with my parents and my grandad. (Childs 2019a)

Although the addition of a scullery in the standard sized Type 2 and Type 3 back-to-backs was an advantage over the single living-kitchen in the Type 1s, there was still not the convenience of a single room that accommodated the food storage, preparation, cooking and washing-up facilities. In many houses, including those of the Crosslands and Frasers, this was distributed between three rooms — the cellar and / or cellar steps, scullery and living-kitchen.

> Fitted cupboard… had everything in there, all the dinner plates and anything you needed in the scullery for cooking… [I]t didn't come down to the floor… because the bath was there... then… when you open the cellar door there was a shelf there… and… anything that needed keeping cool. (Childs 2019a)

> It's this cupboard in the alcove that kept most of the pots… [E]very time we washed up we had to come back to here so there wasn't much storage in the kitchen, except under the sink for washing things… [F]ood was kept largely in the cellar because that's where it was cold. There was a big table and two alcoves with stone slabs on in the cellar so that was the storing area. (F032, 2019)

In what appears to be a direct contradiction of Muthesius's (1982, 48; 54) findings, Daunton (1983, 239-241) notes that the use of gas cookers in West Yorkshire lagged behind the rest of the country, however this might be a consequence of terminology, where Muthesius uses the term in relation to gas rings, and Daunton in relation to an all-in-one hob and oven. In Harehills, the questionnaire data suggests that gas cooking was preferred to coal, even in the 1890-1913 period. This early example of gas cooking in working-class housing is significant given the house type has long been considered the poorest and least 'advanced' type of housing. It is also interesting, because the coal fire ranges were only installed during that period, which may indicate that the technology was reaching the end of its life as the houses were built. Consequently, despite Daunton's (1983, 283) acknowledgement that an effort was made to separate cooking and washing from general living space, this was not fully achievable in the standard back-to-back design as the cooking process could be split between the range in the living-kitchen and a gas ring in the scullery, persisting as late as the 1950s in some cases (Figure 82).

> [S]eeing as the set-pot wasn't in use my mother had a two ring, gas thing… like something in the school lab… with the rubber pipe… (Childs 2019a)

> The range was used for cooking when there was a family of five and there was a gas hob in the scullery. The gas cooker came later. (F032 2019)

Figure 82 A two-ring gas hob positioned between the set-pot and sink, much like the arrangement participant Patricia recalls in the Crossland house (LLIS c.1960).

As discussed previously, the mother's role in the home was to provide for her family, and as diets changed, so did the mother's work. In Leeds, for example, there became a greater reliance on convenience foods as evidenced by the number of bakery / confectionery shops, and fish and chip shops, and Atkinson (2010, 87; 158) noted a correlation between women working outside the home and the reduced time they spent on preparing meals. There was a noticeable presence of such convenience food retailers in Harehills (Appendix F Table 17), however, taking account of the growth of the neighbourhood, there is no evidence of a growing demand. Indeed the oral history evidence indicates that the full transition to convenience foods took several decades.

Although the gender-based division of tasks is evident in many houses, there *were* households in the neighbourhood where the men would cook. One father's dinner-time treat for his family may have been a combination of his forward-thinking attitude to family life and a desire to demonstrate provision:

> [T]he other thing about the fire… my dad would come home with steak… And he used to cook it on the hot coals. (Bell 2019a)

By contrast, in other households, the bread-winning and home-making or childcare roles were reversed out of necessity, for example if the father's ill health limited his ability to work (Parker 2019).

Oral history evidence suggests that despite the 'working' nature of their living-kitchens, families made an effort to adhere to the social expectations around mealtime etiquette in their everyday life.

> We always sat at the table to eat. We never sat with our meals on our knee. (Cutts 2019)

> And we never put a milk bottle on the table, always the milk jug. (Bell 2019a)

For the majority of residents living in Type 2 and 3 houses like the Crosslands and Frasers however, the separation of everyday and best uses that a through terrace parlour allowed, had to be achieved in other ways, such as categorising the use of individual items of furniture in the living-kitchen to everyday or best.

> We were never allowed to eat off the polished table, unless there were guests, but that was a very rare thing. We had all our meals sitting round a little card table in the middle of the room. (Howe c.2009)

The back-to-backs with a kitchen and separate living room (Pseudo Type 3s, large Type 2 and 3 houses and some shop-houses) did have the advantage of being able to separate kitchen and living functions, however it seems that even these families had to make decisions about how best to achieve the social norms. The Armitage family for example, separated their everyday use in the basement kitchen, from best use in the ground-floor living room (or parlour, as it is also known), though this meant that everyday living, cooking and laundry occurred in a single space (Armitage 2019). The evidence suggests that there was a widespread awareness of behavioural norms, and that even if they had to be approached in a slightly different way in a back-to-back house, they could be achieved at least in part.

Evenings

A woman's work was not done even after the evening meal had been cleared away. Before they could relax, women might be engaged in sewing or rug-making, either for their own home, or for neighbours, providing them with a side-line income (Bunting and Roberts 2019; F032 2019). Evening however, was generally seen as a time for families to spend time together, and Betts (2014, 90-91) found that the bonds between parents and children defined the purpose and structure of homes. The oral history evidence for Harehills reveals that parent / child relationships in Harehills were typical of those found in other working-class areas, and that fathers, and indeed other male relatives, made a significant contribution to the upbringing of children. In the Crossland household, it seems likely that Patricia's childhood experiences were similar to those of her father in the 1910s.

> [M]y father were great fun… the favourite uncle in the family, the favourite neighbour in the street… As a family, I just had such a wonderful childhood and I love them all dearly, my grandad, my uncle, my mum and dad. And we just lived so happily. (Childs 2019a)

The back-to-back house form, with one exterior wall, brings thermal benefits for the interior environment, but for many families, their evening family time was spent indoors huddled around the living-kitchen fire trying to keep warm. Notably, the chair by the fire, so prevalent in the literature, is also mentioned by some former residents.

> I remember sitting on his knee... dad's chair… That was always nearest the fire, at the side. And where he used to smoke cigarettes. He smoked an awful lot of cigarettes... (Parker 2019)

> [T]here was a rocking chair by the fire and as a small child I remember being cuddled and rocked in this chair and my mum… used to sing to me before I went to bed and that was a great comfort. (F032 2019)

While several questionnaire respondents describe this as a cosy atmosphere, for others, the house was distinctly uncomfortable. In the Crossland house, Patricia recalls:

> [T]he draught from the cellar that came into the scullery that came into the room plus the draught from the front door, plus the draught that shot down the bedroom stairs, you got your chairs strategically placed… (Childs 2019a)

As with the change from gas to electric lighting, the adoption of gas heating was slow to progress, and questionnaire data suggests that coal was the primary means of heating in some households until the 1966-1989 period. Many women came to realise when they did finally upgrade to gas, that they had overlooked one of the important uses of the fire – the incineration of waste, from eggshells and potato peelings, to food packaging and sanitary towels (Bell 2019a; Cutts 2019; Norris 2019).

Since many of the houses had a plumbed-in bath in the scullery, it became a multifunctional space accommodating culinary, laundry and personal hygiene activities and was also a through-route to the basement. While the design may have been practical in terms of plumbing, it did necessitate compromise on the part of residents.

> Well you only bathed… once a week and you just had your set time and that was it. Because it couldn't be around a mealtime… Other than that everybody got washed in the sink in the scullery… [M]y father, he would come in and have his dinner. The first thing he would do then is wash up and then once all that were cleared then he would… have a wash. (Childs 2019a)

> [B]ecause everything was kept on top of the wooden top, all the baking materials and household things, baths were quite rare. It was such a performance to get everything off the top. (F032 2019)

> [W]e didn't have locks on the door between the kitchen and sitting room and I'd be in the bath soaking, and… my dad would [*knock, knock, knock*], 'Come on Jean I need to get some coal, get out the bath.' (Norris 2019)

Other than the inconvenience of bathing in the scullery, it could also be a fearful experience (F032 2019). Recalling the bath lid, one resident noted:

> It was hinged. So basically you lifted up and then there was… a drop-down hook catch embedded in the wall that would then catch the lid and keep it up… I think you would be dead if it landed on you because it would give you a hell of a thump. (Harris 2019a)

In later years when gas cookers came into use in the scullery, ovens were used to heat the room and warm the towels, making the experience much more comfortable (Cutts 2019; Morris 2019; Norris 2019). The Armitage family, living in a shop-house, had a first-floor bathroom with basin and bath, and this undoubtedly, provided them with a greater degree of privacy and more freedom in the use of their living areas. Being remote from any source of heating however, it would have been a particularly uncomfortable space in the colder months.

For the minority of families who were fortunate enough to have an indoor toilet, accessing and using it would have seemed luxurious relative to their neighbours' experiences of using the toilet facilities. The three case study families were fortunate to each have their own WC (albeit outdoors), however this aspect of life remained, on the whole, an unpleasant experience, with 61% of questionnaire respondents first resident before 1945 citing the sanitary facilities as being the worst thing about their house. Muthesius (1982, 60) implied there was an increasing degree of privatisation of back-to-back houses, brought about by the inclusion of WCs in basements rather than yards between house blocks, and residents in Harehills were certainly aware of a distinction between these facilities.

> We went down our house steps and down some more steps and shared the toilet with the lady next door. Whereas on the other side of the street it was four houses to a toilet… in a yard. So from two points of view we were a little bit superior. (F032 2019)

However, the basement WCs could still not be thought of as private.

> [W]e lived opposite the shoe factory... I always remember… my mother shouting out of the scullery window 'How much longer Jean are you going to be down there?' And I can remember thinking *I'll be down here till everybody's left the factory*. You know, letting everybody know I was on the loo. (Norris 2019)

As reported in Chapter 4, the toilets themselves varied. The earliest were earth closets, but even WCs had varying degrees of sophistication, and modernity did not necessarily make a more comfortable experience (Bunting 2019a; Norris 2019). It appears there may have been a different approach to using and cleaning the toilet, depending on whether it was in a yard or shared with one neighbour, but in both circumstances, the trip demanded caution. One resident preferred her grandchildren to use a bucket in the kitchen rather than the communal facilities, though it is not clear whether this was based on hygiene, convenience, privacy or some other factor (Parker 2019). Oral history evidence suggests that the outdoor WCs of the Type 3 houses such as those occupied by the Crossland and Fraser households would have been clean but difficult to access at times. While some residents made the trip regardless, others preferred the chamber-pot alternative at bedtime, a decision undoubtedly influenced by the lack of privacy, safety and comfort inherent in the design. Negative associations were not limited to the toilet however, as cleaning teeth and washing (in the scullery) and changing into bedclothes could also lack privacy and comfort; having a warm drink was perhaps the only part of the routine that could be enjoyed (Morris 2019; Parker 2019).

> It was clean but… if the steps going down were icy or snowy it was treacherous. (F032 2019)

> Used to get washed in the stone sink. Get undressed, but always by the fire because it was so cold, even in summer it was cold… but in summer, we didn't have the fire on so we just had to suffer… my dad used to sit by the fire and we used to go behind the sofa and get undressed… going out in the dark to the toilet, that was the worst... (Cutts 2019)

> [W]e had… gazunders... There was one of those under my mum and dad's bed and there was one under my bed. …my dad would go out to the toilet but.. when I was really small, I can remember having a potty under the sink in the kitchen and I'd go

> on that potty before I went to bed… I can't remember my mum going out in the dark to the toilet. (Bell 2019a)

Bedtime

Towards the end of the nineteenth century there was an expectation that houses would have at least three bedrooms so that parents, girls and boys could be accommodated separately, thereby conforming to the social expectations of decency (Timmins 2013, 123; Simon 1929, 7, 16-17). Betts (2014, 103) however, found cases in London, York and Middlesbrough where children shared beds with siblings, parents or lodgers, and beds were located in downstairs rooms, all of which raised questions of decency in the minds of social reformers. It appears that there were similar practices in Harehills, but unconventional room-sharing and high room occupancy occurred in only around 8% of households. As presented in Chapter 4, only a small minority of houses in Harehills were built with two bedrooms so most houses did provide the minimum number of rooms for 'decency.' Analysis of the 1901 census data suggests that residents living in the larger houses and shop-houses with four bedrooms could have achieved the socially desired separation regardless of household size. Indeed, most households comprising a single family unit (i.e. parents and their children) were able to easily abide by social norms in their three-bedroomed houses, albeit some siblings of the same gender shared a bedroom despite large age differences, and in one house, a brother and sister (aged under eleven) shared a bedroom to allow their widowed father and live-in housekeeper to each have a room. However, the sleeping arrangements in 39 of the 473 households analysed appear to have been more complex. There were two contributory factors: large families, and the accommodation of extended family members and boarders.

A small spatial study of sleeping arrangements (Figure 83) suggests that some families had no option but to pair their children or extended family members with boarders, or accommodate elderly relatives in living-kitchens. Similarly, widowed parents may have shared with their adult children, and one family of seven in a two-bedroomed house possibly slept in a single room while their three boarders shared the attic. It would also have been necessary for siblings to share beds in some households, though this was not common for teenage children. In some instances, the husband and wife of large households may have chosen to share the smallest bedroom, allowing four or five people to sleep in each of the larger two bedrooms. This may have been desirable logistically but the oral history evidence suggests that the inability to accommodate bedroom furniture may have been distinctly undesirable, reducing the status of the occupants who would ordinarily expect to have the largest and best furnished bedroom. The questionnaire dataset tentatively corroborates that this would have been a 'last resort' as there are no instances of adults sharing the small bedroom.

The Armitage, Crossland and Fraser households were easily accommodated in their houses in 1912, with no more than two people sleeping in each bedroom. It is likely that they lived much like those who recalled their lives a generation later; the husband and wife occupying the large, well-furnished first-floor bedroom, while children had minimal furniture. Moreover, anyone sleeping in the attic had to rely on somewhat creative solutions to furnishing their room because the compact design of the stairs prevented the possibility of moving wardrobes to the top floor (Childs 2019a).

> [A] huge… double door wardrobe… and… dressing table, with… three mirrors on it that you could move…Then… the tallboy…my mum's side was a round table… And my dad's side, there was a little shelf on the wall... And a huge double bed. (Morris 2019)

> [I]nto the attic, my grandad's bed… was a single bed. And my uncle was at the far end, but he was in a double bed…. And then in that left-hand alcove my uncle created… a wardrobe by… putting a shelf up and rail underneath and then a curtain across... And then in the other alcove was this dressing table… after my grandad died, the dressing table… came down into my bedroom… but until then I don't think I'd had anything other than this bed and the bookcase… (Childs 2019a)

> [T]he thing I treasured most was being given drawers to put my stuff in. (F032 2019)

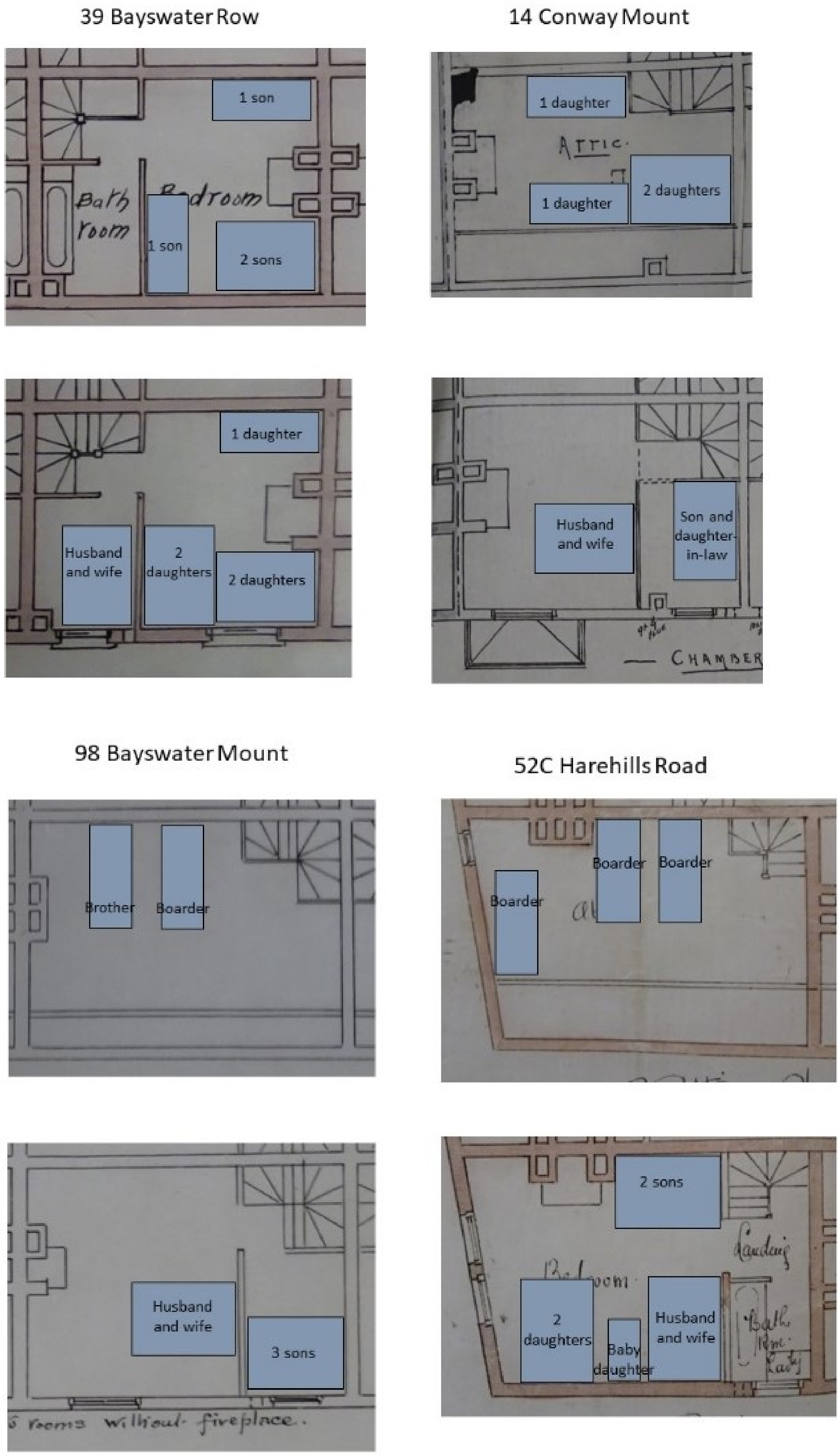


Figure 83 The possible sleeping arrangements of four households identified from the 1901 Census has been visualised specifically for this research to highlight the negotiations and compromises the residents may have been forced to accept in their efforts to achieve the social norms of room occupancy and gender separation (Source of original plans: Farmery 1899; Lax 1893a; Worsnop 1893b; John Hall and Sons 1892a).

Although at least one of the bedrooms in the houses had a small fireplace, it appears these were almost never used, despite the need for heating in the winter. Residents possibly preferred, or had the necessity, to keep warm using low-cost alternatives.

> I don't really ever recall it being lit… maybe when my father was once very poorly with bronchitis… bedrooms were bitter. Bitter cold… in wintertime, there'd be ice on the inside… I used to have three blankets and an eiderdown and then the bedspread. And then you'd sometimes have socks and a cardigan on… And of course you'd hot water bottles… (Childs 2019a)

> I only remember that once… taking… ashes out of the fire to take upstairs and put them in the bedroom fireplace and lighting a fire there. And taking the oven plate out of the oven and putting it in bed in a blanket. (Bunting 2019a)

Despite this frugal use of fuel, residents did generally have an income that was sufficient to enable participation in leisure activities in and around the home, as explored next.

Leisure time

Home-based activities

According to Betts (2014, 120) in his study of working-class homes in urban communities between 1870 and 1914, the time that could be spent on leisure activities may have been limited as it was linked to the space available in the home. In Harehills however, it appears that a wide variety of activities could be accommodated. Much of this took place in the living-kitchen, although underutilised attics and basements provided a good alternative to a second reception room (Appendix F Figure 312). Since bedrooms were used exclusively for sleeping in most houses, the availability of these rooms was welcomed by children for their indoor play.

> I played in the cellar as well when the weather was bad… And… my dad fixed a swing so I could play down there… But I learnt to roller skate in the attic. (Bell 2019)

> [Grandma's] attic, was our playground… she let us make shops there… Scales up there and… in the first part of Bayswater Mount… there used to be a greengrocer's and she used to say 'Go tell them to give you a bag of apples' and we'd play all day... (Parker 2019)

> [W]hen it rained… we could go in the cellar and play and have our friends around… play whip and top down there… never in the front room. (Cutts 2019)

Music was a popular activity. For some, playing an instrument appears to have been a solitary pastime, but for many, it was at the heart of weekend family entertainment.

> My uncle, he played six different instruments… So he'd be up in the attic tootling on his saxophone or his clarinet. (Childs 2019a)

> [A]lways at the weekends our house was full and we all sang, and it was always her brother that played [the piano]... But it was always being played was that piano. I never learnt it but I think it was part and parcel of the furniture really in those days, whether you played it or not. (Parker 2019)

Bell's study of early twentieth-century Middlesbrough (Bell 1985, 149-154 cited in Betts 2014, 120) concluded that reading was a popular activity that brought families together in working-class households, and that, along with creative activities and games, were particularly popular in Harehills.

> I think they read a lot to their children… And I think there was a lot of that in the house... They were… cultured without being educated. (Armitage 2019)

> I had table tennis sets and we put that on the table... We used to play cards, dominoes, that sort of thing. At one time we… used to sit there all three of us just doing painting by numbers. We used to read a lot… we'd only one room to do it in. (Morris 2019)

> And then on the right of the fireplace was a cupboard… one up one down. The down was for toys and shoes and the up was for mum's… sewing and knitting... (Cutts 2019)

The variety of home-based activities available to residents, and particularly the possession of musical instruments, indicates that residents had both the time and the financial means to include leisure activities in their lives. Furthermore, they were able to use their rooms flexibly to accommodate multiple functions, and the lack of a parlour did not prevent them from enjoying the same activities as their counterparts living in through terraced houses in other towns and cities.

Visiting and socialising

The approach to socialising in the home varied considerably between households. In some, an open-door approach was adopted. For the Armitage family for example, socialising seemed to revolve around community relations and political activism.

> I used to find it absolutely fascinating because it was always full of people and kids and, I was always a bit frightened because… there was an awful lot of coming and going… and everybody seemed to know everybody else and neighbours were dropping in all the time. And they were… a very friendly family and they were very politically involved. They were always arguing, but they all got on... (Armitage 2019)

For others, having visitors was perhaps more light-hearted, with an agenda that extended no further than demonstrating generous hospitality. It appears that the absence of a parlour did not limit the number of guests that would be invited into a back-to-back house, or the frequency at which this happened.

> Well the visitors, all the stops were pulled out. She had a grand baking day…They were all friends of my mum and dad's… so some used to come regularly and they used to have a game of cards… Christmas Day... I've been sat many a time with my cousins on the bedroom steps… all the chairs were taken up… sixteen [people]… All in one room… (Morris 2019)

Some however, visited family much less frequently, and did not appear to socialise with friends or neighbours. According to two questionnaire participants, those on lower incomes felt they could not afford to have guests (F034 2019; F019 2018).

> [S]ometimes on a Sunday morning I would go up on my own to my grandad's in the Ashtons. See him, but then he died when I was quite young. And grandma had already died, so no, I don't remember visitors and visiting very much at all... (F032 2019)

Gardens and the neighbourhood

Although several residents recall their garden being well-tended with flowers and herbs which might showcase their respectability or contribute to the household income, the space was not used for adult leisure to any great extent.

> On the right-hand side my mum used to grow a lot of mint and the neighbours used to come and buy two-pen'worth of mint which was a great asset to her income believe it or not. And then on the left, on the bigger side… there were lovely displays of marigolds because that's what my grandfather specialised in. But we didn't sit out in it a lot. (F032 2019)

> [N]obody sat in the garden as such. People used to … stand and talk… If it was a nice summer's evening my father would get a buffet and the buffet would sit on the top step and he'd… say hello to people as they passed but there was no garden furniture… sometimes people on the other side of the road… would… say 'Do you mind if I come and sit in the garden?'… sit on people's steps, come across. Because… it was cold on the other side. (Childs 2019a)

Children however, did play in the gardens, and also in the street when the weather permitted.

> We used to play in the garden, and…because I'm an only one, my mother eased her conscience by letting everybody come and play… But in winter time if it was dark we'd… gather, under the lamp post. (Childs 2019a)

> [W]e did just play in the street… Skipping and… hopscotch… on the pavements…" (Parker 2019)

> We'd sit on the wall… and… have a good natter. Or we'd… go exploring… And climb on the factory roof. Yes just go exploring the neighbourhood… we were just given free rein. (Norris 2019)

These words chime with the findings of Betts (2014, 121-122) who reports that children in working-class neighbourhoods played in outdoor spaces on the periphery of their home, and that as they got older, they began to think of their whole neighbourhood, including industrial premises, as an extension of their home. The outdoor spaces that children occupied in Harehills were overlooked to a greater degree than in through terraced houses because every room of almost every house faced the garden and street. In reality however, smaller children might be supervised by their older siblings rather than their mothers, and their 'playground' therefore spread further than their street and even the neighbourhood.

The street however, remained an important communal space into adulthood. Bonfire night was a highlight in the year, and each street would have a bonfire and celebrations, which doubled as an opportunity for disposing of rubbish.

> [A]bout half a dozen blokes carried t'piano out in the street… The whole street used to be out yes. Chestnuts on the fire and all that sort of stuff. (Bunting 2019a)

> There were chairs and buffets and all sorts and then at the end of the evening they'd say 'Oh you can throw settee on the bonfire, we don't want it'… (Roberts 2019)

In summary, the street was an important space for residents, being wholly within the public domain, yet facilitating a sense of 'ownership' centred on community relations. Gardens supported this role, but their primary function as a private space was for utilitarian purposes rather than leisure or socialising. Residents did enjoy spending time outdoors for leisure, but this tended to be further afield (see Appendix F *Leisure away from the home*).

Summary

The neighbourhood was economically successful and hosted a thriving community. Most residents were happy to be living in their 'superior' back-to-back houses and have retained a lifelong affection for the neighbourhood, but the stigma of earlier back-to-back housing and their association with ill health persisted to some degree. Furthermore, as some residents were exposed to other neighbourhoods and their communities from the interwar period onwards, they became aware of how humble their homes might have appeared to outsiders (Appendix F Figures 315-316 indicate the best and worst aspects of the houses as recalled by former residents).

Residents were certainly conscious of the social expectations and customs of the period, and in general, their lives, both in terms of their daily routines and their familial relationships, mirrored those of their counterparts in other types of working-class housing. The special form of back-to-backs however, led to possibly more complex use of the space and the careful negotiation of conflicting activities, as residents sought to achieve the developing ideals brought by the separation of utilitarian functions from living space, and by the separation of everyday living from 'best,' that are most commonly associated with a parlour.

The residents' success in achieving these ideals is indicative of their creativity and open-mindedness in reconciling conflicting needs within a static built form. Furthermore, it demonstrates the ways in which the space was re-purposed on a long-term basis (such as using a spare attic for play or hobbies), and also used flexibly on a very short term basis (such as when the living-kitchen was used for cooking, dining, laundry, family-time and entertaining at different, and no doubt overlapping periods within the same day). Based on the slow transition to installing improved services and appliances, the separation of activities such as cooking or laundry across rooms or even floors, appears to have been either an accepted inconvenience, or a problem whose solution was beyond the residents' financial means.

In conclusion, the house form itself evidently did not exclude the possibility of achieving social norms and standards of behaviour. Furthermore, while the lives of residents did differ from those living in other types of housing, this was only in quite nuanced ways, and the determination to keep building the back-to-backs was perhaps mirrored in residents' determination to integrate with wider society despite the differences in their housing preferences. The perceived compromises around the use of space, and the implications this had for family and community relations, did not prevent residents from making life 'work' in the houses and neighbourhood. Rather, the apparent lack of privacy and enforced multifunctionality arguably brought people together and contributed to the unique intangible associations that are embedded in the physicality of the place.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented detailed evidence that provides a rich picture about the lives of the back-to-back residents in the 1888-1920 period, drawing on literature, archival records, questionnaire data and oral history narratives. Having explored the context of their lives, their use of space, and their routines, relationships and feelings, it is clear that the diverse community lived reasonably comfortable lives and that their much-criticised house type, while necessitating the adoption of alternative ways of using space, was able to accommodate both functional needs and societal aspirations.

The value of this knowledge is two-fold. Firstly, this new evidence is relevant to our understanding of back-to-backs throughout Leeds and is the first time that such detailed insight has been gained about their early history. Much of the qualitative data has been gathered ‘just in time’ as the earliest residents have already passed, and owing to the advanced age of those who knew them, there remains only a small window of opportunity to collect such primary evidence. It is therefore an important historical resource.

Secondly, the knowledge we have gained, has relevance to the current and future residents of the houses, and to the future of the houses and neighbourhood, all of which is linked to heritage values and significance. Chapter 2 presents an analysis of approaches to heritage, and identifies the emergence of three key themes:

- heritage is created through participation in meaningful events, alongside individual or collective memory (or inheritance of them) which is rooted into the physicality of the site (Sather-Wagstaff 2015, 191; Smith and Waterton 2009a, 47-48; Smith 2006, 83).
- heritage, identity and sense of place are inextricably linked (West 2010, 301; Smith and Waterton 2009b, 293; Hayden 1997, 43).
- heritage is socially constructed and co-produced in the present (Harrison 2013, 107; Watson 2010, 7; Smith 2006, 37; Samuel 1994 cited in Smith 2006, 62).

It is recognised that heritage values are tied to a physical place, and where communities are engaged with their heritage, their ability to understand the place and its special qualities is enhanced. This chapter has uncovered the identity of the early back-to-back residents in Harehills and a detailed understanding of their social history and sense of place. Moving forward to gain insights into the current communities in the following chapters, there will be the opportunity to discover connections between past and present that might have meaning for current residents and deepen their understandings of heritage, identity and sense of place. These in turn, will inform the future.

Chapter 6 Life in the houses, 2017-2021

Introduction

The chapter begins with a review of the literature relating to working-class households in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Discussion then turns to the occupants of the back-to-back houses in Harehills, and uses literature, and secondary data, to explore the key demographic characteristics of the current communities and how these are contextualised within Leeds and England. Subsequent analysis uses primary data to consider use of the houses and neighbourhood, and housing satisfaction, which is interpreted from the meanings and feelings that residents associate with their individual homes and the neighbourhood. This evidence of both tangible and intangible influences offers a unique insight into residents' use of space, routines, relationships and feelings, and their sense of place in Harehills.

Contemporary studies – key themes and debates

The contemporary studies of households reviewed here, focus on the neighbourhood, the material home and the meaning of home. They cover a wide range of household types and demonstrate an interest in ethnicity, gender, class, household structure and temporal change.

The neighbourhood

Historical research on ethnic groups in Leeds neighbourhoods incorporates commentary on the minority Irish or Jewish immigrants, but contemporary texts focus on South Asian and Eastern European immigrants. The White British population has received little attention.

In the early literature, scholars questioned whether South Asian immigrants were constrained to low quality housing or chose to live in poorer quality accommodation (Dhaya 1974; Rex and Moore 1967), and highlighted the difficulties experienced by immigrants as they adjusted to a new life (Anwar 1979; Ballard 1979; Khan 1979). They found a preference for living in extended family households which does not suit the comparatively small size of British houses, so some families were choosing to live in separate houses located close by instead (Ballard 1979, 112). This preference remains today, and the phenomenon of living back-to-back with relatives has been observed in Harehills. Scholars have acknowledged recently that the constraint or choice debate is still extant, with prejudiced access to local authority housing on the one hand, and a preference to live in neighbourhoods with others sharing the same culture and beliefs on the other (Hackett 2015, 103-104; Flint 2010). Despite the recent date of these studies, there is only a brief allusion to second- and subsequent-generation families and whether or how these might differ from first-generation immigrants (Hackett 2015, 99; Flint 2010, 266).

Large numbers of immigrants have arrived from Eastern European countries since 2004 (Sumption and Walsh 2022, 10), and there is a body of recent research examining their experiences of particular aspects of establishing a life in Leeds (Janta et al. 2015; Jones 2015; Sayyid, Law and Sian 2013; Simpson et al 2011; Hufton et al. 2008). However it appears that there are no studies about neighbourhood selection or the use and meaning of home for this diverse group of immigrants. Additional studies would certainly be beneficial because there are high concentrations of Eastern European immigrants in Harehills who may have cultural associations and practices that give rise to different ways of using neighbourhoods and back-to-back houses.

The material home

An important concept explored by McKie, Bowlby and Gregory (1999, 5) and Rapoport (2005; 1990), is how the physical form of houses influences how space is used for activities within it, and also how these activities influence the spaces produced. It is from this basic premise, that the literature reviewed here emerges.

The intensity of a home's use is influenced by occupant characteristics, for example, women from certain cultures, women with small children, lone parents, and older couples tend to choose a home-centred lifestyle, while younger adults without children prefer more separation between the work, home and leisure aspects of their lives (Robinson et al. 2016, 21-22; Devine 1989, 91; Hardey 1989, 139; Mason 1989, 110; McDowell 1983, 143). Gender inequalities and inequalities between adults and children also influence the use of the home, so negotiation of space and time is seen as essential to accommodating the physical and emotional needs of different household members (Munro and Madigan 1999; 1993, 41; Madigan, Munro and Smith 1990, 640). Management of this is adapted to economic or other opportunities and limitations (Munro and Madigan 1993, 41-42; Hardey 1989, 135). The kitchen is of particular interest here, as the introduction of labour-saving appliances has changed the nature of the kitchen to a social hub that is integrated with other spaces (Craik 1989, 57). While a single living space can be an advantage, it also introduces limitations because of the many competing functions it is required to accommodate (Munro and Madigan (1993, 42-43).

Building on these themes, scholars subsequently consider the physicality of, and emotional responses to, furnishings and technology (Monk, Blythe and Hyesook 2010; Nansen et al. 2010; Silva 2010; Baillie and Benyon 2008; Hamill 2000; Shove 1999; Hunt 1989). Income influences the choice of furniture; for 'better off' households, decisions are made based on personal taste, but 'worse off' households tend to aspire to an ideal vision of home and make more conventional choices based on, for example, matching furniture (Shove 1999). These items are often cheap substitutes of the desired products, and have a relatively short life (Hunt 1999, 76-77), which is reminiscent of the conclusions drawn for similar studies of Victorian and Edwardian households. By contrast, this is not necessarily true for household technology. Hamill (2000, 55) argues that the rich tend to adopt new technologies first because they are more able to afford it, but as popularity increases, prices fall, and the items are then more affordable to poorer households. Silva (2010, 37; 185) however, claims that the class differences associated with technology ownership and quality in the past, have now diminished, with the exception of home computing, internet access and dishwashers.

According to Baillie and Benyon (2008, 248-249) technology is placed in very deliberate, thought-out locations; televisions are usually present in private spaces, whereas music systems tend to be located in public spaces. Domestic technology has less locational flexibility since most appliances are kept in the kitchen, and is instead considered in terms of how it influences domestic life and vice versa (Silva 2010 87-77; Craik 1989). With the increased numbers of working women, and particularly, working mothers, Silva (2010, 58-59; 66) observes a decline in the number of households where there is an adult engaged solely in housework, cooking and childcare, and increased numbers of men taking on domestic work and childcare. Where houses are also used for work, Nansen et al. (2010, 141-149) establish that diverse strategies are put in place to deal with conflicts in time, space and technology, and that the domestic and work spheres of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are now becoming merged. The study has heightened significance for this research because of the Government-imposed ‘lockdowns’ which mandated that everyone who *could* work at home, *should* work at home during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Meaning

Although ‘the meaning of home’ pervades the literature, a number of studies prioritise this in the context of the physical form. For Rapoport (1995, 29, 34-35), home is the house plus something else, and there is an abundance of literature elaborating what that something else is (Duyvendak 2011, 38; Pennartz 1999, 106; Dolan 1995; Lawrence 1995, 58; Pallasmaa 1995, 137; Després 1991, 97-99; Watson 1986, 4; Rakoff 1977, 102; Hayward 1976; Sennett and Cobb, 1972 cited in Rakoff 1977, 102). The high degree of consensus gives a list as follows:

- Relationships with others, in the home, and the wider community
- Relationships with childhood and familial origins
- Relationship with the physical structure and home interior
- Permanence, continuity and familiarity
- Personalised space
- Refuge, privacy and security from the outside world
- Image and identity
- Indicator of status
- Place of activity
- Control
- Ownership

Many of the elements operate on more than one level, being relevant to the self (personal level); community (societal level); and the physical environment (house and neighbourhood), creating a complex, interwoven relationship that collectively describes a method for investigating meaning.

As with the literature discussed for the historical period and other aspects of the contemporary period, there is a gendered perspective on the meaning of housing. In what appears to mirror the findings about Victorian and Edwardian working-class women, spending time at home is a positive experience for women and they enjoy having control in the domestic sphere (Darke 1996,70; Saunders 1989, 179-180). This can however, be limited by a self-imposed tension related to negotiating public / private dichotomies, and the conflicting requirements of furniture, decoration, technological consumption and presentation of the home (Darke 1996, 61; Madigan and Munro 1996, 49). Meaning is found to be associated with life events that take place in the home, and the safety that home provides from the public sphere (Madigan, Munro and Smith 1990; Darke 1986, 61).

By the twenty-first century, there is greater acknowledgement of the many household structures found in the UK so that the recognition of home as being more than a house, and holding a range of meanings, is discussed in relation to men and women, single people, couples, families, older people and those from ethnic minority groups (Clapham 2005; Chapman 2003). Furthermore, recognition of the house as a home *and* as part of a neighbourhood gains greater importance. The significance of a person's relationship with the local community becomes apparent, especially given that people feel most 'at home' when there is homogeneity of people and places (Duyvendak 2011, 111; Saunders 1989 185-186). This is of particular interest to this research because of the diverse nature of the Harehills neighbourhood.

<u>The current occupants in Harehills</u>

This section considers the recent demographic data and research for Harehills in the context of city-wide and national contexts. Two issues are particularly dominant; the diversity of the communities and deprivation.

Harehills has been described as a *superdiverse* neighbourhood in the recent literature (Callaghan 2015; Simpson 2015, 3; 2011, 3; Simpson et al. 2011, 21). Coined by Vertovec (2006) the term describes a place that is diverse on multiple levels including nationality / ethnicity (and the associated differences in language, culture and religion), along with differing age and gender profiles, immigration status and entitlements to work, housing and neighbourhood choices, and integration with and response of the communities they join.

The largest ethnic groups in Harehills today are Pakistani, White British, European and Black (ONS 2011 cited in Leeds Observatory 2018a; 2018b; 2018c). The diversity and characteristics of communities in Harehills have consequently been of interest to researchers, and there is a detailed and reliable body of literature on religion, language, education and housing, supplemented by research on employment that encompasses Leeds as a whole (Janta et al. 2015; Jones 2015; Sayyid, Law and Sian 2013; Simpson et al 2011; Hufton et al. 2008). The interest generated by this diversity is heightened by Harehills' position as one of the most deprived neighbourhoods in England (discussed later); the statistics indicate multiple deprivation with Harehills sitting firmly at the bottom of most rankings.

The demographic research presented here draws primarily on Government data, reports and academic research, but also the experience of residents (Appendix B *Government and local authority data* and Appendix E *Estimates and Assumptions* provide information on Government datasets and the geographical boundaries for the statistical reporting areas and *Appendix B* folder contains selected datasets). This novel approach provides greater insight into what the data means for the residents it describes.

Origin and immigration

The White British community

The White British community represents a wide demographic in Harehills, although the literature is surprisingly lacking, and official data does not give sufficient detail to interpret demographic characteristics such as educational attainment, employment sector, household income or housing tenure for this group of the population alone. Informal conversations and interviews with current residents suggest that their origins are mixed, ranging from those who have grown up locally to those who have migrated to Leeds from other areas of the UK for university or work in adulthood.

Immigrant communities

From the 1950s, Harehills began to attract a new wave of immigrants, first with the arrival of West Indian, Eastern European and Greek Cypriot nationals, and then a decade later with immigrants from South Asia (Simpson et al. 2011, 12; Hufton et al. 2008, 10-11). Although there has been a steady trickle of immigrants from the South Asian countries, Harehills has recently found renewed popularity with Eastern European immigrants who have arrived in three main waves since 2004 (Janta et al. 2015, 40; ONS 2018, 6), and a smaller number of economic immigrants and asylum seekers from other countries around the world (Hufton et al. 2008, 11; 19-20). Harehills now has one of the highest concentrations of arrivals to the city (based on registration for a National Insurance number which enables employment) (DWP 2021). Between 2002 and 2020, approximately 21% of these immigrants have been Romanian, 13% Polish and 10% Pakistani, although 98% of the Romanians have arrived since 2014 (DWP 2021) (Figure 84). Some immigrants, such as those seeking asylum, are not entitled to work (UK Visas and Immigration 2014).

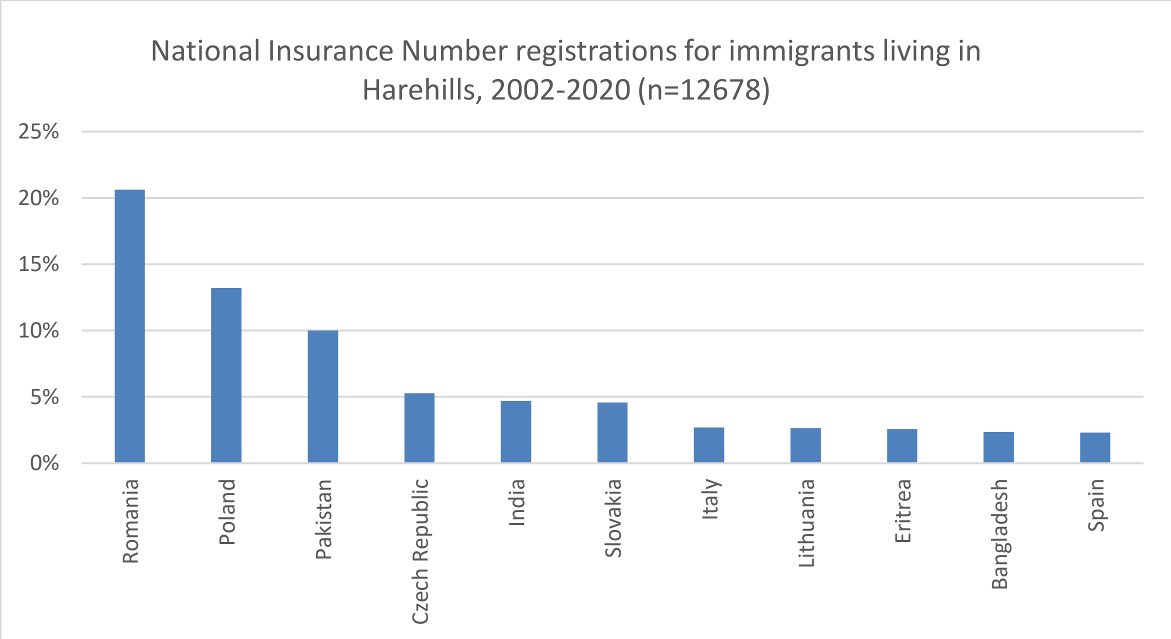


Figure 84 From 2002 to 2020, immigrants from sixty-two countries who were resident in Harehills (MSOA Leeds 048 and Leeds 053) registered their intention to work (DWP 2021).

At the time of the 2011 census, 61% of the Harehills population was from a minority ethnic background, making it one of the most ethnically diverse neighbourhoods in Leeds and England (LCC 2019a, 12; ONS 2013). While more recent figures are not available, it is acknowledged that this figure is now significantly higher (LCC 2019a, 12-13).

Official data, reports, academic research and the experience of residents are combined in the next section to depict how the neighbourhood’s long history of immigration has contributed to the story of Harehills.

Deprivation indicators

Households

Leeds City Council (2019a,13) report that 37% of all occupied homes in Harehills have just one resident, and analysis of census data suggests that the houses are primarily occupied by small households (ONS 2011 cited in Wired software Ltd 2015) (Figure 85).

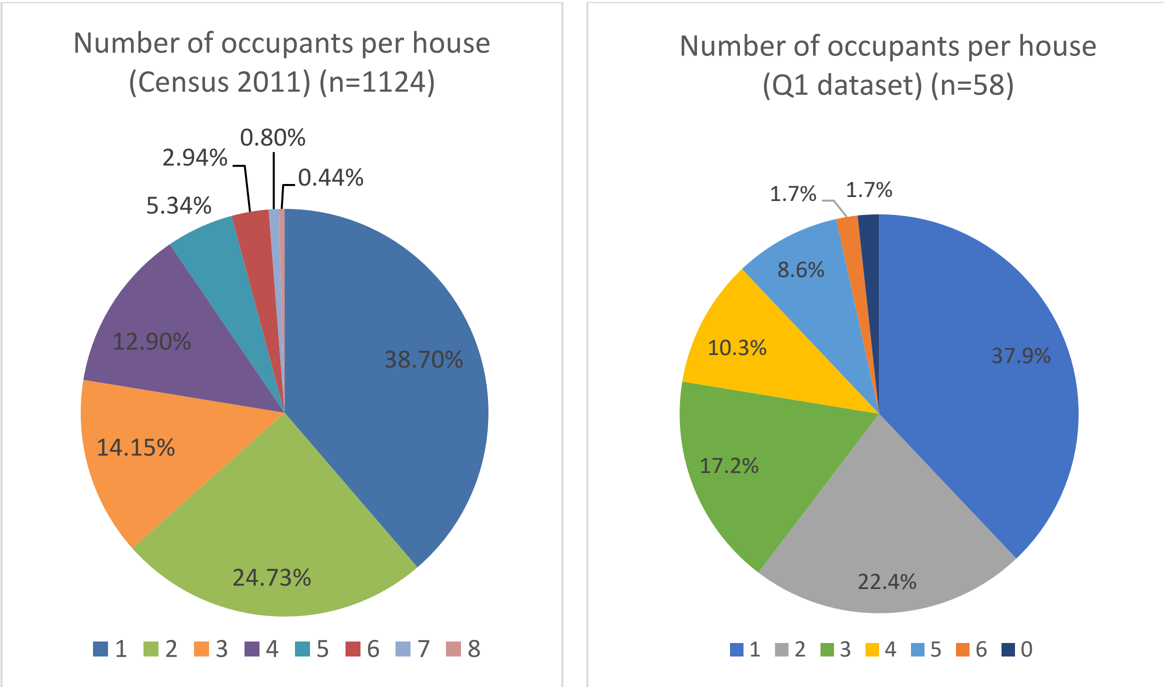


Figure 85 The census data (ONS 2011 cited in Wired Software Ltd 2015) represents all houses in selected pre-defined postcode areas and surrounding streets, and therefore includes a small number of larger through terrace houses, while the Q1 dataset comprises back-to-back residents only. The similarity between the two indicates that the Q1 dataset is representative, with 59% of houses being occupied by one or two people, and a further 29% having three or four residents.

The average occupancy however, is actually a little higher than the city-wide figure where houses have on average, more rooms, more bedrooms, and a lower rate of overcrowding (ONS 2011 cited in Leeds Observatory 2020a, 2020b and 2020c). The significance of this becomes more evident as the remaining demographic insights reveal contributors to deprivation.

While the proportion of residents aged 16 to 64 in Harehills mirrored the rest of Leeds in 2011, there were considerably more children, and fewer over 65s (ONS 2011 cited in Leeds Observatory 2018a, 2018b and 2018c). This might be explained by the unsuitability of back-to-back houses for older people. In socio-economic terms however, factors might include: Harehills' position in the housing market, which is more affordable for younger residents than elsewhere in the city (see later); the possibility that social mobility occurs after the midpoint of the working period (i.e. beyond age 45) at which point some residents will move, making way for the next generation of young adults; that economic migrants tend to be young adults; and that migrants have more children than the UK born population (Robards and Berrington 2016, 1042-1045; Dormon 2014, 9; 13; Owen 1993a, 3-7) (Appendix F *Households* provides further details).

Education

The whole neighbourhood is in the bottom rank in the English Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) for education, skills and training, compared to an average of 20% for Leeds (LCC 2019a, 15). The census figures show that Harehills residents have fewer high-level qualifications and are more likely to have few GCSEs or no qualifications compared to residents nationally (ONS 2011 cited in Wired Software Ltd 2015). It is clear however that living in Harehills and having a university education are not mutually exclusive, and the data suggests the differences might in part be accounted for by difficulties in equating non-UK qualifications to the British structure (Appendix F Figure 319).

Recent local primary- and secondary-school data however, provides an insight into the relationship between academic performance, deprivation and immigration. It suggests that the relationship known to exist between poor educational attainment and *disadvantage* (see *Glossary*) is indeed evident in Harehills (DfE 2020a; 2020b; 2020c). For disadvantaged children, their lower educational attainment may mean that like their parents, they will have poorer job prospects, lower income and a reduced capacity to afford a decent home in adulthood than their peer group (see later). While many of the disadvantaged children in Harehills also have English as an additional language (84% at the primary school and 73% at the secondary school) the data indicates that they have slightly higher levels of attainment than disadvantaged native English speakers (DfE 2020a; 2020b) (Appendix F *Education* provides discussion and a comparative performance of children in Harehills and Leeds). Immigrant children may therefore have a greater potential for social mobility. Despite this apparent advantage for children however, the literature and figures explored next, suggest that immigrants arriving as adults experience cultural and language barriers to employment, and that the low economic activity and deprivation in Harehills is linked to its ethnic diversity.

Employment

At the time of the 2011 Census, only 61.5% of the population aged 16 to 74 in Harehills was economically active, and 19.4% had never worked (ONS 2011 cited in Leeds Observatory 2021a and 2021b). Recent figures show that in Leeds, minority ethnic residents are more than twice as likely to be unemployed compared to White British residents (Jimmison 2019). Furthermore, among those in work, fewer are in skilled occupations and more are in lower skilled and unskilled occupations than in Leeds as a whole (ONS 2011 cited in Leeds Observatory 2020d, 2020e and 2020f) (Figure 86).

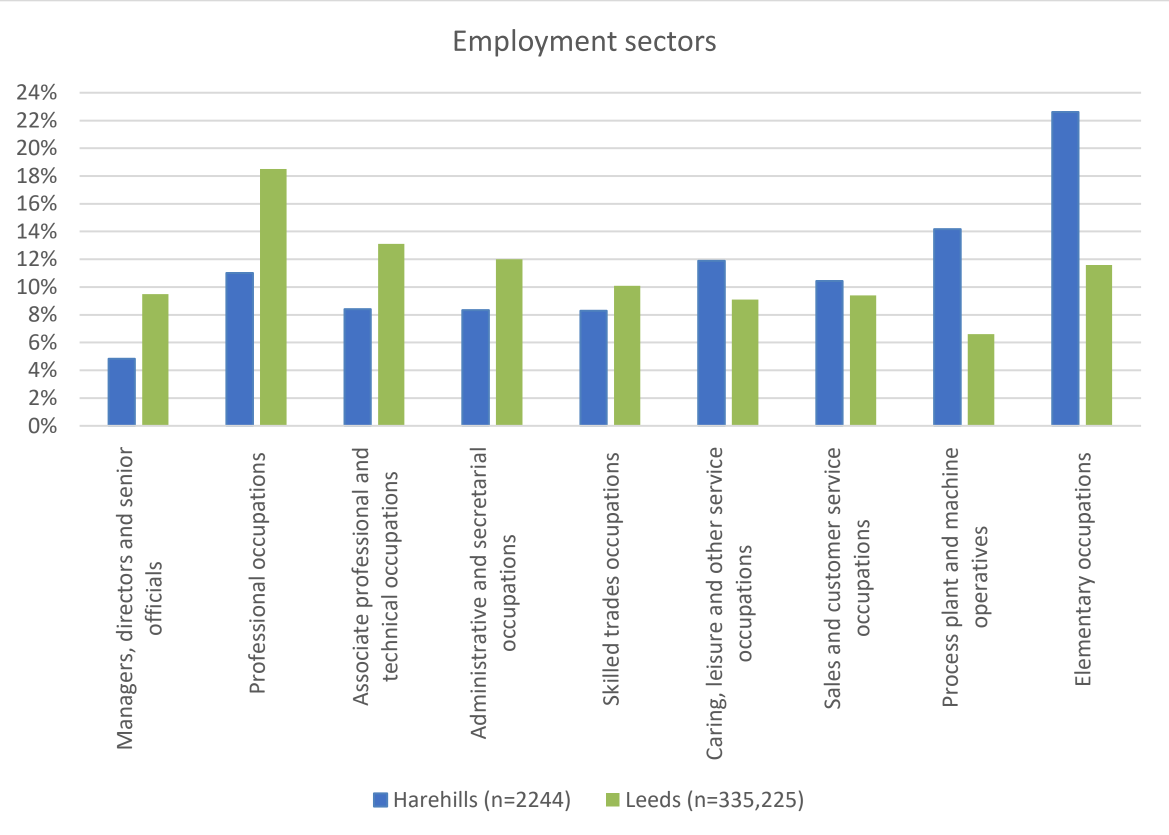


Figure 86 Employment sectors of residents in 2011 demonstrate the skew towards lower skilled work in Harehills compared to the city-wide figures (Source: ONS 2011 cited in Leeds Observatory 2020d, 2020e and 2020f)

There is no data available to determine the employment sectors of Harehills residents based on ethnicity. Informal conversations with a small number of White British research participants provides insight into the types of jobs they do, or did prior to retirement, however. The diverse range includes nursing, administration and finance, school teaching and support, higher educational pastoral support, building trades, and creative professions in the private and third sectors. This is likely to be demographically skewed to reflect the self-selecting nature of residents who are interested in this research but it is useful to support the data on residents with higher qualifications, and contrast with the employment of ethnic minority groups as reported in the literature, and discussed next.

Historic data provides some insight into employment opportunities for Pakistani immigrants with limited English language skills. Anwar (1979, 123) found for example, that options for first-generation Pakistani immigrants of the 1960s included long night-shifts in the manufacturing industries or self-employment. For those with limited opportunity to meet their White British neighbours, there were inevitable difficulties in learning the English language, which perpetuated the difficulties associated with gaining employment (Anwar 1979, 97; 121-124). Ballard (1979, 110) noted that the second generation of Asians adopted the social and cultural values of their immigrant parents, so that by the time of the 1991 Census, there were still lower rates of economic activity and the associated differences in educational levels and housing compared to the White British population (Owen 1993a, 2, 8-12; 1993b, 12).

For Eastern European immigrants, and especially those from Romania and Poland, the overall pattern of immigration and experience of settling in Leeds, seems to mirror that of the first-generation Pakistani immigrants when they first came to England. Many have been attracted by the labour market, the English language and the cosmopolitan society, although for some Roma families (see *Glossary*) there has been an element of seeking safety from race-related persecution (Waite, Dwyer and Cook 2008, 8-9). Three categories of immigrant have been observed by Waite, Dwyer and Cook (2008, 11-12); the first are short-term immigrants, usually young, single men and sometimes in friendship groups, who come for work then return to their native country; the second, are men who come to find work and establish a home, before their partner and family join them; and the third are immigrants over the age of fifty who come to earn more money prior to retirement.

Across all immigrants, those with lower levels of proficiency in English have been limited to employment in lower skilled jobs (Janta et al. 2015, 44; 46; Waite, Dwyer and Cook 2008, 16; 18). Some Polish workers in Leeds are employed in high-skilled sectors, although the majority work in unskilled or semi-skilled sectors such as retail and other service industries, warehousing, transport / storage and manufacturing / processing (Janta et al. 2015, 49; Waite, Dwyer and Cook 2008, 13). Roma tend to have few opportunities however, and this is partly explained by their lower educational levels and language skills (Waite, Dwyer and

Cook 2008, 13; 15; 18). Consequently, scrap-metal collecting and other self-employed sectors are popular occupations (Robinson et al. 2016, 25).

> [T]he Romanians… earned their living basically as rag and bone people… with their scrap metal business. (Wragg 2021)

In Harehills, the number of long-established shops in the area that are owned by Pakistanis, Eastern Europeans and other immigrants from places including Iran, Ethiopia and Vietnam are a clear indication of the attraction of self-employment, as well as evidence of entrepreneurial spirit, and a commitment to the neighbourhood and community.

> [T]he lads at the top of the street… call me Auntie Mary... I was very good mates with their dad Abdul. And they've really made that shop lovely since he died. (Armitage 2020)

Household income and tenure

Given the findings on population age, education and employment, it is not surprising that all of the LSOAs incorporating parts of Harehills are among the most deprived 10% in the IMD 2015 (LCC 2019a, 53) (see *Glossary* and Appendix E *Estimates and assumptions* for boundary information). Consequently, 29% of households were in fuel poverty, and 25% of school children were eligible for free school meals in 2015 (LCC 2019a, 14). However, the distribution of household income is more complex than a simple skew towards the lower brackets. While there are significantly more households in those brackets, there is less distinction between the mid-range incomes, and significantly more households have an income in the highest bracket (Figure 87). One explanation might be the inclusion of larger properties in the dataset where there may be more full-time workers per household. Another might be the large number of seemingly buoyant and profitable retail micro-businesses in the neighbourhood, and the possibility that these are owned by residents (ONS IDBR 2020 cited in Leeds Observatory 2021a and 2021b).

The prevalence of low household incomes, in part explained by the high number of immigrants and the younger workforce (Janta et al. 2015, 60; Waite, Dwyer and Cook 2008, 32), has manifested in a steady rise in the number of rental properties in the area (LCC 2019a, 17; Jones 2015, 4; 16; 19). Official data suggests that approximately 58% of the houses are privately rented in Harehills, while 58% are owner occupied in Leeds as a whole, showing a near direct reversal of the overall trend (Wildman 2019, 16; Arc[4] Limited 2017, 40) (Appendix F Figure 322 provides a breakdown of tenure types).

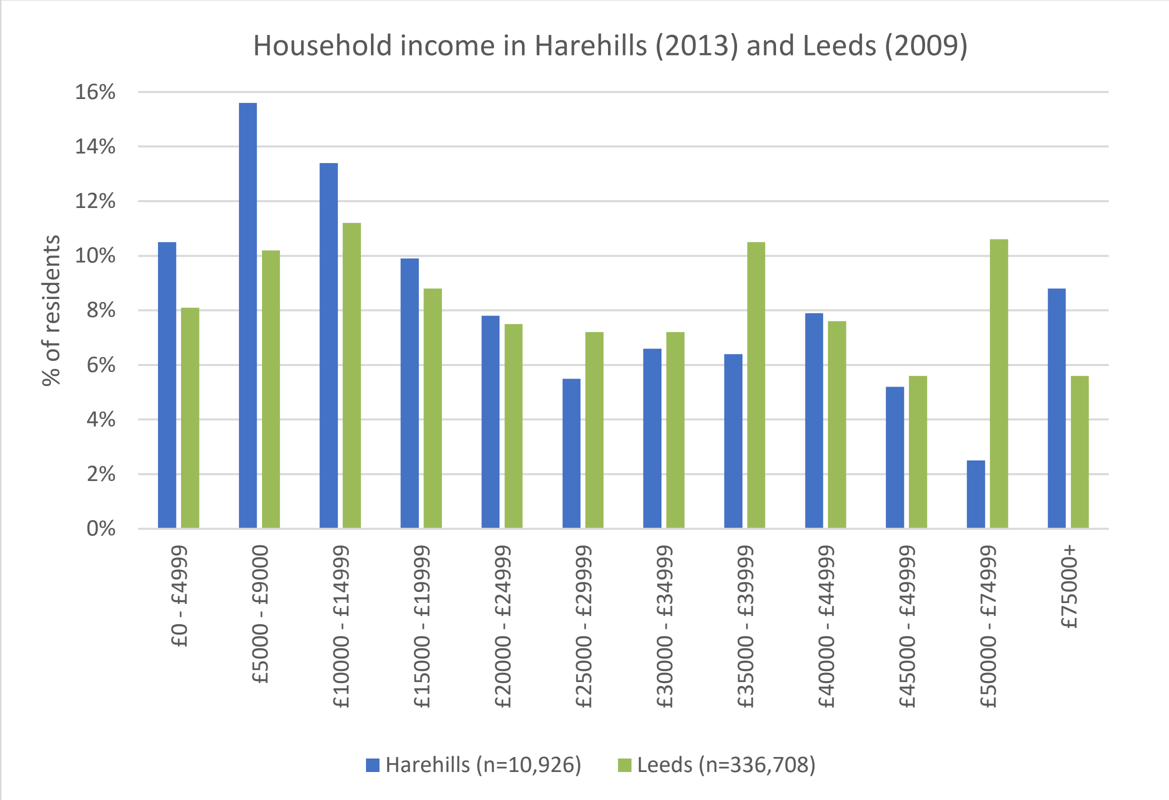


Figure 87 More households in Harehills have a lower household income than in the city overall (Source: Jones 2015, 19; LCC 2011, 3).

Although rental costs and sales prices are low, even in Harehills they are considered to be above 'entry level' for many of the residents. Arc[4] Limited (2017, 59-60) found that an income of just under £23,000 per year is required to afford lower quartile market rent in the Inner Area (which includes Harehills where some of the lowest rents in the city are found). It is significant therefore that an income £5000 greater than the minimum wage is required. Conversely perhaps, the shortfall for a minimum wage earner is less than £2000 per year for house purchase at the lower quartile sale value, assuming a 10% deposit (Arc[4] Limited 2017, 60). While this might seem to indicate that purchase would be more affordable, the deposit is a barrier for many, and one of the factors keeping residents in the rental sector. However, the data suggests that a significant number of people have an income beyond the minimum required to live in the area, and evidence from residents (see Chapter 7), reveals factors informing their decisions to remain in Harehills.

The literature references a high turnover of residents in Harehills although there is no data available to demonstrate the extent of this in numerical terms (LCC 2019a). Questionnaire data for this research indicates a mixed but stable population, with residency ranging from a few months to over sixty years. Evidence from the early residents, reported in Chapter 5, and from the literature on turnover in deprived neighbourhoods, suggests an expected turnover of between 16% and 23% (Bailey and Livingston 2007). However, data from Experian Mosaic (2018 cited in Leeds Observatory 2018a and 2018b) indicates that 69.1% of residents in Harehills have a *Transient Renters* profile whereby they are likely to have been resident for less than three years (The Audience Agency n.d.). In the Q1 dataset, 13.7% of participants had moved into their home in the previous year and 31.4% had moved in the previous three years (see Appendix F *Duration of residence),* suggesting a bias towards longer-term residents. These longer-term residents provide a degree of balance, and are mainly accounted for in the 21.8% of households with an *Urban Cohesion* profile ("settled urban communities with a strong sense of identity") (Experian Mosaic 2018 cited in Leeds Observatory 2018a and 2018b). Overall however, the profile distribution contrasts sharply with the city-wide figures (Figure 88) (Appendix F *Socio-demographic profiles* provides details of the profiles).

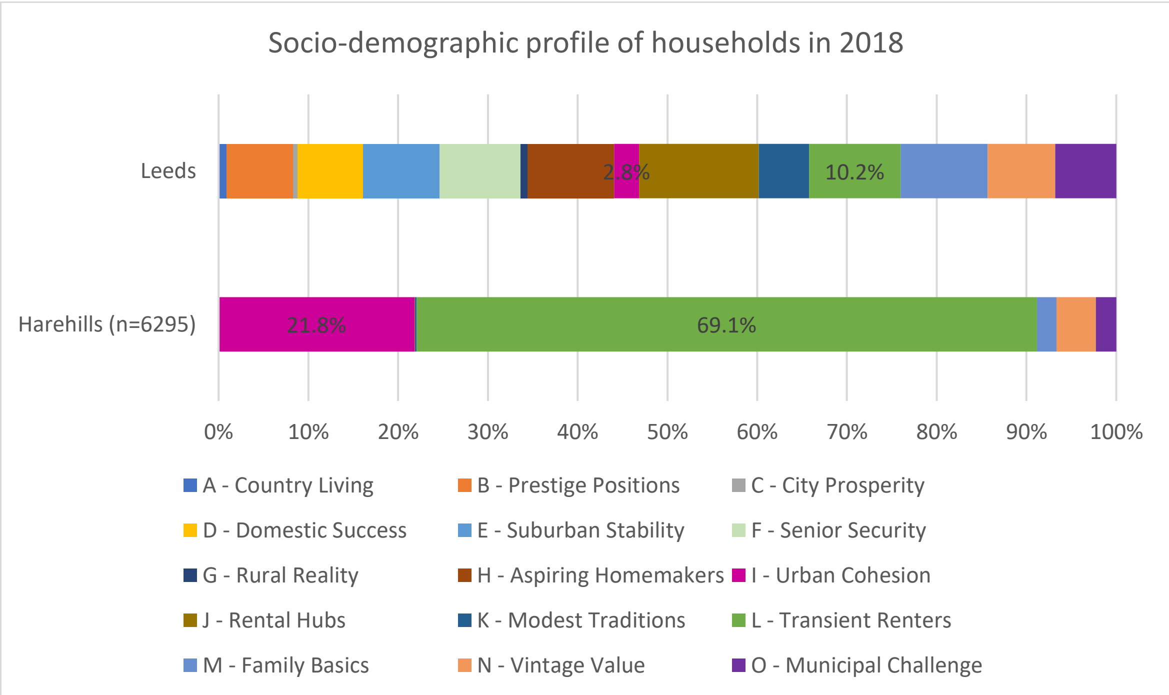


Figure 88 Over 90% of households can be described by just two contrasting profile types suggesting that there is little socio-demographic variety in the neighbourhood. Note that the Harehills data is the average of three LSOAs, and that most of the *Urban Cohesion* households are resident in just one of these LSOAs (Source: Experian Mosaic 2018 cited in Leeds Observatory 2018a, 2018b and 2018c).

The suggestion by Jones, Kettle and Unsworth (2004, 94-95) that Harehills is used as a temporary holding neighbourhood for new immigrants and others who are difficult to house is familiar to residents.

> A lot of properties are leased as bail houses and so… you get… an overconcentration of people who've… come out of prison, they've got struggles with alcohol addiction, drug addiction and obviously people have to go somewhere, but it is wrong that all those people are concentrated in one area. Because then you don't get a balance. (Harris 2020)

> [I]t's used as an area for people to adjust in basically. People who are asylum seekers, or refugees get put in [the [redacted]] by the council. (Wragg 2021)

The turnover is undoubtedly the result, in part, of the planned nature of some tenancies (organised by officials such as the Probation Service, Home Office or local authority). In addition, the crime rate in the area, at 40% higher than the city average (LCC 2019, 16), means that some tenants are 'moved on' because of their behaviour, while others move because crime is having too detrimental an impact on their lives.

> We've had a cannabis farm… that got raided. It used to be a brothel before that… So we reported that to the police and obviously got that shut down because I don't… want that sort of thing. (Tee 2020)

> [M]y neighbour behind me moved out…because… they had gone through about eighteen months… of hell… with antisocial tenants… everything from a murder to a drugs bust on a gang of drug dealers and fake ID-makers to massive antisocial family where the kids… got into a car… and drove it into the wall of the house next door to my neighbour… and it was at that point she decided she could no longer stay… (Harris 2020).

This perpetuates a downwardly spiralling situation whereby long-term residents are moving out of the area because of an increase in antisocial behaviour coupled with a decline in local authority services and support. Consequently new long-term residents are deterred from investing in the area, providing the opportunity for the vacated houses to be filled with residents with no other housing options and who may themselves cause further tension with residents. More long-term residents then abandon the neighbourhood, and the spiral continues.

Summary

While Chapter 5 demonstrated that the demographic of the early residents in Harehills was representative of the Leeds working-classes, the high level of immigration to the neighbourhood over several decades has, in terms of ethnicity, taken this diversity to a new level, and one that is matched in few neighbourhoods in Leeds and indeed England (ONS 2013). There is a correlation between immigration and the deprivation rankings for the neighbourhood but this is not causal (Simpson et al. 2011, 21). The limited employment options for those who are not fluent in English impacts other aspects of life for both adults and children, however, across the neighbourhood, there is diversity in residents' employment sectors, and the data for education and income is also diverse, with the extreme of both scales being well represented. Tenure is the exception to the neighbourhood's diversity in some respects. While the 2011 Census data and the primary data demonstrate a variety of tenures and duration of residency, socio-demographic figures incorporating data on longevity of residence and attachment to the neighbourhood overwhelmingly demonstrate little variety, with over 90% of residents falling into just two of the fifteen defined categories (Leeds Observatory 2018a, 2018b and 2018c).

The demographic data is helpful to our understanding of the community in general terms, but it fails to deliver a balanced understanding of the sense of place, and how the superdiverse community experience their homes and the neighbourhood at the day-to-day level. This is addressed in the next section.

The lived experience

Sense of place

In Chapter 5, the sense of place and lived experience of the early residents were explored by interpreting multiple sources of evidence. The social and economic success of the neighbourhood was demonstrated at both the neighbourhood scale, and that of individual households. Although the house type presented some unique challenges to the achievement of social norms, customs and expectations, the residents' flexibility and creativity enabled them to adapt their lives to achieve them. In the twenty-first century, the demographic characteristics of the communities are significantly different, and the houses have been adapted and modernised in line with changing expectations for comfort, functionality, sanitation, environmental performance and fashion (as revealed in Chapter 4). The rest of this chapter explores the lives of current Harehills residents and their sense of place. As discussed previously, sense of place is concerned with how residents position their individual, community and national identities within the cultural and social characteristics of a place (Smith 2006, 75). For individuals, this is shaped by their engagement with the physical environment, and the intangible associations and meanings they hold (Marmion 2012, 178; 189). For communities, sense of place is collective (Marmion 2012, 178; 189). Understanding individual and collective sense of place not only advances knowledge of the residents and the neighbourhood, but acts as a foundation for exploring values and aspirations for the future in Chapter 7.

Questionnaire and interview datasets provide the key data for this part of the research, contextualised with literature where relevant. The participants represent a more limited demographic group than are actually resident, comprising primarily White British residents with proportionally fewer Asian residents and hardly any Eastern European residents (Figure 89). This limits the extent to which the findings represent the community, for example in terms of how the neighbourhood and home are experienced, and the degree to which they meet the cultural needs of all residents. However, it does not mean that the research is unable to capture information about those not participating directly, rather their stories and contribution to sense of place are told through the eyes of their friends and neighbours.

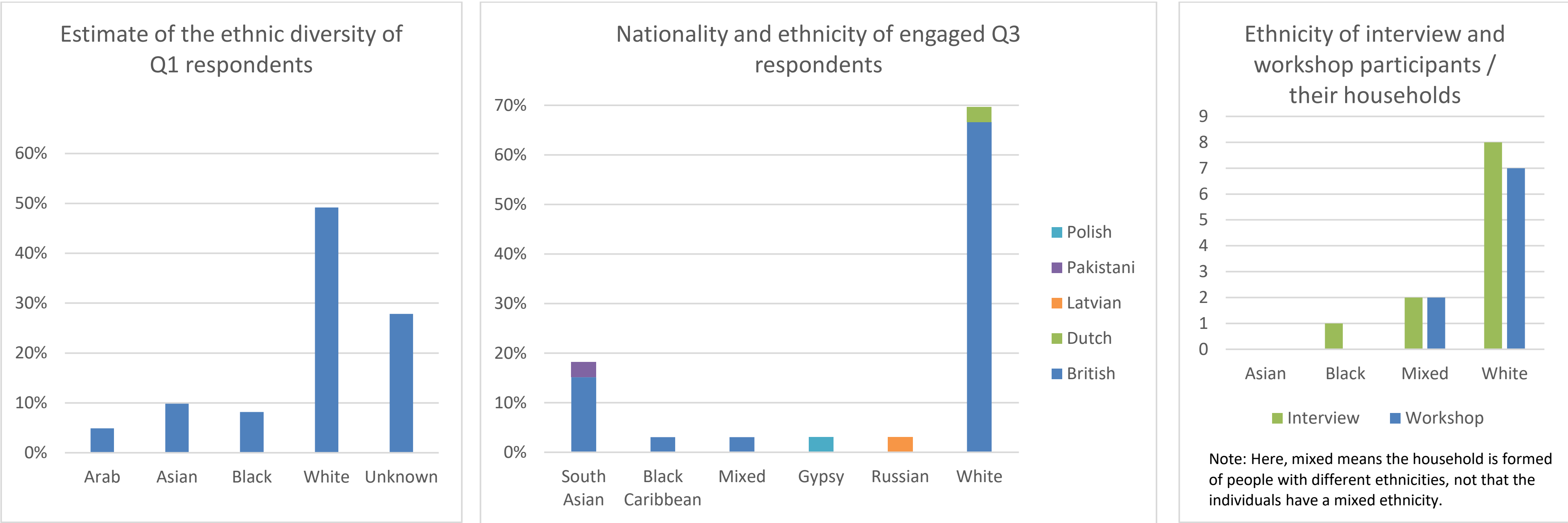


Figure 89 The ethnicity of participants does not match the diversity of residents living in Harehills, however most groups are represented in the research to some extent.

The neighbourhood

Architecture

It is clear from the questionnaires and interviews that residents are generally happy with the design, architectural character and construction quality of their homes, and have strong attachments.

> It is home, it's very important to me... It's got a nice feel about it… Otherwise I would have moved… because I can afford to move. … But it's suited me… It's not been perfect but it's not been bad enough to make me leave. I would miss it, I would find it a wrench to leave. (C031 2021a)

> I love it but I've known it for such a long time that I have got quite sentimental… I think I'd probably be sorry to leave... I don't know if I'd sell it. I'd probably keep it in the family and… rent it out… (Bunting 2020)

> We like the style of brick-built… But also we feel really sad that if someone else gets it, it won't be loved any more and the garden won't be loved… (C051 2021a)

A recurrent theme across several of the interviews, however, is the poor condition of some rental properties. Mirroring the findings of Jones, Kettle and Unsworth (2004, 94-95), residents believe this results from a combination of factors including the high level of transient renters in the neighbourhood as opposed to homeowners, and a combination of external factors such as negligent landlords and a lack of local authority investment.

> [I]t's hard because most of the people are good working people but they don't own their own house, it's rented, which is a shame really because I think if they owned it, they'd probably take more pride in it. (Bunting 2020)

> [Th]ere are some problem houses and some of it's to do with the high proportion of rents and changeover of tenants quite quickly… we were quite happy when Selective Licensing came in because you've never seen so much scaffolding go up, you've never seen so many dodgy-looking houses start to get a bit of a facelift… so that, I think will possibly make people maybe want to stay a bit longer… (Greaves 2020b)

> [L]andlords that buy here… class themselves as investors but they're not investing anything in the properties. It's purely for maximum profit and what they can get out of it and some of those properties are absolutely squalid. And also, the standard of works that they do do is horrible. I mean honestly, there's no appreciation given to the architecture of the buildings, to the heritage… (Harris 2020)

Of course, not all landlords are negligent, and one landlord who formerly lived in her rental house has worked hard to separate her emotional attachment. She makes a concerted effort to ensure it is high quality, in part, out of respect for her former neighbours.

> I just did it all up, did a really deep clean… I wanted somebody to think… *I've found this lovely, clean, nice home*, and hopefully keep it that way… I go past the street every now and again. And if I find that the garden is overgrown… I will report it to the letting agent… once you rent a place out… people can live as they choose, but… there's still a few neighbours in that street that I know… (C003 2021)

Some residents believe Leeds City Council have failed to invest both a duty of care and finance to support the neighbourhood. In relation to ad-hoc development, prior research (Harrison 2015a) showed that the planning department struggles to enforce planning policy and take action against unlawful development. Furthermore, there has been a historical failure to consider the heritage significance of the neighbourhood. While there is now greater awareness of this (see Chapter 7), residents still feel that the built environment and their values are not being supported through the planning system in the same way that occurs in other, more affluent neighbourhoods.

> [T]he old Co-op shop… had the really characterful big front shop window, the old sign writing over the top… it was fabulous. Then it got sold to be turned into flats, but whereas in another area like Headingley… they would have been made to do the conversion in such a way that… maintained the character of the building, in Harehills pfff, no, do what you want. Carve it up… chop off all the character… rip up all of the history, doesn't matter. (Harris 2020)

In more general terms, residents feel that there has been a long-term lack of investment, regeneration and action to support the maintenance of decent standards.

> Half the time it looks like a shantytown… As much as I do things to help and support, I feel like it's an uphill struggle to get this area up and going without serious investment and regeneration which I just don't think the council will do… there's been years of neglect… (C051 2021a)

> [Leeds City Council]… I know that you have the resources, I know that you have the legislation… I know that tenants have the right of redress and that's all there, and it always has been there. So why have you not been operating properly? (C003 2021)

The lack of investment has blighted the neighbourhood and impacted the opinions of outsiders negatively, which in turn, reduces its appeal and further perpetuates the decline.

> [H]e's got quite a few houses in this area he said and the only people that will move in is Romanians. He says you can't get families or nurses or students because they won't live in this area. (C021 2021)

> It's really, really frustrating because that negative opinion is like a self-fulfilling prophecy which puts off people buying to move in and live in Harehills. And if we had more people buying to live in Harehills that would turn that tide… (Harris 2020)

Streets and green spaces

The street environment can also be a challenge or disappointment for some residents, relating mainly to the physicality of the road network, parking, street furniture and the behaviour of residents (see below and *Community cohesion and tensions*).

> [T]he houses have evolved over time, but… the streets haven't got any wider… parking is an issue everywhere but… a lot of residents in Harehills don't have a car… It's people visiting the area, travelling through the area… It gets a bit frustrating... (Greaves 2020b)

In 2017, Leeds City Council embarked on a traffic management scheme to improve safety along Harehills Road, but it is unpopular on three counts: firstly the strategy does not reflect the desires of residents who wish to walk, cycle and drive around their neighbourhood; secondly, as a result of complaints about this, the scheme was never completed and therefore falls short of the expected safety standards; and thirdly, the aesthetic quality is poor as the hard landscaping that was installed was not part of a designed scheme. Residents consequently feel like they are being treated as second-rate citizens.

> [T]hey've cordoned off streets, made them no entry and they've put this… track down the middle of… Harehills Road, and I think it's to stop people doing U-turns… And to me it sends a message about how the area is viewed but… I'm equally mindful of… people coming down, not even looking, just pulling straight out…if I had one beef with the area that was it... (C003 2021)

> I remember getting an email… saying 'we're going to match up the paving to what's there already,' which meant we got some that was… different kinds of paving, some that was tarmacked and it just looked such a hodgepodge of different kind of styles to match with whatever was randomly there rather than anything that was an overall scheme… (Greaves 2021d)

This feeling of being second-rate is compounded by the local authority's approach to street furniture which appears to differ between architecturally similar neighbourhoods.

> [W]e get… a mishmash of streetlights, they're all modern, they're not in keeping with the area. Go to somewhere like Headingley or Chapel Allerton and you have beautifully made cast-iron… old-style lamps going up. We even get it down to the bins. (Harris 2020)

A recent successful campaign by a small group of residents however, resulted in a selection of original street signs being restored instead of replaced (Greaves 2020b; Harris 2020). While this was a cause for celebration, it was again suggested that other neighbourhoods would not have had to fight for this (Neil Holmes et al. 2020; Harris 2020).

Fly-tipping and littering are regular problems in Harehills (Figure 90). They stir up a range of emotions in residents, including anger, disgust and depression, because of the impact it has on the neighbourhood environment and the perception of Harehills as a place to live.

Figure 90 Typical examples of fly-tipping: twenty tonnes of waste in a bin yard in Lowther Street (top left); commercial waste on Harehills Road (top right); domestic waste on Darfield Crescent (bottom left) and Lascelles View (bottom right) (Pete C 2021; Clean Leeds 2020a; 2020b; Harris 2019c).

> [P]eople seem to think it's okay to come in the night and… the next thing there is a dirty old settee there or a mattress or… a broken fridge or something and that is just so regular. And I really hate that because it… Makes the street look and feel like a rubbish dump when it isn't… (F031 2021)

There are varying thoughts on the cause of the fly-tipping and littering. Some residents place the blame firmly on the perpetrators (C003 2021; C031 2021a), and it does appear that a significant minority of residents have little sense of emotional ownership of public space, and feel no responsibility for it, even when it is directly in front of or adjacent to their house. Others however, suggest the problem is in part, caused by external factors. This includes the failure of landlords to properly dispose of waste left by former tenants (C051 2021a; Harris 2018), and the failure of the local authority. For example, there appears to be no consistent way of educating new arrivals about the waste service, recycling bins were removed and residents had to opt-in to get one back, bulky waste collections are difficult to book, and the closure of the local waste recycling centre in 2013 removed the option for residents without cars to dispose of waste themselves (Beecham 2021; Elaine

2021; Wragg 2021; Greaves 2020c; Greaves and Cockill 2020; Upton and Daly 2012; LCC n.d.).

> Some of the neighbours just don't seem to care at all for the environment… the houses are fine… it's just the area that's been spoilt by some of the tenants... Fill their gardens with rubbish and the streets with rubbish. (C031 2021a)

> [She said] …'the fridge is broken, I don't know what to do.' Because… they never had a fridge before… And if you haven't got someone who… speaks English that you can go and knock on the door of, you just put it out in the street and wait till you get another one… (Wragg 2021)

While some parallels may be drawn between past and present in terms of putting waste into the street, there are some notable differences. Firstly, the community bonfires of the past were a collectively agreed event where the owners of the rubbish took responsibility for its disposal. Secondly, the modern-day rag-and-bone men, the scrap-metal collectors, will only take a limited type of waste so it falls to neighbours to notify the council of waste fly-tipped by its owners. There does at least appear to be recognition that it is no longer acceptable to burn rubbish in the street.

Given the poor quality of the street environment, it is not surprising that residents appreciate their relative proximity to high quality public outdoor space such as Beckett Street Cemetery, Gledhow Valley Woods and Roundhay Park. These more natural, woodland-type habitats are generally favoured over the recreational space offered by Banstead Park within the neighbourhood itself, however (C051 2021a; Armitage 2020; Greaves 2020b). Some expectations for green spaces in Harehills are arguably low – that they should be free of discarded needles (C003 2021) – but this is not enough to satisfy many residents, who are dissatisfied with the overall lack of greenery and the higher quality environmental and social amenity that creates, not just in parks, but in the streets and bin yards.

> I do quite enjoy walking round the local cemetery at the top of the road… It's a bit of an oasis of peace and quiet actually. (C031 2021a)

I don't go to Banstead Park, I go to Roundhay Park or Potternewton Park… I wouldn't feel safe as a single woman running around here about six o'clock… And also the environment is nicer at Roundhay Park than it is running these streets. (C051 2021a)

I love my house. If I could pick up the top end of the street, put it somewhere more green it would be wonderful. (Harris 2020)

Recent environmental projects have demonstrated that bin yard areas and streets can be transformed to provide social and environmental amenities (BackToFront 2020; Harris 2019b) (Figure 91). Their success however, relies on neighbours taking 'ownership' and responsibility for the space (Johnson, Harris and Greaves 2020; Harris and Greaves 2019).

Figure 91 A former bin yard area in the Bayswaters area has been opened up to provide a visual connection between the streets, with planting to add colour and soften the streetscape (left) and a wildflower meadow on a grassed plot in the Edgwares area where a row of back-to-backs once stood, has transformed the area from one which had no particular purpose, to one which provides a striking visual amenity, and a habitat for wildlife (right) (Harris 2021a; 2019a).

Community cohesion and tensions

The superdiverse nature of the neighbourhood has already been demonstrated, but here, the experience of being part of those communities will be explored. The literature suggests that differences in dress, culture and religion could make first-generation Pakistani immigrants appear quite insular (Anwar 1979, 123; 158-159; 166-167; 222; Khan 1979, 38-39). Tensions are still noted between some members of the White British and South Asian communities in Harehills (C031 2021a), but it appears that these are diminishing, and it is interesting to observe the South Asian and White British communities aligning to voice the same concerns over some Eastern European immigrants as were raised by the White British population years earlier in respect of South Asians (Asif 2019; Cawood, Sheik and Borgias 2019).

Across all immigrants, those with lower levels of proficiency in English feel they have fewer social opportunities available to them (Janta et al. 2015, 44; 46; Waite, Dwyer and Cook 2008, 16; 18). There is a strong feeling among the three largest ethnic groups that the Eastern European immigrants mix among their own community only, with few meaningful neighbourly relationships being forged with people from other ethnic groups (Cook, Dwyer and Waite 2010, 732-733; Waite, Dwyer and Cook 2008, 29). Moreover, Warwick-Booth et al. (2017, 679-680) found that of the 18% of Roma participants living in Harehills who had experienced crime, 75% felt it was because of their nationality, and over one third of participants had experienced some level of prejudice or discrimination. The main anxieties for existing communities appear to relate to whether new workers are taking jobs and houses, cultural behavioural norms and a lack of integration in society (Janta et al. 2015, 62; Cook, Dwyer and Waite 2012, 10; Waite, Dwyer and Cook 2008, 24; 27; 29; 33). Despite the suggestion by Hufton et al. (2008, 22) that European immigrants are culturally similar to the White British population because they are Christian, it is the latter two concerns that are prominent in residents' discussions.

> [T]here were seventeen living in a two bedroomed house, Romanians, and they were gypsies. One of the kids said. And landlord pulled up… and he actually caught the man peeing in the garden… he went to [the lady] who lives next door to them and she said 'I've spent many a night in here crying over them…'… Anyway he evicted them… (C021 2021)

> [T]he Romanians… first of all it started off with a man and woman and child, but after a while there seemed to be a lot more of them… We liked them and they used the house very differently... They installed the barbecue pretty quick and they used to have parties and... you'd often find quite a few beer bottles in the yard on a Monday morning… But when I had to go round and knock on their door once or twice… I could just see that all the plaster had gone off the walls… there was a lot of DIY going on all the time but odd sorts of DIY like they plumbed the washing machine by just making a hole in the wall and sticking the pipe out… As if… they'd just grown up in a very different environment. (Wragg 2021)

It would be wrong to suggest that the only perceived problems are those originating from the behaviour of immigrant communities, and a review of social media posts demonstrates a commitment to integration and a stance against the vilification of immigrants (Appendix B *Online Archives* provides social media group references).

> When there's trouble around where I live (drunken fights, neighbours overdosing, police at 3am, screaming at each other from their houses), it tends *not* to be my Asian or Eastern European neighbours. (Oberlies 2018)

Accordingly, despite the cultural and language barriers, some members of the White British and immigrant communities do integrate with each other, either directly, or through community groups and events (Greaves 2018; Harris 2018). This has wider benefits than the individual relationships as it acts as a catalyst for the wider community, demonstrating that the various groups can get on and support each other. This is perhaps most clearly demonstrated through relationships with asylum seekers.

> [S]omebody… in my street… got sent to Yarls Wood [a detention centre for asylum seekers]. And I was very, very upset about it… So that's how I started to get involved with asylum seekers because I'd not realised… what people go through... (Armitage 2020)

The diversity of the communities is evident in the variety of shops, leisure and other local businesses, and is a real draw for some residents; 27.6% of questionnaire respondents reported liking Harehills for its multicultural diversity and the same number for its shopping facilities (Appendix F Figure 336).

> There are lots of different cultures in Harehills, it's one of my favourite things about living here. It generally enriches the area and all of our experiences of living here. Harehills Lane would be dead if it weren't for people from all over the world opening shops… We're lucky to have all of this diversity... (Mooney 2018)

> [W]e've been so lucky to discover… unusual places to eat… you almost want to have people around to say 'oh, do you fancy going to the Ethiopian?'… we've been to all these restaurants from around the world on our doorstep… (Greaves 2020b)

> I don’t have to go far if I want to buy date vinegar or I want to buy some buttermilk… That I like… I do shop in the little Asda… And CC Continental for the halal meat… I might pop in and buy some veg from one of those stalls… [X010’s] phone screen broke so we took it down there and within an hour it was fixed so... that kind of thing… is handy. When we… carpeted the rooms… we went to the carpet shop… literally round the corner. We got our beds from down the lane… so we use local businesses. (Tee 2020)

Inevitably, the range of shops is not to everyone’s liking, and some White British residents feel, at best, that their needs are not catered for. In some cases, they feel unwelcome and intimidated.

> I don’t use any of the local shops apart from the post office because most of them… want to sell me halal meat that I don’t need, and various-looking strange things that I probably wouldn’t eat… there’s a traditional ironmongers that I use… (Coulson 2021a)

> I don’t often go in the small shops. I don’t find them particularly friendly… a real resentment against white people... So I won’t use them for that reason. Although I did go to a local tailor shop last year and he was really friendly. (C031 2021a)

> There’s just groups of men and… they’re Romanian gypsies… But they all congregate at t’bookies so it’s a no-go zone basically… I always shopped on Harehills Lane, always. It was a smashing little shopping area… now, they’re all chicken shops… foreign barbers…and Polski shops … I feel safer on Harehills Road. (C021 2021)

Summary

Residents’ awareness of the sense of place in Harehills appears to be highly tuned to their experiences of the physical environment and, perhaps to an even greater extent, the communities who live, work and pass through the neighbourhood. The positive aspects of the neighbourhood primarily relate to the historic character and feelings for one’s own home and this gives rise to personal struggles, and what some have described as a love-hate relationship; attachments to home are incredibly strong for long-term residents, but the neighbourhood in which the house sits is often problematic.

Anti-social behaviour and decline of the physical environment are key concerns for many residents, and notably, the poor condition of rental properties and high levels of fly-tipping. It is noteworthy that proximity to high quality green spaces is something residents like about the neighbourhood, but the green spaces they mention are mostly in adjoining neighbourhoods. Local volunteers work hard to improve the environment, and have had some success, but it is clear that significant local authority investment is needed, across a number of departments (such as Planning, Highways and Transportation, Environmental Services, and Parks and Countryside) for transformative change to be achieved. Herein lies the problem, as residents attribute many of the problematic aspects of life in Harehills to external factors including long term failings by multiple local authority departments and other official bodies, and negligent landlords (though in turn, this is also attributed to local authority failings). These issues are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7.

The multicultural diversity is one of the best aspects of Harehills' communities for some residents, but for others it is seen as the cause of its decline, with differences in cultural practices and the shopping provision changing the feel of the neighbourhood. While this data is primarily from White British residents, it does provide evidence that immigrants are committed to the neighbourhood and to establishing a life in Harehills, and had there been the opportunity to discuss the neighbourhood with minority ethnic communities, a different sense of place may have emerged. This might have been able to reveal how immigrant communities experience Harehills in terms of their acceptance by longer-established communities (including other minority groups), how they integrate with their own immigrant and other communities, and how they perceive the neighbourhood generally, for example, in terms of crime / safety, local authority services, transport, employment opportunities and the physical environment, including heritage values.

The neighbourhood-related issues discussed here are only a part of the experience of living in Harehills. Changing the scale of focus to the individual back-to-back house and household, gives additional insight about the lived experience on a daily basis. The next section follows a similar pattern to that in Chapter 5, uncovering the residents routines, values and feelings for their home. This is important as it enables an interpretation of how successfully the houses have been adapted to changing lifestyles and how they meet the needs of the current residents.

Daily routines

Starting the day

Bathrooms are a key part of the morning routine although overall, they feature much less prominently in current residents' discussions than they did for the early residents. There is no indication that they are problematic in terms of location, functionality or atmosphere – in fact for some residents, their bathroom is the best thing about the house.

94% of bathrooms are located on the first floor. Every bathroom has a toilet and basin, but bath and shower provision varies (Figure 92 and Appendix F *Sanitary facilities*). The small size of the original bathroom in one shop-house makes it unsuitable for a modern bath, but the relatively generous size of most other bathrooms is sufficient for both a bath and shower cubicle, a combination found in some houses (Figure 93). The room provides flexibility for bathroom suites to be arranged in multiple configurations and while the positioning of the WC in front of the window is common, it is not to everyone's liking.

> [Y]ou can see your neighbours having a shit and wiping their arse... It happened when I lived in the [redacted] and it happens in my street here now... I always keep my bathroom blinds shut. (F031 2021)

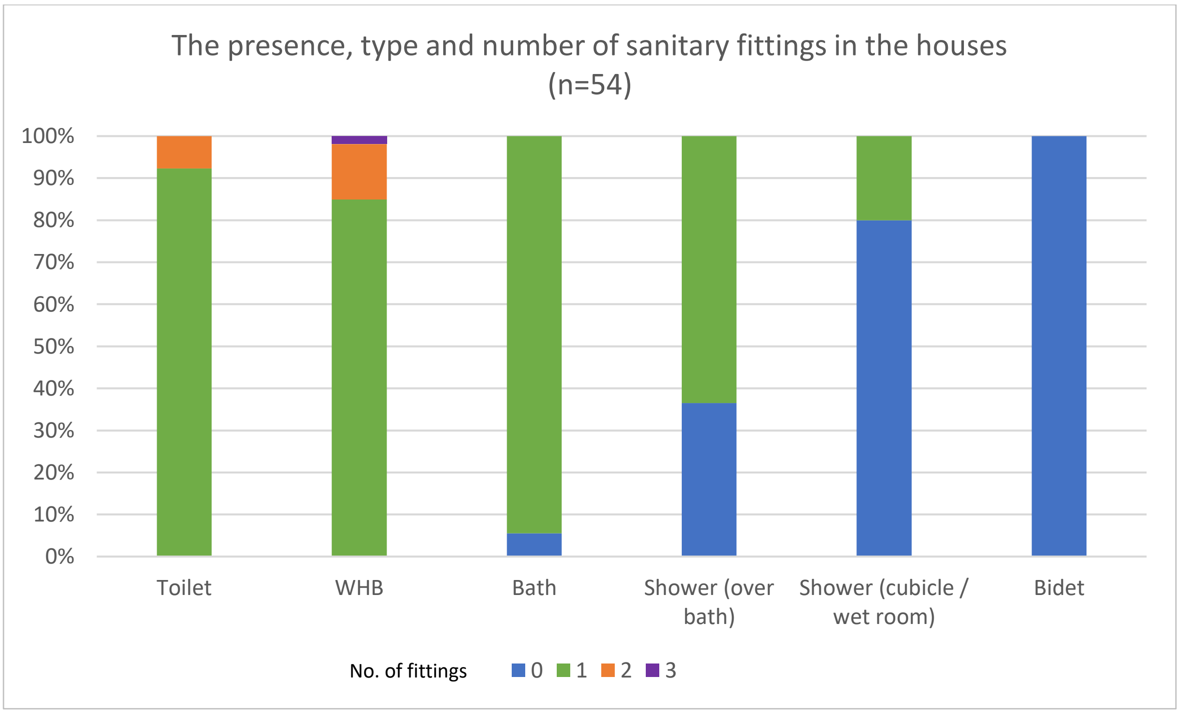


Figure 92 The proportion of bathing / showering combinations reported by Harehills residents closely reflects the national trend (Hamshare 2013).

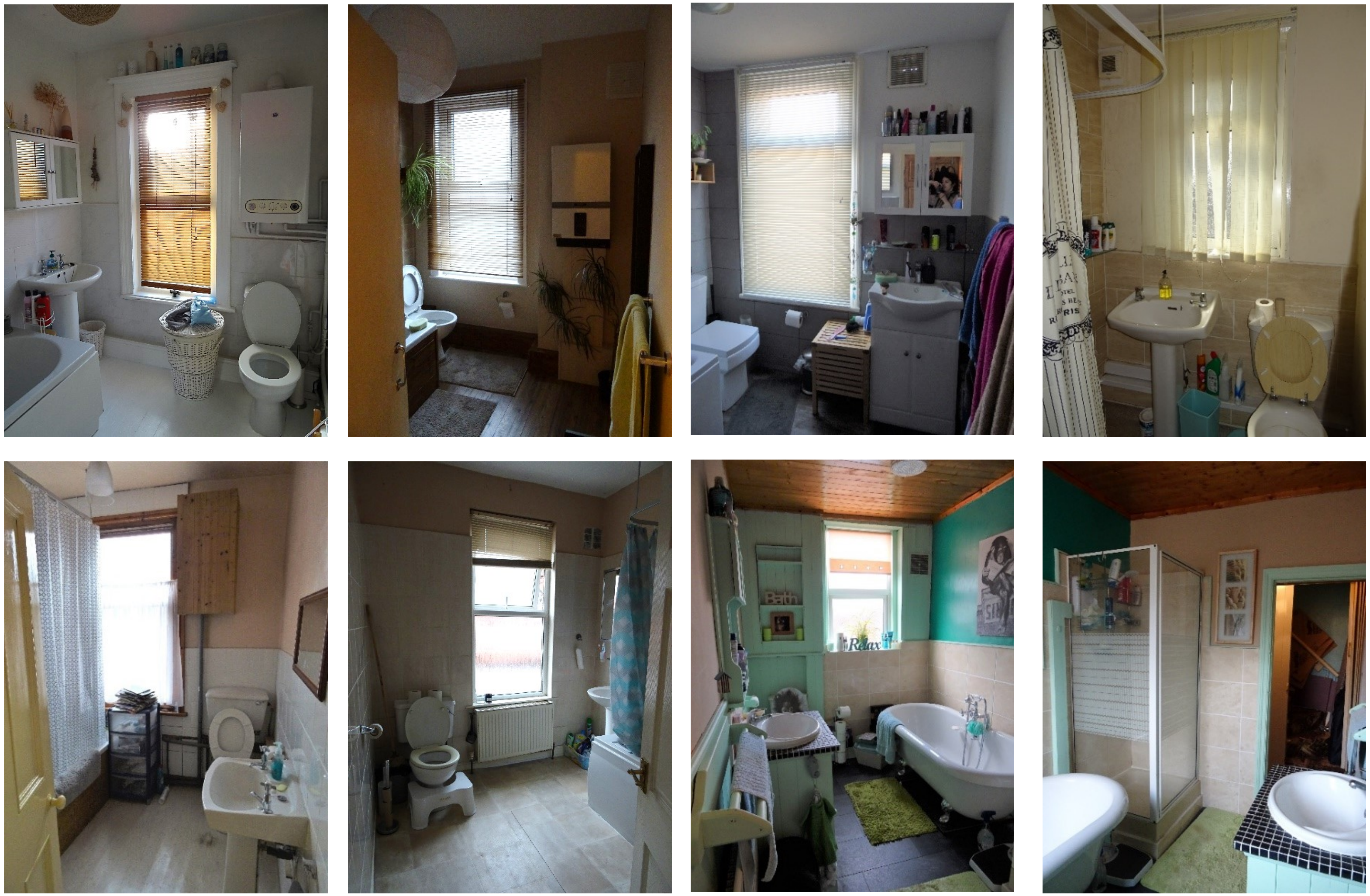


Figure 93 Some residents take great pride in their modern bathrooms (top left, centre left and centre right); other bathrooms and a shop-house wet room function at a more basic level (top right, bottom left and centre left); and one resident has taken a highly customised approach that compromises the proportions of the room and window (bottom centre right and right).

Whether the wider resident population is unaware of these public 'private' moments, or whether they have adopted an accepting attitude because it has become normalised is unclear. Personal experience however, suggests it might be the latter. Despite this probable acceptance of a lack of privacy and bathrooms being 'family' size, most residents who do not live alone have established routines to allow timely individual use, especially in the morning, for example by getting ready to go out at different times and selecting different times of day to shower (C051 2021a; Greaves 2020a; Tee 2020).

Time-zoning also appears to be beneficial to the breakfast routine too, with residents preferring to eat alone.

> I get up at six, make a coffee, maybe have some breakfast on the sofa then go back upstairs, get dressed and back down for seven. My partner gets up at seven, then he has the upstairs, gets ready and then I leave at 7:30, he would leave at eight... (C051 2021a)

> I go in the shower, I get dressed and I go downstairs and then if the kids aren't up I'll shout up to them… We all three of us leave the house, together… [My husband] works outside so he gets up… about eight when we've left the house... (Tee 2020)

For one retired couple shielding at home during the Covid-19 pandemic, there was little incentive to start the day early, and once up, their breakfast routine was more leisurely and less independent than the working couples'.

> We used to get up early but we'd be sat here all day bored stupid. So… now, it's usually about ten o'clock. I can't eat when I first get up but I make him because he's on insulin so I usually do his cereal... If we have bacon I have a bacon sandwich with him. (C021 2021)

The working day – home-working

The Covid-19 pandemic had a big impact on home life for the many residents who were forced to work and study from home. Some were able to prioritise a room in the house for work use. For one working couple with a basement kitchen, the former kitchen which had been loosely defined as a study, started to be used to its full potential, but its location in the house caused difficulties.

> [I]f he was on a Zoom meeting, I couldn't get down to the kitchen without having to walk behind him… so I did feel a little bit trapped... I would have had to go outside, and then go down the steps,… unlock the security gate and then go in to make myself a cup of tea… (Greaves 2020b)

Not everyone opts to use a spare room for working. Some residents cite the house form as a barrier, but with a little expenditure on technology (such as a WiFi booster), the difficulties could be overcome. Similarly, the multi-functional uses of attic rooms for guest sleeping and storage, could potentially be compromised to prioritise home-working needs.

> I should have a desk but I sit on the sofa and I've got a coffee table... If I need to go and do some graphic facilitation… I do then go up to the attic because I've got a long stretch of wall that I can put the three metre by metre rolls of paper onto… (Harris 2020)

While many residents across the UK enjoyed working from home in their gardens during the summer months, one resident felt that this was not feasible in a back-to-back.

> My manager would be outside under a parasol whereas if I went outside and it was 30° my computer would melt… I can't do that and then obviously living on this street I can't really leave garden furniture out. (Greaves 2020b)

Despite the teething difficulties however, there is a sense that home offices are desirable, and that they can relatively easily be incorporated into the home. This potential for flexibility and adaptation is also demonstrated in the dataset by the use of one house for a creative industries business. Accommodating up to five people on an ordinary day, but more when public workshops are running, the three main rooms are used for a variety of very different tasks, and provide different experiences.

> [I]n the middle room… there's the rostrum camera and there's also an editing machine. You wouldn't be using both at once because the rostrum camera you use for shooting and the room would be blacked out… there's room for a lot of desks [in the attic] so we could have… three or four people working… there… It's much better light in there… in recent years I've spent most of my time in the downstairs office because I have to do all the admin… the light isn't too bad if you're near the window but you have to be near the window. (Wragg 2021)

With its broken exterior door and long-term lack of central heating and hot water, the environment contrasts sharply with the offices of some of the organisation's clients, but for the occupants, it provides a grounding that is important for their work.

> [Y]ou'd go back to work in [the [redacted]] and it was such a corrective… you can see how if you didn't have that… you'd get separated from what ordinary people's lives are like. And actually I really appreciated [our street] for what it shows you about… what our society is really like. (Wragg 2021)

Of course, paid work is not the only work undertaken in back-to-backs. Housework and cooking are essential in every household.

The working day – housework and cooking

Chapter 5 demonstrated the heavy domestic workload that formed part of women's daily routines in the Victorian and Edwardian period, and there has since been a significant shift in both workload and attitudes. According to Silva (2020, 99-102), washing machines are the most useful appliance in the house, having reduced weekly laundry times from around seven hours in 1900 to two hours in 2005 (Silva 2010, 99-102). In Harehills, 89% of houses have at least one laundry appliance; in all cases this includes a washing machine. The proportion of houses with a washing machine is slightly lower than the UK average, but there are considerably fewer tumble driers (Hulme, Beaumont and Summers 2013, 3). This is likely to be explained by the lower income of many households in the neighbourhood and lack of a suitable space to keep it, with most being stored in the cellar, even if the washing machine is located in the kitchen. This division of the laundry between the ground- and first-floor in some households is reminiscent of the early residents who had scullery set-pots, which necessitated moving the clean laundry to the basement for wringing out before drying. Similarly, the use of basements for the washing machine, in some cases reverts rooms to their wash cellar function, among other uses. It is also noteworthy that the changing sense of place in the neighbourhood has impacted the laundry routine for some residents, even though line-drying is restricted to private gardens and no longer hung across the street.

> [M]y washing machine's in the kitchen… if it's nice I hang it out… but obviously now while it's a bit wetter I've got a dryer down in the cellar so I put my dryer on… so that's good. (Bunting 2020)

> I won't put it on the washing line if I'm not at home. Because I've had washing nicked off the line… Which is why I tend to do all the jobs on a Saturday. (C051 2021a)

For one couple who ordinarily do some of their laundry and housework in the evenings, the change to homeworking during the Covid-19 pandemic not only allowed household tasks to be carried out in the daytime, but appears to have also redressed the gendered division of the task to some degree.

> It's been good because we've been able to do some clothes washes in the day so stuff we would normally do in the evening, he's been able to do in the day and then hang up as he goes upstairs so that's… a little bit less pressure… (Greaves 2020b)

Housework tends to be done quite quickly, scheduled around other needs and activities, and can be an ad-hoc or regular occurrence.

> I… tidy up, usually just a flick around with the sweeper… and that's about it. I don't have set days when I'm cleaning… I just do it when it needs doing. (C021 2021)

> I do the washing… and the cleaning on a Saturday, so it is a rest day but it's almost a catch up day as well. (C051 2021a)

> I'm very lucky with the housework because the daughter turns up on Sundays and cleans me up a bit which is very nice of her. My contribution is just to keep on top of the washing up really. An odd bit of vacuuming and that just gets done as and when. (Coulson 2021a)

While some residents appeared bashful when admitting the limited extent of their housekeeping activities, this is probably in part, reflective of the time pressures on households who do not have a full-time home-maker, small households, and the advent of time-saving domestic technology. Furthermore, in comparison to the earlier period, there is less dirt present in twenty-first century homes (because there are no coal fires), and the pressure to keep up appearances appears minimal; since some gardens are filled with rubbish, simply having a tidy garden is sufficient to maintain respectability, and cleaning windows and doorsteps weekly for example, is not necessary.

On the theme of domestic kitchen appliances, Silva (2010, 86-87) found that in the UK, cookers are commonly used in the evenings and at weekends, and microwaves and fridges are used regularly, but freezers less so. In Harehills, all residential houses represented in the Q1 dataset have at least one cooking appliance. Similarly, all but one house has a means of refrigeration or freezing food. Only 7% of houses have a dishwasher which is significantly below the UK average (Statista 2021), but since they are not considered essential (Hulme, Beaumont and Summers 2013, 4), and logistically they need to be located in the kitchen, the lower household incomes and small kitchen size may reduce their feasibility (Appendix F Figure 330 provides appliance ownership and storage location data).

There are varying degrees of satisfaction among residents who keep kitchen appliances in rooms other than the kitchen, and again, this separation of food storage between basement and ground-floor kitchen is reminiscent of life for the early residents.

> [W]e don't have any fridge there. There's not enough space… It's really annoying when you've got to go downstairs to go to the fridge to get milk. (C051 2021a)

> I've got a fridge freezer up here as well, in the kitchen. I've got two… I do go down there with my shopping to put stuff in the freezer, or bring stuff up for the upstairs fridge… (C031 2021a)

The interview data suggests that in households with a mixed gender couple, there is still some gendered division of household tasks, though this is more striking for the older couple and the mixed ethnicity family where it appears that men are responsible for the stereotypical 'male' tasks such as maintenance and decorating (C021 2021; Tee 2020). This contrasts with the findings for the early residents, where many of these jobs were part of the women's routines as well. For the residents who live alone, all tasks from cooking and cleaning to gardening, decorating and maintenance are typically undertaken by the householder, irrespective of gender. The shortcoming of the dataset however, is that it does not include a representative sample of the minority ethnic communities, and research suggests that there are differences in the roles and expectations of men and women. Hufton et al. (2008, 22) for example, argue that despite many Pakistanis now being third-or fourth- generation, they still find themselves split between two cultures. Distinct gender divisions remain in the Muslim culture, with many women having a home-based lifestyle, and socialising only with other women, while men are able to socialise much more freely outside the home and attend the mosque (Hufton et al. 2008, 22-23). Similarly, Robinson et al. (2016, 21-22) found that Romani women retain a traditional and home-based lifestyle and are particularly vulnerable to isolation and discrimination.

The evening meal

In contrast to Silva's findings about the move away from home-cooked meals and towards convenience foods and snacks (Silva 2010, 86-87), cooking appears to be a popular activity for Harehills residents, even though the size of the kitchen can present challenges (Armitage 2020; C031 2021a) (Figure 94).

> If we want something different as often we do, we take it in turns to go in the kitchen to cook… You can't even open the cooker and have two people in there. So one of us will… go first… then we do a swap over or if you're lucky and something… goes in the oven together we can manage that. (C051 2021a)

Basement kitchens offer the opportunity for a much larger cooking space and are appreciated by those who have them and desired by those without (Figure 95).

> [T]he thing that sold us to this house was the downstairs kitchen… to be able to have everyone round and sit round the table… [T]he lovely kitchen… is a great space to cook. (Greaves 2020b)

> I've worked this out… it would be like a kitchen diner… it will come out in the middle… the work surfaces... But it's just raising the cash to do it... (Tee 2020)

Figure 94 ‘Scullery’ kitchens require careful planning to accommodate all the fittings and fixtures, and where cupboards are fitted on opposite walls, the minimal space between, limits functionality.

Figure 95 Basement kitchens have ample space for fixtures, fittings and dining, though their low ceiling height and lower levels of natural light do impact on the overall success of the spaces.

Most residents eat their meals in the living room, and perhaps surprisingly given the generous dimensions, only 40% of households with a basement kitchen eat in that space (Figure 96). Opinion on dining tables is divided; some feel that they are essential (see later discussion about entertaining guests), while in other households there is a more relaxed approach for everyday mealtimes, and even where a dining table is desired, it is not necessarily prioritised.

> [W]e always eat round the table. Every day without fail… that's very important that we all eat together... (Tee 2020)
>
> I have a hot meal and I usually sit and eat it in front of the telly. (Bunting 2020)
>
> I usually sit on the edge of my bed to have my evening meal… Sometimes I eat downstairs but not very often. (Coulson 2021a)
>
> I haven't got a dining table… I'm hoping to… get the basement sorted out. And I did have it sorted enough to have a table down there and use it as a dining room, but then it got filled up with junk! (Harris 2020)

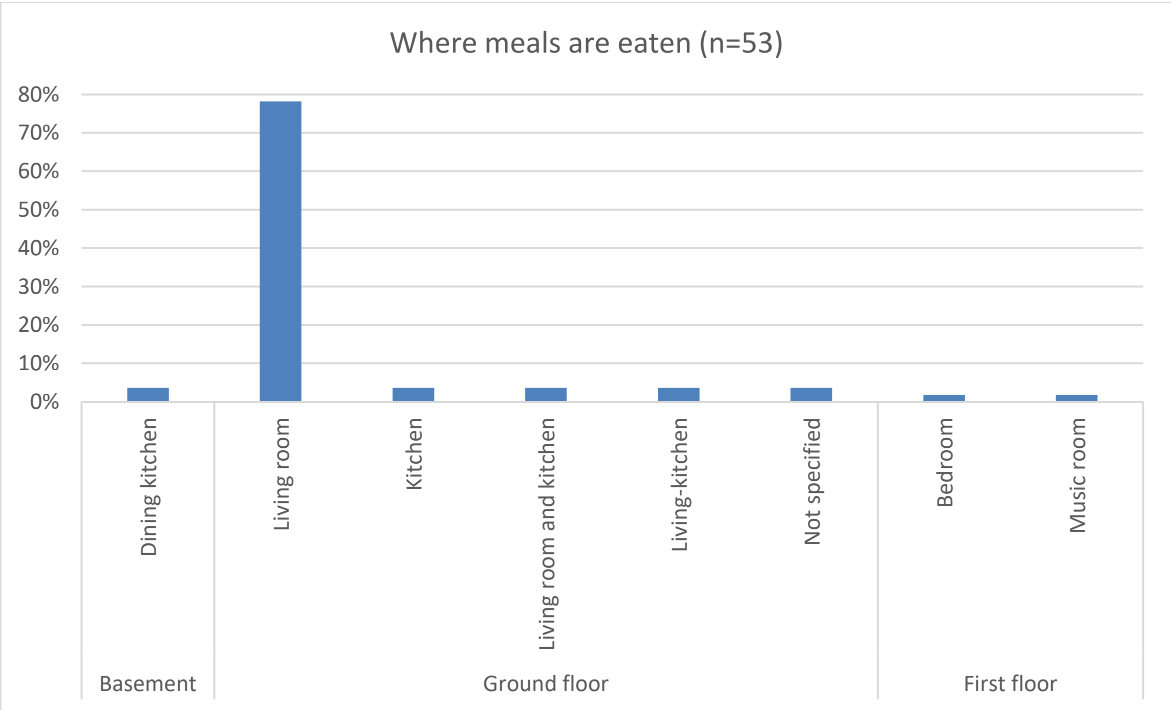


Figure 96 Almost 80% of households eat their meals in the living room, and a further 15% eat their meals in a ground-floor room that functions either as a living room, living-kitchen or kitchen.

Evenings

Once the evening meal is finished, many residents allocate at least some of their evening to relaxation. Much of this involves entertainment technology in the living room (Figure 97), and it is discussed in detail below (see *Home-based activities*). In general, for those who do not live alone, spending time together is an important part of the evening, but there is a flexible attitude to this.

> [My husband] listens to stuff on his laptop… [S]ometimes… we're all watching the same thing. Sometimes me and [X010] will be watching something but [X011] will be upstairs or vice versa… so it's not that we're all here every evening… (Tee 2020)

In one case, a couple have very different requirements for their Friday evening, which is resolved by putting a physical distance – two floors – between themselves.

> I can hear… [loud music from the DJ decks] as I come to the door, then I know I will not be on this floor. I go up. And I couldn't say to him, 'Oh I want to watch TV. That's too noisy. Can you turn it off?' That's his thing, and that's his space so I go higher up to get away. (C051 2021a)

For some residents, evenings are also a time for community work. Bias in the dataset is acknowledged however, with residents who are active in the community appearing more likely to engage in research interviews.

> [A] lot of the time we're together but if it's a focused task such as me getting on with some of the… 'Bloom' or 'Back to Front' stuff that might be me doing that on my own… [T]hat's what's quite nice about this house that we can separate off… (Greaves 2020b)

Only 8.5% of residents report taking part in private or spiritual activities and this is not necessarily in a space that is either reserved for that use, or used to the exclusion of others at that time. For one participant, the living room is too public and lacks the space for floor-based spiritual activities, and so the bedroom is preferred.

Figure 97 Living rooms can be laid out flexibly, to accommodate furniture and personal possessions. Some residents choose to create a clear route between the entrance and stair door by placing the sofa away from the wall, but others maximise the living space by placing sofas at the perimeter. The houses with a bay window (bottom row) tend to use this additional space for a table or desk.

> [T]here's enough space next to the bed to… put a yoga mat down… [I]n the living room I'd feel a bit more exposed in the middle of the house and not very private, and I'd have to start moving the coffee table and things to create that space… (Greaves 2020b)

In another household, a practising Muslim prays in his bedroom which is convenient for its proximity to the bathroom where he washes beforehand (Tee 2020). Until recently however, he prayed in the living room.

> [W]e can still carry on doing what we're doing… We don't walk in front of him but if I'm on the phone or I'm in the kitchen or watching telly, he can still do that. (Tee 2020)

This household is ethnically and religiously mixed so this multi-functionality is not necessarily representative of other Muslim households where there may be more distinct time or space zoning.

Several residents also reported doing household chores or hobbies in the evening.

> I would probably just be pottering… putting a wash on or doing something ready for the next day. (Bunting 2020)

> I never eat much before ten o'clock at night. I'll fiddle around doing various things. One of my hobbies is building model aircraft so I might spend a couple of hours fiddling with one of those. (Coulson 2021a)

Bedtime

As discussed in Chapter 4, most houses have two bedrooms, and the Q1 dataset appears to reflect that. Almost 65% of households have a bedroom that is either spare, or used for another purpose, and over 90% have a bedroom where a single person sleeps, suggesting that most houses are under-occupied (Figure 98).

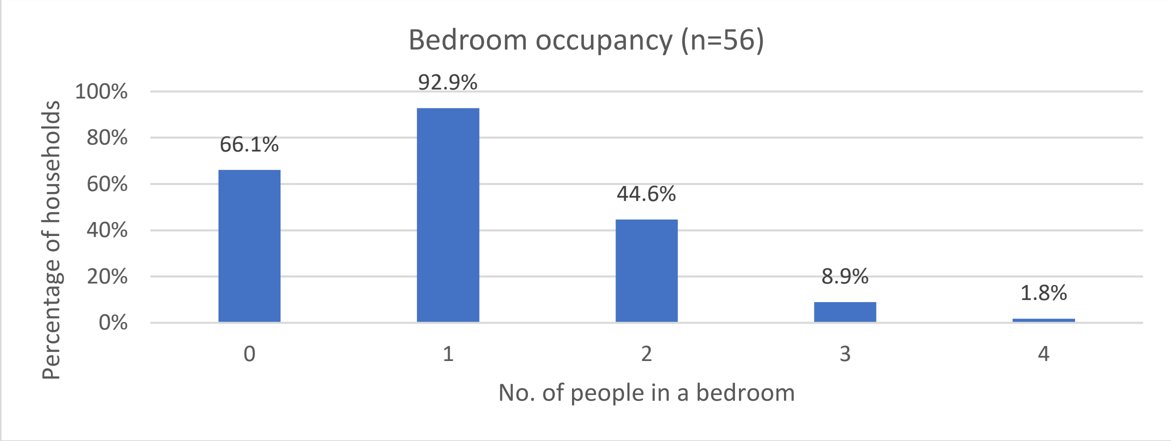


Figure 98 Fewer than half of households have a bedroom sleeping two people, and only 11% have three or four residents sleeping in a room.

In Chapter 5, it was shown that the early residents used the large first-floor room as the 'main' bedroom, breaking only with that tradition when the household size absolutely demanded it. Current residents have adopted a similar approach, with most choosing to occupy the first-floor room rather than the attic room (Figure 99). This is somewhat surprising given that the attic bedroom provides a much greater degree of privacy from overlooking, but it may be explained by proximity of the bathroom to the first-floor bedroom.

> We've moved down to the middle floor and I'm enjoying being there. It's like having an en-suite bathroom. (Tee 2020)

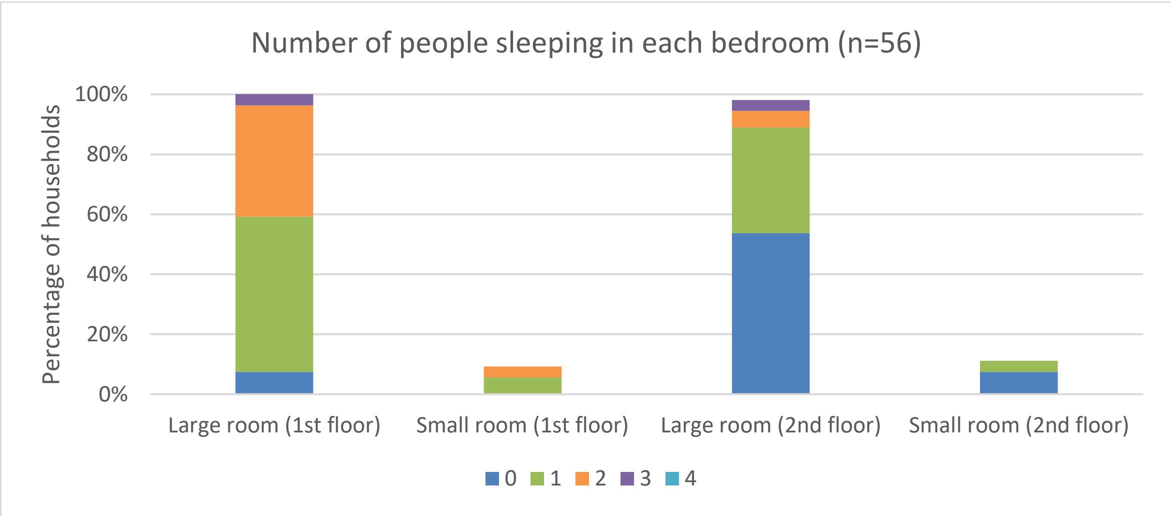


Figure 99 In most houses, where there is one bedroom on each of the upper floors, it is the attic room that is less likely to be used as a permanent bedroom. Few houses have a small bedroom on the first or second floors, but where they do, the occupancy reflects their smaller size.

Use of the large first-floor bedroom for sleeping is more varied than for the other rooms (Figure 100). It is the only room to be used by adults only, children only and a mix of adults and children; in the latter case, the children reported are under the age of twelve, and 55% are under five. Interpreted in conjunction with household size, it seems likely that the arrangements are related to ontological security, safety and convenience rather than a lack of space. This may be directly related to the form of the house, and specifically that neither parents nor small children are comfortable sleeping on a different floor of the house to each other.

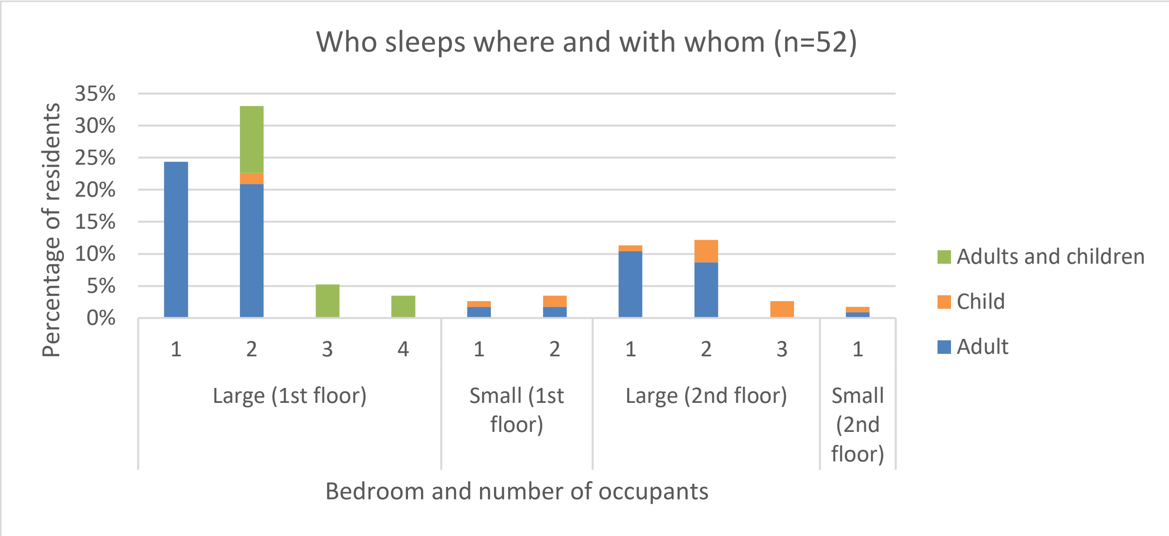


Figure 100 Room occupancy varies from one to four in the large first-floor bedroom. Where residents sleep with more than one other person, this always includes children.

Most, but not all bedrooms used by residents for sleeping contain a bed, drawer units and wardrobe, while some also have other furniture such as a desk and chair or bookcase, suggesting an element of multi-functionality (Figures 101-102) (see *Leisure time* for a discussion about the use of bedrooms for hobbies).

Figure 101 Chimney alcoves are popular locations for wardrobes and drawers in the first-floor bedroom.

Figure 102 Alternative furniture arrangements and the inclusion of desks in the first and second floor bedrooms demonstrate how flexibly the space can be used.

We have made the attic room into two bedrooms... So one of the rooms is quite small because obviously it's by the stairwell… [O]n the landing we've got a cupboard… that's opposite his door so he uses that as a wardrobe... (Tee 2020)

[T]he other room, is where my boyfriend [sleeps], that's got a double bed in and it also has a computer and some more music stuff. No wardrobe or anything… [E]verything else is in the bedroom below. (C051 2021a)

Whereas the positioning of the key bedroom items was fairly uniform for the early residents, there is now much greater variation. In some houses, the positioning of wardrobes in the chimney alcoves with the bed opposite the chimney is reminiscent of earlier times, but the dimensions of the room and the positioning of the door away from the corner of the room, create the opportunity to break away from the traditional arrangement. For one resident, the position of his bed against the back wall of the house is important to his waking experience.

> I lie in bed for a couple of hours, with the light streaming through the window so I see quite a vast expanse of sky from my bed because I face the window. It's quite a big window. And I really find that very relaxing, a great way of starting the day. (C031 2021a)

Bedrooms are some residents' favourite space in the house, notably where they are felt to provide a pleasant indoor environment (for example, sunshine, warmth or privacy) and are 'finished' in terms of decor and furnishings. The presence of historic features and leisure-based material culture is also significant.

> It's very light. The sun shines in it a lot… and I've got a lot of books up there that I like to look at. (Armitage 2020)

> I've got everything I need around me. I've got a radio in there… it's warm and it's comfortable and… the rest of the world can stay outside. (Coulson 2021a)

> I've done the most in the bedroom because I've recently just built a load of book shelving… in there and I added an extra cupboard in the empty alcove to match… the original one that's in the other alcove. So that's either side of the fireplace... (Harris 2020)

Leisure time

Home-based activities

The largest contrast in home-based activities between the early and current residents is undoubtedly entertainment and communication technology, most of which is located in the living room (Appendix F Figure 332). Televisions are the most common technology in the home, followed by smart phones. They are in use daily for many of the residents, and it appears that streamed services on both devices are becoming increasingly popular.

> I tend to spend the evening doing a variety of things, certainly watching television… I will then turn the TV off… and do some reading or listening to some music. (C031 2021a)

> I quite like to watch a Netflix series but I don't tend to watch live TV because there's not a right lot on... (Bunting 2020)

> We haven't turned it [the TV] on in about two days… I'm more online based. (Greaves 2020a)

Given et al. (2014, 6) found that televisions and DVDs are the most commonly used devices by children, although tablets and smartphones are also available for their use. Computers however, are much more regulated, with around 50% being restricted to adult use only (Given et al. 2014, 6). In Harehills, one teenage participant has his own devices, though his mother strictly forbids their use after bedtime (Tee 2020).

> Most time I spend is in my room now… on my bed watching YouTube on my laptop or even just on my gaming. (X011 2020)

While only 52% of questionnaire respondents indicated possession of a stereo or radio, this is perhaps indicative of a shift to streamed services, as interview data suggests music is significant in many households, across listening, playing and composing activities. 18% of questionnaire respondents own one or more musical instruments, and two have a room whose primary function is for making music. The rest play music in multi-functional spaces that are used more flexibly.

> I use the [bed]room a lot to write songs and sing songs and play on my keyboard. (X010 2020)

> [T]he people who built these houses, didn't take… into account… that most people had a piano. It's all I want. In that little alcove [in the living room]... but it won't fit… I… use the loft bedroom... That's where my keyboard is. And my guitars are up there. (Greaves 2020a)

> Sometimes down in the living room, sometimes in the bedroom. I've got a guitar in both locations so I don't have to lug them about. (Coulson 2021a)

Much like the early residents, current residents also enjoy creative past-times, though these now have a tendency to dominate the space they are undertaken in and can spread through multiple rooms (Figure 103).

> I had the whole of the attic set up as quite a well-equipped workshop at one point… the modelling activities are now crammed into a very messy corner in my bedroom… Not many people sleep in a workshop but I do. (Coulson 2021a)

> I've got the... fitted original cupboards in one of the [living room] alcoves and that's where all my sewing gear is, so I tend to do sewing down here because I just pull out the sewing machine, set it up and get sewing… If I'm doing bigger sewing projects I'll go up [to the attic] where all the fabrics are stored. (Harris 2020)

Figure 103 Model-making hobbies take up a lot of space: a 'studio' in the corner of a bedroom perhaps pushes the multi-functionality of space to its limit (left) and an attic studio (right). In both of these houses, there is also a well-equipped basement workshop.

Not all leisure time in the home is focused on technology or creativity however. Some residents enjoy reading or simply watching the world go by (Armitage 2020; Bunting 2020).

> I enjoy sitting in my living room… and looking out... I can see the aeroplanes going over … And…the birds have been really funny… I've got quite a lot of feeders up so I've been watching them... (Bunting 2020)

In contrast with the multi-functional and fluid use of space by residents, visiting family, friends and neighbours, considered next, have more defined boundaries in the houses.

Visiting and socialising

Over three-quarters of households ordinarily entertain guests in their living room, though the Covid-19 pandemic meant that indoor entertaining was not permitted for many in 2020 and 2021 (Appendix F Figure 333). In Chapter 5, it was shown that entertaining might involve the use of higher quality furnishings than would be used in the same space generally, to make the distinction between everyday and best when limited to just one room that serves as both public and private space. The distinction between guest and everyday / public and private, is no longer articulated to the same degree – there is one set of furniture – but there are still boundaries. Guest access is generally limited to the living room and bathroom. Those with small kitchens prefer to keep it clear of guests because of congestion (Armitage 2020; Tee 2020), but where there is a basement kitchen, this is viewed as a place for entertaining guests too.

> [I]t's quite good in a way having… the kitchen and living space separate… because we can have people upstairs and then we… finish off the cooking and bring them down… and use all the space… (Greaves 2020b)

Two exceptions to the trends on guest access were revealed through the questionnaire and interview datasets. A resident who lives separately from his partner allows him full access to all parts of the house and he has his own bedroom, so the space is shared to some extent, as if his partner is a resident during his visits (C031 2021a). By contrast, in a shop-house which is home to a group of single men, the only living space is a communal kitchen so they tend to retreat to their bedrooms with guests where they can have privacy; here, it is seemingly preferable to open up their most private space to friends rather than have their privacy compromised in a public part of the home (C043 2019) (Figure 104).

Hospitality appears to be influenced by both the convenience of doing so, and individual attitudes to privacy and social etiquettes. For example, two residents reported never and rarely entertaining at home because of a lack of space in the living room for a large dining table, while others regularly eat with friends on the sofa, and one lady with an active role in the community is even comfortable opening her home up more publicly to host meetings (C051 2021a; Armitage 2020; Bunting 2020; Harris 2020).

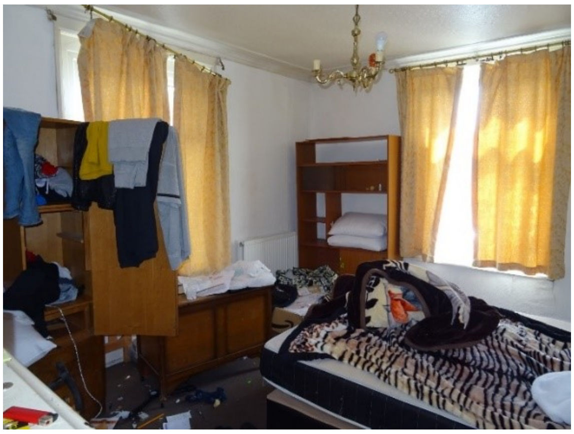
 

Figure 104 The communal living-kitchen is clean and tidy (left) and contrasts with the bedrooms (right).

Most residents have overnight guests, and are particularly hospitable and considerate of their needs in what for many, is an unfamiliar house type.

> I let them have my bedroom. It's a nice room… there is a double bed and they can spread out. (Armitage 2020)

> [W]e give our room up because you can put… a blow-up bed on the floor for [the children] and they're nearer the bathroom for if the kids need it.. and then if we're watching television they can hear the child. (Greaves 2020b)

All interview participants reported changes to socialising at home since the Covid-19 pandemic began. The expansion of technology in the home has progressed rapidly and some residents now make use of video calling in lieu of meeting people (Greaves 2020b; Tee 2020). In addition, gardens gained importance, becoming a key space for entertaining (when permitted).

Gardens and the neighbourhood

Like their Victorian and Edwardian counterparts, current residents enjoy spending time outdoors. Gardens have a more important role in meeting this need in the twenty-first century however as they are used for leisure. The residents interviewed, take pride in the condition of their gardens and are generally satisfied with privacy levels, despite the seemingly prominent location of gardens in relation to the streetscape.

> We've got a patio outside. My husband… sorted out the garden. We got some… garden furniture… That was great in the summer… and people could come and sit

> in the garden. We use it very much as another room. He's put a fence all the way round for privacy. It's made a massive difference to our life. (Tee 2020)

> [T]he garden is very important to me… I do enjoy gardening… In an ideal world I'd like a slightly bigger garden but you can still do a lot with it… (C031 2021a)

> It's a nice little space… I'm quite proud of it… if you've got it nice it encourages everybody. (Bunting 2020)

There is an appreciation of the sense of community that is formed when making visual contact and passing the time of day with neighbours.

> [Y]ou can sit on the step and see other people so you're not totally isolated… [T]here's people that speak to you or say hello as you're walking to work on a morning… [O]n an evening while it's been nice we've been sat in the garden… asking how everybody is... It's been good. (Bunting 2020)

> [B]ecause it's on the front of the house it's been great to get to know all our neighbours and there is a real community… so I think it's been more than having a back garden where you tend to do your own thing… (Greaves 2020b)

Furthermore, there appears to be a willingness to nurture and educate local children, for example, by engaging them in gardening and animal care. This fosters relationships with both the children and their parents, strengthening community bonds.

> I now have 7 children from 4 different nationalities who talk to me about my plants and flowers and wanted to help me water my garden last night. A further 4 have shown an interest so I'm planning on giving them some baby strawberry plants of their own this weekend! (Greaves 2018)

> I've just found another neighbour a few houses down… [H]er little boys… used to like to come and… see the dogs and… eventually [their mother] came round and introduced herself. (Harris 2020)

Inappropriate use of gardens by some residents is at best, a visual blight, and at worst, connected with anti-social behaviour and crime, and this can even impact negatively on their neighbours' enjoyment of their own garden.

> [Y]ou get these eight-foot fences popping up everywhere… that's worrying… [I]t's either coming from the point of view of a siege mentality or… 'We're up to no good in here. We don't want you to see what we're doing.' (Harris 2020)

> I do enjoy sitting in the garden. But the thing that spoils it for me at times… [T]he neighbours… tend to be quite noisy… It does stop me from using it as much… (C031 2021a)

Unfortunately, because of the pandemic restrictions, it was difficult to engage a representative sample of households in interviewing, and therefore the absence of data from residents without gardens leaves a knowledge gap about how they experience the street environment. Sitting on the doorstep of a street-lined house, on a street that is also lined with parked cars, is unlikely to be pleasant however, especially if it is north-facing (Figure 105).

Figure 105 Participant C031 has created a pleasant space in which to sit, demonstrating the potential of even a small garden (top). Residents of street-lined back-to-back houses however, have a distinctly different outdoor experience, devoid of both privacy and greenery (bottom).

Summary

Despite the vast differences in the way residents live now compared to their Victorian and Edwardian counterparts, there are striking parallels in the use of space and daily routines, ranging from the negotiated use of space at different times of the day to the separation of a task between multiple rooms and even floors of the house. Furthermore, there is a high level of multi-functionality for many of the rooms. Seen to a lesser extent in bedrooms for the early residents, the upper floors now combine sleeping with children's play, hobbies and study. Meanwhile, the 'living' floors (ground and basement) demonstrate their ongoing ability to accommodate a great variety of competing functions from workshops and music combined with laundry, to video streaming combined with praying or socialising. The newest demand on some houses, to accommodate home-working, has further demonstrated the great flexibility of the spaces and their ability to continue to adapt to changing occupant needs.

Back-to-backs have seemingly been adapted to accommodate all the usual functions and key technological changes that are expected in a twenty-first century home. There are, however, compromises in the use of space. The ground- and first-floor are the most intensively used spaces, and even in small households, attics and basements are often vital to accommodating items that will not fit in the room they would ideally be located in. To an extent, individual residents' own priorities, or their inability to innovate or fund the innovation is the limiting factor in ongoing compromise. Similarly, in the house where the kitchen is deemed too small to even contain the fridge, and guests are not invited to dinner because of a lack of space for a dining table, there is a solution – a basement dining kitchen – but the residents have instead prioritised a leisure function in the basement. These examples oversimplify the negotiations and choices residents make, but highlight that with the exception of a house simply being too small for the residents' needs, many problems can be overcome.

Housing satisfaction

Bringing together the themes explored in this chapter, this final section interprets both neighbourhood and housing satisfaction using quantitative questionnaire data and the interview data to consider whether and how the findings might be generalised across the neighbourhood. While the questionnaire dataset represents the demographic profile of the resident communities more closely than the interview dataset, it is still biased, with no known representation of Eastern European residents and a significant under-representation of South Asian residents (Appendix D *Participant metadata*). It is therefore not possible to draw reliable conclusions about housing satisfaction for these residents.

The Q1 dataset indicates that only 53% of current back-to-back residents like living in Harehills, which is significantly lower than the national average figure for neighbourhood satisfaction, and also notably lower than the figure of 61% for neighbourhoods in the most deprived quintile in the Index of Multiple Deprivation (DDCMS 2020). In Harehills, it appears that the dichotomous views expressed by interviewees may be found in approximately equal measure throughout the neighbourhood. Moreover, the geographical distribution is relatively constant (Figure 106), and while it appears that residents from some ethnic minority groups may like Harehills more than White British residents, the difference is not significant (Appendix F Figure 354).

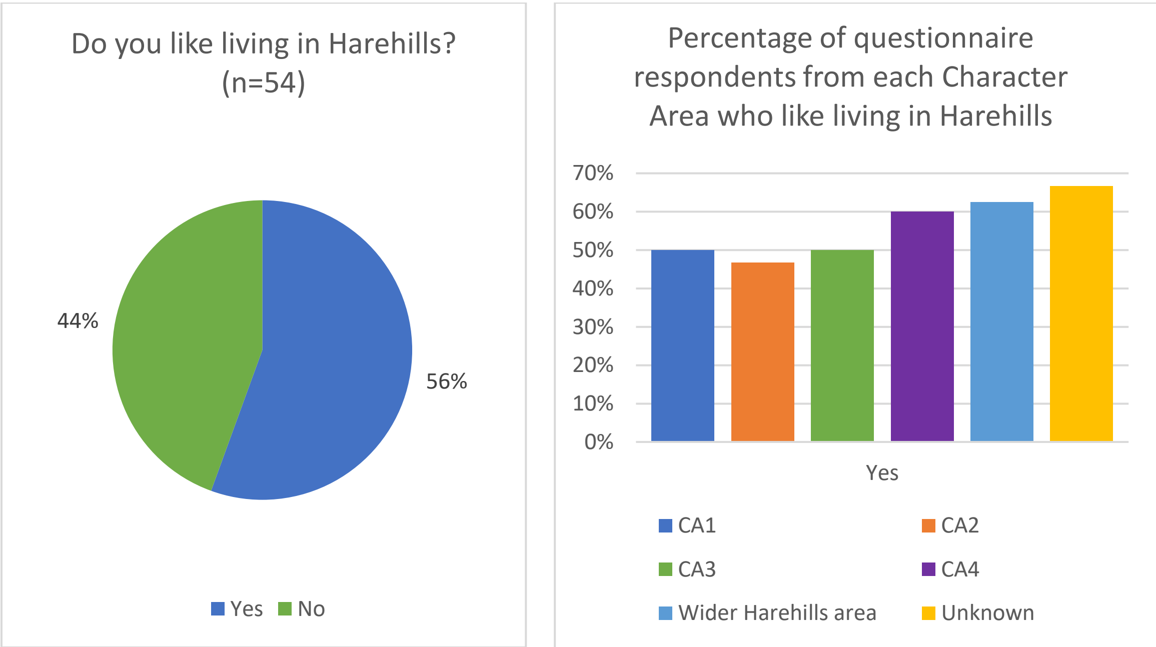
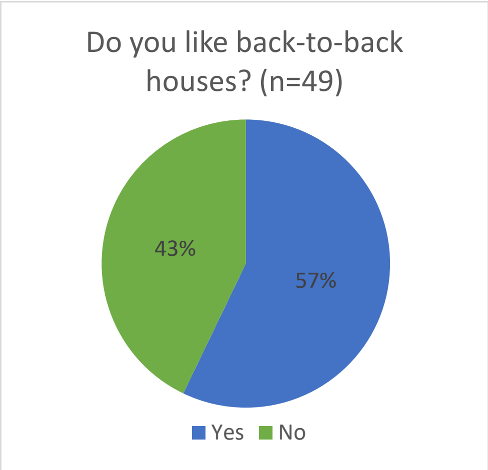


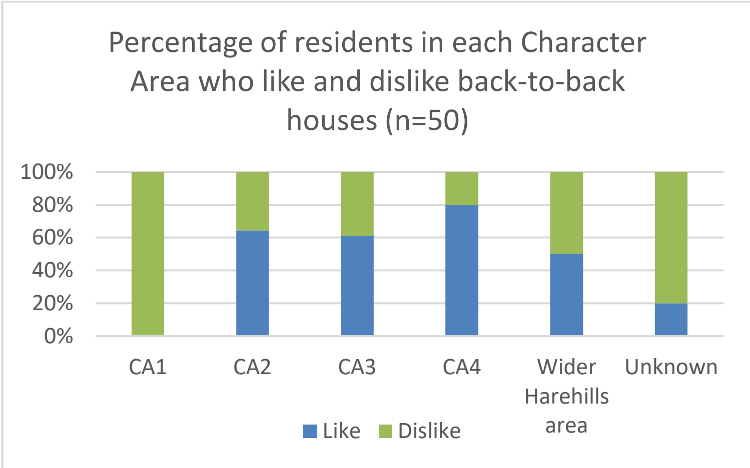
Figure 106 Over half of the questionnaire respondents like living in Harehills and there is little variation across the neighbourhood.

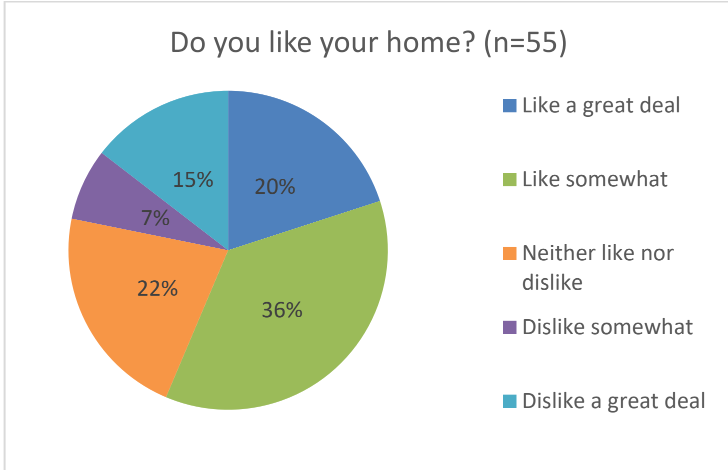
The questionnaire dataset similarly suggests that only slightly more residents like back-to-back houses than those who do not, but when given a neutral option, significantly fewer people claim to dislike their own home (Figure 107). Fewer residents living in street-lined houses in Character Area 1 appear to have positive associations with back-to-back houses generally, and their own home. This may be related to the poor-quality street environment which is characterised by an absence of gardens and fly-tipped bin yards. By contrast, residents in Character Area 4 appear to like back-to-back houses more than residents of other Character Areas, but they report less satisfaction with their own home. This is a surprising finding given that those houses had the most advanced floor plan when they were built; an entrance lobby, bay window and basement access would seem to be beneficial features today as well. Caution is required here however, because there is minimal data for Character Areas 1 and 4.

Turning to consider the demographic data, it appears that residents from some ethnic minority groups do not like the back-to-back house form as much as White British residents, and this is especially so for South and East Asian residents, although they have higher levels of satisfaction with their own home than White British residents (Appendix F Figure 354). Reasons for South Asian (Muslim) residents disliking the house form may be speculated based on the literature, such as the difficulty in accommodating larger families, the inability to separate male and female residents and guests into different living rooms, and the absence of, or minimal space in which to grow food (Summers n.d.; Bowes, Darr and Sim 2000, 176; Ballard 1979). The seemingly conflicting opinion on one's own home however, may reflect the findings from the interviews, that residents who have customised their homes to suit their taste, have strong attachments to it even if it does not meet all their needs. In addition, some residents consider their satisfaction based on relative rather than absolute values. For example, one single mother who had been placed in a back-to-back house by the Home Office after arriving from Iraq as an asylum seeker, was very happy to have somewhere clean and safe to live, even though it was furnished with only the bare essentials (X004 2018).

Overall, the opinions reported in the Q1 dataset appear to be reflected among interviewees. Residents have strong emotional attachments to their homes and it appears that for White British residents, there is minimal tension between achieving cultural norms and living in a back-to-back house. It can also be suggested that these attachments exist for residents from ethnic minority groups, and that despite possible tensions in reconciling some cultural practices within the constraints of the houses, the overall advantages of living in a back-to-back house in Harehills outweigh the compromises. For many residents, the houses meet most of their functional and experiential expectations of home, including good natural lighting, warmth and ontological security.







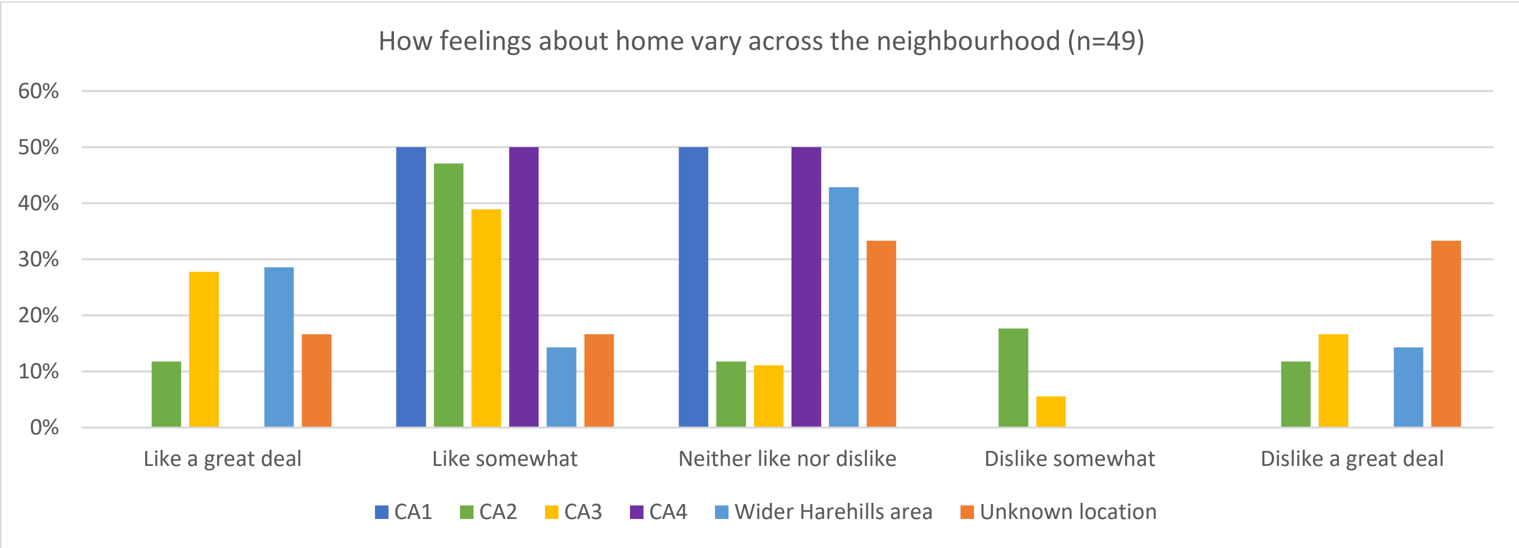


Figure 107 56% of residents like back-to-back houses and their own home, but the figures vary across the neighbourhood, so it is possible that there is a relationship with plan-form type.

Conclusion

The evidence presented in this chapter about the lives of current back-to-back residents has drawn on literature, Government data, questionnaire data and interview narratives, using an innovative method of interpolating the multiple data streams to gain deeper insights. The diversity of the communities and neighbourhood deprivation is significant in its own right, demonstrating the complex and inter-woven outcomes for education, employment, housing and income.

While the primary datasets are biased in their representation of the communities, the evidence still gives a valuable insight into the lives and experiences of all residents, including their use of space, routines, relationships and feelings. There has been rapid development in the way residents use space because of the Covid-19 pandemic, and as with their Victorian and Edwardian counterparts, the communities have been able to innovate and adapt the use of their homes to suit their individual needs. The multi-functionality of space, its flexible use, and negotiation on the part of its users has been key to that adaptation and the ongoing popularity of the house type. This is even more remarkable today, as residents use their homes not only within the context of a single culture's norms, but collectively, to suit a number of cultures from around the world.

Sense of place – how residents position their identities within the cultural and social values of a place that is understood through its materiality (Marmion 2012, 178; 189; Smith 2006, 75) – now appears to operate on many more levels than it did for the early residents. It is tied to cultural factors and social norms, and the diversity of the communities means that both the houses and the neighbourhood are expected to meet a much wider range of tangible and intangible needs than ever before. In some cases, the needs and expectations of one ethnic group conflicts with those of others, and the relatively rapid rate of change to some aspects of the neighbourhood, can feel uncomfortable. For example, new immigrants are attracted to Harehills because of the comfort that recognisable facilities and cultures bring. For existing residents however, the replacement of facilities and cultures that they identify with, changes their sense of place, and where this change is not understood or is perceived to be negative, it can diminish their associations with place-based heritage. This is demonstrated in the interviews by residents who report no longer visiting certain places because of fears for their safety, a feeling of not belonging, or of not being catered for. The changing sense of place can consequently reinforce separation of the various communities, cause tensions where cultural practices and behaviours differ, and make co-ordinated approaches to future change more difficult. Harehills means many different things to its resident individuals and communities, and while this chapter has begun to consider the complexities of how residents feel about their homes, the neighbourhood and their sense of place, a more detailed exploration of values is provided in Chapter 7.

In relation to the built environment, interviewees show a strong commitment to the historic character of the neighbourhood and a desire that urban environmental conditions are improved. The demographic profile of the communities appears to disadvantage them however. For the large transient population, long-term emotional investment can be lacking because they are not resident long enough to make place-attachments. In addition, many residents have low incomes, some are living in rental properties that are neglected by landlords, and they have limited agency, so it is understandable that some residents' priorities are pitched towards personal survival rather than the wider issues being discussed here. Moreover, since many residents do not have agency (for example, a good level of English communication or the experience and confidence to deal with officials such as local authority representatives), attempts to engage can be difficult and disheartening. There is a strong sense among longer-term or 'active' residents that Harehills has been forgotten, if not wilfully abandoned. They question whether they should remain committed to the neighbourhood when the things they value are not valued by those who have the power — policy, finance and authority — to initiate transformative change. Despite the achievements of active residents who have been supported by small-scale organisations to make improvements to the physical environment, their voices are largely ignored by the local authority who dismiss them as a minority, seemingly unaware that the wider population of Harehills are silent because their demographic characteristics limit their capacity.

> [T]hey seem to forget that in Harehills [there isn't] an older active population as much as other areas… So we can't do a lot of the things… in the day if we're all at work… [A] lot of people who come…, they're not used to a formal meeting… so when they're told to shush when they're trying to… get their point across… it throws

> them... [T]he council … don’t seem to understand… Harehills is different in that way… (Greaves 2020b)

The next chapter will consider in detail, the housing and neighbourhood preferences, values and aspirations of a small number of residents, drawing on the new knowledge of past and present residents’ lives and how this can have relevance for the future of the houses and their communities.

Chapter 7 The future of the back-to-backs

Introduction

This chapter brings together the findings from Chapters 4, 5 and 6. It begins with a review of relevant policy and literature on contemporary desired and valued characteristics of neighbourhoods. Subsequent analysis and interpretation of data for Harehills explores residents' and professionals' values and preferences, culminating in a statement of significance that draws on this and earlier research. The final sections consider how these values and preferences inform future aspirations, how these are balanced within the policy framework, and how action for transformative change might be initiated. The ethnographic methodology includes questionnaires, interviews and exploratory workshops with residents, and interviews with professionals.

Changing neighbourhoods and houses – context

Policy

An overview of planning policy, covering planning permission, permitted development and neighbourhood planning is provided by Harrison (2015a), and heritage protection is discussed in Chapter 2 in relation to designation. These demonstrate that undesignated housing is at risk because the policy tools to support its protection as a heritage asset are guidance, while the instruments to make change are legislative. Of particular relevance here are the *NPPF* and *Conservation principles* which confirm that undesignated buildings can have significance and be afforded a level of protection, while the simultaneous expansion of permitted development rights (PDRs) allows development within certain quantitative parameters to be implemented without any means of design quality control (Garton Grimwood 2021; MHCLG 2021b; Historic England 2008).

The expansion of PDRs in 2021 is therefore controversial and Government acknowledges that professional bodies such as RTPI, CIfA and the Local Government Association have concerns for heritage protection, while others such as RIBA and the Construction Industry Council are concerned it will lead to poor quality housing and the marginalisation of communities (Garton Grimwood 2021, 5-6). When the need for planning permission has been removed, the opportunity for residents to consider and comment on the impact of small residential modifications in their neighbourhood is also removed, giving them no means to engage with the planning system or the future of the neighbourhood (Planning Portal 2021; MHCLG 2020). Local authorities can remove PDRs with an Article 4 Direction if there is sufficient justification, as outlined in the *NPPF*, and this relies on a detailed and robust knowledge of an area (Garton Grimwood 2021, 11; MHCLG 2021b, 15). While it is not stated explicitly, this might include how its physicality and its communities contribute to its heritage significance, as the subject of this thesis.

In the context of PDRs and neighbourhoods such as Harehills, the importance of design guides becomes increasingly apparent. The *National Design Guide* is primarily concerned with large scale new development rather than piecemeal or minor development within existing neighbourhoods, but it provides a structure for the creation of local design guides which should reflect the local character and meet the needs of the local communities (MHCLG 2019e, 7). In Leeds, supplementary planning documents (SPDs) have been adopted into the Local Development Framework and are taken into consideration when determining planning applications (LCC 2021a). The *Householder Design Guide* is the most relevant to Harehills, but it does not give guidance on managing change to back-to-back houses which is a significant omission given that around 5.5% of Leeds houses are back-to-back, and in the Harehills Triangle, 80% of the houses are back-to-back (VOA 2020; LCC 2012). The *Street design guide* appears to primarily reference new developments rather than existing neighbourhoods, but a Home Zone in a back-to-back neighbourhood is provided as a good example of a co-ordinated approach to traffic management and landscape (LCC 2009, 32).

In addition to the use of SPDs, there are three other relevant mechanisms for the recognition and protection of non-designated heritage assets, all of which require research about the assets themselves, and a clear understanding of the community's values and preferences in order to gain their support: inclusion in a local heritage list; inclusion in a local or neighbourhood plan; and conservation area designation (Historic England 2021, 2; 6-7; 2019, 9-14).

Housing preferences

The neighbourhood

Design guidance for professionals is a key focus in the recent literature on creating neighbourhoods (BBBBC 2020; MHCLG 2019e; Carmichael and Stern 2018; Birkbeck and

Kruczkowski 2015; CIHT 2010, 33; Bradbury et al. 2007). Neighbourhoods should be varied in their density, design and character; they should house a mixed community, for example by providing a range of property types, sizes and tenures; and there should be social spaces that promote community cohesion (Birkbeck and Kruczkowski 2015, 9-10; Carmichael and Stern 2018, 20). These hierarchies, patterns, and community relations enhance residents' experiences of the place which encourages residents to live in neighbourhoods long term, but they also provide 'kerb' appeal which is key to the selection of a new home (Carmichael and Stern 2018, 20; 26; 30). Accordingly, distinctive neighbourhoods with a tangible character appeal to a wider range of people than those without such qualities (Carmichael and Stern 2018, 31).

Most people appear to have similar core values, such as a preference for proximity to a range of local amenities, being safe, and having good neighbours (Carmichael and Stern 2018, 18; Birkbeck and Kruczkowski 2015 7; 14-16; Bradbury et al. 2007, 67; Bowes, Dar and Sim 2000, 176). It is noteworthy that neighbours who take responsibility for communal spaces are highly valued (Finley et al. 2012, 15), and this will be revisited later in the chapter in relation to the Harehills residents. Also of relevance to Harehills, one study concludes that for South Asian residents, there is a preference for a neighbourhood that supports Asian shops, a mosque, good schools and transport (Bowes, Dar and Sim 2000, 176). The evidence in Chapter 6 supports the finding of ethnic segregation, but it applies also to some Eastern Europeans in Harehills. In a return to the debate about choice versus constraint in housing, Tomlins (2000, 163) cautions that some perceptions of ethnicity bias the benefits of ethnic residential segregation; the disadvantages are perhaps evident in the deprivation indicators reported for Harehills.

The house

The design of Georgian and Victorian buildings is used by some researchers to highlight architectural qualities, such as proportion and the use of high quality, robust materials, but also their adaptability, which has contributed to their survival (BBBBC 2020, 11; Dalziel and Qureshi Cortale 2012, 35-37). For example, people prefer older homes with a traditional layout and character, defined mainly in terms of period features; high ceilings, fireplaces, sash windows with good levels of natural lighting, and large rooms are given as examples (Finley et al. 2012, 4; 11; 14). Seemingly the second most important aspect of a home after the quantity of space, and generally prioritised favourably over energy efficiency requirements, the widespread appeal of older housing is clear (Finley et al. 11; 45; 48). Despite the importance of space however, the 'feel' of a house can override some people's practical requirements when selecting a home (Finley et al. 2012, 11).

Many people are dissatisfied with the quantity of space available to them, and this often relates to inadequate kitchens, lack of storage spaces (e.g. for bins and cleaning equipment), and more generally, to an inability to accommodate furniture and possessions (Finley et al. 2012, 35-36; Drury 2009, 18). There is a preference for larger rooms rather than more rooms as this is seen to benefit the multi-functionality of space that is particularly desired by families, and also facilitates indoor socialising (Finley et al. 2012, 20; Drury 2006, 9; 38; 40; CABE 2005, 20).

Outdoor space is similarly highly valued by families, but something that most people want to some degree (Finley et al. 2012, 50-51; 53). Private rather than communal spaces are preferred, as they are felt to be more suited to socialising, relaxation and functional requirements such as drying washing (Finley et al. 2012, 51-52).

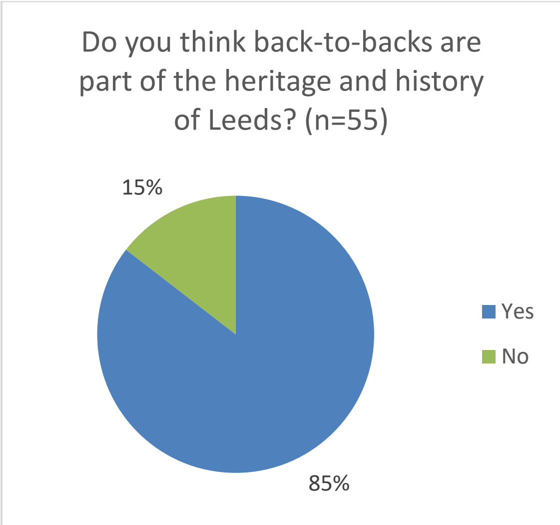
The key themes and preferences of Harehills residents started to emerge in Chapter 6, and this short literature review has already indicated the universality of these. The next section will investigate residents' values and preferences in more depth to understand priorities and acceptable compromises in the context of their future aspirations for the place.

<u>Values and preferences</u>

Residents

History, heritage and community identity

The questionnaire data demonstrates the interleaving of residents' values and their thoughts on history, heritage and the identity of the neighbourhood. Despite the difference in the proportion of former and current residents liking Harehills (95% versus 52% respectively), there is greater similarity between their opinion on the value of the houses. Almost 97% of former residents think the back-to-back houses are part of the history and heritage of Leeds, compared to 85% of current residents, and 71% of current residents feel they are part of the identity of the community (Figure 108) (Appendix F *Heritage value* provides full details of the decline).



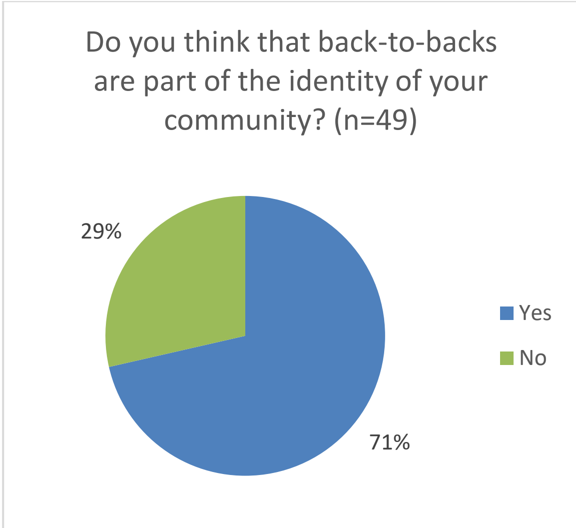
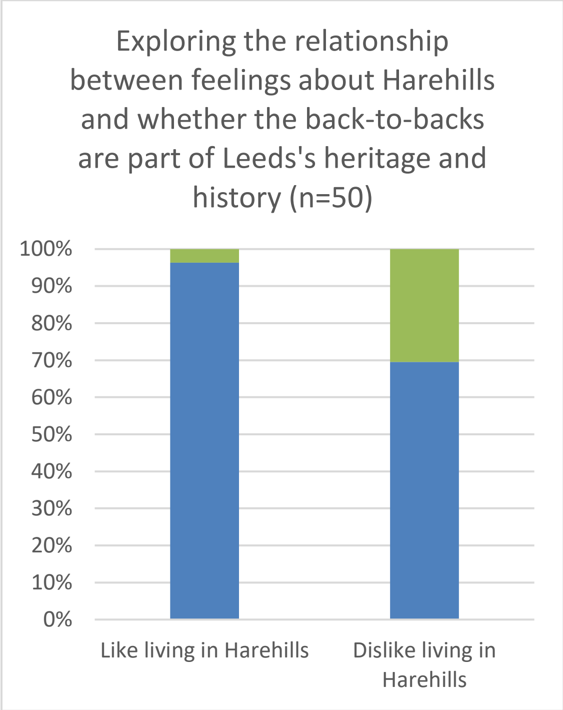
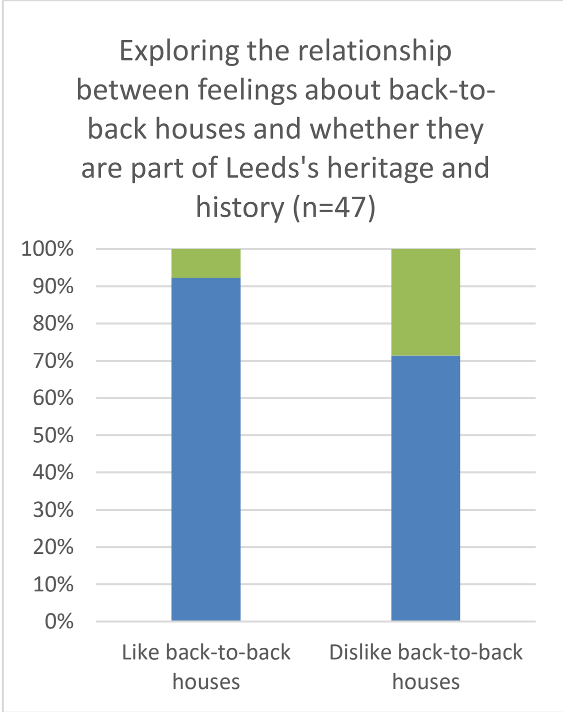


Figure 108 The majority of back-to-back residents consider the houses to be both part of the heritage and history of Leeds, and part of the identity of the community.

Deeper exploration of the data gives more insight into the relationship between these, and how residents feel about Harehills, back-to-back houses generally, and their own home. The figures indicate that likes and dislikes of a neighbourhood, a house type and one's own home influence whether back-to-back houses are considered part of the heritage and history of Leeds (Figure 109); in effect, the lived experience informs value judgements about the physical environment. A similar observation, though with stronger correlations, is made from the data relating to whether back-to-backs are part of the identity of the community (Figure 110). This too suggests that those residents who have positive feelings about their neighbourhood, house type and home, have a sense of positivity that goes beyond their own personal experience; the physical identity of the back-to-backs contributes to their sense of place.





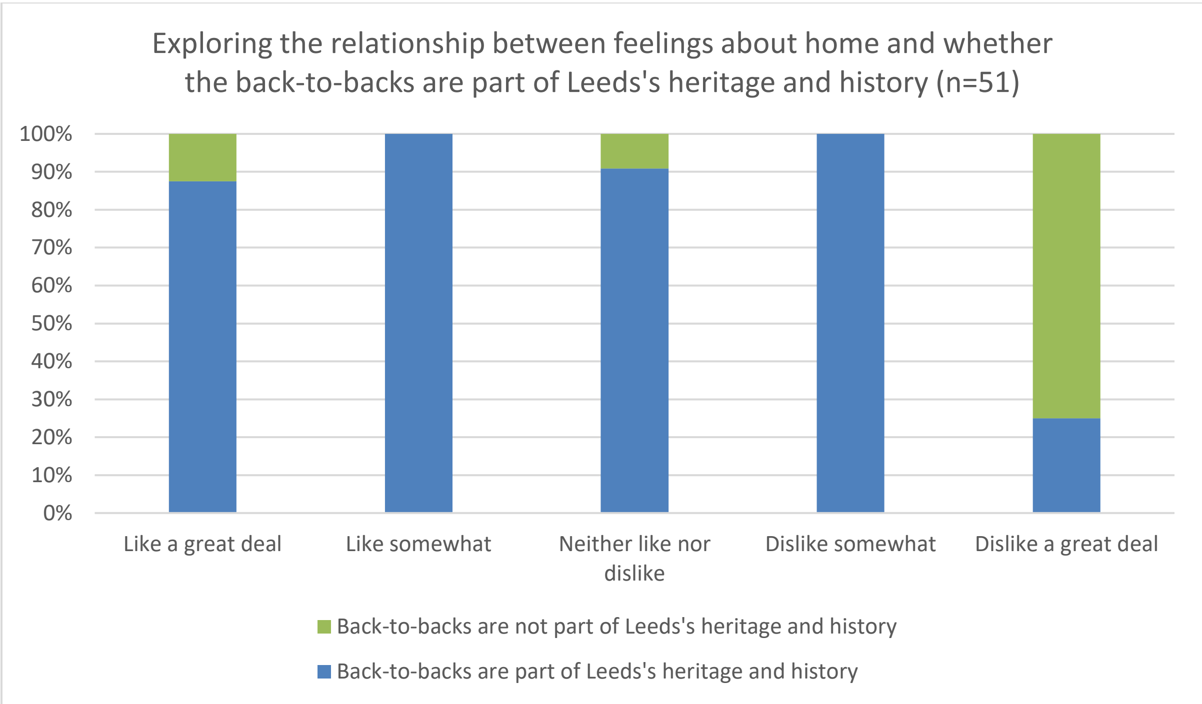


Figure 109 96% of those who like living in Harehills think that the back-to-backs are part of the heritage and history of Leeds compared to 70% of those who do not like Harehills (top left). Similarly, 91% of those who like back-to-back houses think they are part of the heritage and history of Leeds compared to 71% of those who do not like them (top right). The residents with the greatest dissatisfaction with their homes are significantly more likely to disregard back-to-back houses as part of Leeds’s heritage and history (bottom).

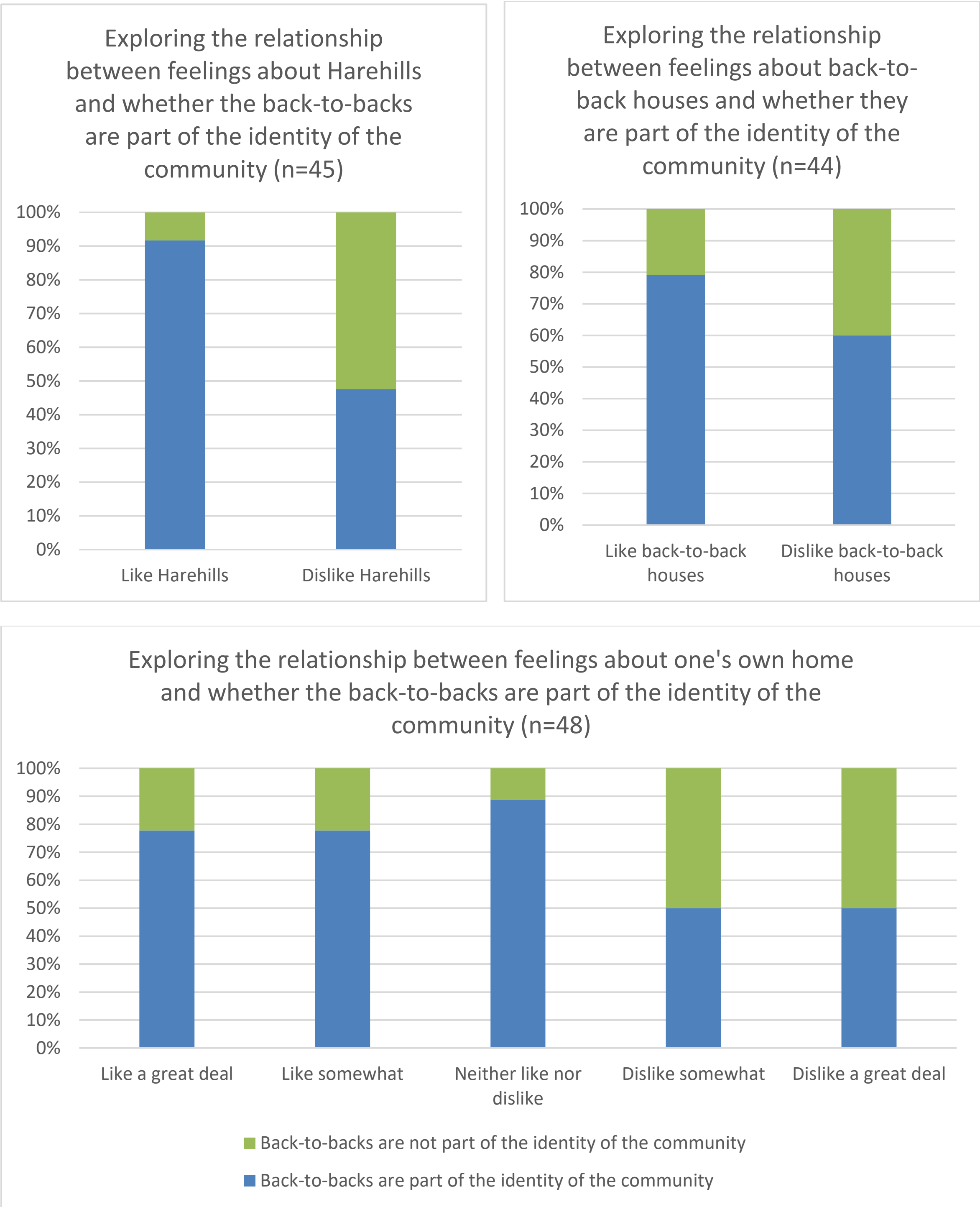


Figure 110 91% of those who like living in Harehills think that the back-to-backs are part of the identity of the community compared to 48% of those who do not like Harehills (top left). 79% of people who like back-to-backs think that they are part of the identity of the community compared to 60% of those who dislike them (top right). There is an almost linear correlation between feelings for one's own home and whether back-to-backs are part of the identity of the community.

There is also a linear relationship between residents' feelings for their own home and whether or not they like back-to-back houses (Figure 111), which again reinforces the suggestion that values are very closely tied to the lived experience. Residents perhaps struggle to consider issues more objectively, for example, by recognising that their own house may not meet their own needs because it is too small and in poor condition, but that a neighbouring house with fewer residents and in a better state of repair may meet its residents' needs perfectly.

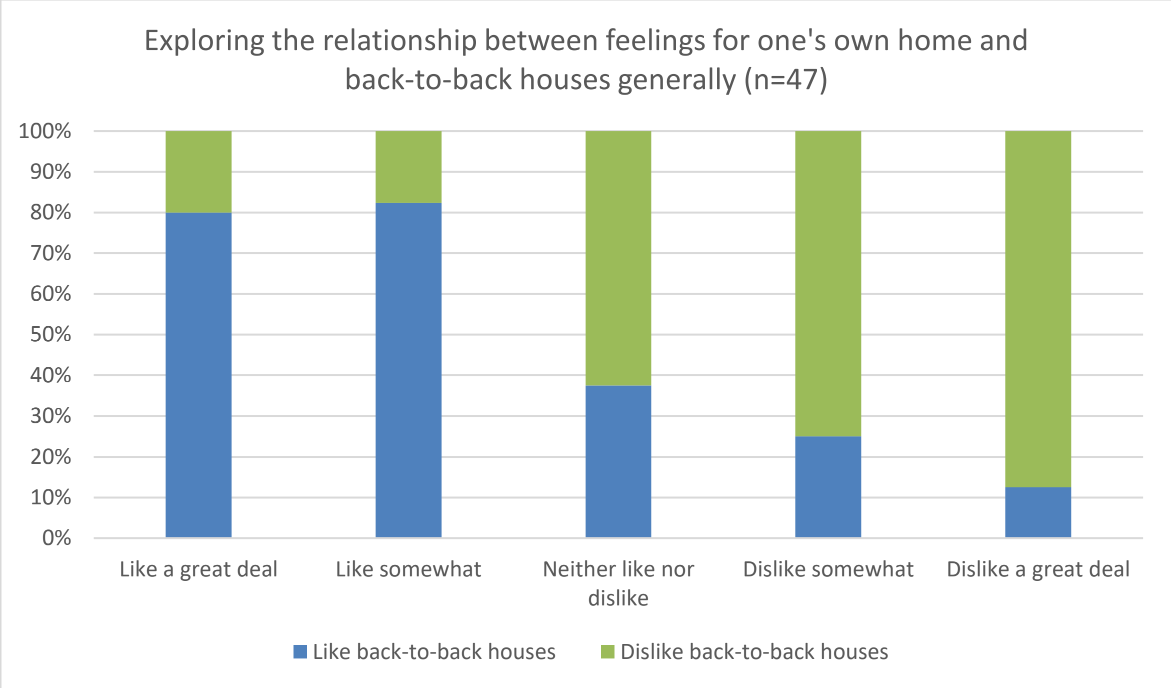


Figure 111 Residents are more likely to like back-to-back houses as a house type if they like the back-to-back house they live in.

Chapter 6 demonstrated that residents in Harehills hold a range of both tangible and intangible values for the neighbourhood and back-to-back houses, but significantly, they hold dichotomous perspectives not only as a community, but as individuals. The qualitative data that follows, provides additional insights into this, considering first those that relate to the neighbourhood and then those that are focused on the houses as homes. These community values (and detractors) which are presented in the rest of this section, are articulated using Historic England's (2008) value typology, with the addition of community value as described in Chapter 2.

The neighbourhood

Historical values

The age, or long history of back-to-back houses is valued by both former and current residents, and this is tied to the history of the city. The high number of back-to-backs in Harehills and indeed Leeds, and the fact the type is specifically associated with Leeds, being relatively unknown outside of West Yorkshire appears to culminate in a sense of local pride – "They are Leeds history" (C001 2017).

For some participants, the significance of a long history is as simple as the neighbourhood having a history, while for others, it is the particular story of the neighbourhood (its social, economic and working-class history), or their own house or historical family connections to the area that contribute to the sense of place, identity and attachment (Appendix D *Questionnaire data* and *Interview transcripts*, and Appendix F *Heritage value* provide full details).

> Im a child of the Bayswaters and no matter where ive lived....i sweat and bleed Harehills. I love that i was born and brought up in a settlers community where generations of people lived... (Bell 2019b)

> The back to backs in Harehills were built to house the working class, and I think Harehills has remained a staunchly working class area ever since. (X009 2018)

For those who have a more general interest in older housing, engaging with this research and finding out more about the history of their own home has deepened their connection with the place.

> When I saw your article… and it happened to be a picture of our street… I said to my boyfriend 'Look we live in a superior back-to-back! We live in a superior one!' And I felt really proud of seeing that picture… [T]hat… turned on a different side for me about this house… (C051 2021a)

> I am interested in the history of the area really, the stories behind it and I really, really loved the tour that you did. I just realised how steeped in history it was and… the reasons behind why some houses have got that style of architecture and others next to it or a few doors down have got something different... (C003 2021)

Not all residents however, have an accurate understanding of the history of the neighbourhood so their values are somewhat mis-matched with reality.

> [A]s far as I am aware Harehills was built by the Irish. (C052 2021)

> They were lived in originally by mill and factory workers. (C049 2019)

Aesthetic values

In terms of the street environment, the values and detractors identified by the core participants (current residents who participated in interviews and / or workshops) can be summarised under two themes: urban form and architecture; and gardens and open space (Appendix F Table 18). Questionnaire responses suggest that with the exception of historic character, less than 50% of the wider community feel that architectural and aesthetic values are not evident in the neighbourhood, but there is a much higher level of agreement for the detractors (Appendix F *Values* and *Detractors*). The materiality and condition of gardens for example appears to be problematic for 97% of residents (Appendix F Figure 373).

A feeling of claustrophobia is described by the workshop participants where shop-houses have expanded to their curtilage and encroach into public space. They prefer the original building lines of shop-houses to be maintained to maximise space and the feeling of light in the streets, although this is contested by 56% of the Q3 respondents who do not agree that the extensions are problematic.

> [O]ne… shop comes out under the bus shelter so there's this conflict of people, waiting for the bus, coming out of the shop, walking along and there's often people crashing into each other… (Greaves 2021c)

In addition, the appearance of shop-houses is detrimental to some residents' enjoyment of the historic architectural character of the neighbourhood.

> You've got that really ugly shop extension. Like a sore thumb. Again it's bit of a recurring theme… on every street. (C051 2021b)

> [T]hey often put the pipes and things over the windows… there was one where they put air-conditioning units… over the windows of the flat above which is really sad. (Greaves 2021c)

A minority of residents who responded to the Q1 questionnaire said they would like to see the back-to-back houses demolished and replaced with modern homes, but this contrasts with the majority of former and current residents who highly value the historic architectural character of the neighbourhood and the build quality. The core participants expressed a sadness for the loss of houses that have been demolished in the neighbourhood, and the houses and streets that have been stripped of their original features.

> They… are a lot better built than many newer houses… and have stood the test of time. (C031 2018)

> They look at it very much from financial terms because they're not invested as a council… their motivations will be different than say if a group of people got together and said… 'let's invest in this area, let's keep this area and let's fight to keep these houses.' (C003 2021)

> And it's sad, because… you see… what could be a beautiful place to live… being gradually ground down and ever more deteriorating, and bit by bit having the character and the quality chipped off it… [O]ur street got stripped… of the beautiful York stone paving that gave it its character. (Harris 2020)

In Workshop 1 the most often cited appreciation of architectural features related to windows (especially bay windows, paired windows with a central mullion, large, and decorative windows), original dormer windows and porches, and decorative features such as the brick frieze, stone lintels and window surrounds (Appendix D *Workshop Transcripts* and Appendix F Figure 342). These evoke poetic or romanticised interpretations of life in the past, as well as an appreciation of the functional benefits.

> [T]hey've got really impressive bay windows, with a triple window. (Greaves 2021a)

> I like the original [attic] window... Just imagine someone… sitting up there and writing a novel or something. (Tee 2021)

> Many people CHOOSE to live here because of the quality of the historical houses. (X012 2021c)

As discussed in Chapter 6, residents are scathing of the poor condition of rental properties, which impacts on the overall architectural and aesthetic value of the neighbourhood. Accordingly, well-maintained properties are highly prized. Residents are similarly frustrated by infrastructure schemes that do not include a coordinated approach to the design of hard and soft landscaping and street furniture.

An appreciation of the uniformity of streets was a strong theme to emerge from Workshop 1. There was a general dislike of anything that disrupted their uniformity, including the ad-hoc designs of dormer windows, the application of render, insulation or non-red paint to exterior walls, and replacement boundary walls and fences.

> There's a real sense of harmony in this street. Everything looks as if it's where it's supposed to be. Nothing's jarring, nothing is sticking out as being awkward or inconsistent with its surroundings. (X012 2021a)

> I wish they'd have one dormer design… and then at least they would match… there's so many on our street it's ridiculous. (Greaves 2021c)

> [A] couple years ago a lot of the houses got those… insulating bricks… The natural beauty of the house has been covered up with fake sponge… All I see is that they've been picked off and it looks awful. (C051 2021b)

All participants strongly favoured houses with gardens, but those with well-maintained, tidy gardens with soft landscaping such as plants and hedges were felt to add the highest value to the streetscape. While a lack of gardens was generally unappealing, there was an appreciation of the benefits that even container planting on windowsills can bring to soften the otherwise hard environment of those streets.

<u>Communal and community values</u>

Chapters 5 and 6 revealed that sense of place in Harehills is heavily influenced by community relationships and the use of public space, and here, these are articulated as values and detractors (Appendix F Table 19). There is a majority agreement with the identified values among the wider community, and as for the architectural aspects, higher agreement with the detractors (Appendix F *Values* and *Detractors*).

The community spirit that was highly valued by former residents continues today, however it competes with anti-social behaviour and crime, so that on the one hand, the communities are a big contributor to making Harehills a great place to live, and on the other hand, their division contributes to the neighbourhood's decline. It is clear that residents value the positive relationships they have with others, and the work of local voluntary groups.

> [O]ne of the real pluses about the back-to-backs… is the community that's developed because you know everybody who lives around you because you see everyone. We all come out of the front… and especially in the summer, you speak to your neighbours, you get to know your neighbours, they look out for you, you look out for them. (Harris 2020)

> [W]hen we went to check on it [a vandalised tree] one of the neighbours rushed out and said 'what are you doing to the trees?' and we said 'we're just trying to check it's all right and see if it's saveable'… [S]o there was a lot of good feeling round there which was good. (Greaves 2021c)

Unfortunately, the benefits of living in a multi-cultural and diverse neighbourhood with access to a wide range of shopping and dining facilities and the experience of getting to know people from other cultures, can be offset when change results in established communities being unable to identify with the place they were once attached to. For some, the changes that new immigrant communities bring to local amenities and facilities (for example new types of shops and differences in cultural norms, as discussed in Chapter 6) feels problematic. Having observed changes in business activity, residents feel that limiting further change would not be detrimental to the shopping and dining that they value.

Changes in sense of place however, can also be related to changes in the intensity of use of public space and who that space serves. For example, many residents feel that the negative outsider opinion of Harehills, combined with recent changes to the highways network, has made Harehills a route for through-traffic rather than a neighbourhood to serve its residents' needs and attract visitors. Accordingly, workshop participants value the idea, if not the implementation, of traffic calming measures and those which restrict access to residential streets (Greaves 2021c; Harris 2021b). This is not something that all residents want however. There is greater consensus that the use of their streets in lieu of the hospital carpark is detrimental to both their aesthetic enjoyment and safety.

Many residents choose to live in Harehills because of its affordability. As discussed in Chapter 6, both rental and purchase costs are among the lowest in the city, making the houses attractive to low-earners and first-time buyers. For owners in particular, this affordability brings long-term financial security, but in addition, the low running costs translate into a larger disposable income.

> [I]t's a home that I can afford so I don't have any financial worries in that regard and that's important. It's secure. It can't be pulled away from me. (Harris 2020)

> [T]his house is very cheap to run, it's very cheap to heat, it's economical to live here. So that's allowed us to pay off a lot of debt… (C051 2021a]

> [I]t's… extremely cheap to run, and that's why I've still stayed here as long as I have… [Y]es I could afford a bigger house or a semi… but I like to travel as well so it gives me a good opportunity to do the things I want… (Bunting 2020)

Negative outsider opinion angers residents who feel that much of it is unjustified. As discussed in Chapter 6, participants argue that it contributes to a continuing decline in the area by deterring potential investors such as first-time buyers who could make a long-term commitment to the neighbourhood and together, improve the physical environment and balance the demographic profile of residents. In effect, they are talking about gentrification, but it is evident that they also want to retain the characteristics they already have and value, including affordability.

> I know about these initiatives… where people can buy the old houses… like £1 or £2… [T]hat's an amazing way of getting people interested in, being invested in an area and… it makes a big difference. (C003 2021)

> I think it is problematic that people are being out-priced, particularly in rental markets… But having said that… I do think we need improvements because it's just steadily getting worse… I think there has been an artificially low price structure built around Harehills. (Harris 2021b)

The difficulty for residents in having these continuous internal conflicts is that life becomes a challenge – the love-hate relationship is uneasy. Recalling the position of former residents who lived with the uncertainty of whether their homes would be demolished or whether they should be modernised, it can stall emotional and financial investment, and people move on.

> [I]t's very, very depressing. Because we're not getting enough meaningful change fast enough to make people feel as it might be worth staying and sticking it out. You can't blame people for going… I love my house. I just wish it was in a better area… I've got… lovely neighbours… but you can just go a few streets along and that balance has gone… you lose that sense of community… (Harris 2020)

> [We] are looking at moving… out of this area but we still love this type of house and the period features… (C051 2021b)

The next section considers values that are specific to residents' homes.

The houses

<u>Evidential value</u>

Some residents have a long-standing interest in the history and heritage of the neighbourhood and their home, and actively engage with it. They are conscious of not only what they have found in their houses that helps them understand the past, but of the continuity of heritage and their contribution to it.

> I did make a lovely discovery when we had our boiler replaced… because there was the most gorgeous florally wallpaper behind… [I]t's still there behind the boiler for someone else to find in future. (Greaves 2020b)

> [W]hen we did the patio, we did a bit of concrete and we put 'Lockdown 2020' and did all our handprints… So that… in the future… it's… like our mark on the property… so… when they do the censuses in years to come and they see us all living there. (Tee 2020)

<u>Aesthetic values</u>

The key themes to emerge from the workshops in relation to the architectural and aesthetic value of the houses were a preference for light, space, a garden and period features. These closely reflect the physical and experiential values of home for the wider population as reported by RIBA (Finley et al. 2012) previously. Residents' individual rankings for these four themes enabled their relative importance to be understood (Figure 112), and these themes will now be explored in more detail.

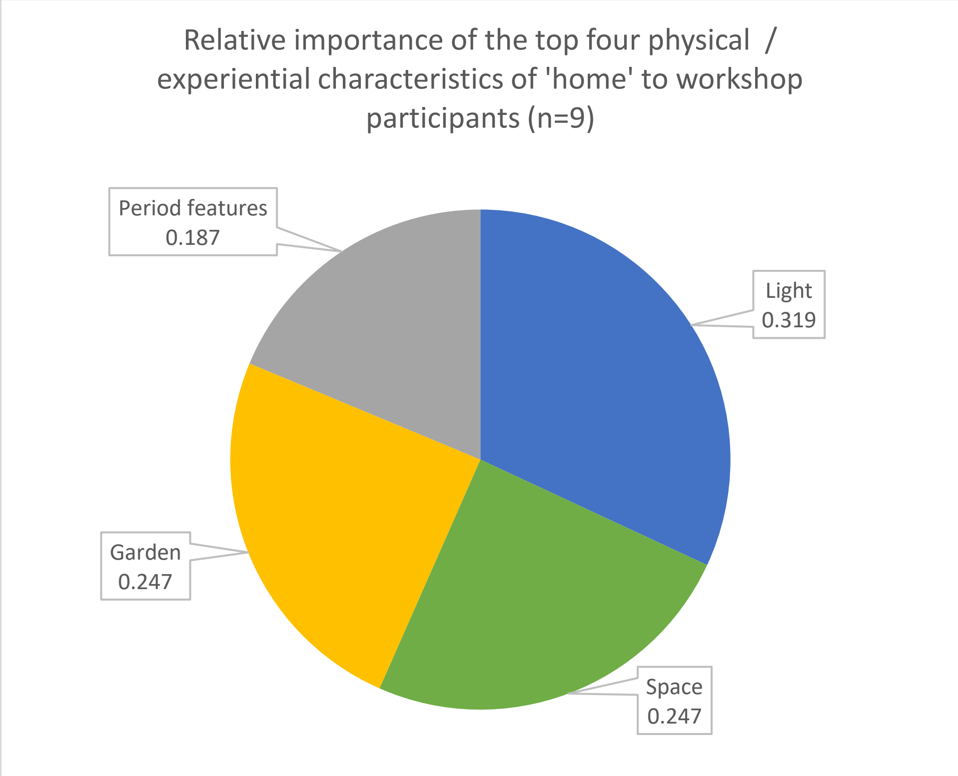


Figure 112 Key themes identified by workshop participants.

Windows are valued for their direct aesthetic value (as discussed previously) and also the impact they have on the feel of rooms, notably making them light, letting the sun in, and allowing views out. It is perhaps surprising that light should emerge with such importance, having only been mentioned by three participants in the Q1 questionnaire, but this might be explained firstly by the demographic of the core participants who like their homes and who are not living in sub-standard conditions that might cause them to prioritise functional needs, and secondly, by the wider tendency for some housing choices to be influenced by the feel of a home rather than their functional requirements.

> [A]ny kind of light that comes into your room that makes the space feel bigger and calming… [L]ight can solve a lot of problems even if you have a small space. Who wants to live in a dingy, dark room, as big as it is? (C051 2021b)

> I'm fortunate to be South facing so on a sunny morning it's absolutely glorious. (Harris 2020)

> It… got plenty of sunshine, plenty of light. It just had a right nice feel about it… (C031 2021a)

While the questionnaires produced similar themes to the interview and workshop data, there was a clear division for Q1 questionnaire participants between design / construction and indoor environment in particular, with both categories scoring highly for being the best and worst aspect of home (Appendix F *The houses and home*). Exploration of Q1 and Q3 data shows that the size of back-to-back houses is particularly contentious though households with children or a large number of adults are more likely to complain about not having enough space, and some complaints relate to the kitchen only. There is generally a strong preference to retain the original layout of the house but participants who are least satisfied with the kitchen size are more open to the idea of open plan living.

> [S]pacious lounge, spacious bedroom, nice bathroom, kitchen, a bit small but it was quite okay. (C031 2021a)

> [I]f I had the finances and I was going to stay here, I would knock our wall down from the kitchen to the living room space because there is absolutely zero space… [O]pen plan is really important in a back-to-back because it's too small. (C051 2021b)

It was shown in Chapter 4 that modification and adaptation of the houses has historically focussed on two aspects – increasing or maximising the useability of space and improving the performance of facilities and the indoor environment. The Covid-19 pandemic has brought these issues to the forefront of current residents' minds, and to some extent, encouraged them to consider their future aspirations for their homes in a way that might not otherwise have been so explicit. It is especially noteworthy that the same two themes dominate residents' thoughts. With basements now the primary undeveloped space, attention has turned to how these might significantly increase the living space. Such adaptation is framed to overcome existing inconveniences, and to ensure long-term viability of the house type.

> I would really like to sort the basement out… So that room under the kitchen I want to be able to turn into a laundry room… And then in the main big room I would like that just to be a more usable, less cluttered space that I can actually get the table up and then see people around the table to eat properly… And just do art projects at and work at so that would be nice. (Harris 2020)

> We’re going to do the kitchen in the basement… [W]hat is now the kitchen, we want to make that into like a study… and future proof the house in case we have to work from home… But the lounge area… we predict will be much more for… comfortable sofas, less stuff… The coal cellar would be used for utility. (Tee 2020)

While few residents have expressed a desire for a second toilet, it is possible that this need will grow. One older resident who expects to remain in her home, and for whom the stairs are already a challenge would welcome this addition on the ground floor. Realisation of the desire to accommodate more functions on a single level is inevitably subject to compromise however.

> [T]here’s just too much furniture in t’room… [I]f I could change it I would want a big kitchen so I could have my washer and dryer up here as well as what I’ve got and then I’m not having to traipse down the cellar to do washing. It’d be lovely to have a toilet downstairs here, but other than that I wouldn’t change anything. (C021 2021)

Gardens are valued by most residents, increasingly so since the Covid pandemic, and their use and benefit was discussed fully in detail in Chapter 6. For some participants, the absence of a garden or having only a small garden is the worst thing about the home.

> Well it would be nice if it [the garden] was a bit bigger... But it’s okay, it’s just enough… [I]f I didn’t have the allotment I think I might feel a bit caged in. (Coulson 2021a)

While period features appeared to be much less important among the wider community, the core participants have a particular interest in the area’s history and so their importance is reflective of the inbuilt bias in this group. Original fireplaces, doors, floorboards and stained glass were among the period features that were felt to add the most value to the character of the house interiors. One surprising insight was the value that residents have for incidental spaces and ledges.

> One of my neighbours moved. And… she missed… the quirky little cubbyholes and… the weird-shaped bit next to the chimney and as you go up the stairs there’s another little weird shelf in the curvy bit above… unusual things that you don’t really get in modern houses. (Greaves 2021c)

Generally, residents' ideas for customising their homes to create spaces that reflect their values and needs tend to be inspired by the original character and features of the home.

> [I]t would have been nice to have had more of the original doors… [P]eople [are] going to reclaimer's yards and finding a replacement one. So that's… one of the things I'd like to do, for the heritage, but also have it quite modern as well for our modern needs… (C003 2021)

> [O]ur loft room hasn't got a right lot of ceiling height… I don't imagine necessarily us doing it, but I can see someone wanting to put a dormer on… I'd love to be the person that… gets dormers right… make it look a bit more in keeping… more of the period… (Greaves 2020b)

> [W]here the [basement] door is now, we'll block it up to have a window. I'd love to replicate that [stained glass fanlight] design… (Tee 2020)

The quality of the indoor environment is key for many residents. For those living in poorly maintained rental properties, many of whom are not self-represented in this research, there must be high levels of dissatisfaction because of the health, safety and comfort implications of their living conditions. A significant number of participants also experience problems with noisy neighbours, and a minority are unlucky enough to have unwanted sound from three or even five adjoining neighbours. However many participants cite positive aspects of the indoor environment and general house design such as warmth, robust construction, the ease of cleaning and maintenance, and ontological security. The workshop participants agreed that ventilating their homes is important; for many, the preferred way of doing this in the living areas is to open the front door which they feel brings a wellbeing value beyond basic health.

> I like opening the front door and just having it open. You… don't feel hemmed in ... You've got air coming into your room… I know some are different, they've got hallways, but mine is straight onto the street and I just love to be able to open a door. (Bunting 2021)

This is in some way contradictory to the problematic lack of privacy that is noted by questionnaire participants, but it demonstrates the broad range of preferences and values that residents have, and the different ways in which the houses can meet residents' needs. As Tee (2021) commented, "You have to work with what you've got."

As with the neighbourhood data, the wider community's agreement is higher for the detractors than the values (Appendix F *Values* and *Detractors*).

For full data see Appendix D *Interview transcripts* and *Workshop transcripts,* Appendix F *The houses and home and* Datasets→SPSS folder.

Summary

Only 56% of Q1 questionnaire respondents reported liking back-to-back houses generally, and the same number like their own home. This, and the Q3 dataset represent a wider demographic than the core participants, and satisfaction is inevitably higher among the latter because they are mostly home-owners with a long-term attachment to their homes and the neighbourhood (Appendix F *Values* and *Detractors* provides analysis of Q3 data by demographic characteristics). The data presented in this chapter therefore reflects that bias to some extent.

Participants articulated a wide range of values and detractors in the neighbourhood which can be categorised as historical, architectural / aesthetic and communal. These range from the age and working-class history of the neighbourhood, to its location, urban form, architecture, gardens, open space, traffic, parking and waste management, and community relationships. In many cases, the values and detractors are binary opposites, such as valuing well-maintained properties, and feeling that poorly-maintained properties are detractors.

In terms of how the houses are valued as homes, the four key themes (light, space, garden and period features), and many of lesser importance to residents, can be clearly shown to be evidential and architectural / aesthetic. Within the community value category, there is a high functional / use value. While this is not necessarily a heritage value, it does nonetheless have relevance because the historic house design has flexibly adapted to changing uses. It also links to the communal social value of the designs as residents have customised their homes to suit their own needs and reflect their personal identities. That some choose to do this with regard to their home's original design and features is evidence of the heritage values they recognise in the houses.

The questionnaire data suggests there is a relationship between feelings for one's own home and opinion on heritage value and community identity. The condition of some rental properties and the struggles of their tenants to secure a basic level of safety offers one explanation for this relationship, with the likelihood that value can only be felt for non-essential characteristics such as history or period features if residents' fundamental needs are already being met.

Although inextricably linked, the separation of the two key house issues – design / construction and condition, means it is possible to accept that the house type is not innately problematic and can meet the needs of many residents. Referring back to the arguments presented in Chapter 2, where problems occur, they tend to have a social origin. With hope offered by the Selective Licencing scheme that house conditions will be improved, it appears that campaigns for change in the neighbourhood should have a more strategic focus. This will be explored in the rest of the chapter.

The professionals

As discussed in Chapter 6, policy implementation and service delivery in Harehills is distributed across several local authority departments, each of which is responsible for a specific element, for example planning and conservation, highways, household waste collections and housing standards. Often, the work of officers in these departments is closely linked to the work of those in other departments, but there appears to be little opportunity for strategic oversight and management. In addition, this appears to extend to knowledge-sharing and implementing action across different parts of the city even within departments.

> And it feels really frustrating across Leeds that when you've got similar shared issues that there isn't more interchanging and sharing and rolling out of things that work in one area and then applying it to another. (Harris 2021b)

At the October 2021 East North East meeting between residents, the local Councillors and Jason Singh, Head of Environmental Action, it was acknowledged that there are strategic problems relating to waste services and that a review of this will take twelve to eighteen months. While this is a step in the right direction, it was also clear that the council officers need encouragement from the Councillors to commit to investigating potential solutions suggested by residents, and that the possibility of some of these being implemented is hindered by council policy and legislation (Arif et al. 2021). Residents were also recently dismayed to discover that the removal of hedges is scheduled to take place in the library grounds because of problems with alcohol use and rats; they believe that the proposed solution does not address the problems, which are social (Harris et al. 2021). Councillor Arif's response confirmed the lack of strategic planning between council departments.

> I don't know who made this call…. I certainly don't want to lose greenery from the area, hence why we as elected members have funded the greener campaigns. (Arif 2021)

Returning to the historic built environment, it is evident that this strategic oversight is also lacking. Leeds City Council's Senior Conservation Officer Kate Newell and Neighbourhood Planning Manager Ian Mackay, and Leeds Civic Trust Director Martin Hamilton gave detailed interviews (Appendix D *Interview transcripts* and Appendix F *Professional values*).

Speaking in general terms, MacKay (2021) recognises the contribution of back-to-back housing to the city.

> [W]hilst they're not of the same architectural quality as say some of the Edwardian architecture in the city centre… their impact on the city is just as significant, perhaps even more so… [T]he general character is a positive overall… it's really part of Leeds's history and culture. And in a sense, Leeds's… distinctiveness as well… [B]ack-to-backs in Leeds say something about Leeds as a city and Leeds's independence…

Newell (2021) and Hamilton (2021) agree that the significance of the Harehills neighbourhood lies in the group value of the houses, which is heightened by it being the largest and most complete back-to-back neighbourhood in Leeds. They recognise the historic urban layout, the architecture and materiality of the place, and the continuation of its communal value to residents from the time of its construction to the present day, all of which are themes identified in the course of this research and the MA research that preceded it.

> [T]he road layout is all historic, the majority of the buildings are historic, so… the whole … backdrop to people's lives is the historic environment even if it's not recognised in designation. (Newell 2021)

Newell reflects that there have been failings on the part of the local authority which mean that opportunities for securing high quality development have been missed. These are in part, a legacy of the decision not to designate a conservation area in the 1980s when the possibility was discussed among officials. Designation was rejected because of a concern that it would be detrimental to the residents, and seems to have been borne out of the idea that low-income households need to be able to adapt their houses with maximum ease. The lack of designation means that input is not sought from the conservation team when planning applications are determined. Coupled with the extension of PDRs, and limited enforcement opportunities, the potential to improve standards is diminishing.

> [T]here is a lot of unsympathetic change because the heritage value of the area hasn't been recognised… and so that hasn't been managed in terms of the planning system… [T]he built heritage itself, would definitely qualify for conservation area status…
>
> [T]he things that the council have no control over at all are extensive. And then when you look at the amount of unauthorised change going on… the whole system of enforcement and compliance is based on us being aware of… that development… if the planning breaches aren't being reported to the council… then they go unchallenged and… I should imagine that there is quite a substantial amount of that going on.

Hamilton is certainly aware that development quality in the area is of a poor standard, echoing the voices of residents, and believes that communication and peer pressure might initiate change. He recalls a recent typical planning application and suggests a co-ordinated approach involving professionals and communities.

> [I]t wasn't just the fact that the scheme itself was pretty unimaginative, it was actually lacking in detail… so it was… very hard to understand what they were wanting to do. And… there was a feeling of 'well it's Harehills, we can do something fairly cheap and cheerful.'
>
> [M]aybe there's a need to bang heads together and whether that's a role for the local authority or… the local councillors… or whether it's almost like a mini business improvement district type arrangement where you get traders together and they…

> think about the overall design quality of the area... something of that nature… would be really good.

Newell and Hamilton agree that instruments such as Article 4 Directions are difficult to establish and maintain, and feel that other options are likely to be more successful. Two in particular warrant discussion; neighbourhood planning and local listing (see *Preparing to take action*).

The professionals interviewed for this research are very positive about the heritage values of the back-to-back houses in Harehills and appear to attach greater significance to the houses than they are formally considered to have, and indeed, to the neighbourhood as a whole. While they each take individual action to either limit harm to the fabric and character of back-to-back neighbourhoods, promote heritage protection and design quality, or engage communities in regeneration, their powers to protect the built environment are constrained by policy. National policy has the most significant impact on this (notably PDRs), but local policy implementation is also problematic. For example, the current lack of a local heritage list, the exclusion of the conservation team from the planning process for undesignated buildings, the poor record of planning enforcement, and the failure to revisit the possibility of conservation area designation in over 30 years, have combined to place the neighbourhood in a vulnerable position. It has not a single measure of protection over and above that which might be given to housing that has a detrimental impact on the built environment. In the seven years since the MA research was carried out, there appears however, to have been a shift among professional stakeholders in Leeds, towards greater recognition of the historical and architectural / aesthetic values associated with the back-to-back houses in Harehills.

Statement of significance

The MA research and the evidence presented in this thesis have demonstrated that the back-to-back houses have evidential, historical, aesthetic and communal heritage values, and numerous non-heritage community values that have a direct relationship with the heritage values. This framework is in one sense reflective of the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), but it seeks to broaden the scope so that communal and community values are also recognised and can contribute to the significance of the houses and neighbourhood. While the statement does not prioritise these values over the evidential, aesthetic and historical values, which arguably align with the AHD, these three values are also embedded into the communal and community values.

Chapter 4 demonstrated medium evidential value; the potential of the houses and neighbourhood to yield information about the past, both in terms of the strong relationship between the legislative context and the design and construction, and the way in which the houses have been used throughout their lifespan. Given the rate of loss of this evidence in the last fifty years, the remaining evidence is becoming increasingly rare which increases their significance.

Chapters 4 to 7 evidenced high aesthetic and historical values because of the plan form development which advanced to overcome the criticisms of the social and sanitary reformers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to produce a unique vernacular house type that met all the functional, technical and social requirements of the period. That they also incorporate decorative features externally and internally, which reflect the design trends that were included in middle-class housing, demonstrates further design value and also increases their significance. Moreover, this, along with their historical illustrative value which is evidenced by the parallels found in past and present use and meaning, contribute to communal value; the qualitative research with former and current residents has highlighted the considerable communal social value associated with the houses and neighbourhood. This is evidenced through ongoing use of the houses and neighbourhood, the associated meanings, and the recognition that they have a future.

> I think ultimately it will be refurbished… the council will knock bits of it down and rebuild… and over the folds of time it will change but… the story is not over for Harehills, no way. (F031 2021)

Communal value is embedded into the fabric of the neighbourhood and encompasses sense of place, identity and community relations. However it is considerably more contested than the other values because of the complex relationship between the physicality of the neighbourhood, its communities and its governance. Nonetheless, it has high communal value, not just for its former and current residents, but more generally across Leeds.

Accordingly, the statement of significance presented in the MA research holds true, and is now supported by an even greater body of evidence (see Appendix F *Previous findings on heritage value and significance*).

Taking account of the relative rarity of the house type, its unique development, architectural design and use, its ongoing communal value, and accepting the loss of architectural value resulting from modification, the neighbourhood and its back-to-back houses have medium to high significance in the context of national heritage and shifting perspectives on the value of workers' housing. At a local level, this might be judged more highly because of the communal value.

Vision for a future Harehills

Ideas appraisal

The penultimate stage of the research encouraged residents to critique regeneration schemes in similar neighbourhoods in Leeds and beyond, to gain insight into strategies and design approaches which might have a wider appeal and bring a positive contribution to the ongoing viability of the neighbourhood. Moreover, residents were asked to consider the impact of their preferences in the context of the values they hold, to understand the negotiations between personal need and the success of the neighbourhood (Appendix D *Exploratory workshops*). The professionals were also asked about their vision for Harehills.

The idea of creating a Home Zone (Figure 113) in Harehills is a longstanding dream for some residents and is seen as the answer to Harehills' lack of greenery and poor traffic safety record. Even prior to the exploratory workshops, participants spoke highly of the Methley Road Home Zone in Leeds.

> [T]he exact same houses… sell for £250,000… but because the area is loved, and there's greenery outside, it's a completely different feel… I'd like to see a similar… scheme… But bring back some more of the traditional like the street signs, mosaic signs, pride back in. (C051a 2021)

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Methley Drive, Leeds - Home Zone

Image capture: Oct 2020. ©2021 Google.

Imagery ©Google. Imagery ©Infoterra Ltd & Bluesky, Maxar Technologies. The GeoInformation Group, Map data ©2021

Figure 113 Workshop 2 Task 1, Aspirations: Appraisal of Methley Drive, Leeds. The Methley Drive Home Zone area includes a traffic calming scheme integrated with planting, creating visual interest through the layout and use of high-quality materials (Images: Google 2021a; 2020; CABE 2005, 12).

Despite their appreciation, some residents were unable to see the approach as workable in Harehills, and this transferability became a recurring theme across all schemes.

> [T]here isn't the space to develop anything like that and if you did, you'd only be able to do it in small patches. It's very nice, there's no two ways about it but I don't think it's going to get very far in Harehills. (Coulson 2021b)

Support was strong for two other schemes that prioritised the historic character of the neighbourhood; Nelson in Lancashire (Figure 114) and Granby 4 Streets in Liverpool (Figure 115). Residents related Nelson to Harehills in a very positive way and felt it could work for them.

> It's a very good idea… Concentrate on what's already there and smarten it up. Make it like it was originally… [Y]ou need to go back to that. Not try some new-fangled schemes. (C031 2021b)

> [I]t's… kept the feel… the character of the original one but I do like the… green space… [A] bit like they did in the Edgwares here, having that bit of open space… stops it feeling… claustrophobic and… you can imagine the Edgwares, if all houses were then smartened up on the outside… we could have a similar feel without losing all the history and the bits that people like... (Greaves 2021d)

The character and individuality of the houses and street scene appealed in the Granby 4 Streets scheme, as well as the strong sense of community cohesion evidenced by the communal winter garden space, and the respect shown to personalisation of public space in front of houses. Despite this positivity, the conversation turned to how such a scheme could be reconciled with the anti-social behaviour that is experienced in Harehills.

> It feels like they… were able to take ownership of what has been done to the properties rather than it being done to them... (X012 2021b)

> I like the… feel of identity… and… one of the nice things about Harehills is that people have put their own… personality into it and for them to just enhance that and green it up and have all that… on top, that's nice... I can imagine that development could attract people who… want to rent long-term, want to live there and people might want to grow and add to it, so it's infectious… (Greaves 2021d)

Every Street, Nelson

Image capture: Apr 2009. ©2021 Google.

Image capture: Aug 2018. ©2021 Google.

Image capture: Aug 2018. ©2021 Google.

Figure 114 Workshop 2 Task 1, Aspirations: Appraisal of Every Street, Nelson. This regeneration scheme in Lancashire focused on prioritising the conservation of historic design and fabric, and complemented it with new build and open space (Images: Google 2018a; 2018b; 2009).

Granby 4 Streets, Liverpool

Figure 115 Workshop 2 Task 1, Aspirations: Appraisal of Granby 4 Streets, Liverpool. This was a bottom-up scheme where the communities were able to prioritise the character and sense of place in their neighbourhood, so that cohesion and individuality worked together. The scheme incorporates a winter garden community space in the shell of one of the houses (Images: Assemble Studio 2019; 2013)

> [T]his… could be applied to these bin yard spaces… but… I do think there has to be support in dealing with those elements who would try to trash that. (Harris 2021)

The more radical interventions were generally felt to be too big a step for Harehills. This was in part because Harehills does not have problems such as empty, derelict or boarded up properties or the loss of its communities like those that were affected by the Pathfinder scheme. The Homebaked scheme in Liverpool which modified the original front facades and completely remodelled the rear (Figure 116) was particularly unpopular.

> I don't like it. I think it's… too modern, too futuristic… When an area hits rock bottom… and there's nothing there, then go for it but I don't think I would want to see that in Harehills. (C051 2021c)

Opinion was split on the regeneration of the Welsh Streets in Liverpool (Figure 117) but even those who appreciated the juxtaposition of the old and new, elicited concerns about community behaviour.

> I like the look of it, and… you get all the features at the front of the house that you absolutely love and you have the modern living that I also desire, so… I really like that and the idea of that shared space at the back… [E]verything… comes back to whether that could work in Harehills if you've got people that aren't that bothered. (C051 2021c)

Concern for class and capitalism emerged in response to Chimney Pot Park in Salford (Figure 118), indicating a strong feeling, perhaps in response to problematic rental properties in Harehills, that communities rather than landlords should be the beneficiaries of regeneration.

> It seems like quite a middle-class idea… You're trying to turn something that's very old into something modern. To do that you've got to get past the greed of the people that already own the houses and introduce someone that's… got a lot of money [and] wants to introduce a forward-thinking viewpoint to something that already exists. [Otherwise] all they'll want to do is take the money… out of the area into the areas that they live in that are already nice. (Greaves 2021b)

Homebaked, Anfield, Liverpool

Figure 116 Workshop 2 Task 1, Aspirations: Appraisal of Homebaked, Anfield, Liverpool. This regeneration retained some original fabric and design but reinterpreted the neighbourhood through a participatory design process with the existing community. It includes business space, a winter garden and shared outdoor amenity space (Images: Urbed Ltd 2019, 22;25; Loudon n.d.a).

Welsh Streets, Liverpool

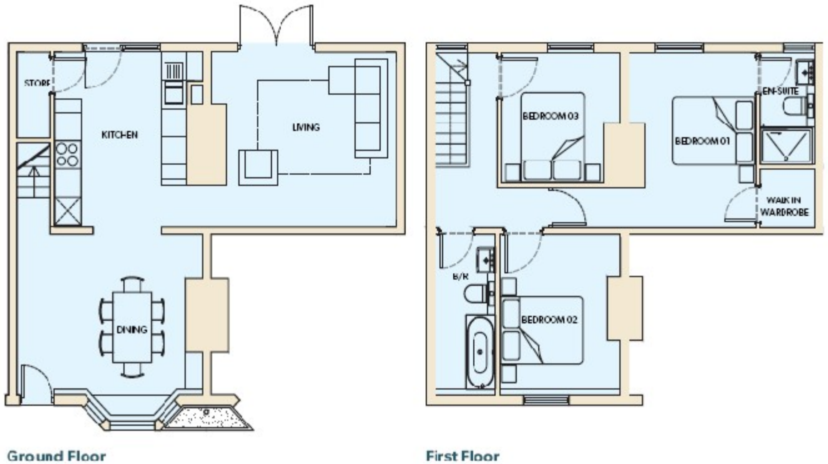

Figure 117 Workshop 2 Task 1, Aspirations: Appraisal of Welsh Streets, Liverpool. This scheme took a hybrid approach to regeneration. Much of the exterior fabric remains and has been restored, but the interior layouts have been redesigned to create larger homes with a modern style. The rear yards and passage have been re-landscaped to provide a shared amenity space (Images: Placefirst Ltd 2017; n.d.).

Figure 118 Workshop 2 Task 1, Aspirations: Appraisal of Chimney Pot Park, Salford. This is a radical redevelopment of the terraced neighbourhood which retains the original front façade except for the reinterpretation of the chimneys into light wells. Internally, the living space is turned upside down so that the first-floor living spaces can access the first-floor rear garden above the ground level parking facilities (Images: Urban Splash 2020; n.d.; Shedkm n.d.).

Residents felt that there may be opportunities for ‘pockets’ of more radical development, especially for the back-to-back streets without gardens, and also to widen the variety of accommodation that is available, for example to better serve larger households and elderly people who want to remain in the area. The back-to-back feasibility study (Figure 119) appealed to some participants, but there were concerns about the impact on historic character and its dependency upon community buy-in and the elimination of anti-social behaviour.

> [I]t’s maybe a solution for a bin yard… because we’ve talked as residents about how to… make use of them… it’s whether it’s too far removed from… the original house, whether something more subtle and aesthetically more blended… (Harris 2021)

> [I]f you had antisocial [behaviour] in open spaces going up all levels… people will be like ‘woah, get me out of here’ so… I think it goes back to the community that are living in whatever scheme you are talking about. (C051 2021c)

By the end of the second workshop, residents had produced a list of the key physical changes that they felt might be appropriate for their neighbourhood’s regeneration:

- An overhaul of the transportation strategy so that non-local traffic is diverted around, rather than through Harehills, allowing neighbourhood streets to be prioritised for residents and visitors;
- A cycle and pedestrian network that connects key public amenities such as schools and parks;
- Street planting to soften the appearance of the neighbourhood and to provide solar shading and seasonal interest;
- Restricted access to selected streets, especially those with street-lined properties, so that residents can benefit from a shared amenity space;
- Improvement of bin yards, potentially by creating amenity space;
- Restrictions on shop-house extensions to prevent loss of historic character and ‘claustrophobic’ streets;
- A conservation-based approach to the design of piecemeal and group adaptation, development or modification of the houses that respects their heritage significance and does not disrupt the uniformity of the streetscape;

Back-to-backs, Leeds - Feasibility studies from 2006-2008

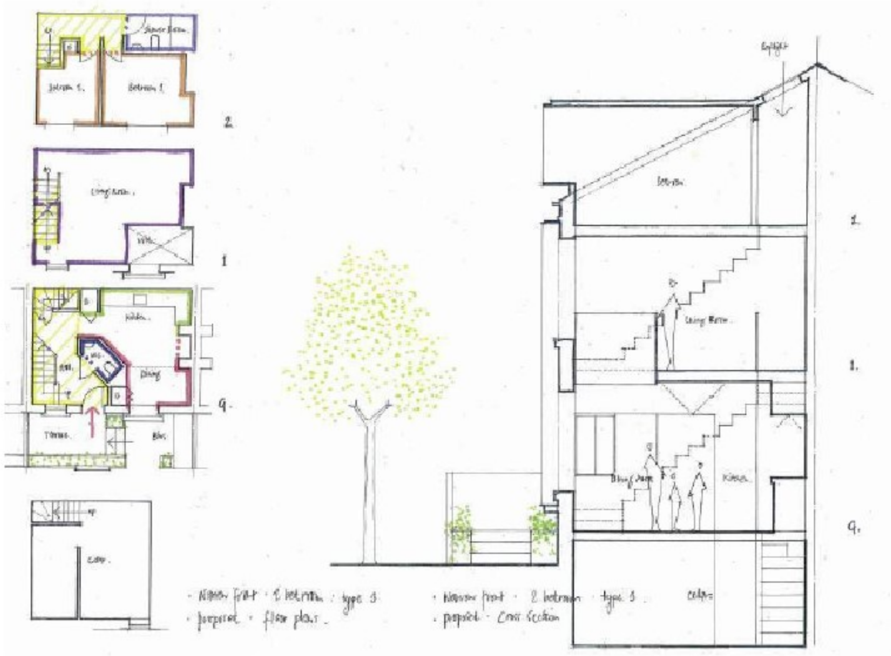

Figure 119 Workshop 2 Task 1, Aspirations: Appraisal of Back-to-backs, Leeds. This feasibility study for Leeds explored the potential of reconfiguring the houses individually, as well as combining them sideways and ‘front to back.’ The appearance of the houses was modernised and a contemporary intervention in the bin yard spaces showed multi-level outdoor amenity space (Images: Barraclough, Horner and Jones 2008b, 56-57; LCC 2006a, 12).

- Reinstatement of property boundary walls to create uniformity, with flexibility to accommodate differing desires for privacy and expression of individuality in gardens;
- Potential pockets of more ‘radical’ adaptation where this might solve a specific problem such as a lack of housing for older people, or providing amenity space.

The wider community had a mixed response to these suggestions, but all of them were supported by at least 57% of Q3 participants (Appendix F *Aspirations*).

During the interview, Hamilton (2021) expressed more defined ideas about a vision for Harehills than Newell (2021) and MacKay (2021), describing a radical approach that potentially involves reconfiguration of the houses, streets, open spaces and an integrated transport network that serves residents’ needs. With the probable exception of the reconfiguration of houses which might have a negative impact on the historic fabric and character, his vision aligns well with that of residents at a strategic level. Newell (2021) and Mackay (2021), like the residents, are more cautious in their thinking, not only in terms of heritage protection, but in recognising that strategies need to be bottom up rather than top down.

> [S]ome of the things that I may like to see, would not… be supported by the local population so… we’re governing in collaboration with the community and… part of it is raising awareness of the heritage value and saying ‘this area is really important to the heritage of Leeds, this is why it matters’… so it’s not ‘you must not put plastic windows in your house’… that approach… wouldn’t be popular. We wouldn’t get political support for it anyway and it’s not something that we could roll out under the planning system… (Newell 2021)

The potential wider impact of regeneration, notably the effective gentrification of the neighbourhood, is on the one hand acknowledged by both residents and professionals as a conflict with the housing affordability that residents value, but is also desired because it may redress the balance between the transient rental population and longer-term owner-occupiers who are both financially and emotionally invested in the neighbourhood.

Perhaps one of the most striking insights to come from the workshops is the sense of community. Although many residents discussed a lack of community cohesion, anti-social behaviour and crime, and were limited in their vision for a future Harehills by this, there is a large degree of acceptance of residents' personal challenges and a sense that everyone is welcome, even if their home 'improvements' are detrimental to the appearance of the neighbourhood and contradict the collective needs and desires of the community. One resident had expressed a desire for planning restrictions to deter "shantytown fences" but appeared to simultaneously accept them:

> The house opposite me had a bedstead… go up as a fence… and it looked appalling … but even despite that I could understand why they did that because they don't have any money to buy a fence. (C051 2021b)

The internal contradiction between wanting to do 'the right thing' and having the capacity to do so, is likely to remain long term, and residents will continue to prioritise their own needs.

> [E]ven after taking part in all of this, would I consider the needs of the area and street? …I probably wouldn't because if I lived in a back-to-back and I needed that space [attic dormer] for kids, I'd be selfish and think about what I want even though collectively all of us have said it's not very much in keeping… (C051 2021b)

It is evident that regeneration involving heritage protection in Harehills is complex, and that raising awareness with residents and other stakeholders is just one of the challenges; policy and funding are two significant others. The next section explores two options for policy involvement.

Appendix D *Interview transcripts* and *Workshop transcripts,* and Appendix F *Regeneration* provide full details of the data presented here.

Policy options

Neighbourhood planning

Inner-city neighbourhood planning has a precedent in Leeds's Holbeck neighbourhood. It began there with a regeneration policy, and involved a wide range of stakeholders (including residents) exploring options for the area. It is clear that perceptions of the value of back-to-back houses have changed dramatically during the twenty-year period of the work which was led by MacKay (2021).

> [T]hat was… fairly high level stuff and some… was about… should back-to-backs be demolished? Or be redeveloped? I mean all options were on the table. Quite incredible when you think about it now but they were genuine discussions taking place at that time.

The resulting strategic plan was concerned primarily with environmental improvements such as greening bin yards and storage improvements, though it was recognised that Holbeck had more strategic problems too.

> [I]t was disconnected physically, socially, culturally, economically, from the rest of the city. And I think you could argue that is the case with parts of Harehills as well.

The Holbeck neighbourhood plan resulted from this work, and in some respects, it has been ground-breaking.

> [I]t is the only document in the city that actually… sets out some kind of planning value… to those back-to-backs and it's very much about… trying to suggest that where development is taking place within the vicinity of the back-to-backs, planning officers should be seeking to make links to potential improvements to those areas so… that's had some success.

As a result of the plan, one area of housing has been 'designated' a Housing Heritage Area which is a light-touch policy aimed at protecting the heritage significance of the back-to-backs, and another area is going to be included in the Holbeck Moor Conservation Area. A third group of back-to-backs have been insulated externally, and while the success of this has not yet been formally evaluated, MacKay does have concerns about the impact on their architectural character.

Mackay acknowledges that engaging communities in policy processes is challenging, and this echoes discussions in the resident workshops, notably a lack of capacity, and keeping people interested if there are no 'quick wins' (see later). He is keen to work with residents in Harehills however, and noted a potential opportunity for them to take part in a Government pilot scheme called 'Simplifying neighbourhood planning.' Despite the scheme title, the process is exploratory and any form of policy outcome will be acceptable.

Local listing

Newell (2021) suggests the forthcoming pilot scheme, *Local heritage list campaign,* could be used as a springboard for change in Harehills. Leeds and the other four local authorities in West Yorkshire have been working on the scheme's design since securing Government funding in 2021 (MHCLG 2021a). Leeds does not currently have a local list and non-designated heritage assets are identified on an ad-hoc basis such as via planning applications, or individuals or groups contacting the department directly. Harehills has certainly suffered from this approach; Newell considers that residents in Harehills tend to be less engaged in the planning system, in part because of the demographic characteristics that were explored in Chapter 6.

The pilot scheme allows local authorities to create lists of locally recognised, non-designated heritage assets so that they can be taken into consideration during the planning process. Members of the public will be invited to nominate a building or group of buildings to be considered for local listing via an app. Harehills has not been selected for the pilot scheme, but once it has been completed and any required refinements to the process have been implemented, the app will be made available across the whole of West Yorkshire. In Leeds, council officers and Leeds Civic Trust volunteers will assess the nominations against pre-defined criteria.

> I think it makes a lot more sense in places like Harehills when you look at the whole grid of development and so there's an option to identify groups… [W]ithin Harehills, there are some pockets of really good survival… bay windows with leaded lights, and stained-glass details and original joinery and so on. And then I think you could make the case for individual buildings to be identified as a heritage asset in its own right... we'd struggle to get some of them listed due to the amount of change that's taken place but you can… still see the quality that was there originally. So I'm hoping that the local list will really help us… formally recognise the heritage value of this area. (Newell 2021)

The next section explores residents' preliminary thoughts on initiating both small-scale and transformative change, and the ways in which policy could influence its success.

Preparing to take action

Capacity

Residents have been overwhelmed and exasperated for years, by the amount of input required of them to implement neighbourhood improvement and regeneration. The case studies they appraised were small-scale, concentrating on a street or a small number of streets, whereas Harehills is a large neighbourhood. It not only varies in its physical characteristics (as per the four back-to-back character areas in the study area, plus three other character areas and the wider neighbourhood not included in this research), but also has clusters of varied communities with different needs and aspirations (X012 2021b). In addition to this, the younger demographic profile means residents have limited time to take on the extra work, and they believe that negative outsider opinion of Harehills and its residents has influenced the quality of work and services they receive from the local authority.

> I… hear lots of good things about that [neighbourhood planning] and it's always brought up but none of us have ever had the time or the capacity to do it. (C051 2021c)

> [W]hat we lack in Harehills is… groups where… people [are] being paid to do things in the area. So you… do [it] for nothing… investing our time and effort… and that ends up stretching people and they're burning out… (Greaves 2021d)

> Harehills is treated like… everybody is recalcitrant, so it's full of all the recidivists, and… there's an assumption that all people in Harehills are incapable of taking responsibility for anything that is done so they make everything simple or rigid or just unimaginative... (X012 2021b)

MacKay (2021) is aware of these difficulties but firmly believes in the power of community.

> [T]he first challenge, is to get people who live there to see themselves as a community… [T]here needs to be that local energy. If local people are not interested it isn't going to happen and it strikes me as if that's kind of bubbling under the surface quite nicely in Harehills…

He did note however, that challenges can persist even among those committed to change.

> [I]f you ask people… what they would like to change or… see… the… answers… will be… about clean streets… antisocial behaviour… graffiti… drugs… All of these are really important but… people, not just in Holbeck or Harehills… but particularly in those areas, don't think spatially, and so as professionals… you've got explain to them that… this is also possible… There needs to be… quite a significant level of leadership without telling people what to do or what's best for them. It's a delicate balance…

To some extent, this was a strong theme of the resident workshops and residents do indeed feel that solving the basic problems (litter, untidy gardens, poorly-maintained houses and anti-social behaviour) is key to improving the neighbourhood. For some residents, this is 'all' that is needed, and physical changes to the buildings and structure of spaces are not required.

> Our problems & potentials are mostly social, not caused by the properties themselves. People adapt the properties to address the issues. So, provide the suitable social support & services & initiative and stop using this as an excuse for property / planning controls. (W004 2021)

This thinking demonstrates the Social Construction of Technology form of social constructionism very clearly, with participants being so focused on the behavioural problems that they are unable to explore other options that might be able to achieve the same outcome. Most however, acknowledge that a multi-faceted approach is required – the quandary is whether behaviours and attitudes will change sufficiently to enable the success of physical intervention, or whether intervention will encourage that behavioural change. Of course, the behaviour of residents and other stakeholders (such as landlords and business owners) must be considered in any design intervention, and for this, the local authority must work collaboratively across departments and with the communities.

Approach

In the workshops, much of the conversation concerning physical intervention focused on external spaces, including the need for traffic management, connected spaces and environmental improvements such as tree planting and other greenery. There is a clear preference for intervention that prioritises conservation through the retention of the original fabric and design of the houses, and a desire to reinstate features such as garden walls and railings to strengthen the uniformity of the streets. Individuality is also important to residents however, and they firmly advocate a bottom-up approach in which they can determine the physical nature of their neighbourhood, with support from the local authority. Contrary to the generalisations made by MacKay (2021), several workshop participants have a sophisticated spatial awareness and innovative ideas about redesigning the landscape. They also feel that starting small, with even a street or two, would make a positive impact and could be a catalyst for further change.

> I'd love to see… connections of green spaces, of schools, of public facilities in the area, so that we have green cycle and walkways that are designated traffic free… and… a real attempt to put greenery back in… That could be transformative. (Harris 2020)

> [A Home Zone] on… Ashton Road… would just soften it and… have that knock-on effect to all the side streets… [S]electing just a couple of… streets… and then a couple… in the future would just make such a difference and it would be achievable and… affordable if there was the willingness from the council to invest. (Greaves 2021d)

> [W]e could try and get the whole area listed… But if that seems like too big a dream, then a chequerboard approach so you… take so many streets that are listed and it affects the whole of the area anyway… (X012 2021b)

Residents agree that now is the time to act, and that policy is needed to bring about the transformative changes they desire. Expressing regret that they have not been able to pursue this sufficiently in the past, they reflected upon some of the typical difficulties they have experienced that a neighbourhood plan could prevent in future, such as differing agendas between residents and businesses, and changes in land ownership that are detrimental to the neighbourhood's infrastructure.

> [A]ll those lovely shops that had the original windows… before the build outs had happened, if we thought of something like that… it would be a very different road now… there'd be a lot more space, there'd be a lot less built up, maybe less antisocial behaviour because there'd still be some houses on there with gardens…

> [W]e are at the stage where it definitely is worth it. We want to preserve things, we want to do something but it's just how we do it… (Greaves 2021d)

> I think the most opposition would come from [landlords and businesses]… [T]hey would also be against… listing… because it would stop them… doing what they want… [T]he neighbourhood plan… might be the best way… because… then it's engaging residents… with what they want as opposed to having stuff put on them. (Greaves 2021d)

> [M]aybe doing the neighbourhood plan is the way forward, because somehow we've been let down by really… poor planning decisions… [A]ll the decisions seem to take land that would be either council land or open land… and then makes it something that… is… never going to be usable again by the council. (Harris 2021b)

Recognising that a neighbourhood plan is a large undertaking, and probably about three years in the making, there is interest in other policy options that might give quick results.

> [I]f we start with the things that… are important… and really focus on listings and conservation, then they give us… evidence to influence the other planning schemes which are broader… People… might not see how you can be involved in influencing permitted development or neighbourhood plans because they're much more complex… but they probably will see how conservation area or getting listed… would be helpful… [I]t's about which things will get you the most results in the fastest time to start with… a staggered approach… (X012 2021b)

Residents are willing to explore a range of policies to develop a strategic plan for the area that is concerned with the big issues such as infrastructure, as well as conservation of the architectural heritage that characterises the area and which is being impacted by piecemeal small-scale interventions. This is evidenced in the wider community too, with 96% of those completing questionnaire Q3 being willing to support at least one policy intervention (Figure 120 and Appendix F *Policy*).

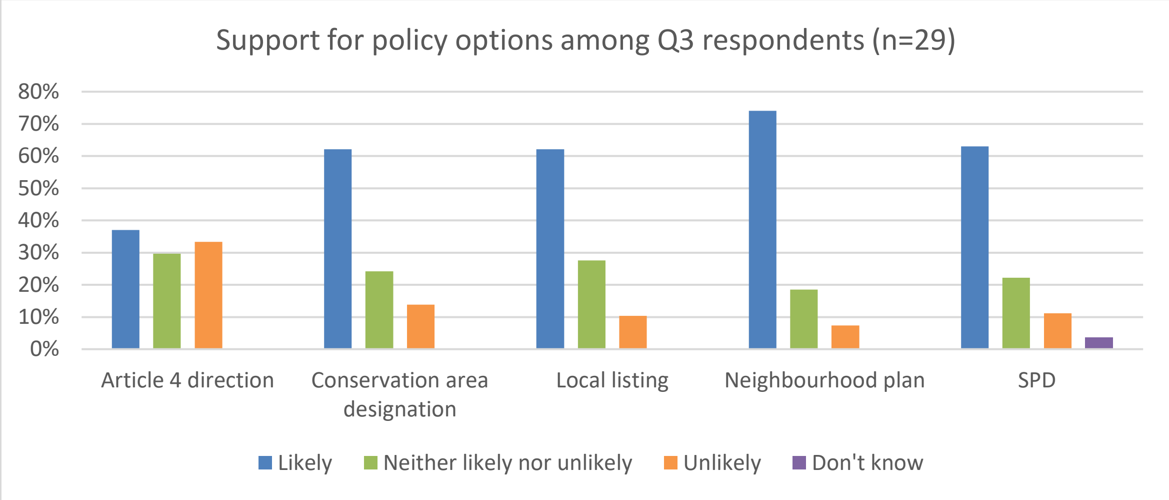

Figure 120 Over 60% of respondents would support four of the five policy options, and there is relatively little objection to these. Article 4 Directions appear to be a more contentious issue.

Such is their determination to protect and improve the neighbourhood, one resident has even queried the use of a mechanism outside of what would be considered typical — restrictive covenants — to deal with piecemeal changes to individual houses.

> [O]wners… can write something into… the deeds that prevent dormer windows being built, prevent walls being knocked down… [I]f the council took an active interest and said 'we are going to put these into the sales of any houses in the Harehills area,' job done. It becomes a protected area... (X012 2021b)

The law is complex however, and it would be challenging to add covenants to all houses in the area, from both legal and financial perspectives (DAS Law 2019; Lewis n.d.; My Lawyer n.d.). Moreover, as with planning legislation, the system relies on enforcement. The restrictive covenants in place since the sale of land upon which the houses were built, have not been enforced, as is evident from the erection of porches and shop extensions reported previously (Figure 121). This is therefore unlikely to produce results before more mainstream options.

COVENANT by Purchasers with the Vendor that so much of said parcel of land as was coloured green on the said plan should for ever thereafter remain open and unbuilt upon and be used as gardens or areas only except that boundary or fence walls or cross walls or fences might be erected thereon and except that bay windows and steps might be erected thereon to the distance of 4 feet from the boundary line of the houses to be erected on the said plot of land

The following are details of the covenants contained in the Conveyance dated 2 July 1896 referred to in the Charges Register:-

TO THE INTENT and purposes that so much of the said parcel of land herebefore described and intended to be thereby conveyed as is coloured green on the said plan shall for ever thereafter remain open and unbuilt upon and be used as gardens or areas only except that the said Society may leave open as unenclosed area any part coextensive with any building to be erected on the said plot of land as and for a shop or store except that boundary or fence walls or cross walls or fences may be erected thereon and except that bay windows or steps may be erected thereon to the distance of 4 feet from the boundary line of the buildings to be erected thereon

Figure 121 Deeds from properties in Ashton Road (top) and Ashton Grove (bottom) make clear that bay windows and steps are the only permitted construction forward of the building line, and that these are limited to four feet.

Summary

Residents overwhelmingly favour a conservation-based approach to the future regeneration of Harehills and are realistic about what can be achieved while still having innovative ideas that could completely change the sense of place. Their realism, and arguably pessimism, about how much can be achieved, the timescales for change, and importantly, the level of community and local authority commitment required, results from their prior experiences of engagement in policy, improvement initiatives and regeneration schemes, and from having been let down by the local authority who have repeatedly failed to bring long term, sustainable improvements to the area. Their emotional investment in the neighbourhood allows them to dream of what Harehills might become however; a vision that is influenced by their knowledge of Harehills' history, their own lived experience, and improvement schemes and regeneration in other areas of Leeds and further afield.

Residents want to retain the things they value, strengthen those values, and limit further loss of the historic environment and public space. In doing so, they recognise that the dynamic of the neighbourhood will change, for example, a reduction in community transience and improvements to the condition of properties and public spaces, at the expense of the affordability they also value. Similarly, the impact on local businesses in shop-houses cannot be dismissed, and there are questions about how changes might affect their individual viability, and the collective impact on the day-to-day experiences of the residents.

The residents who took part in this research are willing and motivated to engage with the wider community and the local authority to initiate policy changes that will direct future change in Harehills. A neighbourhood plan, along with heritage protection policies, offer hope of transformative change and a positive future for Harehills and its residents. In the context of the AHD discussed previously, this suggests that there is an acceptance of the authority of planning policy frameworks and that these are recognised as a suitable vehicle through which to effect change. However, as with much of the other data, there is an inherent bias as many of the participants have a good awareness of the options for collaborating with the local authority and of the basic planning policy framework, and they have the skills to engage in this. It is perhaps unlikely given the evidence presented in this thesis, that other groups, for example, new immigrants who are unfamiliar with English systems, those without the capacity to engage in English or those who are unused to engaging with officials, will find this type of approach appealing. For these groups to feel included and valued, there might be a need to explore community-led non-policy options outside of the AHD norms for initiating change.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that both residents and professionals hold a wide range of heritage and other values for the back-to-back houses in Harehills, and for the neighbourhood as a whole. There are however, numerous aspects of the built environment and its communities that are problematic, limiting the opportunity for the neighbourhood to reach its full potential in both heritage protection and more general terms. This is compounded by a lack of communication and action between local authority departments which hinders the coordinated approach that is needed to resolve the community-based issues such as traffic, parking and transportation, green space, property maintenance, waste management and anti-social behaviour that impact on the overall quality of the environment and residents' sense of place. However, two forthcoming initiatives within the neighbourhood planning and conservation departments offer the opportunity for professionals and residents to work more closely together to achieve a co-ordinated approach to protecting and enhancing the historic built environment. Residents' articulation of key strategies for initiating transformative change that reflect their values and preferences for twenty-first century living in a historic neighbourhood, and their own exploration of policy options suggests that these neighbourhood planning and heritage protection policies could be just what they need, albeit there is a need for caution and flexibility to ensure that all stakeholders can participate fully. There is renewed enthusiasm for action which is spreading among the wider community, and as the professional support offered comes to fruition, their next challenge will be to negotiate and balance competing individual and community needs with the values, preferences and strategic aspirations that have been identified in this chapter.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

Introduction

This final chapter of the thesis draws together the findings presented in previous chapters. It begins with an overview of the ways in which the research has met its aims and objectives before reviewing the findings, their implications and the contribution this thesis has made to new knowledge and understanding of the heritage significance of Harehills and of its changing communities. These are considered in relation to the four research aims, and additionally in relation to the theoretical perspective and methodologies of the research. Its limitations and impact are examined, and recommendations are made for further research.

Research review

This research has built on the MA research into the heritage significance of the back-to-back houses in Harehills. That provided a chronology of the origin, development and decline of back-to-back housing in Leeds, set in the context of key legislation, the campaigns of sanitary and social reformers and of back-to-back housebuilding in other towns and cities. Focusing on Harehills, a historic area assessment analysed and interpreted the historic character of Harehills, contextualising it in the wider social, legal and technical debates of the Victorian and Edwardian periods. A preliminary assessment of values and a statement of significance demonstrated that the back-to-back houses have heritage significance, but this is at risk because there is no heritage protection policy in place.

This research used a multi-disciplinary ethnographic methodology to further explore the field. Chapter 1 introduced the topic, its importance and the aims and objectives for the research. These were to:

1. Understand the physical characteristics of the Harehills neighbourhood and back-to-back houses;
2. Trace the demographic, functional and spatial history of the back-to-back houses in Harehills and explore contemporary perspectives on use and need;

3. Investigate how the heritage and other values of the back-to-back houses in Harehills are understood by the community and built environment professionals; and
4. Consider strategies for regeneration that respect the heritage and other significances of the housing and neighbourhood.

Chapter 2 explored the social constructionist perspective, and the meaning of two key terms — heritage and community — to suggest a theoretical framework for the research that accommodates a positivist account of the physical fabric of the houses and neighbourhood, while allowing for multiple and changing interpretations in relation to their use and meaning, heritage and other values, and preferred future strategies for regeneration. Chapter 3 outlined the ethnographic research methodology and the inter-disciplinary approach.

A detailed analysis of the historical and current layouts, functional and technical designs, architectural characteristics and condition of the back-to-back houses was presented in Chapter 4. It provides the positivist description of the physical fabric and demonstrates how the social constructionist principles of stakeholders' multiple meanings, negotiation and agency impacted that during times of transition.

Chapters 5 and 6 explored the demographic profiles of former and current residents, their use and meaning of the neighbourhood and home, and sense of place. Heritage and other values became evident through this work but were considered explicitly in Chapter 7. Here, a deep analysis of values and detractors discussed by both residents and professionals was used in conjunction with the prior research and evidence in earlier chapters to produce a statement of significance. Finally, it focused on residents' aspirations for the neighbourhood and houses that take account of their values and preferences, and how transformative change might be initiated by engagement in a range of planning and heritage protection policies. These chapters again highlight multiple and plural meanings, negotiations and power differentials.

Findings, implications and contribution

This research (including its MA precursor) has been the first academic study of back-to-back houses in Leeds that has encompassed the architectural, historical, social and cultural heritage fields with a view to initiating conservation-led regeneration.

Physical characteristics of the neighbourhood

While previous research into back-to-back houses in Leeds and elsewhere has appraised architectural design, this has been to a very much more limited extent and has not been longitudinal in nature, instead focusing on either the construction period or the extant stock. This research provides a near complete chronology of back-to-back housing in the neighbourhood, using historical, architectural, social, economic and legislative contexts, and crucially, frames this in the context of its heritage values and significance.

The key findings in relation to original design and construction are that:

- the houses were constructed in accordance with the town-planning by-laws and building regulations;
- the plan form, architectural design and detailing demonstrate both uniformity and variety, and reference the dominant styles of the Victorian and Edwardian periods;
- the provision of plumbed waste services was made at an earlier date than in many other working-class house types and improvements continued to be made to these and other facilities during the neighbourhood's period of construction; and
- the houses evolved to provide fully self-contained accommodation that comprised large, well-lit, well-ventilated rooms with separate living, scullery and laundry spaces, three bedrooms to maintain social decency, and a garden.

These demonstrate that the houses developed into a superior form of back-to-back that was not acknowledged outside of Leeds for its spatial, functional, technical or experiential design qualities. Accordingly, the stigma associated with the house type was unjustified and their unique developmental history and form contributes to their heritage significance.

Mid-twentieth century modification was influenced by technological innovation and Government intervention, both of which resulted in a loss of original fabric, however it was the latter which had the most profound influence on the historic character of the neighbourhood. The work was arguably not beneficial from an architectural heritage perspective but it was undoubtedly essential to residents, and contributes to the story of the neighbourhood's development; it contributes to its overall heritage significance.

The houses retain the essence of their historical character, with original plan forms evident in most cases, a rich variety of exterior and interior features still extant, and their overall condition being at least satisfactory in terms of structure and construction. The extent of this has exceeded my expectations and this research is exceptional in documenting this through survey and at such a granular level.

Although condition is a qualifier of heritage significance rather than a contributor, the finding on condition is important because it supports the conclusion that there is nothing innately problematic with the performance of the houses; rather the social and economic factors are inextricably bound with the fabric of the neighbourhood and so it is difficult to identify and rectify the root causes. Consequently, the neighbourhood is still stigmatised and the houses are seen by some as providing poor-quality accommodation that cannot meet twenty-first century needs. This research has shown that not to be the case (see below).

The clearest transferability of the method and findings relates to understanding the development and significance of back-to-back houses in other areas of Leeds. More widely however, the methods could be applied to other types of housing, and notably, regional variations for which it might be particularly timely to record historical designs and understand their significance before inappropriate changes are implemented through Permitted Development Rights.

Social history

The social history of back-to-back houses generally, has previously only been studied to a very limited degree and focused on the early courtyard form which bore relatively little resemblance to the back-to-back houses extant in Leeds that have a more sophisticated design. The social history of the extant back-to-backs in Leeds has not previously been the subject of academic research, although there is considerable interest. This was a timely study since the early years of the neighbourhood are almost out of living memory; fortunately, direct links were made to the lives of residents in three households resident in the Edwardian period. This research has added to current knowledge, specifically, our understanding of the occupants (in demographic terms), how the houses were used historically, of the residents' relationships with wider society and the impact of the house form on its use and meaning.

The first key finding was that the working-class residents represented a wide demographic that was typical of England and they chose to live in the back-to-backs even when their means did not make it a necessity. This brings a new perspective to the field and dispels the long-standing misconception that equates back-to-back housing with so-called slum-dwellers.

Secondly, it is implicitly assumed in the existing literature that residents were unable to engage in societal norms in the same way as their contemporaries in other house types (Daunton 1990, 14-17; Burnett 1986, 171-173; Daunton 1983, 282-284). The insight into use and meaning brings another significant contribution to the field as this research has demonstrated that the everyday / best dichotomy was not dependent upon the presence and position of two rooms (the front parlour and back living room found in through terraced houses); it could be achieved through selective use of furnishings and other material culture. Furthermore, the more complex use of space and the lack of privacy afforded by not having a back (and back yard), arguably brought benefits for individuals, households and communities. This has implications for understanding use and meaning in other regional working-class house types that deviate from the standard 'two-up two-down' of the period, and may even further understanding of that standard form. In social constructionist terms, while structure may influence human agency, it does not dictate a single solution to achieving societal customs and norms; rather agency can overcome the apparent limitations of structure, resulting in multiple ways of achieving those customs and norms.

More generally, in terms of sense of place and heritage values, this new knowledge is a vital contributor to how current residents and stakeholders perceive the neighbourhood. Its evolution and the stories of its past communities bring new meaning and influence not only their own sense of place, identity and values, but inform how the neighbourhood could continue to evolve and which policies might support that.

Current use and meaning

As with the historical research, the investigation of current communities presents the first academic study exploring the demographics and lived experience of the back-to-back residents. While some of this built on earlier work, much of it has moved into new territory. Deprivation and immigration in Leeds feature in the literature, for example, but this research contributes to understanding the reasons for the neighbourhood's demographic characteristics rather than simply uncovering the fact of their existence. Furthermore, the lived experience, set specifically in the context of the neighbourhood and its back-to-back houses, makes an entirely new contribution.

Regarding this, the most significant finding for life in the houses is their adaptability; from the multi-functionality and repurposing of spaces to the integration of modern technology, they are able to accommodate most residents' needs, regardless of their varied cultures. Satisfaction with home is high among those who are able to control their environment (i.e. have agency) but is compromised for those with more limited capacity. The neighbourhood evokes a more complex range of opinion than the home and there is a distinct love-hate relationship for some individuals and the collective community. While it is appreciated for its historic character, and is the hub of the community on multiple levels (from informal chats in the street to shopping facilities, and institutional and organised community groups), it can also be a place of conflict (antisocial behaviour, unease with unfamiliar cultures and a sense that its unjustified poor reputation impacts on local authority funding and support). These findings support the conclusion that the houses are not innately problematic, and that socio-economic factors are closely intertwined with the building fabric, or in heritage terminology, the communal values are embedded into the fabric of the place and sense of place is influenced by the whole.

The back-to-back houses and Harehills have much to offer and given their history of adaptation to support changing lifestyles and multiple cultures, it is reasonable to expect that they can continue to adapt to accommodate future change. However, holistic support is required from national Government through the current Levelling Up agenda (DLUHC 2022), and the local authority, so that all parts of the complex puzzle of life in a historic, deprived, inner-city neighbourhood can be addressed. It is likely that this is applicable to all similar neighbourhoods, however it is only by understanding the specific micro-factors of individual home life and macro-factors of community life in the neighbourhood, that this task can get underway.

Heritage and the future

Prior to this research, the heritage significance of back-to-back houses was addressed at a limited level through local authority frameworks and projects, for example conservation area appraisals and neighbourhood planning, but was absent from academic research. It has been carried out at a time when the planning system is changing and when there is increasing recognition of the need to regenerate deprived neighbourhoods. A shift away from the AHD in heritage and the importance of community engagement have made it especially timely.

In terms of understanding heritage significance, while much more is now known about the houses, the statement of significance is not a new contribution since the MA research, but a development of that work. It asserts that the back-to-back houses, and collectively, the neighbourhood, have evidential, historical, aesthetic and communal heritage values, and numerous non-heritage community values that have a direct relationship with the heritage values. As noted previously, these communal and community values are embedded in the fabric of the neighbourhood and contribute to residents' identity and sense of place. Together, the values combine to give the neighbourhood and houses medium to high significance. This of course, suggests that current policy is not providing the heritage protection that is justified.

The research innovates in its new contribution to revealing the complex negotiations that residents make when considering neighbourhood regeneration and the associated policy frameworks, pitching heritage and other values against personal functional need, socio-economic community needs, community behaviour, and the likelihood of external support and funding. These are the barriers to change, and understanding them is vital to initiating and facilitating transformative change.

While the specific findings on values, significance, aspirations and policy engagement are place- and time-specific, the principle of the methodology and the need to address these issues with communities, could, and should, be applied to other neighbourhoods.

Theoretical perspective and methodology

The weak social constructionist theoretical perspective has been well-suited to the aims and objectives of this research and to understandings of key concepts that have fluid and multiple meanings such as heritage and community. The approach has been used consistently throughout, so the literature reviewed for context and existing knowledge, for example, highlights a spectrum of opinion and potential negotiations among scholars, while the primary participant data demonstrates similarly varied meanings, experiences, preferences, possibilities and power struggles. Since one of the criticisms of weak social constructionism is its failure to take account of power differentials, particular attention has been paid to this in functional routines (such as the gendered division of household tasks) and also in the relationships that participants had or do have with others (such as neighbours or the local authority).

While each chapter, including this one, has sought to draw conclusions, these relate explicitly to the data collected and a particular point in time, and should the research be repeated, different conclusions might be drawn. For example, the lived experience may differ between ethnic groups or for new arrivals, and some may have a much lower regard for heritage. In addition, opinions can change with time; the perspectives of professionals has been shown to shift, notably from those engaged in the planning system in the twentieth century, but even in the six years between interviewing officers for this research there has been a shift towards valuing the back-to-back houses.

The inter-disciplinary, mixed-methods ethnographic approach has been instrumental in achieving the intended aims and objectives of this research. It has used diverse datasets and incorporated complex triangulation and layering of data to build evidence with minimal gaps. For example, in relation to the historical aspects of the research, the use of oral history evidence and personal photographic collections to provide data that was absent in official archives or the extant housing has brought an entirely new understanding of home interiors and material culture in the early twentieth century back-to-backs. Similarly, corroborating official reports with recollections of the residents whose homes were the subject of those reports has highlighted a rich tapestry of multiple and plural meanings around Government improvement programmes and community displacement. Another innovative exploration was the use of an architectural interior analysis to consider overcrowding and social decency issues. This multi-layered approach to research could be applied to other historical research, and is directly transferrable to other types of housing.

The triangulation of multiple datasets was also vital to understanding the extant stock. Notably, the use of several small or incomplete datasets enabled interpretation of a much larger number of houses than could be surveyed, and interpolation of aggregated secondary datasets facilitated a more accurate understanding of the houses. Multiple sources of qualitative data, some of which was prompted by photo-elicitation, allowed triangulation within and between stakeholder groups and evidenced the multiple and plural meanings as well as the structure and agency relationship. Again, this is relevant to work involving other types of housing, other building types, and urban or rural development, whether as academic research, or forming part of a project such as post-occupancy evaluation or design.

The extensive data corpus provided a unique opportunity to make some of the data publicly accessible through a database. The relational database created for the project was first and foremost a necessary tool for the storage and analysis of the data, however this has several clear uses for other researchers and organisations beyond the life of this PhD, the most significant being the ability to access and / or query:

- a repository for hundreds of photographs
- a digital catalogue for the WYAS building control drawings
- the original plan form type and significant design features for each house type
- the presence and condition of architectural features for 585 houses

Limitations

Although the research has been successful, it was not without compromise and therefore its conclusions should be considered in the context of its limitations. The original ethnographic research methodology prioritised face-to-face communication and relationship building with participants, but the Covid-19 pandemic meant that much of the qualitative data collection had to be conducted online. The modified methodology eliminated the opportunity for participant observation and limited the opportunity for participants to strengthen their own relationships with each other. Moreover, the participant data is inherently biased because of the low response rate to questionnaire Q1, and the subsequent participant recruitment for qualitative data collection which was affected by the Covid-19 pandemic.

Despite the bias in questionnaires Q1 and Q2, they did provide a sufficient quantity and quality of data to allow robust interpretations to be made. The close-knit and high-density nature of the community also facilitated the collection of data about those directly absent from the datasets, from the experiences and perspectives of participating neighbours. Working longitudinally with a small group of residents, across multiple data sources was in many ways advantageous to the process; I was able to form close and trusting relationships with the participants to gain a deep understanding of their lives, and in the case of current residents, the small group workshops brought an additional level of intimacy and community networking that might not have been possible with a larger group. This was at the expense of a broader data corpus that might have resulted in an overall lower level of awareness and concern for heritage. Even so, this is not necessarily problematic for the research as the highly focused and active community members who participated have used their reflections and findings during the research as a catalyst for further action in which the wider community is getting involved (see *Impact*). An attempt to further mitigate bias was made in the final stages of the research by the online distribution of questionnaire Q3 to the wider community to collect feedback on the research findings. This did not fully resolve the problem as some communities do not appear to participate in the neighbourhood's online social media groups and the small sample size also limits its statistical use. The data collected suggests that residents with a Pakistani heritage value the neighbourhood and houses differently to White residents. This does not negate the value of the research however; rather it suggests where further research may be fruitful. Analysis by other demographic characteristics (tenure, household type, house type or location in the neighbourhood) did not show significant differences of opinion (Appendix F *Variation* and *Values)*.

Among professionals, there was limited acceptance of interview invitations. For some, this was possibly because of the structure of the local authority; its limited options for public contact meant that requests were not received by the intended recipients. In other cases, departments cited an overwhelming quantity of work because of Covid-19 that meant they were unable to participate. The reduced dataset is not problematic in terms of bias as each interviewee has a different professional role, but the reduced scope means that understanding of cross-departmental collaboration is more limited.

Impact

The ethnographic methodology has been advantageous to the research having an impact. Between 2017 and 2022, the research has been presented periodically in numerous forms for local residents, citizens of Leeds and for professionals and other interested groups nationwide, in part to encourage participation in the research. This has included an exhibition at Harehills' Compton Hub library and the Harehills Festival, walking tours of the study area, community talks, conference papers, blogs hosted on my own and the Leeds Local and Family History Library's website and academic publications (Appendix G provides full details). Several of these have been incredibly successful in terms of reach. For example, one publication (Harrison 2018b) is one of the journal's most read articles of all time, two blogs for Leeds Libraries are their most read blogs, and a public talk for them attracted their largest audience ever. The most universal impact of these activities has been raised awareness of the back-to-back houses, which in turn has helped people to understand more about the type and has increased their perceptions of the value of the houses and neighbourhood.

> I would thoroughly recommend this, I went last year and it was brilliant!... it's fascinating to learn about the history of where you live, your tour has made me look at the houses in a new light as I walk around the area. (Stalker 2019)

The positivity of the research is a source of pride for residents who feel it counteracts some of the negative press reports and stigma that blight their lives and contribute to ongoing neighbourhood decline. There have also been some unforeseen impacts, such as former residents reuniting with their childhood neighbours.

> I hope… you will be pleased that your project… is bringing old neighbours together. That is an achievement to be proud of for sure. (Norris 2017)

The research has already had a direct economic impact on one local business. The owner participated in this research and her company subsequently received funding for a community outreach project which aimed to bring the local community together to learn more about the arts and local culture. Activities were planned specifically around the back-to-back houses and included a collaborative project for local knitters to create a two-metre-high row of back-to-back houses, a project using my survey photographs printed onto fabric which were embellished with embroidery by local residents, and the opportunity for local school children to draw the houses and make junk models (Figure 122). The secondary impact of this was the pride felt by local residents because of the resulting 'My World My City My Neighbourhood' art exhibition, which also featured my photographs, and the exhibition which had engaged residents earlier in the research (Tharraleos et al. 2022).

A spin-off project arose from the historical research linked to historical micro-migration. Entitled *Rediscovering the lost streets of Burmantofts and Sheepscar, Leeds*, it was funded by a Jane Moody Scholarship administered by the University of York's Humanities Research Centre. I designed this project to engage Leeds residents and ran it in collaboration with Leeds Libraries and Leeds Museums. The idea came from the difficulties I had in locating the former residences of the first residents in Harehills, many of which were demolished during slum clearance programmes in the 1960s. I facilitated workshops in which participants were introduced to research techniques and then we marked up historic maps to identify the location of the houses shown in the Leodis archive. Over 500 maps were uploaded to a new mapping website I created that is linked to the online archive, enabling current and former contexts to be understood (Harrison 2021). The website provides a valuable resource for the city, allowing residents and researchers who are interested in genealogy or local history to quickly locate and spatially understand two historic neighbourhoods that have been almost entirely erased from the city's fabric. It is supplemented by a series of online social history case studies, and an exhibition showcasing selected social history case studies is touring the city's museums and libraries (Figure 123). In addition to the wider benefits, participants also found the experience rewarding, and their comments demonstrate how engaging people in historical research can have a positive impact on their wellbeing and understanding of the world.

> This project was the very best thing that happened to me during the Lockdown. (Day 2021)

> Since the project I have looked at that area in a completely different light and have really enjoyed walking the streets with the old maps and comparing then to now. (Patterson 2021)

Figure 122 A selection of work from the art exhibition.

Figure 123 The Lost streets website (top) and part of the exhibition in the Abbey House Museum's Victorian street (bottom).

A further layer of impact from this activity is that the Local and Family History Library has been inspired to engage citizens in mapping lost buildings anywhere in the city, by inviting them to add location markers, photographs and historical information to a Google MyMaps website (Ramm 2022).

Other researchers have already been inspired by this work to investigate back-to-back houses in Leeds. One individual is analysing the houses in six neighbourhoods in North-

West Leeds from a typological and architectural perspective in a way that will be compatible with the data collected for this research, and a group of architectural students from the Architectural Association are modelling a retrofit system for the supply and installation of wheat straw to improve the sustainability of the houses in Harehills.

The most significant potential impact of the research however, is for residents, which was briefly discussed in Chapter 7. Following the exploratory workshops some of the research participants decided, along with other active residents in the wider neighbourhood, to start a neighbourhood plan. A draft of this thesis was provided to Leeds City Council's neighbourhood planning manager Ian Mackay, and he has since confirmed that Harehills has been selected for the Government-funded *Simplifying Neighbourhood Planning* pilot. Residents are working with the neighbourhood planning team to explore their aspirations for transformational change. The designation of a Neighbourhood Forum is currently in progress and using funding allocated to the pilot project, I have been recruited by Leeds City Council, as a Community Engagement Officer. My role is both strategic and community focused, and includes engaging residents in the process, providing administrative support to the community, and reporting to Government on the pilot findings. This has been a significant advancement for residents and other local stakeholders in their quest to improve the neighbourhood and demonstrates that the research has already had impact by increasing their sense of agency. It has:

- Given a voice to marginalised residents and 'validated' their right to demand change;
- Educated residents about policy options that may be useful in exploring transformative change;
- Motivated residents to act by giving them hope and a tangible route to realising their aspirations for the neighbourhood;
- Brought the houses and their communities to the attention of professionals who are now providing targeted support.

This research provides a substantial body of evidence for use in the neighbourhood planning process, produced with the assistance and consent of residents.

It is worth noting that to date, this real-world progress has happened as a result of the fortuitous simultaneous timing of several small projects (i.e. this research, the pilot project and other local authority initiatives) which have motivated the community to mobilise for action, and not because of a single co-ordinated approach from the local authority or Government. While the neighbourhood plan is an important first step, a co-ordinated approach and Government funding will be needed for transformative change.

The key research findings are already being disseminated locally via a new touring exhibition. In addition, the neighbourhood will feature in a BBC documentary (expected to air in 2023), in which I discuss the houses with the programme host, and a research participant provides a tour of her house. These activities provide an opportunity for further impact to be realised, for example by encouraging participation in the neighbourhood planning process, and by raising the profile of the neighbourhood and its residents.

More broadly, the research has relevance for any historical mass housing (including post-war council housing). Deprived neighbourhoods with a complex juxtaposition of heritage protection and socio-economic issues, where marginalised residents struggle to adapt, motivate themselves or have limited agency, would particularly benefit. The lack of heritage protection given to the back-to-backs is likely to be replicated in other regional house types because there are no known studies where such an inter-disciplinary, multi-method, forensic and longitudinal approach that includes past, present and future, has been taken to fully understand values and significance. This is the foundation to conservation-led regeneration.

Further research

Since this research has straddled architecture, archaeology, history, heritage, policy and the social sciences, it opens multiple avenues for further research. One obvious expansion would be to widen the geographical reach, for example to the rest of Harehills and back-to-back houses elsewhere in Leeds. While this and the earlier research have been able to demonstrate that the design and use of back-to-back houses in Harehills is representative of those elsewhere in Leeds, there is still scope to understand more about differences in the demographic characteristics of different neighbourhoods, the relationship between a neighbourhood's original housing mix and density and its current sense of place, and the neighbourhood-specific impact that so-called slum clearance and regeneration initiatives in the 1950s to 1980s may have had. In addition, consideration could be given to back-to-back houses elsewhere in West Yorkshire. A study of back-to-backs in Calderdale, Kirklees or Bradford for example, might illustrate different heritage values than those identified in Leeds, and provide insight into the success of the adaptive measures taken to improve these apparently less sophisticated houses, for their current residents.

Four interlinked themes which would be well-suited to further academic research in Harehills are discussed below, though they will likely have relevance to other similar neighbourhoods: socio-economic improvement; communities and heritage; local authority strategic management and policy impacts; and design in historic neighbourhoods.

Socio-economic improvement

Residents in Harehills want socio-economic improvement as demonstrated by more owner-occupiers, less crime and antisocial behaviour, conservation of the built heritage, and well-maintained properties and public spaces. However, these changes are also seen in gentrification, which would work against other needs such as affordable housing, sense of place and ontological security. Moreover, gentrification is often associated with displacement of a neighbourhood's original communities. Nearby Chapel Allerton gentrified in the 1980s at the time of the General Improvement Area and Housing Action Area grants programme (discussed in Chapter 4) (Dutton 2005, 222-223), but there are no signs of socio-economic improvement or gentrification in Harehills. Research to understand the reasons for this might give insight into its desirability at both a local authority level and at a community level. This might in turn, also give the opportunity to consider the potential for socio-economic improvement and gentrification without displacement.

Communities and heritage

As discussed previously, one of the shortcomings of this research, was the limited engagement with ethnic minority residents and business owners in the detailed ethnographic research. There still therefore, remains a gap in knowledge about the experience of home and work for these groups. At one level, this encompasses the everyday lived experience of home and the adaptation of routines or the home to accommodate different cultural or religious needs, and there are also questions about the wider neighbourhood experience. For example, how do newly arriving ethnic groups engage with the historic environment? Is there an emotional connection to the built heritage they newly occupy, or is it perceived as someone else's heritage and of little personal value? In community terms, there is a clear attraction for individual immigrants to move to Harehills when they arrive in Leeds; the high number of ethnic minority residents and the long-term presence and investment of immigrants which is seen in the built environment, notably through the shopping and dining facilities, arguably eases the transition to a new life. However, what is their longitudinal experience of change? An example might be to consider the adaptation of houses and shop-houses to meet their needs and better reflect the sense of place that they feel comfortable with, and how they feel when that adaptation evolves following the next wave of immigration. Moreover, is there a link between the ongoing change in the neighbourhood's sense of place and its failure to thrive in economic and social terms?

Local authority strategic management and policy impacts

The research findings suggest there is limited cross-departmental collaboration within the local authority and that both national and local policy are not well suited to addressing and managing the needs and challenges of the Harehills neighbourhood. Together, these have contributed to neighbourhood decline, put heritage at risk, wasted resources and marginalised residents. An organisational ethnography might consider how the local authority operates both within and across departments, its strategic and capacity-based failings (focused on the Harehills neighbourhood), and its apparent failure to engage Harehills residents. In addition, interactions between national and local policies relating to the built environment and how these impact on the specific characteristics of Harehills might give insight into its failure to thrive, and tensions between communities. A subsequent exploration of corrective measures could bring transformational change not only to the local authority, but to the citizens it serves.

Design in historic neighbourhoods

Chapters 4 and 7 discussed modification of the back-to-back houses and neighbourhood regeneration respectively. This was primarily focused on human need (e.g. improving sanitation, building services, thermal comfort, and internal and external space functionality) and the impact on heritage, but there is scope to further discuss modification at a more strategic level, and at a technical level. For example, the research has shown that there is a high sensitivity to change in the housing stock and that demolition or modification of even a small number of houses could result in total loss of that type. That in turn, impacts on the significance of the neighbourhood. One possible research project would be to explore which areas of the neighbourhood should not be modified or demolished, and which might offer greater flexibility for change if regeneration projects are considered in future. This could make use of the raw data collected for this research, relating to design, heritage features, modification and condition, but might also consider factors such as ownership and desirability. The outcome of this exercise would fit well with the neighbourhood planning process.

Another research option is to consider the technical aspects of building performance and modification. This was also introduced in Chapter 4 in relation to the Decent Homes Standard, house condition and energy performance. It was shown that the energy efficiency of the houses appears to be below the average for Leeds and England, however the data is unlikely to reflect reality because the SAP software cannot accurately model the house form and construction, and it is generally used by assessors who have no specialist knowledge of traditional building fabric. An accurate and detailed analysis of the energy efficiency of the key back-to-back house types would therefore be beneficial. This could be conducted using in-situ u-values (Kosmina 2016, 7), and building modelling that reflects the unique house form.

This research did not seek to consider the design and specification of suitable retrofit measures. Neither did it evaluate the cost / benefit of intervention options in relation to building performance, the wider issues of sustainability (including embodied energy) or heritage significance. A conservation-led approach to these future research areas would contribute to the debate for this unique housing type, possibly even strengthening its heritage significance and community value in the context of the climate emergency. Moreover, it could usefully inform the implementation of building regulations legislation and would be well-timed to complement the new PAS 2035 retrofit standard that is mandatory for Government-funded domestic energy retrofit projects (Retrofit Academy CIC 2019) so that future intervention (for example, through a local authority retrofit programme) can be appropriately designed.

Final word

This research started eight years ago and has become an integral part of my life. I am as passionate about it now as I was when I began and it has been affirming and rewarding that so many of the people I have met on the journey have had their interest in heritage ignited, or deepened. In common with much research, the end of this thesis is not the same as the place anticipated at the start, and while a small element of that is related to the research scope, it is mainly a personal change. I had no experience of engaging communities in research, and my architectural career has focused on individual buildings rather than whole neighbourhoods or urban areas, but I now feel that in developing future projects, in the combined roles of researcher and public ally for communities and their housing, this wider scope, which can bring a real difference to a whole community and its historic buildings, is where my calling lies.